UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

The English 'Soldier' c.1400-1461: Perceptions of Professionalism and Criminality.

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for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

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ABSTRACT

The English 'Soldier' c.1400-1461: Perceptions of Professionalism and Criminality.

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This thesis examines a number of hitherto underexplored topics concerning the circumstances of the 'soldier' – both man-at-arms and archers – in later medieval England. The study of warfare in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has flourished over the past few decades, and there has been a steady increase in detailed scholarly interest into the rank-and-file who served in English expeditionary forces and garrisons. To date, however, there has still been relatively little research conducted into the socio-economic and socio-political circumstances of those below the rank of the gentry who fought in the fifteenth-century phase of Hundred Years War and in the opening phase of the Wars of the Roses. This thesis builds on the opportunities created by recent historiographical advancements and the shape of the writing on the field. In particular, it considers two key themes: professionalism and perceptions of criminality among ordinary 'soldiers'.

The first chapter seeks to define the contemporary understanding of the word 'soldier' and, through an etymological study, to demonstrate the correlation between its use and the development of increasing military professionalism in the period. The second chapter examines the social origins, motivations and reintegration of some combatants by exploring the degree to which more traditional recruitment mechanisms – particularly the use of a lord's tenants - were still utilised in the fifteenth century. The second part of the thesis then reflects on and challenges the modern preconception that 'soldiers' were a negative and criminal element within English society, especially following the loss of Lancastrian Normandy. The third chapter considers their characterisation in the contemporary correspondence and chronicles of the mid-fifteenth century, especially those collectively known as the London Chronicles - and in so doing challenges the predominantly negative reception that they have received from modern scholars. The final chapter then examines the records of the Court of King's Bench to consider whether there is any empirical evidence to substantiate the notion of criminality among 'soldiers' and explores the nature of the crimes of which they were accussed. The chapter also considers their possible involvement in the popular rebellion of Jack Cade.

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Abbreviations

Chronicle of London, *from 1089-1483*	*A Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483; Written in the Fifteenth Century, and for the First Time Printed from MSS. In the British Museum: to which are added Numerous Contemporary Illustrations, Consisting of Royal Letter, Poems, and other Articles Descriptive of Public Events, or of Manners and Customs of the Metropolis*, eds. N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell (London, 1827).
Add. Ch.	Additional Charter.
ADSM*	Archives Départmentales de la Seine Maritime.
Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*	A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013).
'Benet's Chronicle'	'John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400 to 1462', in G.L. Harriss and M.A. Harriss eds. *Camden Miscellany*, 24 (London, 1972).
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*
BL	British Library, London.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BNF*	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
CCR	*Calendars of the Close Rolls.*
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland.*
CFR	*Calendars of the Fine Rolls.*
CPR	*Calendars of the Patent Rolls.*
Davies' Chronicle	*An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI. Written Before the Year 1471*, ed. J.S. Davies (London, 1856).
EETS	Early English Text Society.
EHR	English Historical Review.

ERO	Essex Record Office.
Foedera	*Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica… etc.*, ed. T. Rymer, revised edition by A.F. Clarke *et al* (4 vols. in 7 parts, London, 1816-69).
Giles' Chronicle	*Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Trium Regum Lancastriensium Henrici IV, Henrici V, and Henrici VI*, ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1848).
Great Chronicle	*The Great Chronicle of London (Guildhall Library MS. 3313)*, eds. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938. Reprinted in 1983).
London Letter-Book: I	*Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-Book I; Temp. Henry VI*, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London, 1909).
London Letter-Book: K	*Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-Book K; Temp. Henry VI*, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London, 1911).
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive.
LP	Lambeth Palace, London.
L. and P.	*Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, ed. J. Stevenson (2 vols. in 3, Rolls Series, London, 1861-4).
MCA	Magdalen College Archive, Oxford.
ms. fr.*	Manuscrit Français.
naf*	Nouvelles Acquisitions Français.
ONDB.	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [http://www.oxforddnb.com].
Parl. Writs	*The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, together with the Records and Muniments relating to the Suit and Service Due and Performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the Councils of the Realm, or affording*

	Evidence of Attendance Given at Parliament and Councils (2 vols. in 4 parts, London, 1827-1834).
POPC London, 1834-	*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. H. Nicolas (6 vols., 7).
PROME	*The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504*, ed. C. Given-Wilson *et al* (16 vols., Woodbridge, 2005).
Rotuli Normanniae	*Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi Asservati: Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae Regibus,* ed. T.D. Hardy (2 vols., London, 1835).
RHL	*Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland*, ed. F.C. Hingeston (vol.1, Rolls Series, London, 1860; vol.2, Wiesbaden, 1964).
Statutes of the Realm	*The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of his Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, eds. A. Luders and others (11 vols., London, 1810-1828).
TC	Trinity College, Dublin.
The Brut, ed. Brie	*The Brut; or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (2 vols., London, 1906-8; reprinted as one volume, Oxford, 2000).
Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles	*Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe, the Antiquary, and Contemporary Notes of Occurrences Written by Him in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1880).
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (London).

* Unless otherwise stated, all ADSM and BNF references are drawn from *The Soldier in Later Medieval England database: www.medievalsoldier.org.* The database has also been heavily drawn on in the reconstruction of specific service careers, but the original English sources have been been consulted in many cases.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

This thesis examines the circumstances of the English combatant – both man-at-arms and archer – who fought in the fifteenth century phase of the Hundred Years War and in the opening engagements of the Wars of the Roses (through to 1461), with a particular emphasis on those below the rank of the gentry. As outlined in more detail below, research into the 'military community' of later medieval England has flourished over the past few decades, not least through the development and use of military service prosopography. Focus has tended to concentrate on the lives and experiences of the nobility and gentry, for such individuals are, typically, less susceptible to difficulties of identification. More recently, however, research interests have begun to shift toward increasingly detailed prosoprographical studies of the non-elite man-at-arms and archer – both collectively and as individuals. This has, in no small measure, been enabled by the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* project, led by Professors Curry and Bell. This provides online open-access to a database of extant English military service records for the period 1369-1453 and facilitates the examination of military personnel on a previously unobtainable scale – particularly those of lesser status.[1]

Such research, however, is still in its relative infancy. The intention of this thesis, therefore, is to advance our knowledge and understanding of these men. Who were the non-elite Englishmen who fought in the armies of the fifteenth century? How professionalised were they? What motivated their service? How did they perceive themselves, and how were they perceived by their contemporaries? Ultimately, did their experiences of war have a broader effect on English society as a whole, especially following the loss of Lancastrian Normandy in 1450 and leading into the so-called Wars of the Roses? To explore these questions, primary focus is given throughout to two broad, but key, themes: perceptions of their professionalism and criminality. Attempting to study the non-elite - or common – combatant is no easy feat, not least as the subject does not allow for a traditional hypothesis approach. Instead it requires the use of an innovative and multi-dimensional methodological approach. This thesis, therefore, consists of four chapters, each of which considers a different aspect of the broader topic in question, using a different corpus of evidence, though each builds on and complements the conclusions of the others. Each deliberately employs a detailed investigation of different types of source material to produce a cohesive and contextualised study. As outlined below, this approach enables a nuanced and more effective exploration of the common combatant and allows for a more detailed examination of the

[1] www.medievalsoldier.org

broader arguments of the thesis as a whole. Indeed, only through examining a variety of different sources can the non-elite be studied.

The first half of the thesis explores the now well-established notion of English professionalism-in-arms in the fifteenth century, and considers the nature of military service in the late medieval period.[2] To begin, it offers new insight by reflecting on the contemporary use and understanding of military language – specifically the term 'soldier' – in correlation with the increasing degree of evident military professionalism through the late medieval period.[3] An etymological methodology is employed to analyse the development and changing use of the term across thousands of Crown administrative records - such as the parliament, patent and close rolls, the proceedings of the privy council and petitions and pleas, as well as the various records of the English Chancery and Exchequer - in addition to other literary media, such as chronicles and poems, in a variety of different languages, from the early fourteenth century through to 1461. It considers the use of the word in relation to various other military terms which were also being contemporaneously employed. Did the term specifically denote and distinguish between 'professional' and 'non-professional' combatants? Was it used in particular contexts but not in others? How did the use of the term change over time?

Building on this, the second chapter considers the social circumstances and extent to which professionally inclined men had supplanted more traditional recruitment mechanisms, particularly tenurial relationships, through the fifteenth century phase of the war with France. In particular, it questions the extent to which sub-knightly men-at-arms and archers were professionalised in the fifteenth century, and whether scholarly interest in military professionalism has perhaps underemphasised a continued importance of more traditional recruitment mechanics. The use of detailed case studies based on local records is used to explore this notion. A detailed examination of the nominal data contained in the manorial records – particularly the wealth of surviving court rolls for the period 1400 to 1461 – of Castle Combe and Earls Colne is explored in relation to the retinues raised by the men who held them: Sir John Fastolf and the de Vere family respectively. The many hundreds of names recorded in these sources have been cross-referenced against the surviving army and garrison records. Such use of manorial records as a source for military recruitment is unusual.[4] Particular attention is drawn to the different nature of Fastolf's and the de Vere

[2] For the theoretical complexities in defining 'military professionalism' in the medieval and early modern period, see D.J.B. Trim, 'Introduction', in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. D.J.B. Trim (Leiden, 2003), particularly pp.1-14.
[3] More detailed methodological sections appear at the beginning of each chapter.
[4] See below, pp.78-83.

family's own military service to consider the extent to which a captains own experiences and attitudes towards the war with France affected their recruitment activity and the nature of the men who served under them. For example, what – if any – service patterns are observable? Does this approach also enable us to consider the social standing and nature of the men being recruited? Was it the upper eschelons of village society who were predominantly recruited, or did manorial officials use the opportunities provided by the need for military manpower to temporarily rid themselves of troublemakers? Moreover, what are the broader long-term social implications of the seemingly occasional or single terms of service provided by thousands of individuals? There are, of course, numerous inherent difficulties associated with this form of nominal data which makes statistical analysis uncertain.[5] In particular, commonly found surnames can create confusion – especially owing to the predominance of patronymic and topographical surnames. However, the nature of the research undertaken here does not, necessarily, allow for the exclusion of common names. Rather a degree of common sense must be applied. Where uncommon surnames are found in the records, therefore, they are of paramount importance in substantiating the continued service and possible links between those of a more common nature.

The second half of the thesis builds on the perceptions and conclusions of the first. It seeks to challenge the widely accepted, yet hitherto underexamined, modern preconception that the 'soldier' of the fifteenth century was perceived in a negative manner and often widely feared as a habitually criminal element by contemporary society, and whose unemployment and disaffection following the loss of Normandy in 1450 exacerbated the wider social unrest in that period. A re-evaluation of this notion is first offered through the detailed examination of the specific representation of English common combatants between 1415 and 1461 in the numerous surviving contemporary London chronicles, which reported on both the fifteenth-century phase of the war with France and the civil unrest of the 1450s. These sources are frequently supplemented and contextualised by other contemporary literary media, including other contemporary secular and ecclesiastic chronicles, as well as poems, newsletters, and letter collections. The chapter considers the extent to which the common combatant is represented in these sources and how they are characterised. For instance, do they only appear in relation to their misdeeds, thus, reinforcing the modern preconception? Once again, the application of terminology comes to the fore. The chapter also builds on the initial discussion of criminality in chapter two, by begining to explore the

[5] These methodological problems are outlined in more detail in Chapter IV of this thesis, see pp.165-6. Also see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* pp.17-19.

wider social implications that experiences of warfare among both professional and non-professional combatants had on English society as a whole, especially following the loss of Normandy and the evident desire to diagnose the defeat in France.

Finally, the fourth chapter considers the empirical evidence of 'soldiers' being the perpetrators of crime. To achieve this, it draws on an in-depth analysis of the criminal records in the Crown archives, including all the surviving indictment files for the Court of King's Bench (now found in the National Archives series KB9) on a nationwide scale between 1442 and 1456. Where there are gaps in the survival of the indictments, these are addressed through analysis of the pleadings files (National Archive series KB27). To date, the criminal records are a source rarely utilised in military and social history. In part, this is a consequence of the sheer quantity that has survived, often in bulky and awkward to handle rolls, very little of which has been printed, indexed or calendared. However, further building on the initial discussion of criminality in chapter two, this final chapter seeks to demonstrates their significant value as a source for English 'soldiers'. The fifteen-year period explored allows for a considered discussion and contextualization of any patterns which emerge over a prolonged period, and one which, importantly, bookends the loss of Lancastrian Normandy in 1450. This enables the examination of key research questions. Was there an increase in crime – especially violent crime – following the loss of the war? If so, do 'soliders' feature any more prominently in the criminal records than other occupations? Is there evidence to suggest that 'soldiers' participated widely in the popular rebellions which dominated the politics of the early 1450s? Perhaps more specifically, however, what conclusions can be drawn on the nature of the crimes that 'soldiers' committed?

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Combining varied sources and approaches with the particular themes explored in this thesis allows for fresh insight to be offered on the wider social circumstances of the late medieval English 'military community'.[6] The employment of such an approach in this thesis has been conditioned by the manner in which the topic has been researched and recent advancements which have been made, which have provided opportunities for further study. As recently as 1999, Andrew Ayton was able to write that '[t]here are few aspects of medieval English history as worthy of investigation, yet as neglected, as military service', to which he was more

[6] The term 'military community' was coined by Philip Morgan: *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), Chapter 4.

specifically referring to the study of 'the military community'.[7] Since then, as Ayton himself has more recently observed,[8] there has been increasing scholarly interest and research conducted into English armies and the combatants who fought in them. For example, David Simpkin has provided a detailed exploration into the circumstances of aristocratic and gentry participation in the wars of Edward I and II.[9] Similarly, like Ayton, Adrian Bell, David Green, Andy King and, more recently, Gary Baker and Nicholas Gribit, have all presented detailed prosopographical investigations and broader accounts into the context of the personnel – though especially the men-at-arms - who served in the English armies of the second half of the fourteenth century.[10] There have also been similar advances made in research focused on the personnel who served in the English expeditionary armies of the fifteenth century, though these have tended to centre on or around the Agincourt campaign.[11] This is not surprising given both the scale of the expedition and the good degree of extant nominal

[7] A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (2nd ed., Woodbridge, 1999), p.1. Ayton was drawing a direct comparison to Philippe Contamine's study of French warfare and combatants: *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen age. Etudes sur les armées des rois de France, 1337-1494* (Paris, 1972).

[8] A. Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. A.R. Bell and A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2011), p.9.

[9] See for example, D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008); idem, 'Total War in the Middle Ages: The Contribution of English Landed Society to the Wars of Edward I and Edward II', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. A.R. Bell and A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.61-94.

[10] For example, see A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, eds. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.159-251; idem, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.9-60; idem, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth Century England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 43 (2017), pp.4-23; A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004); idem, 'The Soldier, 'hadde he riden, no man ferre", in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. A.R. Bell and A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.209-18; D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols., University of Nottingham, 1998); idem, 'The Later Retinue of the Black Prince', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44 (2000), pp.141–51; A. King, '"What Werre Amonteth": The Military Experience of Knights in the Shire, 1369-89', *History*, 95 (2010), pp.418-36; idem, 'A Good Chance for the Scots? The Recruitment of English Armies for Scotland and the Marches, 1337-47', in *England and Scotland at War*, *c.1296-c.1513*, eds. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2012), pp.119-56; G. Baker, 'The English Way of War, 1360-1399' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2011); idem, 'Sir Robert Knolles' Expedition to France in 1370: New Perspectives', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, eds. G. Baker, C. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp.147-80; N.A. Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-1346: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge, 2016).

[11] See for example, A. Curry, *Agincourt*: *A New History* (Stroud, 2005), Chapter 3; eadem, 'Personal Links and the Nature of the English War Retinue: A Case Study of John Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and the Campaign of 1415', in *Liens, réseaux, et solidarités et France et dans les Iles Britanniques (XIc-XXc siècle),* eds. D. Bates and V. Gazeau (Paris, 2006), pp.153-67; P. Morgan, 'Going to the Wars: Thomas, Lord Morley in France, 1416', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III): Further Considerations*, eds. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), p.288. Also see A. King, 'Gunners, Aides and Archers: The Personnel of the English Ordnance Companies in Normandy in the Fifteenth Century', in *Journal of Medieval Military History IX*, eds. A. Curry and A.R. Bell (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.65-75.

evidence that survives for it, not to mention its popular appeal.[12] Expeditionary forces of significantly varying size crossed to France on a near-yearly basis between 1423 and 1450; however, only six muster rolls survive for the whole of this period.[13] Furthermore, documents such as letters of protection and attorney, genealogical guides and the Court of Chivalry records all reduce in number, especially after 1420, largely mirroring the disengagement of the armigerous class who had previously sought them and on whom prosopographical studies have typically tended to focus.[14]

This said, recent prosopographical research has also focused on service in the Lancastrian garrisons in Normandy. The study of garrisons as a whole in the later medieval period has generally received comparatively little attention from historians. To some degree, this is a direct consequence of the available archival evidence. The records of the garrisons in the Scottish Marches are particularly poor; David Cornell's recent exploration of the English personnel serving in the wartime garrisons in Scotland and northern England was confined to two periods: 1300-1304/5 and 1334-1342. As explored in greater detail below, he was nevertheless able to provide observations on the continuity in service of those serving in them.[15] A similar sparsity of nominal and accounting documents in addition to other supplementary evidence has also limited any study into the various garrisons maintained in England, Ireland and Wales in this period.[16] The records of the Norman garrisons, however,

[12] The importance of the battle in the wider context of the English wars with France has often been over accentuated. It is difficult, however, to agree wholly with Newhall's opinion that even if Agincourt had not taken place, Normandy could still have been conquered in 1417: R.A. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy 1416-1424: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Warfare* (New Haven, 1924), pp.xiii, 1-37. For discussion, see A. Curry, 'After Agincourt, what next? Henry V and the Campaign of 1416', in *The Fifteenth Century VII*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.23-51.

[13] For the expeditionary forces, see A. Curry, 'The English Army in the Fifteenth Century', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, eds. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp.44-6. References for the six surviving musters are cited in A. Curry, 'Military Organization in Lancastrian Normandy 1422-1450' (2 vols., Unpublished PhD thesis, Council for National Academic Awards, 1985), i, p.110.

[14] The historian of the Wars of the Roses is at a greater disadvantage still, for there is very little in the way of extant sources on the armies raised during these years. This is not unusual, however; the same is true also of the civil conflicts in 1326-7 and 1399. Nonetheless, Anthony Goodman's pioneering - and otherwise excellent - examination into warfare and the experience of ordinary combatants in the Wars of the Roses is limited by a scarcity of documentary evidence. A. Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: The Soldiers' Experience* (Stroud, 2005); idem, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society 1452–1497* (London, 1981). Also see P. Fleming, 'The Battle of Mortimer's Cross and Second St. Albans: The Regional Dimension', in *The Fifteenth Century XIV: Essays Presented to Michael Hicks*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.91-102.

[15] D. Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons in the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Fourteenth Century', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2005).

[16] For example, see J. Riley, 'The Military Garrisons of Henry IV and Henry V at Strata Florida, 1417 and 1415-16', *The Welsh History Review*, 27 (2015), pp.645-71. Also see N. Ludlow, *Carmarthenshire Castle: The Archaeology of Government* (Cardiff, 2014). For garrisons stationed in the royal castles of

are significantly better represented. Although unevenly spread both geographically and chronologically, there are thousands of known muster and counter rolls detailing their strength - Anne Curry has estimated that between forty and fifty per cent of the whole original French archive survives.[17] Building on her highly detailed doctoral research into military organisation in Lancastrian Normandy,[18] which looked at all of the garrisons in Normandy together and itself included a thorough analysis of service by men-at-arms, Curry has significantly advanced our understanding on a number of topics regarding the circumstances and direct experiences of the personnel who served in these garrisons.[19] Despite her research, however, the only book-length examination of any single English overseas garrison in this era remains David Grummit's highly informative monograph on the Calais Garrison.[20] As Grummitt himself notes, however, the loss of the muster book and rolls for the garrison when the town was retaken by the French in 1558 makes any effort to reconstruct the service patterns of the ordinary troops there all but impossible, though given its size and permanence it would arguably be untypical as well.

One significant output of the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* project was the 2013 publication of the book by the same title which provides the definitive overview of the English 'military community' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, providing detailed insight into

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southern England, see M.J. Roeder, 'The Role of the Royal Castles in Southern England, 1377-1509 (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1985).

[17] Curry, 'The English Army', p.49.

[18] Curry, 'Military Organization'. Curry's work on the Norman garrisons built on Richard Newhall's seminal *Muster and Review: A Problem of English Military Administration 1420-1440* (Cambridge, 1940).

[19] For select examples, see A. Curry, 'Sex and the Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 14 (1988), pp.17-45; 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms serving in English Armies in Normandy and the *Pays de Conquête,* 1415-1450: A Preliminary Survey', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 18 (1992), pp.135-63; 'The Organisation of Field Armies in Lancastrian Normandy', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp.207-31; 'Bourgeois et soldats dans la ville de Mantes pendant l'occupation Anglaise de 1419 à 1449', in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au moyen âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, eds. J. Paviot and J. Verger (Paris, 2000), pp.175-84; 'Isolated or Integrated? The English Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, eds. S.R. Jones, R. Marks and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.192-3; 'Soldiers Wives in the Hundred Years War', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, eds. P. Cross and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.198-214; 'John, Duke of Bedford's Arrangement for the Defence of Normandy in October 1434: College of Arms MS Arundel 48, folios 274r-276v', *Annales de Normandie*, 62 (2012), pp.235-51; 'English War Captains in the Hundred Years War', *La prosopographie au service des sciences sociales* (2014), pp.186-94; 'Les soldats Anglais en garnison en Normandie, 1417-1450', *Bulletin de la société de antiquaries de Normandie*, 74 (2017), pp.140-67; 'The Garrison Establishment in Lancastrian Normandy in 1436 According to Surviving Lists in *Bibliothèque Nationale de France manuscript français 25773*', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, eds. G. Baker, C.L. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp.237-70. Also see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, particularly Chapters 3 and 4.

[20] D. Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England 1436-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008).

all types of military service - field, naval and garrison – at all levels of society.[21] The authors have convincingly argued that the fifteenth century marked 'the apogee of the archer's role in English royal service'.[22] As noted above, prosoprographical research into the individuals who served as archers, however, both in expeditionary forces and the Norman garrisons, is still in its relative infancy.[23] To date, there has only been a single major study into these men as a collective entity. Through the analysis of surviving army musters alongside the poll tax returns of 1377, 1379, and 1381, Sam Gibbs examined both the socio-economic origins and motivations of those who served as archers between 1367 and 1417, arguing that there was a shift towards voluntary service being driven increasingly by economic considerations rather than social obligation.[24]

Current understanding and observations concerning the fifteenth-century military community have largely stemmed from research into the social composition of the military community of the fourteenth century. Historians such as Andrew Ayton and Clifford Rogers, among others, have convincingly argued that the development of the mounted archer in the 1330s, in addition to the 'emergence of "mixed retinues" comprising roughly equal numbers of mounted archers and men-at-arms', and recruited through the use of indentured contracts between the Crown and individual captains from 1369, 'revolutionised' military organisation and recruitment.[25] In his research into the armies of Edward III, Ayton

[21] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*.
[22] *Ibid*., p.140.
[23] For example, see A. Curry, 'L'archer Anglais', in *Autour d'Azincourt: une société face à la guerre (v.1370-v.1420)*, eds. B. Schnerb and A. Marchandisse (Lille, 2017), pp.181-96; G. Baker, 'Investigating the Socio-Economic Origins of English Archers in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century', in *Journal of Medieval Military History, XII*, eds. C.J. Rogers, K. DeVries, and J. France (Woodbridge, 2014), pp.173-216; A. Chapman, 'The King's Welshmen: Welsh Involvement in the Expeditionary Army of 1415', in *Journal of Medieval Military History, IX*, eds. A. Curry and A.R. Bell (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.41-64.
[24] S. Gibbs, 'The Service Patterns and Social-Economic Status of English Archers, 1367-1417: The Evidence of the Muster Rolls and Poll Tax Returns' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2015). Also see idem, 'The Fighting Men of Essex: Service Relationships and the Poll-Tax, in *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. C. Thornton, J. Ward and N. Wiffen (Hatfield, 2017), pp.78-97.
[25] For a clear overview of the developments in military organisation in the mid-1330s, see Morgan, *Medieval Cheshire*, pp.37-49. For discussion of the indenture system, see Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses,* pp.x, 9-25; A.E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR*, 46 (1931), pp.353-71; idem, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, eds. J.G. Edwards, V.H Galbraith and E.F. Jacobs (Manchester, 1933), pp.283-97; idem, 'The Payment of Army Wages in Edward III's Reign', *Speculum*, 19 (1944), pp.137-60; N.B. Lewis, 'An Early Indenture of Military Service, 27 July 1287', *BIHR*, 13 (1935), pp.85-9; N.B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1945), pp.29-39; J. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *EHR*, 79 (1964), pp.718-46. The issue of whether the military developments of Edward III's reign correspond to a military revolution or not remains hotly debated by academics; see A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, eds.

demonstrated the development of a sophisticated and standardised military administration through which the Crown was able to instigate and maintain numerous campaigns both in the British Isles and overseas.[26] From the 1340s, more expensively and better equipped mounted archers gradually replaced the frequently poorly equipped foot archers in the armies of Edward I and II who had been raised *en masse* from the ranks of the peasantry through the mechanics of the commission of array.[27] It is argued that the increased costs associated with this form of service, in particular the outlay for horse and harness, restricted military service to a 'narrower social base'.[28] For Maurice Keen these men were 'minor landholders, not gentry, but a cut above the ordinary peasant husbandman' who, as Ayton notes, would 'later come to be known as yeoman.'[29] The 'yeomanry' of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, however, remains an ill-defined and poorly understood section of society, largely on account of the problematic nature of multi-dimensional social mobility in the period.[30] One should not assume, therefore, that the development of the mounted archer was representative of a singular unified social group.[31] Rather, the 'inclusive' nature of service in mixed retinues helped to bridge the social gap that had previously existed between the peasant foot archer and the more affluent man-at-arms of genteel status. Service as a mounted archer afforded the possibility of both military and social advancement. Ayton suggests that we should envisage not only yeomen and artisans, but also 'younger sons from the lesser gentry' who were unlikely to inherit lands or trades and 'who served as

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A. Curry and M. Hughes (Suffolk, 1994), pp.21-38; M. Prestwich, 'Was There a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, eds. C. Richmond and I. Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp.19-38; C.J. Rogers, ''As if a New Sun had Arisen': England's Fourteenth-Century RMA', in *The Dynamics of Military Revolution, 1300–2050*, eds. M. Knox and W. Murray (Cambridge, 2001), pp.15-34; idem, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *The Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), pp.241-78.

[26] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*; idem, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', pp.21-38.

[27] See M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), Chapter 4.

[28] Using the *restauro equorum* accounts of Edward III, Ayton has estimated the average cost of a hackney, the horse probably used by most mounted archers, to be 20*s*. Such a cost was equivalent to between sixty and eighty days' pay for a skilled labourer such as a thatcher. Considering the festive calendar, it is unlikely such a significant proportion of a man's salary could be spared: Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp.15-16. The superior courser, palfrey and rouney, the types of horse favoured by many men at arms could cost upwards of ten times the price of a hackney: see TNA, E101/19/36. Also see A. Ayton, 'Military Service and the Development of the Robin Hood Legend in the Fourteenth Century', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), pp.136-47; M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), p.143.

[29] M. Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (London, 1987), p.xvii; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', p.40.

[30] A study of the English yeomanry in the Later Middle Ages is currently being undertaken by Louisa Foroughi. Also see R. Almond and A.J. Pollard, 'The Yeomanry of Robin Hood and Social Terminology in Fifteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 170 (2001), pp.52-77. For the yeoman of the early modern period, see M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman* (London, 1960).

[31] Baker, 'Socio-Economic Origins of English Archers', p.187.

mounted bowmen because their families were unable to furnish the arms, armour and horses required for a man-at-arms'.[32]

In his innovative 2014 essay, Baker investigated this notion in detail for the first time, attempting to find evidence within the poll tax returns for 1377, 1379 and 1381 to support the theory of the increasing necessity for mounted archers to be of reasonable financial affluence, and thus social standing. Recognising that using financial wealth as an indicator of social position is imperfect, Baker sought to investigate whether it is possible to demonstrate that mounted archers were drawn predominantly from minor landholders.[33] Undoubtedly, the ability to acquire further land through the possible profits of war was certainly one way in which men could rise through the social ranks.[34] Baker's research was facilitated by the county-by-county transcription and publication in print of the poll tax returns by Caroline Fenwick.[35] Unfortunately, owing to the fragmented nature of these records, his analysis was inconclusive. Nonetheless, he went on to argue that the initial outlay for all those who were not in some way part of a lord's personal household and contracted in both war and in peace, and who thus would in all probability have had to provide their own equipment, would have been beyond all but those of at least yeoman status.

Numerous historians have argued that these developments in military organisation and recruitment in the mid-fourteenth century added to an emerging professionalism among common soldiers.[36] The establishment of the indenture system as the principal mechanism for raising royal armies from the late 1360s relied on fewer aristocratic (and occasionally knightly) captains to raise 'structurally uniform' retinues. In order to raise the full number of

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[32] Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.40-1.

[33] Baker, 'Socio-Economic Origins of English Archers', pp.173-216.

[34] Citing J. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), p.47. With regards to the profits of war, the question of who benefitted most was the topic of an important debate between McFarlane and Postan: K.B. McFarlane, 'War, the Economy and Social Change. England and the Hundred Years War', *Past and Present*, 22 (1962), pp.3-13; M.M. Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years War', *Past and Present*, 27 (1964), pp.34-53. Other notable and more recent studies include K.B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7 (1957), pp.91-116; A.R. Bridbury, 'The Hundred Years War: Costs and Profits', in *Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England. Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher*, eds. D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London, 1976), pp.80-95; M.M.N. Stansfield, 'John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon and the Costs of the Hundred Years War', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp.103-18; R. Ambuhl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

[35] *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, ed. C.C. Fenwick (3 vols., Oxford, 1998– 2005).

[36] For example, see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* pp.117-38, 167-76; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.39-45. For a broader discussion of the topic, see K. DeVries, 'The Question of Medieval Military Professionalism' in *Arms and the Man: Military History Essays in Honor of Dennis Showalter*, ed. M. Neiberg (Leiden, 2011), pp.113-30.

men required by the terms of their indentures, they in turn entered into contracts with numerous sub-recruiters who would provide sub-retinues of varying size. It is commonly argued that the lesser social standing of such sub-recruiters would have forced them to look beyond the traditionally established recruitment networks of landholdings and social links to a growing pool of professionally inclined men.[37] So whilst at least half of Sir James Audley's retinue of forty men-at-arms and forty archers in 1345 came from 'gentry families and tenantry close to the Audley lands',[38] other men, such as Sir John Strother in 1374, as Simon Walker has observed, were entirely dependent on 'professionals' with whom they had no previous personal ties.[39]

It has been increasingly argued that the Crown's perpetual need for manpower to form expeditionary armies and to fill permanent garrison positions overseas – in addition to freelance service – provided the opportunity for men to develop 'mixed careers' in arms over alternative domestic occupations.[40] The prevailing academic consensus is that this was certainly the case by the fifteenth century and, that with the resumption of hostilities with France in 1415, Henry V was able to draw upon a highly militarised pool of middling status soldiers, predominantly serving as mounted archers, who had an increasingly professional mentality demonstrated through previous service by choice, rather than previous social connections or obligation.[41] However, such assumptions into who these men were, from what socio-economic background they came, and how 'professionalised' they were as a military caste, has only recently begun to be explored by the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*.[42]

One area that has significantly flourished over recent decades is comprehension of medieval military organisation and administration. Research has built chiefly on the indenture methodology pioneered by A.E. Prince in his studies of English armies and the development of the indenture system, as well as on the seminal studies of Contamine on

[37] See A. Ayton, 'Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, eds. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009); idem, 'Dynamics of Recruitment'. This development is also explored in Chapter I of this thesis.
[38] Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', pp.176-7.
[39] S. Walker, 'Profit and Loss in the Hundred Years War', *BIHR*, 58 (1985), pp.100-6.
[40] For example, Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment'; idem, 'The Military Careerist'. For discussion of the use of the indenture system in the fifteenth-century phase of the war, see Curry, 'The English Army', pp.41-8; eadem, 'Military Organization', i, pp.118-23.
[41] Clear examples of this stance are observable in J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (New York, 1985), pp.159-79; J. Barker, *Agincourt: Henry V and the Battle that Made England* (London, 2005); M.K. Jones, *Agincourt 1415* (Barnsley, 2005); and R. Hardy, *Longbow: A Social and Military History*, (3rd ed., London, 1992), to mention but a few.
[42] Bell *et al*., particularly Chapter 4. This is a topic explored in Chapter II of this thesis.

France and Philip Morgan's research into medieval society in Cheshire.[43] These studies helped advance the research agenda beyond previous preoccupations with obligation and chivalry to a detailed understanding of issues such as the structure and composition of armies, retaining, finance and supply, as well as more recent interest in weaponry and tactics.[44] Curry has thoroughly researched the subject. Her studies have significantly increased our understanding of numerous topics ranging from - but by no means limited to – military organisation and recruitment, as well as financial and administrative mechanisms and the socio-political effects of the English occupation on Normandy.[45] For example, drawing on financial evidence in an essay on the armies of Lancastrian Normandy, her examination into the administration of expeditionary and garrison forces both in England and in France in the fifteenth century reinforced observations concerning the decline of knightly service as the conflict progressed.[46] Other major works on the warfare of the period include Christopher Allmand's study of Lancastrian Normandy, which provided particular insight into the social, economic, political and ideological effects the occupation had on those populating the region, both native as well as settler.[47] Similarly, while detailing little of the wider war, Malcom Vale's study into English Gascony in the fifteenth century demonstrated the

[43] For Prince, see above n.25. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*; Morgan, *Medieval Cheshire*.

[44] On weaponry and tactics, see *Journal of Medieval Military History*, *XIII*, eds. K. DeVries, J. France, and C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 2015); D. Grummitt, 'Innovation and Tradition: Gunpowder Weapons and the Defence of the Northern Marches, c.1399-1482', in *Anglo-Scottish Warfare in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2013), pp.283-96; D. Spencer, 'The Development of Gunpowder Weapons in Late Medieval England (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2016); idem, "The Scourge of the Stones': English Gunpowder Artillery at the Siege of Harfleur', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 43, eds. R. Ambühl and C. Lambert (2017), pp.59-73.

[45] For example, see A. Curry, 'The Impact of War and Occupation on Urban Life in Normandy, 1417-1450', *French History*, 1 (1987), pp.157-81; eadem, 'The First English Standing Army? Military Organization in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422-1450', in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C.D. Ross (Gloucester, 1979), pp.193-214; eadem, 'L'administration financière de la Normandie Anglaise: continuité ou changement', in *La France des principautés. Les chambres de comptes xive et xve siècles*, eds. P. Contamine and O. Mattéoni (Paris, 1996), pp.83-103; eadem, 'A Game of Two Halves': Parliament 1422-1454', *Parliamentary History*, 23 (2004), pp.73-102; eadem, 'Harfleur Under English Rule 1415-1422', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III)*: *Further Considerations*, eds. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp.259-84.

[46] Curry, 'The English Army', pp.39-68. Also see, S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Derbyshire Record Society, viii, 1983); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century c.1422-c.1485* (Cambridge, 1992); J. Ross, 'Essex County Society and the French War in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Fifteenth Century VII: Conflict, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2002), pp.53-80; S. Payling, 'War and Peace: Military and Administrative Service amongst the English Gentry in the Reign of Henry VI', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, eds. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.240-60.

[47] C.T Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983).

importance of Guyenne in the broader milieu of Anglo-French relations, and he particularly emphasised the changeable nature of English war aims in the region.[48]

More recently, historians have examined the development of the indenture system in a particularly detailed fashion, with a significant focus on geographical locations and the careers of the militarised classes and their retainers. In part, they have been influenced by the work of Bruce McFarlane, whose methodological approach emphasised the use of sources, such as retaining indentures, household accounts and financial records, by which one could investigate links between men found in indentures and with the captain in question.[49] Such studies have greatly contributed to our understanding of regional dynamics and the effect war had on county administration, in addition to topics such as finance, recruitment and supply. In his study of the military career of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, Anthony Pollard was able to demonstrate a major shift in the recruitment of men as the latter stages of the war progressed. He established that in contrast to his retinue of 1421, very few of Talbot's men in 1439-41 had links with him in England. Instead, Pollard argued, he recruited 'professional soldiers' with extensive fighting experience, or with whom he had forged personal relationships in France.[50] Simon Walker was able to draw on the staggeringly full Lancastrian documentary records, a result of their addition to those of the Crown when Henry IV seized the throne in 1399, to examine the affinity of John of Gaunt.[51] More recently, Bell has analysed the accounts of expeditions led by Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel,[52] whilst David Green has explored the retinues of Edward, the Black Prince,[53] and James Ross has produced some highly informative studies of the De Vere family and their influence.[54] Such works are also complemented by the earlier investigations of Maurice Powicke and Anne

[48] M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Latter Stages of the Hundred Years War* (London, 1970). Vale concluded that Gascony was not lost by military means, but rather because the English administration in the duchy 'could not survive when its means of rewarding loyalty were exhausted', p.219.

[49] For example, see K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972); idem, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973); idem, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1981).

[50] A.J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427-1453* (London, 1983), particularly Chapter 5. Also see discussion of Sir John Fastolf in Chapter II of this thesis.

[51] S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990).

[52] Bell, *War and the Soldier*.

[53] D. Green, 'Edward the Black Prince and East Anglia: An Unlikely Association', *Fourteenth Century England*, 3 (London, 2004), pp.83-98; idem, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 2001). Also see n.10, above.

[54] J. Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford, 1442-1513. 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge, 2011); idem, 'The de Vere Family and the House of York, c. 1440-1485', in *Richard III and East Anglia: Magnates, Gilds and Learned Men*, ed. L. Visser-Fuchs (Richard III Society, 2010), pp.47-66; idem, 'Essex County Society'.

Marshall who looked at the roles played by captains of retinues who were not of genteel stock.[55]

Recent advancements in social and economic fifteenth-century historiography have also witnessed a significant growth in scholarly interest in issues such as the spread of literacy, economic prosperity and living standards, concepts of public order and commonweal, as well as the politicisation of the commons in general and rural society in particular.[56] There has been enthusiastic investigation into the distinctive political and social circumstances of those bridging the social gap between the gentry and labourers in county society, commonly referred to as 'middling men'.[57] Even so, despite recent and ongoing research, such as Matthew Holford's investigation of the jurors of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1422–47 as part of Winchester's *Mapping the Medieval Countryside* project,[58] we still do not know a great deal about these 'middling men' and what we do know has not been shaped into some form of synthesis. Without a doubt, this is an area where fifteenth-century mainstream literature has yet really to absorb the social implications of the gradual decline of serfdom, or the growth of rural cloth production, both so vital to the development of this social stratum.[59] At present, little light has been shed on important broader questions that

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[55] M.R. Powicke, 'Lancastrian Captains', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, eds. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp.371-382; A. Marshall, 'The Role of English War Captains in England and Normandy, 1436–1461' (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1974).

[56] The term 'commons' is employed in a number of places throughout this thesis. It should be noted, however, that the term had a number of different meanings - it was not simply descriptive of a single demographic constituency. It was a consistently developing term which could describe different fluid groups, and which was often employed rhetorically to gain political support for different causes. See J.L. Watts,'Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of 'the Commons', 1381-1549', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. H. Pryce and J.L. Watts (Oxford, 2007), pp.242-60; idem, 'The Pressure of the Public on Later Medieval Politics', in *The Fifteenth Century V*, eds. L. Clark and C. Carpenter (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.159-80; D. Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England's Long Social Revolution, 1066-1649* (Cambridge, 2010). Also see J.L. Watts, 'Introduction: History, the Fifteenth Century and the Renaissance', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. J.L. Watts (Stroud, 1998), pp.1-22; C.C. Dyer, 'The Value of Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem for Economic and Social History', in *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem. A Companion*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2012), pp.97-115; idem, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Changes in England, 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989).

[57] For discussion concerning changes in social terminology and the influence of social mobility on the emergence of the 'middling sort', see A.J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509* (Harlow, 2000), pp.185-90, 201-2.

[58] M. Holford, "Notoriously Unreliable': The Valuations and Extents', in *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: A Companion*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2012), pp.117-44; idem, 'Thrifty Men of the Country? The Jurors and Their Role.' in *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: A Companion*, ed. M.A. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2012), pp.201-22.

[59] For example, see M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007); idem, 'Technology and the Growth of Textile Manufacture in Medieval Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 42 (2009), pp.13-20; idem, *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England: From Bondage to Freedom* (Woodbridge, 2014).

have increasingly interested historians, such as what determined membership of this politically aware and locally important 'middling sort'? What influence did they have over others in their community? What motivated their decision-making and what, if any, role did military service play in the formation of the group's identity?

To this end, David Green's 2015 monograph, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History*, attempts to offer some insight into a number of these gaps in the literature through employing a noteworthy thematic approach which utilised various historiographical trends.[60] Unfortunately, though, the work is of somewhat limited value from a military perspective. His treatment of the common combatant predominately provides a synthesis of well-established generalisations and clichés regarding their social origins and professionalism. Green states that 'common career soldiers won battles such as Agincourt', fighting for 'their country, pay and booty', but provides little in the way of supporting evidence.[61] No endeavour is made to examine patterns of recruitment and service, nor to consider their motivations for said service in any detail; his argument that an emerging nationalism evolved from the conflict inducing men to provide military service, whilst not a completely new proposition, is interesting, but too thinly evidenced to be applied in such a manner.[62]

More problematic, however, is his tendency to rely on fourteenth-century examples - in particular his earlier thorough research on the Black Prince - as evidence to support generalisations concerning events in the fifteenth century under the veil of the term the 'Hundred Years War'. As Ian Mortimer has observed, 'the concept of a single conflict leads to grave misunderstandings of the events of these years and the characters involved'.[63]

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[60] D. Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (London, 2015).

[61] *Ibid*., p.127. Also see Chapter 6.

[62] The development of national identities in medieval Europe is a hotly debated topic among historians and has a long historiography. For selected examples, see A. Curry, 'Foreign Soldiers in English Pay: Identity and Unity in the Armies of the English Crown, 1415-1450', in *Routiers et mercenaires pendant la guerre de Cent Ans. Hommage à Jonathan Sumption*, eds. G. Pépin, F. Boutoulle and F. Lainé (Centre Ausonius, Université de Bordeaux, 2016), pp.303-16; eadem, 'Les Rouennais et la garnison Anglaise de la ville pendant la guerre de Cent Ans (1419-1449)', in *Les Normands et la Guerre: Congés de sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie*, 20, eds. B. Bodinier and F. Neveux (Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie, Louviers, 2015), pp.79-86; D. Green, 'National Identities and the Hundred Years War', in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.115-30; D. Hardy, 'The Hundred Years War and the 'Creation' of National Identity and the Written English Vernacular: A Re-assessment', *Marginalia*, 17 (2013), pp.18-31; E.E. Caldwell, 'The Hundred Years War and National Identity', in *Inscribing the Hundred Years War in French and English Cultures*, ed. D.N. Baker [SUNY Series in Medieval Studies] (New York, 2000), pp.236-66; P. Contamine, 'France et Angleterre de Guillaume le Conquérant à Jeanne d'Arc: La formation de états nationaux', in *Des pouviors en France, 1300-1500* (Paris, 1992), pp.27-36; M. Evans, 'Brigandage and Resistance in Lancastrian Normandy: A Study of the Remission Evidence', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 18 (1992), pp.103-34.

[63] I. Mortimer, 'What Hundred Years War?', *History Today,* 59 (October 2009), pp.27-8.

Nowhere perhaps is this more evident than in the reused perceptions of ordinary combatants. Indeed, Green is far from alone in applying such an approach. For example, in his *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside*,[64] Nicholas Wright sought historical evidence to examine allegations of English 'soldiers' tyrannising French 'peasants' during the 'Hundred Years War', an image originally presented by Michelet in his *Histoire de France*.[65] Whilst Wright's research raises important questions concerning the thin line between acts of 'just' warfare and illegal violence, he presents fourteenth-century examples and evidence, often unhesitatingly, to support sweeping generalisations covering, not only, the entire duration of the wars, but also its aftermath.

It is on the perception of 'soldiers' in the fifteenth century, with a particular emphasis on the concept of their criminality and social exclusion, that the second part of this thesis reflects. This is a topic which has, to date, received little academic attention. It is remarkable, for example, how little scholarly attention has been paid by English historians to the loss of Lancastrian France in terms of the social impact it had on England.[66] A more detailed historiographical discussion of this topic, however, is found in the introductions to chapters III and IV. Nonetheless, while the study of the criminality among combatants in the fifteenth century may have received little historiographical attention, the same cannot be said for studies into the broader contexts of crime and lawlessness in the later middle ages. Recent studies have significantly advanced our understanding of the era, and have witnessed a re-evaluation of the period's previous reputation for chaos, fuelled by violence, economic decline and weak institutional governance, all aptly summed up by the title of Johan Huizinga's 1924 monograph, *The Waning of the Middle Ages.*[67] Prior to the 1930s and 1940s, the fifteenth century was a topic all but disdained by historians, who, if viewing it at all, saw it as a monotonous era and as 'a wasteland between two greater and more constructive epochs'.[68] In 1966, Robin Storey presented a new hypothesis for the origins of the Wars of

[64] N. Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998).
[65] J. Michelet, *Histoire de France* (19 vols., Paris, 1833-67), vols., 4 and 5.
[66] Maurice Keen's excellent essay on the importance of the loss of Normandy is frequently overlooked: 'The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England', in *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, eds. M.K. Jones and M.G.A. Vale (London, 1989), pp.297-311. Additionally, Curry has also provided some analysis of the loss of the duchy: A. Curry, 'The Loss of Lancastrian Normandy: An Administrative Nightmare?', in *The English Experience in France 1450-1558: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, ed. D. Grummitt (Aldershot, 2002), pp.24-45. Allmand has considered the affect that the loss had on Normandy itself: *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450*, Chapter XI.
[67] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924).
[68] For example, see the editor's introduction in Sir John Fortscue, *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called the Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (c.1471), ed. C.

the Roses, arguing that it lay in 'the outcome of an escalation of private feuds' among the aristocracy and gentry during the reign of Henry VI, to the extent that the mechanics of judicial administration were unable to provide satisfactory resolutions.[69] Storey's proposition became the focus of much theoretical and methodological debate. His main contention, however, was somewhat supplemented by the early work of Bellamy, who, in 1973, provided the first synthesis on crime and public disorder in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and, in 1989, explored the abusive use of retainers and adherents to influence juries in the land disputes of nobility and gentry. For Bellamy, 'neither before that time nor since ha[d] the issue of public order bulked so large in English History'. He concluded that it was the failure of a legal system incapable of keeping the peace which resulted in high levels of lawlessness.[70]

More recent studies, however, have largely repudiated this judgment. Scholarly research conducted over the past few decades has typically focused on geographical regions,[71] and stressed the necessity to examine long-term developments rather than examining isolated events.[72] Perhaps the most influential of these studies is Philippa Maddern's examination into violence and social unrest in East Anglia.[73] By contextualising her findings within the broader circumstances of the country as a whole, Maddern argued

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Plummer (London, 1885), pp.1-40; W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England: In Its Origin and Development* (3 vols., Oxford, 1874-1878). For discussion, see A.J. Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp.8-16; R. Horrox, 'Introduction', in *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. R. Horrox (Cambridge, 1994), pp.1-12. For the quote, see J.R. Lander, *Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1969), p.11.

[69] R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (2nd ed., Gloucester, 1966), p.27.

[70] J.G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1973); idem, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (London, 1989). Also see M.A. Hicks, 'Law Makers and Law Breakers', in *Illustrated History of Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Manchester, 1996), pp.206-28.

[71] Despite the success of this approach in advancing our understanding, there have been no recent studies into the renowned criminals and gangs of the period, other than Sir Thomas Malory. See E.L.G. Stones, 'The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, and their Associates in Crime, 1326-1347', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 7 (1957), pp.117-36; J.G. Bellamy, 'The Coterel Gang: An Anatomy of a Band of Fourteenth-Century Criminals', *EHR*, 79 (1964), pp.698-717; R. Virgoe, 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 55 (1972-3), pp.459-82.

[72] For example, Storey examined the well-known violent disputes which took place between the Neville and Percy families and that between the earl of Devon and lord Bonville. For more recent publications on these topics, see A.J. Pollard, 'Percies, Nevilles and the Wars of the Roses', *History Today*, 43 (1993), pp.42-8; M.W. Warner and K. Lacey, 'Neville vs Percy: A Precedence Dispute *circa* 1441', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), pp.211-17; M.A. Hicks, 'Cement or Solvent? Kinship and Politics in Late Medieval England: The Case of the Nevilles', *History*, 83 (1998), pp.31-46; P. Booth, 'Men Behaving Badly? The West March Towards Scotland and the Percy-Neville Feud', in *The Fifteenth Century III: Authority and Subversion* ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.95-116; H. Kleineke, 'Why the West was Wild: Law and Disorder in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall and Devon', in *The Fifteenth Century III*: *Authority and Subversion*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.75-93.

[73] P.C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422-1442* (Oxford, 1992).

that the various surviving sources, in particular those of the King's Bench, provide little evidence that cases of violent crime were any more frequent in the fifteenth century than in the centuries immediately either side. She demonstrated that the courts rarely opted to mete out severe punishments to alleged violent criminals, but rather sat to determine whether its use was legitimate, arguing that violence committed within well-defined social parameters was justifiable. Thus, she argues, it was the rarity of gentry disputes which did occasion violence that made them more conspicuous.

Maddern's conclusions have been supported by various other scholars. For example, Powell has noted that, rather than indicating its actual use, allegations of violence were simply part of the fifteenth-century legal process. He argues that serious violent crimes such as murder were in fact shocking to contemporaries because of their rarity, and that the Chancery Court records actually suggest there was a decrease in crimes such as bribery and corruption in the period.[74] Barbara Hanawalt has also challenged the traditional view, and in particular has looked at the impact the law had on both communities and individuals, and the ways in which it could be abused. She has convincingly argued that the medieval justice system 'placed heavy responsibility on village members and local communities for policing their own people and space', and that as a consequence those who controlled the locality were able to 'force compliance with the law' by manipulating the very values of the society.[75] Such findings also tie well with the conclusions of Marjorie Blatcher and Margaret Hastings in their somewhat earlier respective studies into the processes of the court of King's Bench and that of Common Pleas which, while outlining their sophistication, also demonstrated their general ineffectiveness.[76]

[74] E. Powell, 'Law and Justice', in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. R. Horrox (Cambridge, 1994), pp.29-40. Also see S.J. Payling, 'Murder, Motive and Punishment in Fifteenth-Century England: Two Gentry Case-Studies', *EHR*, 113 (1998), pp.1-17; J. Ross, "Mischievously Slewen': John, Lord Scrope, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and the Murder of Henry Howard in 1446', in *The Fifteenth Century X: Parliament, Personalities and Power. Papers Presented to Linda S. Clark*, ed. H. Kleineke (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.75-95; H. Kleineke, *The Chancery Case between Nicholas Radford and Thomas Tremayne: The Exeter Deposition of 1439* (Exeter, 2013).

[75] B.A. Hanawalt, 'Of Good and Ill Repute: The Limits of Community Tolerance', in B.A. Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York, 1998), pp.2-18; eadem, 'Fur-Collar Crime: The Pattern of Crime Among the Fourteenth-Century English Nobility', *Journal of Social History*, 8 (1975), pp.1-17

[76] M. Blatcher, *The Court of King's Bench 1450-1550: A Study in Self-Help* (London, 1978); M. Hastings, *The Court of Common Pleas in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1948).

PART I

CONCERNING PROFESSIONALISM & RECRUITMENT SYSTEMS

CHAPTER I

THE CONTEMPORARY USE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM 'SOLDIER' IN LATER MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

I: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The Oxford English dictionary defines a 'soldier' as 'one who serves in an army for pay; one who takes part in military service or warfare', and further notes that it is especially relevant to 'one of the ordinary rank and file; a private'.[1] This catch-all interpretation has certainly been widely applied by various modern historians writing on the events of the British Isles throughout the Middle Ages. Yet, while various other military terms - such as knight, esquire, man-at-arms, hobelar, and archer, to name but a few – have been thoroughly analysed,[2] no one has considered the contemporary understanding of the term 'soldier' in any detail.[3] This is perhaps rather surprising given the relative infrequency with which the term was employed by contemporary scribes and chroniclers, especially prior to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. It is not seemingly found, for example, in the surviving army musters of the various expeditionary forces of the Hundred Years War – or earlier.[4] Similarly, it is not used in the context of any defensive force raised through the mechanics of the commission of array – the considerable number of instructions for which vary little stylistically throughout the period.[5] In its place, as the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* comment, 'in every army, the fundamental distinction in military terms was between only two ranks - man-at-arms and archer', although these themselves could include distinct social groups.[6]

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[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'soldier'.

[2] For detailed discussion and analysis, see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*.

[3] The possibility that the term had a contemporaneous meaning has been highlighted in Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* pp.21-2. Similarly, Wright has noted the 'confusing implications' of the term. Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, p.11.

[4] The use of musters dates to at least the early thirteenth-century. See S. Church, 'The Earliest English Muster Roll, 18/19 December 1215', *Historical Research*, 67 (1994), pp.1-17. Also see M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (2nd ed., London, 2003), pp.57-8; idem, *Armies and Warfare*, p.39.

[5] The term is also only used in Letters of Protection with exceptional rarity throughout the period. The authors of the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* found only six protections for the period 1369 to 1453 in which men are described as 'soldiers': Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* p.202.

[6] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* p.8. It should also be noted that the authors have challenged Grummitt's contention that the use of the term archer in the first half of the fifteenth century was employed as a collective noun for various other combatants also receiving 6*d*. a day. They argue that the document Grummitt dated to 1449, actually dates to c.1500: Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* p.146; Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, p.48. By the early Tudor period, there is a third distinction, billman – in considerable numbers.

Such use of military classifications was undoubtedly a consequence of the armies in this period being increasingly waged on a sliding scale, and the requirement for such government expenditure to be auditable.[7] However, even when a particular document relating to expeditionary armies or to those men raised to defend the realm from foreign incursion could conceivably enable the word 'soldier' to be used as a catch-all collective noun, the various clerks appear to have commonly and consciously avoided its use. For instance, the account of John Stapulton for the delivery of provisions to the expeditionary army in Scotland in 1400 described all those not individually named as 'divers persons'.[8] This same phrasing was also used six decades later in a plea of William Aleyn, an esquire from Bury, who sought to recover the additional £30 in wages owed to the 'divers persons' of the town who had fought in his 'felaship' at Towton in 1461 – they having been commanded to remain 'long after the time that they were waged for'.[9] Similarly, on the occasions that contemporary chroniclers who reported on martial activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did employ the term, they too did not seemingly use it to simply denote all who provided military service. Importantly, chronicle accounts were, by their very nature, less restricted linguistically by bureaucratic considerations and procedure.

It is the circumstances in which English clerks and chroniclers *did* choose to employ the word 'soldier', therefore, that requires greater analysis. As David Bachrach has argued in regard to the use of 'standardised terminology' in scribal accounts relating to military matters, such distinctions are important because they enable the

> modern scholar to identify when new military classifications appear in the records, as well as to differentiate among the various classifications used by royal clerks to describe fighting men in the king's service.[10]

Although somewhat complicated by the issue of contemporary precision in the application of definitions, it would stand to reason that the various collective terms utilised by royal

[7] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.9-10. The need to account for wages is also evident even when armies were not raised through indentures. See J.F. Lydon, 'Richard II's Expeditions to Ireland', *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 93 (1963), pp.135-49; D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain: The Irish Campaign of Richard II and the Usurpation of Henry IV, 1397-1399* (Leiden, 2006).

[8] TNA, E101/42/32. Also see, A. Curry, A.R. Bell, A. King and D. Simpkin, 'New Regime, New Army? Henry IV's Scottish Expedition of 1400', *EHR*, 125 (2010), p.1383, n.7.

[9] TNA, C1/45/138. The petition names John Smyth, a town alderman at the time of the battle, as being responsible for the payment of the outstanding wages. This is an important document, for very little has been written on the payment of men during the Wars of the Roses. It would certainly appear that these men were not serving under any feudal obligation through which a lord could claim forty days unpaid military service, perhaps indicating that payment might have been an urban phenomenon.

[10] D. Bachrach, 'Edward I's Centurions: Professional Soldiers in an Era of Militia Armies', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, eds. A.R. Bell and A. Curry (Woodbridge, 2011), p.110.

clerks – as well perhaps as chroniclers - would have been deliberately employed and that their definition would have been largely unambiguous to their intended audience.[11] This argument is strenghtened by both the significant degree of evident continuity among the personnel who served as Chancery and Exchequer clerks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the heavy reliance they placed on procedural precedence.[12]

This chapter explores the contextual development of the term within a framework centered on its use by English royal clerks. In particular, it seeks to demonstrate the changing contemporary understanding of the term through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, highlighting the close association between its use and the increasing development of military professionalism in the period. In order to better identify the contemporary understanding of the term, however, it is necessary to trace its etymology back somewhat further. To begin, therefore, a definitional framework is outlined, briefly exploring the context of the term's use in England in the earlier Middle Ages. This is followed by a more detailed examination of the circumstances in which it was employed and understood by royal clerks at the turn of the fourteenth century. In particular, it highlights the development of permanent royal paid garrisons on the Anglo-Scottish border and the relationship between the term and year-round service over a prolonged duration. Thereafter, the chapter consists of two further sections, each of which explores the English clerical employment and development of the term within a military and socio-political framework.

The first draws attention to the increasing clerical employment of the term in connection to the wider geographical use of permanent Crown paid garrison 'specialists' from the mid-fourteenth century through to the Lancastrian garrison establishment in Normandy and the *pays de conquête* in the first half of the fifteenth century. The second examines the broader effect that the changing nature of English military organisation and

[11] Anthony Pollard has suggested that the chroniclers' use of the term 'host' in the 1460s and 1470s had specific connotations, indicating to the reader that the force in question consisted of ordinary members of the commons for whom the bearing of arms provided a political voice and 'the right to use violence to make good their rights and secure justice': A.J. Pollard, *Warwick the Kingmaker: Politics, Power and Fame During the Wars of the Roses* (London, 2007), pp.157-8. It may also be argued that the use of the term 'meyne' derived directly from the word '*meine'* and was thus denotative of a lord's riding household or personal retinue.

[12] For example, Malcom Richardson identified at least nine Chancery clerks employed at Henry V's death in 1422 whose service had begun prior to 1399: M. Richardson, 'Henry V, the English Chancery, and Chancery English', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), pp.728 n.11, 741-50. For further detailed discussion of this topic, see M. Richardson, *The Medieval Chancery under Henry V* (List and Index Society, Special Series, 30, 1999); idem, 'Early Equity Judges: Keepers of the Rolls of Chancery, 1415-447', *The American Journal of Legal History*, 36 (1992), pp.441-65; B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929), particularly Chapters 4-6; T.F. Tout, *Chapter in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England; the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals* (6 vols., Manchester, 1920), iii, pp.213-14, 217-23.

recruitment had on the term from the resumption of the war with France in 1369, and again from 1415. In so doing, it is argued that the term continued to be closely associated with the increasing growth in military professionalism in this period. The focus, however, remains firmly on the observable changes in the administrative use of the term itself, rather than providing any in-depth analysis of the important topics on which it touches - such as military organisation and recruitment dynamics. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the conclusions offered will complement - and perhaps add a new layer of discussion - to the detailed studies of these subjects which have been undertaken over the past few decades.[13]

While recognising the considerable importance of the surviving English Chancery and Exchequer records for the study of late medieval warfare, they are here analysed alongside a comprehensive and varied array of other documentary evidence in which the term 'soldier' was more commonly employed. This ranges from the parliament rolls, to the proceedings of the privy council and the patent and close rolls, to petitions and pleas and other official and private correspondence, as well as reflecting on the language employed in contemporary chronicles and other literary forms to provide further context. Detailed discussion of fifteenth-century chronicles and letter collections is kept brief, however, for these sources form the nucleus of Chapter III. From an etymological perspective, one key consideration is that many of the sources utilised in this chapter have been the subject of modern translations over the past two centuries. As such, various editors have been faced with the numerous difficulties of transcribing and translating medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman and Old French into modern English.[14] Not the least of these difficulties are interpretation and linguistic transfer, not to mention ensuring that the end product is understandable to a modern audience. Where the word 'soldier' has been employed by a modern editor, therefore, either the original document or a transcription of the original text has been analysed to ensure that the contemporary terminology is considered within the framework of this study.[15]

II: Definitional Framework

The earliest known use of the word 'soldier' in an English vernacular text is found on a single occasion in the Northumbrian poem the *Cursor Mundi*.[16] Written around the turn of the

[13] For an outline of these discussions, see above, pp.18-25.

[14] For example, see J.M. Ziolkowski, 'Medieval Latin in Modern English: Translations from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. R. Hexter and D. Townsend (Oxford, 2012), pp.593-614.

[15] It should be noted that the original rolls held by the National Archives have been checked for all records drawn from the Close and Patent Rolls in this chapter. For ease of reference, however, citations are provided to the modern calendars.

[16] See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'soldier'.

fourteenth century, in it the author informs his readers that William the Conqueror had 'gadird sauders her and þar, To strenth his castels euer ai quar'.[17] This section of the poem reiterates the specious English legend that the Feast of the Conception was first established and celebrated during the reign of the Conqueror. As Ernest Mardon has noted, it is likely that the immediate source upon which the *Cursor Mundi* drew for this account was the French vernacular *Conception Nostre Dame*, written by the Norman cleric Wace between 1130 and 1140.[18] Wace wrote that William had secured various castles and strongholds in England through 'Mander a fait bons chevaliers, De plusors terres soldeiers'.[19] Modern editors of Wace have translated this as '[he] summoned good knights, and mercenaries from many lands',[20] for it has been convincingly argued that the word 'soldeier' had been the French vernacular equivalent of the Latin term *stipendiarius* – and by connection *solidarius* - since at least the early thirteenth century.[21]

Both *stipendiarius* and *solidarius* appear to have been understood by twelfth- and thirteenth-century contemporaries to imply 'mercenaries', many of whom were foreign. As Stephen Morillo has pointed out, however, for contemporaries the term 'mercenary' bore 'none of the negative connotations it has gained from later centuries'.[22] Instead, it described those men who were hired to fight, be they English, Norman or from further afield, and it has been well established that such men were frequently employed in the context of the king's household troops.[23] There is little in the records of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries to suggest that contemporaries were ill at ease with the reality of men taking a wage in return

[17] The complete poem and fragments survive in ten manuscripts. Analysis here is based on BL, Cotton MS. Vespasian A. III, fol.138r. Four manuscripts – including Vespasian A. III - were edited by Richard Morris for The Early English Text Society: *Cursor Mundi (The Cursor o the World): A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions*, ed. Rev. R. Morris (2 vols., London, 1874-93). There are a number of lexical differences between the various texts, however, the use of the word 'soldier' is not one of them. For example, the version found in Bodl. Fairfax Ms. 14, fol.106r, reads 'he geddered soudours here and þare'.

[18] E. Mardon, *The Narrative Unity of the Cursor Mundi* (Edmonton, 2012), p.149. Wace, *The Hagiographical Works: The Conception Nostre Dame and the Lives of St Margaret and St Nicholas*, eds. J. Blacker, G.S. Burgess and A.V. Ogden (Leiden, 2013), pp.11-146. For broader discussion, see F.H.M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.1-80.

[19] Wace, *The Hagiographical Works*, p.58.

[20] *Ibid*., p.59.

[21] J.C. Holt, 'A Vernacular French Text of Magna Carta', *EHR*, 89 (1974), pp.346-64, reprinted in *Magna Carta and Medieval Government* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp.239-58.

[22] S. Morillo, *Warfare Under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1994), p.11. Defining the medieval mercenary continues to be a hotly debated subject among academics, the wider considerations of which are beyond the scope of this chapter. For discussion, see Morillo, *Warfare Under the Anglo-Norman Kings,* pp.47-57; M. Bennett, 'Why Chivalry? Military 'Professionalism' in the Twelfth Century: The Origins and Expressions of a Socio-Military Ethos', in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. D.J.B. Trim (Leiden, 2003), pp.41-66.

[23] For example, M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the "*Familia Regis*" under Henry I', *History*, 62 (1977), pp.15-23.

for military service.[24] For example, influenced by the *De re Militari* of the Roman author Vegetius, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159) highlights qualities such as hard work, loyalty and piety that were associated with those who had been *selected* by a just authority to receive a stipend in return for service as 'milites' for the common good, and that a profession-in-arms should only be followed in this manner.[25] It was the oft-untrustworthy character of such 'hired men' that drew criticism from chroniclers, not that they were being paid.[26]

The end of the civil war in 1217, however, led to a lessening in the use made by English kings of hired foreign combatants,[27] and there is a noticeable reduction in the frequency with which the Latin terms are employed by contemporary scribes and chroniclers thereafter. From the late 1290s, though, they are frequently used - in particular *soldariis* – in English administrative military records relating to the Anglo-Scottish border.[28] Some historians have continued to view this use of 'soldarii' to be implicit of foreign 'mercenaries'.[29] For example, Thomas Tout argued as much based on the evidence that a

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[24] For example, see S.D.B. Brown, 'The Mercenary and his Master: Military Service and Monetary Reward in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *History*, 74 (1989), pp.20-38, also printed in *Medieval Warfare 1000-1300*, ed. J. France (London, 2016), pp.33-52; S.D. Church, 'The 1210 Campaign in Ireland: Evidence for a Military Revolution?', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1997*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1998), pp.45-58.

[25] *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici Sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, ed. C.C.J. Webb (2 vols., Oxford, 1909), ii, pp.8-23.

[26] For example, see *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis,* ed. B. Thorpe (2 vols., London, 1884-1889), i, p.204; ii, p.18; W. Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1887-89), i, p.243; ii, pp.379, 478; *Gesta Stephani, Regis Anglorum, et Ducis Normannorum,* ed. R.C. Sewell (London, 1846), pp.106-7. Orderic Vitalis praised the '*stipendiarii*' hired by Robert of Bellême at Bridgenorth Castle in 1102, because they preserved 'their faith to their master' and had been deceived by other men of the garrison: O. Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History,* ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80), vi, pp.28-9. For discussion, see M. Bennett, 'The Impact of 'Foreign' Troops in the Civil Wars of King Stephen's Reign', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. D. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp.96-113.

[27] For discussion, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp.153-4. A clause in the 1215 version of the Magna Carta outlined that all '*alienigenas milites, balistarios, servientes* [and] *stipendarios*' were to be expelled following the restoration of peace: Printed in C. Bémont, *Chartes des libertés Anglaises (1100-1305)* (Paris, 1892), p.35.

[28] The predominance of *soldarii* over *stipendarii* is perhaps reflective of the increasing influence of Anglo-Norman and French in English administrative sources.

[29] The modern editor of the close rolls repeatedly inserted the term 'hired' in front of the word 'soldier', perhaps indicating that he viewed such men as mercenaries. In fact, the term 'hired' does not appear in this manner in the original documents. There is some evidence to suggest that *stipendiarius* continued, on occasion, to be applied in connection to the Crown's infrequent recruitment of men drawn from ducal lands and alliances. In 1305, for instance, ninety-five Londoners petitioned Edward I in respect of a debt of £150 for the provisioning of '*Gascons souders*' who had been hired to fight in the king's Scottish campaigns: TNA, SC8/9/429. While the Londoner's petition was written in Anglo-Norman, the Latin response of the Crown clerks referred to the Gascons as '*homines stipendiarios*': *CCR*, *1302-1307*, p.302. Further references to these men are found in SC8/278/13864 and SC8/280/13981. Similarly, disloyalty of hired Gascons was the subject of a letter written to Hugh le Despenser junior at some point prior to 1325, with the author suggesting that better quality '*soudeiers*' could be found in Almain: TNA, SC1/48/128.

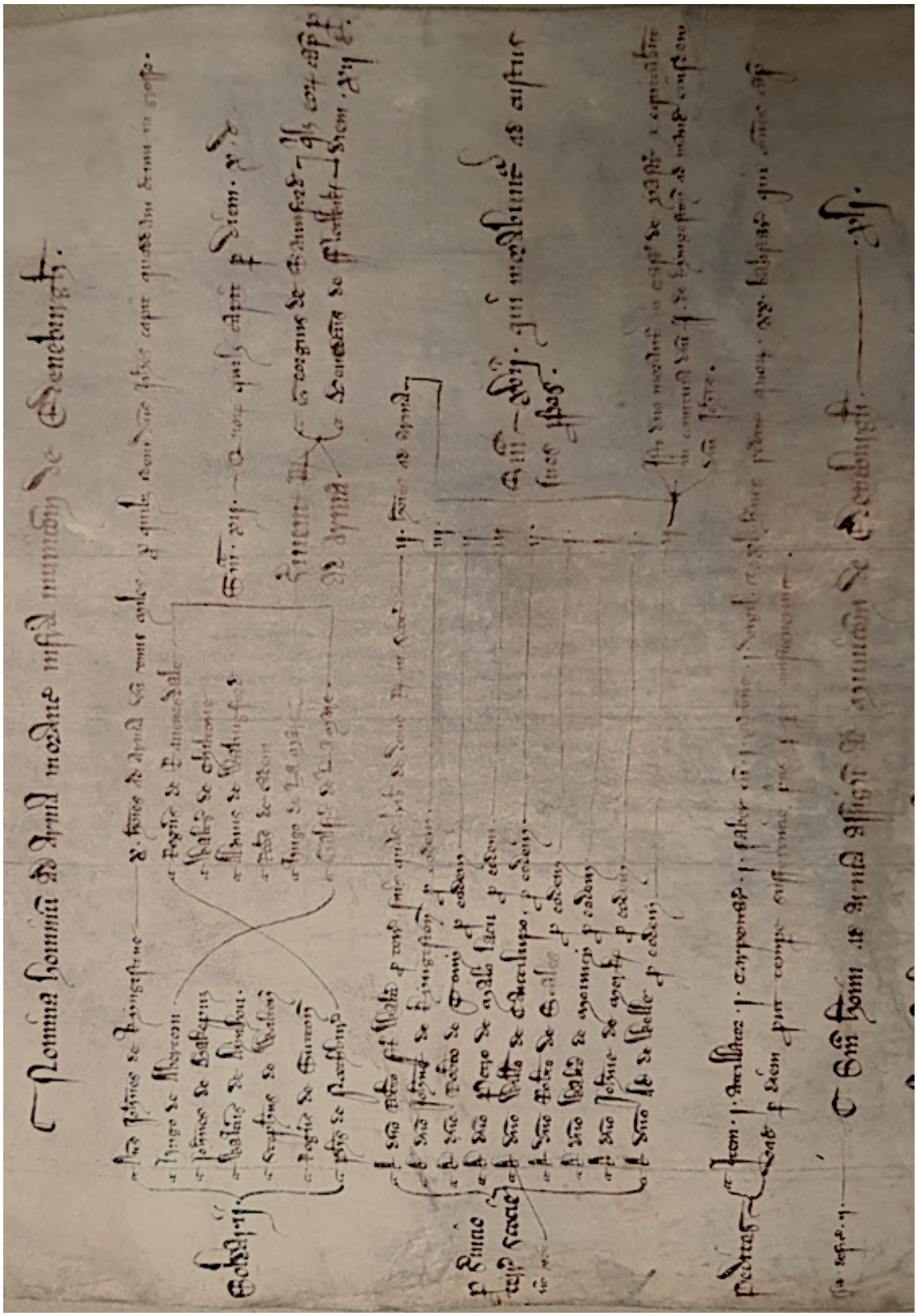
handful of the numerous debentures issued by the Wardrobe of Edward I to individuals described as such in the latter 1290s were pawned to foreign bankers.[30] However, the nominal extant evidence would suggest that the vast majority of men described as 'soldarii' in this period were English or those Scotsmen who had sworn fealty to Edward.[31] Furthermore, the clerical use of the term corresponds with the increasing use of military contracts between the English Crown and the various constables of royal northern castles in this period.[32] It is argued below, therefore, that the term was being used by royal clerks at the turn of the fourteenth century to denote a distinct phenomenon within the English military 'community'.

III: THE *SOLDARII* OF THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDER IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

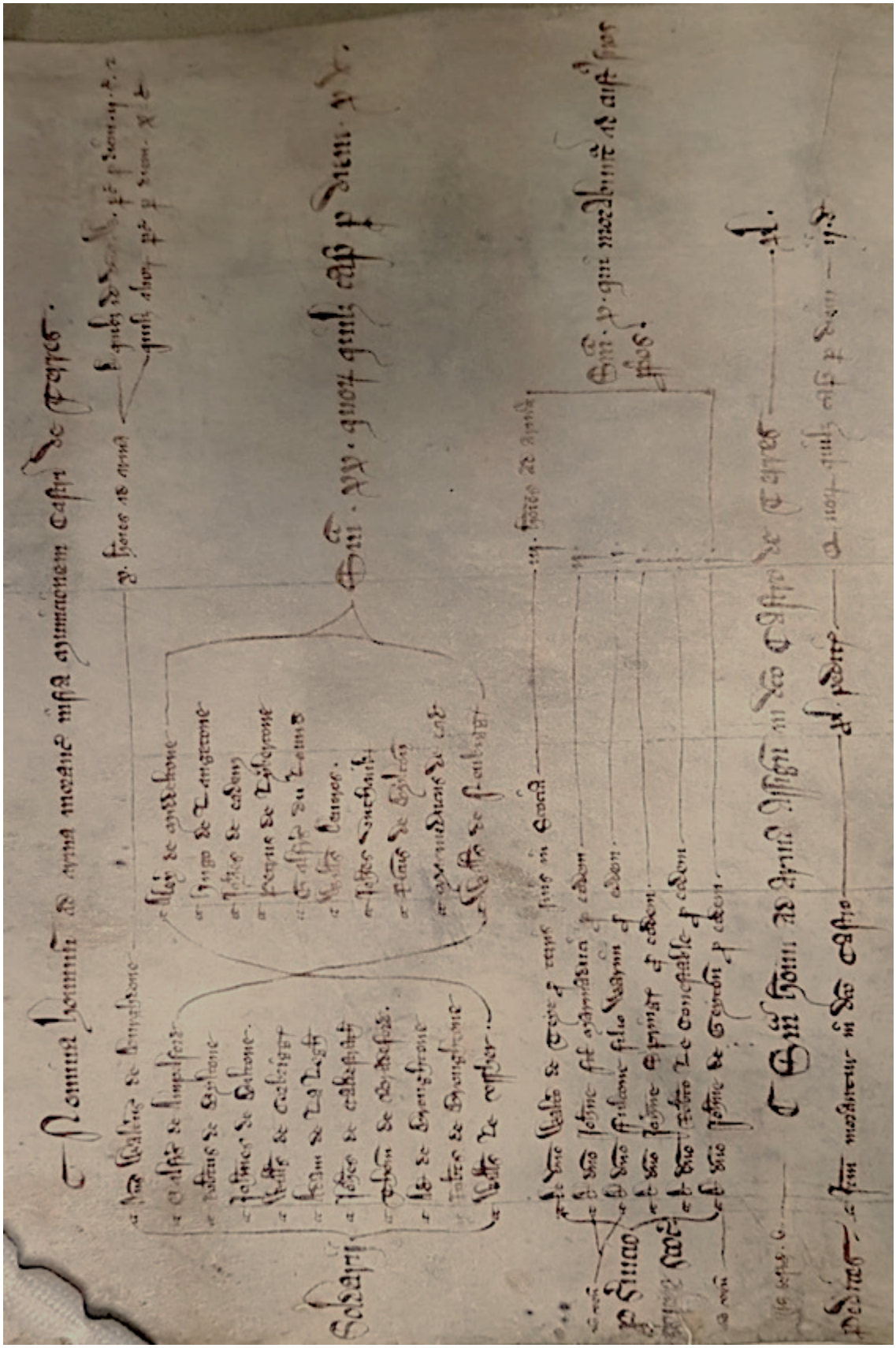
A functional distinction between 'soldarii' and other types of combatants in the opening decades of the fourteenth century can be observed in the surviving garrison lists and account books detailing the composition and wages of the English garrisons in Scotland and its march. For the most part, these documents are standard in both form and content: written in Latin, they provide the number of men-at-arms ('homines ad arma') who were serving in each of the garrisons. However, among a handful of the garrisons the names of the men-at-arms are seemingly divided into distinct categories. Take for example the roll compiled of those serving in the garrisons of south-eastern Scotland around September 1302.[33] At the garrison of Edinburgh (Image 1.1), the constable, Sir John Kingston, is recorded as having had an unnamed knight and nine other unnamed men-at-arms in his personal retinue.[34] A further two named individuals are recorded as sergeants-at-arms, and seventeen nameless men-at-arms are recorded as providing castle-guard on the behalf of lords who held lands in Scotland – a short-lived military experiment.[35] Additionally, however, there are a further twelve named men who provide the focal point of the roll who are listed under the subheading 'soldarii'. Moreover, the clerk appears to have deliberately separated the unnamed 'homines ad arma' who constituted Kingston's personal retinue from the 'soldarii' both linguistically

[30] Tout, *Chapter in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, ii, pp.125-6.
[31] For example, see images 1.1-1.3.
[32] M. Prestwich, 'The Garrisoning of English Medieval Castles', in *The Normans and Their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R.P. Abels and B.S. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.196-7.
[33] TNA, E101/10/5, m.1.
[34] David Cornell has identified the unnamed knight as being Ebles de Mountz: 'English Castle Garrisons in the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Fourteenth Century' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2005). p.145.
[35] See Prestwich, 'The Garrisoning of English Medieval Castles', pp.190-5.

and - using a line - physically. This same configuration is also found in the same document concerning Sir Walter Burghdon, constable of Carstairs (Image 1.2).



Img. 1.1: Garrison of Edinburgh, c.September 1302.
Source: TNA, E101/10/5, m.1.



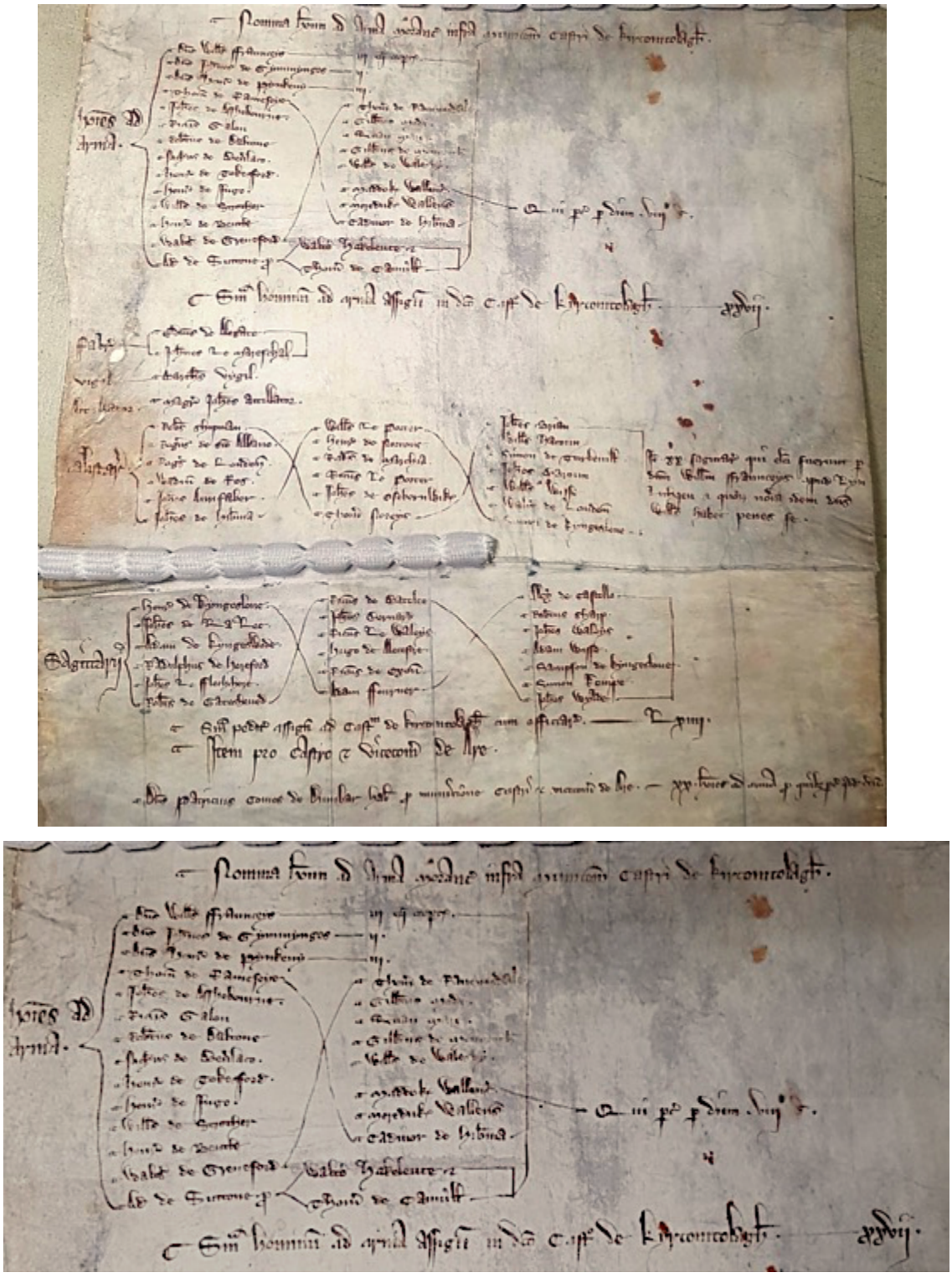
Img. 1.2: Garrison of Carstairs, c.September 1302.
Source: TNA, E101/10/5 m.1.

The reason for this was certainly, in part, financial. Each constable received a predetermined sum from which they were to pay the wages of their personal retinues.[36] Kingston's indenture of February 1302, for example, clearly states that he was to keep thirty men-at-arms in the garrison for a period of four months, for which he would receive £40 to pay the twelve men-at-arms of his personal retinue.[37] The remaining eighteen nameless men-at-arms in this instance were expected to serve at their own expense.[38] The indenture also outlines that he was expected to recruit a 'bowyer, carpenter, smith and watchman, twenty crossbowmen and twenty archers' who would all serve at the king's pay. While it is apparent that they too served at the king's wages,[39] the indenture makes no reference to the 'soldarii'. Yet, in his detailed investigation into the northern garrisons, David Cornell noted that it was the 'soldarii' at Edinburgh and Carstairs who provided a 'continuity of service'. He observed that the twelve 'soldarii' recorded at Edinburgh in September 1302 had been in the garrison since the autumn of 1301, and that they all remained there through to at least the summer of 1303, with some continuing to at least August 1404.[40]

These men were evidently an integral part of the garrison establishment, but who were they and why were they categorised in this manner? Based partially on their commensurate rate of pay, Cornell argued that the term was simply employed by the clerk as an alternative to 'homines ad arma', with the two being interchangeable.[41] Certainly, the fiscal evidence would appear to support that all 'soldarii' in this early period were of this military status. More specifically, though, while Cornell did not analyse the different use of terminology in any detail, he demonstrated that some of those recorded as a 'soldarii' in one garrison were later recorded under the heading 'homines ad arma' at another. For example, Thomas de Ramesey,[42] recorded as a 'soldarii' in Edinburgh in November 1300, was recorded as one of twenty named 'homines ad arma' serving in the newly formed garrison of

[36] Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons', pp.45-7.
[37] *CDS*, ii, p.326. This number includes the knight Ebles de Mountz and one other, who appears to have either been absent or to have left the garrison between this indenture and the September muster.
[38] See above, pp.36-7. Kingston himself was one of the lords required to provide men in return for his land, supplying three in 1302.
[39] The roll of September 1302, for instance, records that they were paid a daily wage of 10*d*. Perhaps somewhat more specifically, in 1318, Antony de Lacy, constable of Carlisle Castle and town, was ordered to admit Walter de Bosco along with five other men described as '*soldarii*', six hobelars and one crossbowman, all 'to stay in the garrison at the king's wages'. TNA, C54/136 m.31, calendared in *CCR*, *1313-1318*, pp.2-3.
[40] Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons', p.145-7.
[41] *Ibid.,* p.144.
[42] Ramesey appears to have been of Scottish origin. He had possibly initially sworn fealty to Edward in 1298: TNA, C47/23/3, m.28.

Kirkintilloch in November 1301.[43] This same composition was also employed by the clerk responsible for the aforementioned roll of Septmber 1302 (Img 1.3).[44]



Img. 1.3: Garrison of Kirkintilloch, c.September 1302.
Source: TNA, E101/10/5, m.1.

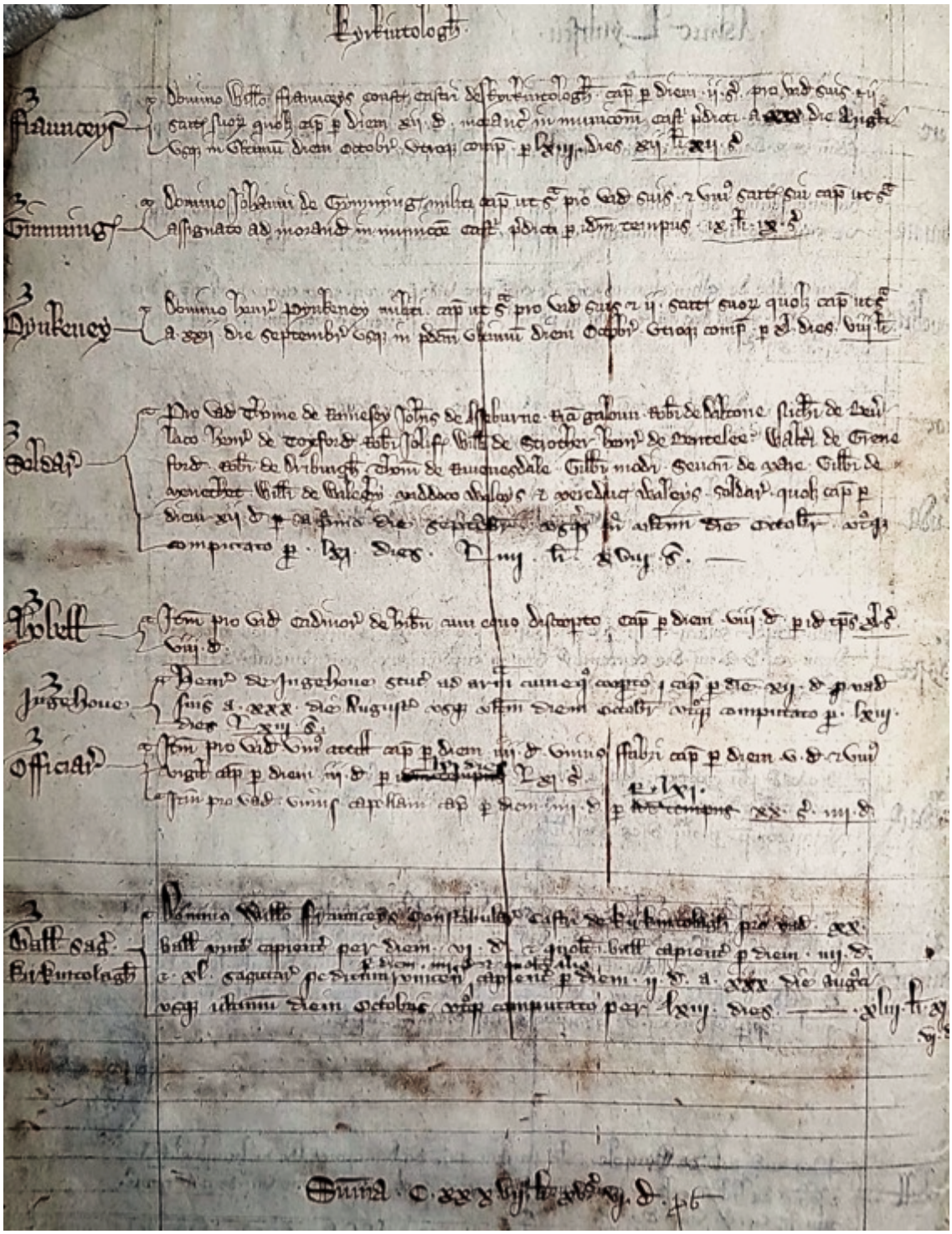
[43] TNA, E101/9/16, m.1, also cited in Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons', p.158.
[44] Ramesey is the fourth named individual.

Cornell's interpretation does not, however, account for a number of wider considerations. For example, why is it only the twelve men at Edinburgh who are referred to in such a manner in the strength roll of September 1302? If the term was but a substitute, then would the clerk not have used the same terminology for those men-at-arms serving directly under Kingston, as well as those serving on the behalf of their respective lords? Moreover, the concurrent account books of John de Weston, for the wages of those serving in the Scottish garrisons between November 1301 and November 1404,[45] consistently separated named men described as 'soldarii' from groups of other men-at-arms -both named and unnamed - serving in the garrisons of Berwick, Carstairs, Edinburgh, Jeddeworthe, Linlithgow, Roxburgh, and Kirkintilloch. In these documents, Ramesey and seventeen other named 'soldarii' are recorded separately from both Sir William de Fraunceys, keeper of the garrison, and Sir Henry Pinkerney and John de Gymmyngs,[46] as well as from the hobelars, the sergeant-at-arms, archers, crossbowmen and other officials in receipt of wages there (img. 1.4).[47] That this same mix of terminology – that 'soldarii' are invariably recorded alongside other men described as men-at-arms - is consistently observable among various types of sources concerning the Scottish and northern garrisons would surely imply that the different clerks' employment of the two terms was deliberate, and that they had been selected to highlight a necessary distinction.[48]

Having traced the earliest official use of the term by English clerks to Edward I's Flanders campaign of 1297, David Bachrach argued that it

> was used to designate men who volunteered to serve as heavy cavalry… but who were not obliged to do so either because their income level was too low, or because the gentry from their shire had not been mobilised for service in a particular campaign.[49]

[45] TNA, E101/10/6; E101/11/11; E101/12/18.
[46] Gymmyngs was appointed joint keeper of Carphilly castle in May 1421 and was also implicated in the earl of Kent's 1330 plot to free Edward of Caernarfon, formerly Edward II, from captivity in Corfe castle. He was subsequently pardoned. See K. Warner, 'The Adherents of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, in March 1330', *EHR*, 126 (2011), pp.779-805.
[47] Henry de Benteley, who is recorded in the garrison in all Weston's account books, as well as in the 1302 roll, was also described as a 'soldier' in a grant of 4 marks for the loss of his horse in 1304: *CDS*, iii, p.399.
[48] For example, TNA, E101/17/29; E101/10/6; E101/11/1; E101/12/18; E101/619/45 m.1; BL., Add. MS 35093, fol.9v. Similarly, see *CPR*, *1307-1313*, p.454, 463-4) Additionally, a number of individuals are specifically identified as '*soldarii*' in the allowances for horses made to those serving in the royal garrisons of the Anglo-Scottish border in 1311/12: *CDS,* iii, pp.413-32.
[49] Bachrach, 'Edward I's Centurions', p.113.



Img. 1.4: Wages of those serving in the garrison of Kirkintilloch in John de Weston's account book for November 1301 to November 1302.
Source: TNA, E101/10/6, fol.7v

Like Cornell, however, Bachrach also observed the continuous pattern of service provided by the 'soldarii' in the garrisons of the Anglo-Scottish border, and further reflected that such men were clearly of firm military capability. He noted that a particular function of the 'soldarii' once outside the walls was to lead men raised through the shire levies as

'centenariis' on short-term raids into enemy territory.[50] Detachments from the garrisons also served in major campaigns. The pay roll for the army which overran Scotland in 1303-04 includes 'soldarii' drawn from Berwick, Edinburgh, and Kirkintilloch. Importantly, Ramesey and six other men described as 'soldarii' were again recorded separately from the force of six unnamed hobelars, one crossbowman and sixteen archers under Sir William Fraunceys.[51]

Building on all of the analysis above, an alternative interpretation may therefore be offered. It is proposed that what defined the 'soldarii' of the early-fourteenth century was their pursuit of, and ability to provide, a continuous - rather than recurrent – 'profession-in-arms' specifically at the king's wages over a prolonged duration of years. This was only made possible by the newfound need for many of the garrisons on the Anglo-Scottish border to be permanently financed at the Crown's expense, which enabled some so-inclined men to provide a constant military function outside of campaigning.[52] As Andy King has observed, the persistent nature of low-level warfare with Scotland at this time meant that the traditional system of garrisoning both royal and baronial castles through the obligation of castle-guard was no longer adequate for defending the marches against sudden incursions. Consequently, the Crown became increasingly involved in retaining and paying men to remain in service in the region.[53] Such men would neither have served solely as a consequence of military obligation, nor were they necessarily affiliated with any of the constables of the various castles. As such, the 'soldarii' of the northern garrisons provided the Crown with a quasi-permanent standing force which could be organised and disseminated in the manner it saw fit, but whose military status meant that they could also act as officers of both levied forces and detachments drawn from the garrisons in both raids and field armies when circumstance required.[54]

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[50] *Ibid*., pp.112-16. Also see, Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons', pp.258-9.

[51] TNA, E101/11/15, m.2. Notably, only a handful of men are described as 'soldarii' in just two retinues in the pay records for the army recruited in 1322. BL, Stowe Ms. 553, fols.82v, 83r. The first company consisted of four armed men who were sent by Watkin de Assherugg under the command of Andrew de Nettelee, a '*soldarii ad arma*'. The second company was led by two *soldarii*, John Hert and Richard Skynner. They were accompanied by five *socii* (companions/associates), who were also described as being '*soldarios*', and by a further twenty hobelars. Ralph Kaner viewed these men as probable 'mercenaries': R.A. Kaner, 'The Management of the Mobilization of English Armies: Edward I to Edward III' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 1999), p.78.

[52] Despite the emphasis he placed on castles, there is seemingly no administrative evidence to suggest that the *soldarii* as had been a feature of Edward I's Welsh campaigns of the 1270s and 1280s.

[53] For discussion, see A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-c.1408' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 2001), pp.76-98, in particular 81-6.

[54] For example, see A. King, "Pur salvation du roiaume': Military Service and Obligation in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp.17-18.

This interpretation would certainly be in keeping with Cornell's observation that continuity in service was to 'garrison service itself rather than to a specific castle'.[55] Moreover, it would suggest that it was the clerical need to account for these men that occasioned the employment of the term 'soldarii' as a means to distinguish between them and other men-at-arms who came and went more frequently. The non-employment of the term in the context of the garrison of Kirkintilloch in the strength rolls was thus a consequence of there being no personal retinue or men serving on behalf of lords who held land in Scotland – as there was in both Edinburgh and Carstairs. Similarly, this might also explain why the term is not seemingly employed in the numerous contemporary chronicles and various other literary media such as political poems and songs which regularly provided commentary on military events in the first half of the fourteenth century.[56] There was no similar need for such authors to identify combatants beyond their social rank.

IV: GARRISON 'SPECIALISTS'

Outside the Anglo-Scottish border, the term does not appear to have been employed by royal clerks in any context until the capture of Calais in 1347, after which a network of permanently maintained garrisons in the town and its surrounding march was established.[57] It should not be overlooked that Calais effectively became a border town, and its importance is demonstrated by the English Exchequer being directly responsible for the wages of the men serving in the garrisons. This was a marked change from the reliance that the English had placed on locally raised taxes - known as 'raençons' and 'appâtis' - to maintain other overseas garrisons at this time.[58] Even the men serving in English Gascony were only very rarely maintained at the cost of the English Exchequer, and never in great numbers.[59] The term 'soldier' is not found in the Gascon Rolls until 16 March 1387, when it was used in relation to the Englishmen serving in the castle of Fronsac.[60] In contrast, the employment of the term in relation to Calais was immediate. A charter issued by Edward III in 1347 included that the

[55] Cornell, 'English Castle Garrisons', p.151.
[56] For example, see *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1882-83); *The Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1839), pp.128-268. The Latin poem on the battle of Bannockburn is particularly noteworthy for its use of collective vocabulary: pp.262-8.
[57] For discussion, see S. Rose, *Calais: An English Town in France, c.1347-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.23-38.
[58] See M. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp.251-3.
[59] See A. King, 'Labour in Knyghthood': English Soldiers in Gascony (1369-1450)', in *Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. G. Pépin (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.153-70.
[60] TNA, C61/99, m.6 [Both this and all other references to original C61 records in this thesis have been accessed through the Gascon Rolls project: www.gasconrolls.org/en].

captain and marshal were to act as judges in disputes between the 'soudoiers' of the garrison.[61] Similarly, the treasurer of Calais, William de Shrewsbury, was instructed to oversee the payment of 'soldariis' and other skilled workers residing in the town and in the garrisons of Oye and Marck in February 1348.[62]

The term is not evidently employed in any literary or administrative context relating to the army that Edward III had led to France in 1346.[63] Instead, the evidence of the French rolls would indicate the term continued to distinguish particular combatants in the garrisons. For instance, William de Shrewsbury's acquittance for 14,000 crowns received in June 1348 states that it was intended for the wages of 'gentz d'armes, archers et autre soudeours'.[64] It is argued, therefore, that the clerical use of the term in relation to Calais was again implicit of a group whose vocation was to provide the residual military core of the garrison over a prolonged duration. One important development - although there is no definitive evidence until somewhat later - is that we can perhaps presume, given the recent development of mixed retinues and the financial implications of maintaining permanent paid garrisons on such a significant scale, that service as a 'soldier' was no longer solely the domain of men-at-arms.[65] The highly fragmented nature of the surviving nominal records means that it is impossible to establish either the size and composition of this resident group, or to analyse the general service patterns for the rank-and-file who served beneath the various captains of the town.[66] However, further terminological evidence supports the notion. The indentures between Edward III and the various captains he appointed to the garrison, for example,

[61] *Foedera,* III, i, p.139. For related matter, also see, *CCR*, *1346-1349,* p.462. A further petition in which it 'is requested that no one who is an inhabitant of the town or at the king's wages will have *soudeours* billeted on them', may also date to soon after 1347: TNA, SC8/229/11401.
[62] *Foedera,* III, i, p.150.
[63] For example, it is not found in the contemporary newsletters that Bartholomew de Burghersh sent whilst present on the campaign to Archbishop Stratford: *Chronica A. Murimuth et R. de Avesbury*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1889), pp.200-3. Similarly, at no point do either Froissart, Henry Knighton, or the author of the *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, employ the term in relation to those who served in the Crecy/Calais campaign: Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.864, fols.128v-156r [accessed through *The Online Froissart* project: https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp]; H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. and trans. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp.54-89; *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, eds. and trans. C. Scott-Stokes and C. Given Wilson (Oxford, 2008), pp.1-15. None of the pardons for service on the campaign enrolled in the Patent, Norman, or Calais Rolls describe their recipients as 'soldiers': *CPR*, *1345-1348*, pp.476-516. For the Norman and Calais Rolls, see G. Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais, from the Original Records in the Public Record Office* (London, 1898), pp.219-79. For discussion of these sources and their limitations, see Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp.163-4.
[64] TNA, E30/1432/2. Also see E30/1432/1.
[65] See above, pp.17-18.
[66] See Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.11-12.

separate the captain's personal retinue from an unspecified number of 'soldiours' the king promised to maintain as he had under previous captains.[67]

This same connection between the clerical use of the term and those who served as residual 'specialists' is also evident in the small number of permanent Crown paid garrisons the English established along the Atlantic coast of France in the late 1370s, particularly Brest and Cherbourg.[68] It is among those serving in these permanent overseas garrisons – as well as Berwick – that we first find examples of men collectively identifying as 'soldiers'.[69] Such instances are often implicit of continuous service over a number of years. For example, around 1387, 'les poures lieges et soudeours' of Cherbourg petitioned the king regarding their wage arrears from the time that William de Windsor had been captain.[70] Windsor had been appointed captain in 1379 and had died in 1384.[71] Various other petitions outline the dangers that wage arrears could have, not least of which was that 'soldiers' might leave.[72] This should be viewed as hyperbolic, however, designed to try and prompt payment. The seizure of the wool belonging to the merchants of the Staple of Calais by 'alle youre poure soudiours' of the garrison whose wage arrears amounted to roughly £30,000 in 1406 would

[67] For example, *Foedera,* III, i, pp.222, 324; III, ii, pp.881. These indentures can be contrasted to that issued to Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, for his 1345 expedition to Aquitaine. This continued to refer only to 'hommes d'armes et archers' even at points where a collective noun could feasibly have been applied: TNA, E159/123, m.254d., also transcribed and translated in Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-1346*, pp.251-6.

[68] For discussion, see J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, *III: Divided Houses* (London, 2009), pp.304-30. Englishmen had been serving in the garrison at Brest for a number of years before the Exchequer took over responsibility for the payment of wages from John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, in early 1378: *Foedera*, III, ii, pp.76-7. Consequently, any earlier service fell outside the purview of royal clerks. There is a run of extant muster records for the years 1375-7 held in the *Archives départementales de la Loire Atlantique*, but it has not yet been possible to consult and/or compare these with the only other extant muster, taken in May 1378. For 1375-7, see ADLA, E 214, cited in Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.12, n.57. For 1378, see TNA, E101/37/2, m.1. A significant number of Letters of Protection also survive indicating the intention of some men to provide service there between 1377 and 1381, which may also provide further insight into service patterns and any continuity of service.

[69] It is also from the mid-1370s that individuals first appear to have specifically identified themselves as a 'soldier' in private petitions. The earliest seemingly dates to the latter years of Edward III's reign and concerns one Thomas de Aldestre, who claims to have spent much of his life fighting in the king's wars. It is not clear, however, what his service was: TNA, SC8/31/1526. For discussion, see Appendix A. In 1387, Ursus Soucryng described himself as a '*soudeour*' of Calais in a legal complaint against John North and Peter atte Hegge: TNA, C66/323 m.19d., printed in *CPR*, *1385-1389*, p.322. It is probable that the petition of John Belle, a '*soudeour*' of Calais also dates from the end of the fourteenth century: TNA, C1/69/25.

[70] TNA, SC8/213/10629. For related petitions and writs, see SC8/213/10628; SC8/213/10630; SC8/213/10631.

[71] For his appointment, see TNA, C76/64, m.19, cited in Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.162. For his death, see *CPR*, *1381-1385*, pp.562, 567.

[72] For example, see John of Lancaster's statements concerning the wage arrears of the Berwick garrison in 1404, 1407, and 1414: *PROME*, viii, p.302; *RHL*, ii, pp.219-24, 225-7, 228-31; *POPC*, ii, pp.136-9.

suggest that most were determined to remain in service in the town rather than seek alternative opportunities.[73] Similarly, the licence granted to the 'soldiers' serving in Brest to build houses in the town in 1382 might also indicate an intention to 'settle' over a prolonged period.[74] If military service as a garrison 'specialist' was their year-round vocation, then there would have been limited opportunities for them to find better conditions elsewhere - especially during the truce of the 1390s.[75]

While payments recorded in the issue rolls for these permanent overseas garrisons – as well as Berwick – in the 1370s and 1380s describe them as being for the wages of 'soldiers', it is intriguing that the concurrent payments found in the pipe rolls to the numerous men that the Crown placed in strategically important royal castles and garrisons on the southern coast of England and in Wales refer to 'homines ad arma' and 'sagittarii'.[76] The principal difference appears to have been that these were not permanent garrisons, but rather served for varying lengths of time in response to specific/perceived French threats - ranging from a few weeks to a period of two years at Portchester.[77] Such temporary employment at the king's expense was not a new development,[78] and there is little evidence

[73] In 1404, and again in 1407, the 'poure soudiours' of the garrison petitioned the king under the seal of Sir Richard Ashton, lieutenant of the garrison: *RHL*, i, pp.284-293; ii, pp.145-7. Similarly, the earl of Somerset, as captain, had himself petitioned the king in parliament, stating that he had raised the issue 'several times before now': *PROME*, viii, pp.225-6. The actions of these 'soldiers' was also recorded by the ecclesiastical author of the *Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis Chronicon*, a chronicle covering the Creation down to 1413, and provides the only occasion on which he employed the term 'soldier'. Of course, this might simply indicate that the author knew of the petition: *Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis Chronicon*, ed. F.S. Haydon (3 vols., London, 1863), iii, p.411. For further discussion, see D. Grummitt, 'The Financial Administration of Calais during the Reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413', *EHR*, 113 (1998), pp.277-99; idem, *Calais Garrison*, pp.97-8.

[74] *Foedera,* III, iii, p.143. That both Brest and Cherbourg were leased by the English from the duke of Brittany and king of Navarre respectively, however, complicates any clear notion of how long they would be intended to be garrisoned. Indeed, both garrisons were discharged in 1396.

[75] Following the discharging of the Brest and Cherbourg garrisons in 1396, an anonymous French contemporary describes how the '*souldoyers*' who had recently been expelled from the garrison of Brest attended a feast at Westminster, with the duke of Gloucester admonishing King Richard over his poor treatment of them. According to the chronicler, Richard ordered that they be given lodging in four villages near London until they were fully paid their arrears: *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort Richart Deux*, ed. B. Williams (London, 1847), pp.1-2.

[76] These Crown waged men supplemented further numbers raised through the array system - which placed the financial burden on the local community from which they were drawn. For detailed discussion, see M.J. Roeder, 'The Role of the Royal Castles in Southern England, 1377-1509' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1985), especially Chapter I; D. Spencer, 'Royal Castles and Coastal Defence in the Late Fourteenth Century', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 61 (2017), pp.151-6. Also see, J.R. Alban, 'English Coastal Defence: some Fourteenth-Century Modifications within the System', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester 1981), pp.57-78.

[77] See Spencer, 'Royal Castles and Coastal Defence', appendices 2-4.

[78] See Prestwich, 'The Garrisoning of English Medieval Castles', pp.188-9; R. Moffett, 'Defense [sic] Schemes of Southampton in the Late Medieval Period, 1300-1500', in *Journal of Medieval Military History XI*, eds. C.J. Rogers, K. DeVries, and J. France (Woodbridge, 2013), p.236.

to suggest that the men so recruited were ever collectively referred to as 'soldiers'. As such, having recently been appointed keeper of Southampton, that John Arundel was granted power to oversee all legal disputes between his 'soldarios' in 1378 is rather peculiar.[79] It provides the first clerical employment of the term in the context of the rest of the British Isles (i.e. away from the Anglo-Scottish border), but at no point is it again employed in the context of the Southampton garrison thereafter. The grant might indicate that the government felt it may become necessary to install a permanent paid garrison there in response to French raids. Dan Spencer has argued that it was Southampton and Dover which provided the focal concentration of English defensive strategy in the 1380s,[80] and it is certainly intriguing that the grant closely mirrors that of the aforementioned Calais charter issued in 1347. Ultimately, however, the Crown did not maintain any sizeable permanent force at Southampton in this period, and it is not inconceivable that this was a scribal misapplication of terminology.

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The clerical application of the term throughout the fourteenth century seems to have consistently distinguished those who provided continuous and prolonged service at the Crown's expense within a permanent garrison from a more heterogeneous group of combatants who served both through the mechanism of the array system and through military contracts at the Crown's expense for a predetermined duration (although the more complex nature of this latter group is explored in the following sub-section). This same distinction is also apparent in the framework of the Welsh rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr. The government's initial reaction to the rebellion had been to order the Marcher lords to 'install sufficient equipment and keepers [deputies] in their Welsh castles and lordships' at their own expense.[81] In 1401, a number of sizable garrisons were also maintained on a temporary basis in key locations at royal costs.[82] At the same time, Henry IV had sought to tackle the rebellion

[79] *CPR*, *1377-1381*, p.8. For his appointment, see p.2.

[80] Spencer, 'Royal Castles and Coastal Defence', pp.151-4. In 1386, for example, one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred archers were recruited to provide temporary service in the town garrison, with a further twenty men-at-arms recruited to serve in the castle: TNA, E403/515, m.19, also cited in Spencer, 'Royal Castles and Coastal Defence', p.153.

[81] *PROME*, viii, p.145. Further instructions were issued in 1402, stating that the Marcher lords were only to recruit Englishmen who were not resident in their lordships: *PROME*, viii, p.213. Adam Chapman has demonstrated that the implementation of these orders was largely impractical: A. Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages, 1282-1422* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.112-13. There was precedent for this order, however; shortly after its capture, Edward III had instructed that no inhabitant of Calais should be permitted to be a member of the garrison: *Foedera*, III, i, p.158.

[82] See Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp.113-14. For broader discussion of the rebellion, see Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp.110-26; R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995); A. Marchant, *The*

by raising an army through both the array system and by calling out all knights and esquires in receipt of annuities in 1401, 1402, and 1403.[83] At no point do the administrative records or the contemporary chroniclers who reported on these events refer to the men in any of these contexts as 'soldiers'.[84]

Map 1.1: The castles of Wales during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion.
Source: R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1997), p.250.

Revolt of Owain Glyndwr in Medieval English Chronicles (Woodbridge, 2014); C.T. Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1997), pp.16-38.

[83] For his calling on knights and esquires, see *Foedera*, IV, i, pp.15, 30, 49. Prince Henry's commission to command the men raised through the array of nearby counties in 1401 stipulated that this service was to be unpaid. Consequently, in 1402, the Commons sought confirmation of the 1344 and 1351 statutes regarding the legitimate use of levied armies. They asked that all 'men of arms, hobelars and archers chosen to go outside England in the king's service, should be at the king's wages from the day they when they depart from the counties where they were chosen'. *PROME*, viii, p.193.

[84] For example, Adam of Usk wrote of 'warriors' that Henry IV had led in 1400, of the 'great host of English' who campaigned in Northern Wales in 1401, and of a 'force of a hundred thousand men' which the king led in 1402. *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. and trans. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), pp.100-1, 144-5, 160-3.

As both Adam Chapman and Ralph Griffiths have observed, however, English policy shifted focus from 1403 to the coordinated maintenance of permanent garrisons in 'strategic castles', where the numbers maintained by the Crown in each rarely exceeded thirty men.[85] This change in strategy was accompanied by a change in the vocabulary used in the administrative records.[86] In 1403, for example, a clause of protection offered to one John Zely of Llansteffan, detailed that he had been instructed to buy the victuals for the 'soldarii and others dwelling in the castle and town of Haverford' and a number of other locations.[87] Three further commissions and licences for the victualling of several Welsh towns and castles dating to 1404 also refer to 'soldiers' whilst simultaneously outlining that they were serving alongside other 'loyal men' and 'lieges'.[88] It is likely that these latter terms related to a number of non-combatants, but it is argued here that they would also have collectively denoted those 'men-at-arms' and 'archers' who continued to be raised through the array system, as well as to those who reinforced the various garrisons for a predetermined period through contracted indentures.[89]

Broadly speaking, these latter men were not intended to simply provide a defensive element. The indenture for the 120 men-at-arms and 360 archers who were assigned to garrison the Abbey of Strata Florida for three months in late 1407, outlines that they were to 'ride after and make war with the rebels… during the aforesaid time'.[90] The use of the term 'soldier', however, seems consistently to have been connected to those who provided a permanent year-round residual service within a garrison. Frustratingly, the lack of muster records for these garrisons over a consecutive number of years makes establishing this with

[85] Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp.113-16; R.A. Griffiths, 'Lancaster and York – and the Carmarthenshire Castles', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 53 (2017), pp.23-40. Also see W.R.M. Griffiths, 'Prince Henry's War: Armies, Garrisons and Supply During the Glyn Dŵr Rising', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 34 (1987), pp.164-75. This strategy was financed, in part, through Prince Henry's patrimony: see A. Curry, 'Cheshire and the Royal Demesne, 1399-1422', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 128 (1979), pp.121-7.

[86] Similarly, the two occasions on which Adam of Usk did specifically describe men as 'soldiers' both date to after this change in strategy and are found in the broader circumstances of garrison warfare. *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, pp.212-13, 242-3.

[87] *CPR*, *1401-1405*, p.295.

[88] *CPR*, *1401-1405*, pp.310, 502; *CCR*, *1402-1405*, pp.401-2.

[89] in September 1406, Prince Henry was retained to lead a force of 500 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers for a period of six months in the field. His indenture also outlined that a further 120 men-at-arms and 360 archers were to concurrently reinforce various garrisons for a period of three months. The numbers to be sent to each castle are detailed and the men are referred to as 'gentz d'armes', 'lances' and 'archers': TNA, E404/21/310; *CPR, 1405-1408*, p.215. This same terminology was used in the instructions for the muster of the Prince's forces in March 1405 and January 1406: *CPR, 1405-1408*, pp.6, 156.

[90] S.W. Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida* (London, 1889), p.lvi, cited in Riley, 'The Military Garrisons of Henry IV and Henry V at Strata Florida', p.647.

any certainty very difficult. Nonetheless, of the 104 men-at-arms and 334 archers who mustered in the garrison of Montgomery at different times throughout 1404, only 17 men-at-arms and 53 archers are found in the next extant muster of 1407.[91] It is not clear, however, how many of these men formed part of John Talbot's retinue in his capacity as deputy to Thomas, lord Furnivall.

The notion of there being a separate residual group of 'soldiers' is observable in other records. In 1405, for example, William Venables informed the king in a letter that 200 Welsh and French 'hommes combatantz' had ambushed and killed the sheriff and a force of fifty to sixty 'persones' who had accompanied him from Beaumaris castle. Among those killed were twelve archers, of whom Venables described only two as specifically being 'souldiours'.[92] It is also at this time that we are perhaps able to see this same understandingof the term being applied in the context of baronial castles. In general, the Marcher lords were largely expected to defend their lordships at their own expense. Frustratingly, there is neither any known survival of relevant private records outlining this expenditure, nor nominal records such as musters.[93] Nonetheless, in a letter to the king, Sir William Beauchamp, lord of Abergavenny, outlined that John Assheby, one of his 'soldour[s]' who had done 'bien et loyaunt service' in his castle at Abergavenny had - having been granted licence to temporarily leave - been captured by rebels on his way back to the garrison.[94] Once again, the language would indicate the association of the term with longevity of service within a garrison. Beauchamp's additional plea for financial assistance, however, highlights that the maintenance of such 'soldiers' over a prolonged period would have been beyond even the richest magnates. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that they would have employed men in this fashion during peacetime. In 1405, the earl of Northumberland - once more in rebellion with Henry IV -

[91] In 1404, the garrison consisted of forty-five men-at-arms and 140 archers. Only twenty-four men-at-arms can be shown to have served for the full year, with perhaps as many as seventy serving for a period of at least six months. Some of these we can presume would have continued in service into 1405, but there is no extant data. Of the twenty-four who served for the full year, only eight are still recorded in 1407, while twelve of those who served for at least six months are also recorded in 1407. Four men-at-arms appear to be new. Regarding archers, perhaps as many as thirteen served for the full year in 1404, with over three hundred others serving for periods of up to six months. Only four who served throughout 1404 are still recorded in 1407, but forty-nine who provided at least six months service mustered again in 1407. Forty-seven archers appear to be new. For 1404, see TNA, E101/44/6. The total size of the garrison in 1407 was twenty-four men-at-arms and 101 archers: E101/44/14. It is also noteworthy that a good number of archers who served for six months appear to have been replaced by possible relatives.

[92] *RHL*, ii, pp.15-17.

[93] Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp.116-17.

[94] *RHL*, i, pp.152-4.

needed to issue orders to his retainers to garrison and provision his principal strongholds of Prudhoe, Alnwick, Langley, Cokermouth and Warkworth.[95]

The residual nature of the service provided by 'soldiers' in Wales is perhaps best observed in the wake of the rebellion. A small number of 'soldiers' were not demobilised with the cessation of hostilities, marking a distinct shift in policy from the reactive use of temporary paid garrisons throughout the fourteenth century.[96] Griffiths has noted that the garrisons in Carmarthenshire 'were enlarged to provide a permanent, but small, core of fighting men maintained at the king's expense'.[97] Even as the need for defensive garrisons receded in the decades after the revolt, small garrisons of between 6 and 8 'soldiers' continued to provide year-round service in major royal castles.[98] It is clear that they all served as unmounted archers, for they all received a rate of *4d*. a day.[99] The sizes recorded would suggest that the number of available peacetime positions for 'soldiers' in the British Isles were limited. At the very least, therefore, those who wished to follow such a profession must often have been willing to uproot themselves to find employment.[100]

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From 1422, both English garrisons and field armies in Normandy and the *pays de conquête* came under the administrative control of the *chambre des comptes* and not Westminster.[101] As such, discussion of them falls somewhat outside the scope of this chapter.[102] However, Curry has estimated that between 40 and 50 per cent of the original archive of these

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[95] C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (London, 2016), p.267. Walsingham refers to the earl's men in these castles, as well as those with the earl at Berwick, as 'defenders': *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Historia Anglicana,* ed. H.T. Riley (2 vols., London, 1863-1864), ii, p.271. The 1406 parliamentary indictment of Northumberland referred to his men as '*complices*': *PROME,* viii, p.410.

[96] See Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.11-12.

[97] Griffiths, 'Carmarthenshire Castles', p.31. Twelve archers remained permanently in the garrisons at Kidwelly and Brecon castles in the years immediately following the rebellion, and there were eight at Hay and six at Carreg Cennan, Whitecastle, Grosmont and Skenfrith: see R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, Volume 1*, *1265-1603* (London, 1953), p.183.

[98] For examples, see *POPC*, ii, p.238-9 (1417); *PROME*, x, p.45 (1422); *CPR*, *1436-1441*, pp.27, 152, 497, and 301; *CPR, 1452-1461*, p.280.

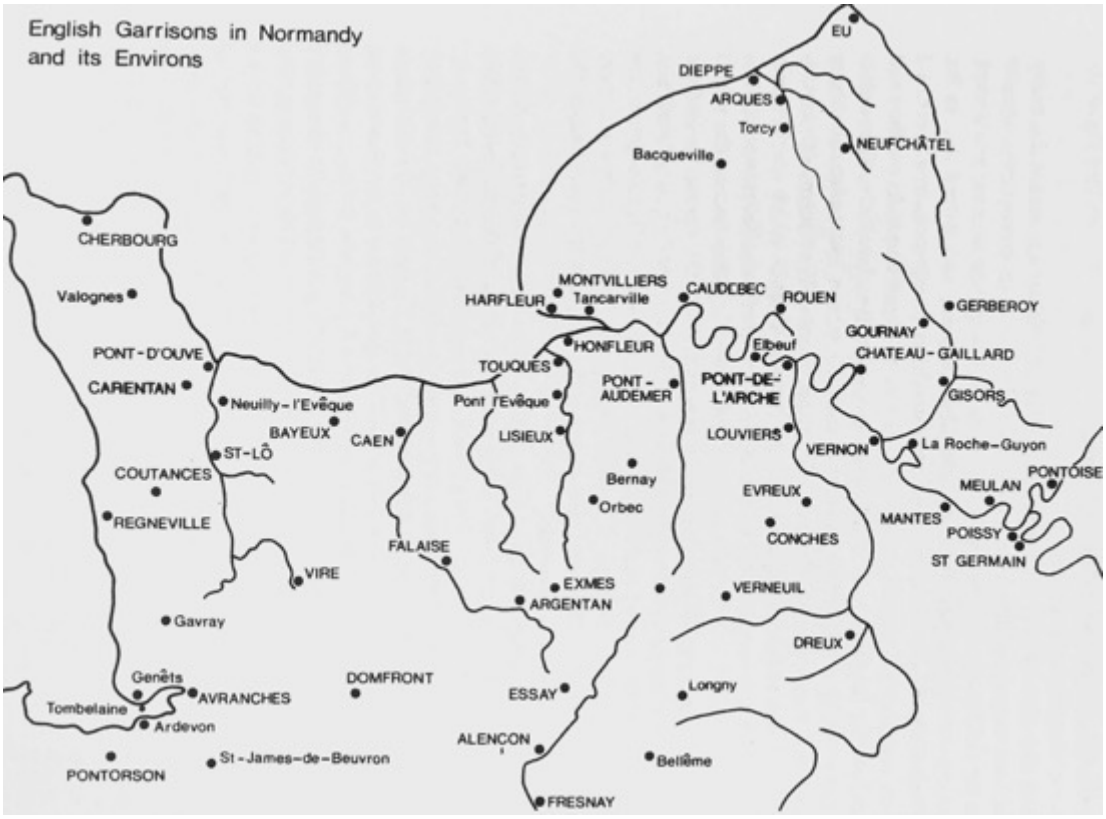
[99] This was 2*d*. a day less than the archers serving in expeditionary forces and Norman garrisons received in the same period.

[100] Contamine identified this willingness to uproot oneself from domestic society as one of his four points required for the development of a standing army: *War in the Middle Ages*, p.168. A Welsh vernacular poem of the second half of the fifteenth century enthusiastically describes how large numbers of Welshmen sought employment as '*sawdwyr*' in Calais under Edward IV. For the text, see J.B. Taylor, 'Gwaith Barddonol leaun Ap Gruffudd Leiaf, Robert Leiaf, Syr Siôn Leiaf a Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Bangor University, 2014), pp.140-1. The poem has been translated by Helen Fulton in an unpublished paper titled 'The Politics of a Frontier Town: Writing Calais during the Hundred Years War'.

[101] Curry, 'L'administration financière de la Normandie Anglaise', pp.83-103.

[102] See below, p.66, n.166.

garrisons survives, albeit unevenly spread both geographically and chronologically,[103] and the recent output of this data into an online database by the 'Soldier in Later Medieval England' project enables the service patterns of the personnel who served in them to be analysed in significantly greater detail than those discussed above.



Map 1.2: English garrisons in Normandy and its environs, 1417-1450 (regular garrisons in capitals). Source: Curry, 'The English Army', p.59.

Analysis of these records clearly demonstrates a small group of men who provided the backbone to these establishments by residing continuously in and around them over a prolonged number of years. The authors of the *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, for example, observed the long-term service provided by a group of men serving in the garrison at Harfleur, particularly highlighting three archers who, having first mustered in 1418, could be shown to have provided at least recurrent service there over a period of eighteen, twenty-nine and thirty years. Furthermore, they identified a certain Richard Bullock who served in, or within close proximity, to the garrison at St Lô for a continuous period of nineteen years and proposed that his pattern of service might not be unusual.[104] Indeed, analysis of the nominal records for a further five garrisons examined here - Caen, Essay, Mantes, Pont de

[103] Curry, 'The English Army', p.49.
[104] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* pp.171-73, 175-77. Also see Curry, 'Les soldats Anglais', pp.158-60.

l'Arche and St Lô - demonstrates that men providing long and often continuous service over a number of years within a single garrison - or those within close proximity to each other – was likely commonplace throughout all centrally controlled garrisons. This was despite often frequent changes in captains.[105]

In fact, a number of men can be observed in each of the garrisons examined who seemingly provided at least near-continuous service in a single garrison well in excess of twenty years.[106] At Mantes for example, at least one man-at-arms and two archers can be seen to have provided an essentially permanent presence from the earliest extant muster of 1423 through at least to the late 1440s. Similarly, even at the much smaller garrison of Essay, at least three archers first found mustering in the early 1420s seemingly remained through to the last extant muster of 1448. Similar patterns at the other garrisons explored are observable in Appendix B. Based on these findings, it can be suggested that a small number of individuals might even have provided service within a single garrison, or at least within a

WILLIAM HARMAN [MAN-AT-ARMS]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1430, 1432, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1448
BENET LOTTE [ARCHER]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446
WILLIAM STOTHELE [ARCHER]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^, 1441^, 1443^

Table 1.1: 20+ years of known service in the garrison of Mantes.
N.b. There are no extant garrison musters between May 1432 and May 1437.
^: Promoted to a man-at-arms.

DAVY CAWARDYN [ARCHER]	1420, 1422, 1424§, 1425§, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438^, 1439^, 1440, 1441, 1448
RICHARD FERROUR [ARCHER]	1420, 1422, 1425±, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442~, 1448
DAVID PORTIER [ARCHER]	1426, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448

Table 1.2: 20+ years of known service in the garrison of Essay.
N.b. There are no extant garrison musters between March 1441 and July 1448.
§ Mustered as part of the personal retinue Sir William Oldhall, captain of the garrison.
± Mustered in the official retinue of the seneschal of Normandy.
~ Mustered as part of the garrison detachment defending Lisieux and, later, Gallardon.

[105] For the turnover of garrison captains, see Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, appendix VIII. For discussion of garrison captaincies, see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.344-69. Also see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.89-90, 134-8.
[106] Details of all those who provided long-term service in the five garrisons examined is provided in Appendix B.

relatively localised region, for effectively the duration of the entire occupation. However, owing to the loss of musters dating between 1448 and 1450, the last two years of the occupation are obfuscated.

We can add to these men numerous others who served for continuous periods ranging between five and twenty years. Some subsequently disappear from the military record, while others can be seen to have continued their service in a further garrison. It has been demonstrated by Curry that the annual manpower required for the defence of the garrisons varied in response to both military and political circumstances, but that it ranged from a height of in excess of 6,000 men in 1436, to as few as 2,500 following the Truce of Tours in 1444.[107] It is notable that these core groups of long-serving men rarely seem to have been directly impacted by these increases and subsequent reductions in troop numbers. As such, they not only provided the permanent backbone of the garrison, but also provided a continuity within the local community of which they often became a part. Some were granted and/or bought various property within the locality,[108] and marriage was certainly another tie.[109] As Grummitt has argued of the Calais garrison, for such men, service in a particular garrison or region constituted a 'community-in-arms'.[110]

It is clear, however, that these long-serving 'soldiers' were supplemented by often significant numbers of short-term reinforcements, often on a quarterly basis.[111] Even allowing for the difficulties inherent in nominal data,[112] one of the most striking details of the five garrisons investigated is the sheer number of men who served in each of them over the duration of the occupation. The nature and patterns of the service provided by these 'replacements' is far from clear. As Curry has stated, the patterns of service among the rank-

[107] See Curry, 'The Garrison Establishment in Lancastrian Normandy in 1436', pp.237-70; eadem, 'John, Duke of Bedford's Arrangement for the Defence of Normandy in October 1434', pp.235-51; eadem, 'The English Army', pp.40-1, 51-2. Christopher Allmand has estimated that by 1420 there were some 4,000 men stationed in the Norman garrisons: Allmand, *Henry V,* pp.213-14, based largely on Newhall, *English Conquest,* Chapter 5.

[108] 497 land grants were issued in Harfleur, with the next most 'settled' town in Normandy being Caen, for which 178 grants survive: A. Curry, 'Henry V's Harfleur: A Study in Military Administration, 1415-1422', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III)*: *Further Considerations* eds. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), p.278. For discussion, see R.A. Massey, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy and Northern France, 1417-1450' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1987), especially Chapters 1 and 2; idem, 'Lancastrian Rouen: Military Service and Property Holding, 1419-49', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp.269-86; Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp.81-121; A. Curry, 'Harfleur Under English Rule 1415-1422, pp.259-84; Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.173-5.

[109] For example, see Curry, 'Isolated or Integrated?', pp.192-3; eadem, 'Soldiers' Wives in the Hundred Years War', pp.198-214; eadem., 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms', pp.157, 163 n.72.

[110] See Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, pp.97-9.

[111] Also see Curry, 'Les soldats Anglais', pp.160-1.

[112] See pp.12-13 and 165-6.

and-file are complex; 'they moved between England and Normandy, crossing in expeditionary forces, serving in garrisons, fighting in field armies, and living as civilians'.[113] As such, it is both difficult and beyond the scope of this chapter to offer further comment on them here.[114] One postulation may, however, be offered; it was largely these short-term 'replacements', along with 'mixed-careerists' (discussed below), often serving as part of a *creu* attached to specific garrisons,[115] who seem to have commonly been drawn out of the garrisons for service in the field.[116] By and large, the majority of 'soldiers' providing long-term residual service in the garrisons explored here are rarely observed serving outside of the garrison walls - further suggesting a degree of defensive 'specialism'. As can be seen in Appendix B, while some were occasionally drawn into these detachment forces, there are relatively few examples of any individual doing so repeatedly – although it must be noted that this might be a consequence of both the surviving records and the location of a garrison in relation to any siege and campaign activity.[117]

V: 'Mixed Careerists' and the Development of a Broader Understanding

Not until the mid-1370s did the term 'soldier' start to be employed in any of the principal administrative accounts of England. Between 1300 and April 1376, it appears in the parliament rolls on only a single occasion.[118] Thereafter, 'soldiers' were discussed in at least seven of the twenty-six parliaments held between 1376 and 1399.[119] Similar patterns are also found in the patent and close rolls; the word is conspicuous in its absence prior to 1376,[120]

[113] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.156-71.

[114] These men present a very important and, to-date, understudied topic. Analysis of them would make a valuable addition to our understanding of service dynamics in Lancastrian France and is an area the author intends to research in the future.

[115] The development of garrison *creus* came into effect in 1429 and was regularised by Bedford in 1434. They were intended to function as an additional mobile force in the field that was attached to a particular garrison outside of campaigning. For discussion, see Newhall, *Muster and Review*, Chapters 6 and 7; Curry, 'Military Organization', i, Chapter II.

[116] For the complexity of field armies, see A. Curry, 'English Field Armies', pp.207-31. For garrison detachments, see Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, appendix X.

[117] See Curry, 'English Field Armies', pp.217-20.

[118] In a letter following his victory at the battle of Sluys in July 1340, Edward III refers to the costs of maintaining foreign alliances and the '*soudiers* who have previously been retained for us, and who will withdraw if they are not paid'. The use of the term here more likely relates to hired foreign combatants: *PROME*, iv, July 1340, item 8 (This reference is drawn from the online edition on www.british-history.ac.uk as the relevant pages are missing from the printed version held by the British Library). The modern translations for January 1340, as well as 1344 and 1346 use a degree of poetic licence: *PROME*, iv, pp.258, 362, 390-1.

[119] Chancery clerks did not record everything that was discussed at each parliament. See W.M. Ormrod, 'On-and Off-the Record: The Rolls of Parliament, 1337-1377', *Parliamentary History*, 23 (2004), pp.39-56.

[120] The earliest example relates to the wages of the Calais garrison: *CCR*, *1374-1377*, pp.322-3.

with the Crown's perpetual difficulty in financing the wages of the garrisons at Calais and Berwick thereafter providing a common thread both into and throughout the fifteenth century.[121] Likewise, the records of the privy council and royal correspondence begin to refer to 'soldiers' from the end of the fourteenth century. The catalyst for this increasing use of the term seems to have been the changing political and military contexts of the period, particularly the increased threat of French raids on southern England. Perhaps more importantly, however, the wider employment of the term also coincided with significant changes in English military recruitment and organisation following the resumption of the war in 1369, particularly the use of the indenture system as the principal mechanism for raising expeditionary armies.

Recent analysis of army muster records between 1369 and 1389, alongside supplementary evidence such as witness depositions recorded in the Court of Chivalry, demonstrates an increase in recurrent, and on occasion continuous, military service by individuals of various rank - but in particular of sub-knightly men-at-arms - often under different captains with whom they did not necessarily share traditional ties of obligation. This was facilitated by the regularity of various types of expedition in this period.[122] As Andrew Ayton has argued, while there were men-at-arms who provided specialised service – such as in garrisons – 'the evidence points to a plenitude, and perhaps preponderance, of generalists who pursued 'mixed careers''.[123] Such men could move fluidly between different types of service – field, naval and/or garrison - in search of new opportunities, and it has been argued that warfare became increasingly professionalised thereafter.[124] To what extent can these developments be observed in the contemporary employment and understanding of the term 'soldier'?

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[121] For select examples relating to Calais in the opening decade of the fifteenth century, see *PROME*, viii, pp.252-5; 347-8; 460-1 and 466; *CCR 1402-1405*, p.347; *CCR, 1405-1409*, pp.215-6; *CPR, 1405-1408*, pp.196-7 (This entry seems also to distinguish between 'soldiers' and 'crossbowmen), 228-9, 321, 336, 339, 341, 414, 455.

[122] For example, see Bell, *War and the Soldier*; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.39-45. Also see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.117-125, 167-77. For the Court of Chivalry, see A. Ayton, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* eds. A. Ayton and J.L. Price (London, 1995), pp.81-104; M. Keen, 'Military Experience and the Court of Chivalry: The Case of Grey vs Hastings', in *Guerre et société en France, en le Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe-Xve Siècle*, eds. P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison and M. Keen (Lille, 1992), pp.123-42; R. Stewart-Brown, 'The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, 1385-1391', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 89 (1938), pp.1-22.

[123] Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.34-5. Also see idem, 'The Military Careerist', pp.4-23.

[124] Baker, 'The English Way of War', particularly Chapter III. Also see above, pp.18-23.

There is little to suggest that the term was collectively applied in a sweeping fashion by the royal clerks - or contemporary chroniclers - to all those who provided military service in the latter years of the fourteenth century. For example, it is not seemingly found in any surviving expeditionary indenture, muster roll, nor particulars of account for the period. Indeed, as argued above, the term most commonly appears to have been used by clerks to distinguish between those who provided a continuous residual service in a garrison and all other combatants – both those raised through the array system and those temporarily contracted to receive Crown wages. This same distinction is seemingly evident even in the rare event that the term is found in the context of an expeditionary force, such as in the military ordinances issued by Richard II prior to his Scottish expedition of 1385. Employed in just two of the twenty-six clauses, the latter clearly states that 'no man' should enlist the servant of another, be he a 'soudeour, homme darmes, archier, come page ou garceon'.[125]

However, if it is accepted that the application of the term in the military ordinances of 1385 was indicative of some form of distinction, then it is surely also implicit that such men fought on the campaign. This might simply point to the service of detachments drawn from the permanent garrisons of northern England, for none of the 142 retinue leaders recorded in the issue rolls as having received payment for service on the campaign are described as a 'soldier'.[126] However, an alternative notion can be offered based on the vocabulary which correlates to the increasing importance of sub-knightly men-at-arms as leaders of sub-retinues.[127] In 1380, for example, Thomas, earl of Buckingham petitioned the king and lords in parliament in relation to deductions that both he and other captains who had indented with the Crown had suffered, stating that they had received payment for six months which they had in turn paid to their 'souldeours'. He further stressed that such

[125] Richard's ordinances are printed in *The Black Book of the Admiralty,* ed. T. Twiss (4 vols., London, 1871), i, pp.453-8. These are the earliest surviving set of military ordinances for an English army in the field, but it is probable that they had been a relatively common feature since the reign of Edward I. See M.H. Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, eds. R.E. Archer and S. Walker (London, 1995), pp.33-48; A. Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English and Franco-Scottish Armies in 1385: An International Code?', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.269-94.

[126] See N.B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385', *EHR*, 73 (1958), Appendix II. Lewis also noted that several 'major tenants-in-chief' do not appear in these payments: pp.9-10. This army – and that which Henry IV raised for his Scottish campaign of 1400 – did not rely on the system of indentures, but rather drew on invocation of obligation. Nonetheless, it is clear that men of varying rank contracted to provide retinues for which they were paid. For discussion and debate, see Lewis, 'Last Medieval Summons', pp.1-26; idem, 'The Feudal Summons of 1385', *EHR*, 100 (1985), pp.729-43; J.J.N. Palmer, 'The Last Summons of the Feudal Army of England (1385)', *EHR*, 83 (1968), pp.771-5. Also see, Curry *et al*, 'New Regime, New Army?', pp.1382-413.

[127] For sub-knightly men-at-arms in this context, see Bell, *War and the Soldier*; Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.130-4. Also see Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.11-25.

deductions would be ruinous to both captains and 'soldiers' in the future, not least because these same captains *and* 'soldiers' had received loans from the duke of Brittany with which to pay 'les gentz de le host' - which they were now expected to repay.[128] The language employed in this petition would imply that 'soldiers', like captains, were responsible for the payment of the rank-and-file who served beneath them. This same understanding can also be inferred from the impeachment proceedings of Lord John Neville in 1376, in which Neville reasoned that those described as 'soldiers' were responsible for the indiscretions of the men who served in their sub-retinues.[129]

That the term was not more collectively inclusive of all who fought might be surmised from the Archbishop of Canterbury's opening address to parliament in November 1380. He stated that Buckingham had crossed to France 'avec grant nombre des autres grantz seignours, chivalers, esquiers, archiers et autres bones gentz del rioalme'. He then employed the term 'soldeours' to denote those serving in the garrisons of Calais, Cherbourg and Brest - whose wages were nine months in arrears.[130] Buckingham certainly drew on detachments from overseas garrisons,[131] but what of the sub-recruiters who raised much of his retinue for him in England? Take for example William Pecche. As outlined in *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*,[132] Pecche had served in France in 1369 and 1370 and had also contracted to serve as a man-at-arms in the earl of Hereford's abortive naval campaign of 1372. Thereafter, he served in France in 1373-4, and again on the naval expedition of 1378. Having been knighted, he is later found as one of 19 such men in the retinue of William, lord Latimer for the army raised by the earl of Buckingham in 1380. That he would likely have sub-contracted with Latimer to provide him with a small force is perhaps best observed through the retinue raised by Sir Thomas Felton to reinforce the earl in spring 1381,[133] in which Pecche - having seemingly recently left Latimer's service -[134] contracted to provide a force of five men-at-arms and five archers. He later also served on both the Scottish expedition of 1385, and at Calais in 1386. As such, Pecche can be viewed as one of a growing number of men-at-arms

[128] TNA, SC8/19/928. For his muster, see TNA, E101/39/7; E101/39/9. For the composition of thirteen sub-retinues, see Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', pp.731-2.
[129] *PROME*, v, pp.311-13; Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', pp.726-7. Also see J. Tait, 'Neville, John de', *ONDB*.
[130] *PROME,* vi, pp.187-8, 199.
[131] For example, William de Windsor was somewhat coerced into assisting, having only the year before been appointed keeper of the town and castle of Cherbourg: TNA, C76/64, m.19, cited in Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.162.
[132] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.122-3, 131.
[133] For discussion of Felton's use of sub-recruiters, see Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', pp.739-44, and Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.130-1.
[134] Buckingham had feasibly reduced the size of his retinue when he ceased actively campaigning in January 1381.

of sub-knightly status who were increasingly able to make war a - frequently profitable -[135] vocation by sub-contracting under various captains to furnish the Crown's consistent requirement for paid manpower. A somewhat unique example of this definition is provided by Stephen le Scrope, third son of Richard, lord Scrope of Bolton, for he described himself as a 'soheyder' in a letter to the king in 1402.[136]

From the accounting perspective of the royal clerks in Westminster, there was no reason to define these individuals as 'soldiers' in any indenture, issue for wages or other organisational context, for pay rates were based on social rank and level of equipment and not on any concept of professionalism. A broader but largely unrecorded concept of what a 'soldier' was had therefore developed from the resumption of the war, defined – once more – by the pursuit of a continuous and long-term career-in-arms. This may well not have been an entirely new definition. English administrative sources provide little insight into the circumstances of 'freelance' service such as the *routier* bands that formed in the wake of the 1360 Treaty of Brétigny. No chronicler, either English or French, seemingly described such men specifically as 'soldiers'. In his *Scalacronica*, for instance, the warrior-author Sir Thomas Grey described those 'English who lived off the war' as being 'nothing but a gathering of commoners, young men, who until this time had been of little account, who came to have great standing and expertise from this war'.[137] It is far more difficult to gauge how they would have defined themselves, however, for not until the 1413 Statute of Additions was there any legal requirement to provide an 'estat ou degree ou… mistere' in certain documents.[138]

The increasing use of the term in the last three decades of the fourteenth century would appear to be rather in keeping with the contemporary French warrior-author Philippe de Mézière's comments on there being two distinctive types of combatant in the period: those who served in 'guerre en l'ost ou en frontières'.[139] It can be postulated that a mixed career as a 'soldier' was a deliberate and full-time occupational choice, and one which for men of reasonable standing provided the means through which they could legitimise their social self-awareness. Most would probably have had little in the way of landed prospects

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[135] A. Goodman, 'The Military Subcontracts of Sir Hugh Hastings', *EHR*, 95 (1980), p.119; Walker, 'Profit and Loss', pp.100-6; Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', p.742.

[136] The letter is printed in G.P. Scrope, *History of the Manor and Ancient Barony of Castle Combe, Wilts…* (London, 1852), pp.134-5.

[137] T. Grey, *Scalacronica*, *1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Woodbridge, 2005), p.157. Similarly, Henry Knighton described them as an 'association' of 'battle-hardened men, experienced and vigorous, who lived by what they could win in war, having no resource in peace': *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. Martin, p.182-3.

[138] 1 Henry V, c.5, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p.171.

[139] P. de Mézières, *Le songe du Vieil Pélerin,* ed. G.W. Coopland (2 vols., Cambridge, 1969), ii, p.403. It should be noted that this concept has been challenged in Baker, 'The English Way of War', pp.118-21.

and may, like le Scrope, have been younger sons. Additionally, like le Scrope, some continued in the vocation even having procured landed wealth,[140] the most famous fifteenth-century example being Sir John Fastolf, who is discussed in greater detail in Chapter II. For such men, war was a way of life, and it is not surprising that they openly criticised Richard II's desire for a permanent peace with France.[141]

It was largely the actions of these sub-knightly men-at-arms who, from the 1380s, drew the ire of contemporary commentators, marking a distinct change from the earlier criticisms of war, which had focused on topics such as taxation and purveyance.[142] In France, for example, Honoré Bovet described those captains and their men-at-arms who went to war to gain financially from pillage and plunder as 'soudoyers', and questioned the moral implications of whether such men should be entitled to wages.[143] In the 1390s, English authors such as John Gower and Geoffrey Chaucer were also reflecting upon the morality of those involved in war. In his *Confessio Amantis* (c.1390-3), for example, Gower criticised both the lord and those of his 'souldeour[s]' who deliberately sought to prolong the war with France as a means to serve their own financial interests.[144] Such authors did not, however, object to external warfare *per se* and even highlighted how it could be beneficial to the realm when pursued for a just cause and suitably balanced with periods of peace.[145]

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From a terminological perspective, there is little to suggest that these criticisms were aimed at those below the rank of the minor gentry. The extent to which men of lesser social standing were able to pursue a 'mixed career' as archers during the second half of the fourteenth century remains relatively unclear and is a topic for further prosopographical research.[146] From 1400, however, greater dependence was certainly placed on the contribution of

[140] See Scrope, *Castle Combe*, pp.141-5.
[141] Goodman has proposed that Richard II's expeditions to Ireland in 1395 and 1399 were, in part, a response to growing dissatisfaction among the esquires of Cheshire and Lancashire seeking martial employment: *The Soldiers' Experience*, pp.79-85. Nigel Saul has made similar observations regarding John of Gaunt's recruitment of roughly one thousand Cheshiremen in response to Pope Boniface IX's call for a crusade against the Ottoman Turks in 1394: N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London, 2011), pp.126-7.
[142] N. Saul, 'A Farewell to Arms? Criticism of Warfare in Late Fourteenth-Century England', in *Fourteenth-Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp.131-45; C.T. Allmand, 'The War and Non-Combatant', in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. K. Fowler (London, 1971), pp.165-73.
[143] H. Bovet, *L'Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun et le somnium super materia scismatis,* ed. I. Arnold (Paris, 1926), p.36.
[144] *Confessio Amantis*, in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macaulay (4 vols., Oxford, 1899-1902), ii, p.287.
[145] Also see discussion in Chapter III.
[146] For discussion, see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.157-62, 167-71, 263-6. For analysis, see Gibbs, 'The Service Patterns and Social-Economic Status of English Archers'; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp.99-101.

archers over men-at-arms in English royal service – both in expeditionary armies and in garrisons - and it has been argued by the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* that the term

> professional soldier more readily applies… [to archers] than to their social superiors, for with them there was less pressure to disguise the impulse to careerism behind a veil of traditional service connections or by reference to obligations incumbent on status within a domestic political context.[147]

This increasing sense of professionalism among much of the rank-and-file through the first half of the fifteenth century can again be observed in the clerical use of the term, perhaps ultimately leading toward a catch-all employment. By the end of the 1430s, royal clerks were seemingly using it in some contexts to denote *all* those who served at the wages of the Crown, no matter the type or duration of service they provided. Its use in the 1439 parliamentary statute concerning the 'Deceits of War' and - even more so – that concerning 'Desertion', for example, not only demonstrates a collective application of the term, but also indicates a legal recognition of the 'profession'.[148] However, the word's development through the first half of the fifteenth century is complicated and often blurred by concurrent socio-political factors as well as military considerations, and analysis is subject to increased conceptual difficulties. This is particularly the case in deliberating when and why the administrative application of the term changed, and whether those outside the mechanisms of government had adopted the same understanding.

Throughout the fifteenth century, the word 'soldier' continued to be most frequently employed by royal clerks in the context of permanent garrisons, while other collective terms - particularly 'men-at-arms and archers' - continued to be most commonly applied in the broad context of the expeditionary armies which crossed on an almost yearly basis between 1415 and 1443.[149] In contrast to the fourteenth century, however, there is a relative increase in its use in relation to expeditionary forces, some of which would appear to indicate the development of a more catch-all understanding. In June 1416, for example, Sir Edward Courtenay was instructed to cause certain ships in the port of Southampton and those

[147] See Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.177. For further discussion, see *Ibid*., pp.139-44, 157-178, 271-4. Also see Curry, 'The English Army', pp.45-7.
[148] TNA, C49/24/12; 18 Henry VI, c.18, 19, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, ii pp.314-15; *PROME*, xi, pp.308-11. Also see the proclamation of the statutes that was to be read in the port of London, the Cinque ports, and at fourteen further port towns which clearly implies that the term referred to both men-at-arms and archers: *CCR*, *1435-1441*, pp.384-5.
[149] As a consequence of the truce, no armies crossed between 1444 and 1448. See Curry, 'The English Army', p.44; eadem, 'Military Organization', i, p.51.

'soldarios' present in the same town to await the king's arrival there.[150] In July 1417, with Henry V having already crossed, Edmund earl of March was ordered to use the invasion fleet to bring further 'soldarios et alios' to Normandy. Similarly, in February 1420, John Drax and John Hexham were commissioned to take all ships over twenty-four tons from Bristol to Southampton for the passage to Normandy of the 'soldariis' in the company of John, duke of Bedford.[151]

Such early examples appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, there is remarkably little to suggest that royal clerks – or contemporary chroniclers - simply applied the term in a sweeping fashion to all those who served in the various expeditions sent to Normandy. The parliaments of November 1415 and March 1416 are relatively quiet in regard to the Agincourt expedition. However, we are told that Henry left 'various lords and many other men-at-arms and archers' in the garrison at Harfleur, and that he and his 'men' had encountered a 'great army of the people of France'.[152] Reporting on the same campaign, the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* did employ the term 'stipendiarii' – seemingly in the place of 'soldarii' - on four occasions in reference to those serving in the garrisons of Harfleur and Calais. He more consistently, however, referred to the unnamed majority who fought at the siege of Harfleur and at the battle itself as 'lanceis et sagittariis', as well as using other collective terms such as 'hostibus'.[153]

Consider, also, the contrasting vocabulary used in the various military ordinances which were issued to regulate the behaviour of those who served in both the expeditionary forces and garrisons of Normandy and the *pays de Conquête*. Those issued to the army at Mantes in either 1419 or 1421 employed the term 'sowdiour' in just two clauses – both identical to those found in the 1385 ordinances – despite the increase in the total number of clauses from twenty-six to forty-three.[154] The new clauses frequently used the term 'men-at-

[150] *Foedera*, IV, ii, p.166; *CCR*, *1413-1419*, p.310. This instruction would seemingly relate to more than Courtenay's own retinue: see *Foedera*, IV, ii, p.159.
[151] *CPR*, *1416-1422*, p.275. Also see, p.319.
[152] *PROME*, ix, pp.117-18, 135.
[153] *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta*, ed. B. Williams (London, 1850). For the *stipendiarii*, see pp.35, 96, 100. His use of this term may well have been a consequence of classical Latin influence.
[154] For the Mantes ordinances, see BL, MS Lansdowne 285, fo.141r-147r, printed in *The Black Book*, i, pp.459-72. They have typically been ascribed to 1419, but Curry has convincingly suggested that they might actually have been issued in 1421. See A. Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, eds. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.214-49. The possible survival of ordinances for the campaigns of 1415 and 1417 have also been discussed by Curry: 'Pour ou contre le roi d'Angleterre? La discipline militaire et la contestation du pouvoir en Normandie au XVe siècle', in *Images de la contestation de pouvoir dans le monde Normand*, eds. C. Bougy and S. Poirey (Caen, 2007), pp.147-62. For further discussion, see A. Martinez, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for

arms and archers' where an all-inclusive noun could have been employed. It has been argued by Curry that these ordinances included no clauses 'in anticipation of establishing garrisons' and, while some regulations might have been transferable, none were specifically related to their maintenance.[155] It is significant, therefore, that the word 'soldier' *was* used in three of the eight clauses in an ordinance relating to the garrison of Rouen dating to 6 September 1419 (it is not applicable in the context of four of the remaining five clauses), and in eight of the nine clauses issued to the captains of thirty-seven garrison towns on 25 April 1421, through which Henry sought specifically to regulate the garrison establishment.[156] Frustratingly, while the term is found in three of the sixteen supplementary clauses issued by the earl of Salisbury for his 1425 campaign in Maine, it is not clear whether it was being employed in a more catch-all context.[157]

For the most part, these ordinances strongly suggest that the clerical use of the word continued to be closely associated with the nature of service being provided; principally denoting professionally inclined men who could expect to be in receipt of Crown wages for continuous service over a prolonged period. That it is found in relation to the long-term maintenance of castles, towns and other fortresses in the commission appointing the duke of Clarence as commander of the troops serving in Normandy in January 1421,[158] would imply that it conveyed not only those who served as garrison 'specialists' but also those 'mixed-careerists' who were residing permanently in France and serving in various garrisons between campaigning in field armies.[159] Further evidence of this can be seen in the relative frequency with which the term was employed in the administrative context of the 'standing armies' which served in Ireland from around the turn of the century, and in Aquitaine from

English Armies and Military Change, 1385-1513', *History*, 102 (2017), pp.361-85; B. Rowe, 'Discipline in the Norman Garrisons under Bedford, 1422-35', *EHR*, 46 (1931), pp.194-208.

[155] A. Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English Garrisons in Normandy in the Reign of Henry V', in *The Fifteenth Century XIV: Essays Presented to Michael Hicks*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.1-12.

[156] For September 1419, see TNA, C64/11, m.24d, printed in Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English Garrisons', p.9. For April 1421, see *Foedera*, IV, iv, p.24, translated in Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English Garrisons', pp.10-12.

[157] BL, MS Lansdowne 285, fols.150r-152r. They are printed in F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, I (London, 1773), pp.46-51. From a terminological perspective, one of the most fascinating aspects of these ordinances is that they employ the social term 'yeomen' in relation to those who served as archers, and 'gentlemen' in the context of men-at-arms.

[158] *Foedera*, IV, iii, p.200. Also see the commission issued to Sir John Radcliff in April 1421 – following Clarence's death – to inspect and report on the conduct of those permanently serving in the garrisons which, like the April ordinances, differentiated between '*Capitaneorum, Locatenentium, Custodum, Gubernatorum, Constabulariorum, Marescallorum, Janitorum, & aliorum Officiariorum, necnon Soladariorum*': *Foedera*, IV, iv, p.20.

[159] For examples of this, see Appendix C.

1412 – often in relation to the appointment of a new lieutenant.[160] There was a contemporary recognition that both Ireland and Aquitaine required a continual military presence, funded in part by the English Exchequer, which necessitated the employment of a number of Englishmen who were willing to serve overseas for an extended period. A number of instructions relating to the transportation of the armies which sailed to Aquitaine under Sir John Tiptoft in 1415 and 1420, refer to his 'hominibus et soldariis'.[161] It is feasible, of course, that the scribes responsible for the aforenoted use of the term 'soldier' in the context of the troops crossing to Normandy, may have been copying the terminology from records concerning Ireland and Aquitaine and, thus, misapplying it.

There is also evidence to suggest that the 'professional' connotations associated with the term 'soldier' went well beyond the confines of just the royal clerks. It should not be overlooked that the military ordinances would have been publicly proclaimed for all to hear.[162] Similarly, take the letter written by an unknown individual in Henry's expeditionary army to his 'felous and freendys' in England following the surrender of Rouen in 1419. Writing from Evreux, the author outlined his hopes for peace and that he, and others like him, would then be able to return to England 'oute of thys un-lusty soundyours lyf'.[163] His sense of restlessness certainly seems in keeping with the decline in knightly participation in the war from 1420.[164] While Henry V's intention to conquer Normandy in 1417 is evident, it is clear that not all who served in the duchy between 1415 and 1420 wished to commit themselves to long-term service. Research into the 1417 retinue of the earl of Warwick found a good degree of continuity of service among men-at-arms who had previously served under his banner during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, but only 36 per cent subsequently continued to serve in France.[165] As the authors of the *Soldier in Later Medieval England* have remarked, it would

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[160] For Irish examples, see *RHL*, i, pp.73-6, 85-9; *CPR, 1413-1416*, p.54; *CPR*, *1416-1422*, p.256; *CPR*, *1422-1429*, pp.392-3, 475-6; *CPR*, *1429-1436*, p.535 – this instruction provides details of the restrictions on those who could be employed as 'soldiers'. Thomas, duke of Clarence's appointment as lieutenant of Aquitaine in 1412, conferred on him the authority and power necessary to restore English royal authority in the duchy. For his indenture and subsequent appointment as lieutenant, see TNA, E101/69/2/340; *Foedera*, IV, ii, p.20. The term 'soldier' was not evidently employed in connection with the recruitment of his army in 1412 - although this may have been a consequence of political circumstance - but the term is found in relation to a proportion of his force in a parliamentary petition dating to 1413: *PROME*, viii, pp.26-7.

[161] *Foedera*, IV, ii, pp.127; *CPR*, *1413-1416*, p.330. For his appointment and muster, see TNA, C61/116, m.2; E101/48/4. For 1420, see *CPR*, *1416-1422*, pp.278, 319, 320; TNA, C61/118, m.17.

[162] While recorded in the Norman rolls in Latin, we can assume that the ordinances would originally have been circulated and communicated in the vernacular: Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English Garrisons', p.7.

[163] *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. H. Ellis (2 vols., London, 1824), i, pp.76-8.

[164] Also see pp.22, 78-9.

[165] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.126-9 [my emphasis].

increasingly appear that 'only those willing to commit themselves to the soldierly life on a long-term basis were serving in Normandy'.[166] This would go some way to explaining the limited response which met Henry's appeal for further men to join him following Rouen's capture.[167]

Given the perpetual nature of the war following the 1420 Treaty of Troyes, it should perhaps not be surprising that the term gradually began to be employed in a more sweeping fashion in English administrative records. For example, in 1425, 1429 and 1442, the Commons of Southern England complained in Parliament of the transgressions 'saudiours' committed while awaiting muster.[168] It is also found in the Commons' 1429 petition regarding livery, exempting lords, knights and esquires' who gave livery to those who were their 'soudeours'.[169] Perhaps most striking of all is its recurrent use in the context of the earl of Salisbury's expeditionary army of 1428. Seemingly uniquely, the term is found in the indenture between the Crown and Salisbury.[170] For the most part, the indenture is standard in form, employing the usual terms 'hommes d'armes' and 'archiers' in discussion of the numbers and restrictions of those he was to recruit and their wages, as well as in regard to

[166] *Ibid*., p.129. Those serving and residing continuously in Normandy and the *pays de conquête* fell under the administrative control of the *chambre des comptes* from 1422. It has not yet been possible to analyse the administrative records held in the French archives in any detail. However, analysis of the Norman Rolls and the – albeit somewhat limited – records Joseph Stevenson included in the two volumes of his *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France* would, again, appear to demonstrate a close correlation between the use of the term and long-term service. It is seemingly most frequently applied in the context of garrison service. However, the greater frequency with which other collective terms such as 'gens darmes', 'gens de guerre' and 'combatans' were used is worthy of further examination. Indeed, it has been argued that the English 'dropped their imported English forms of administration' from late 1420, and that a predominance of French clerks and local officials resulted in the sole use of 'French administrative procedures and structures': see A. Curry, A. Bell, A. Chapman, A.King and D. Simpkin, 'Languages in the Military Profession in Later Medieval England', in *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. R. Ingham (York, 2010), pp.81-2. It is recognised that the completion of this analysis might alter some of the conclusions offered in this chapter based on English sources.

[167] For example, see A. Goodman, 'Responses to Requests in Yorkshire for Military Service Under Henry V', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), pp.240-52; *POPC*, iii, 246-8.

[168] *PROME*, x, p.268, 409-10; xi, p.378.

[169] *PROME*, x, pp.402-3. Also see, R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461* (London, 1981), p.134.

[170] TNA, E101/71/2/825. It is printed in *Foedera*, IV, iv, pp.134-5, and *L and P*, i, pp.403-21. Intriguingly, the term is also employed in one of the sub-indentures which survive for this campaign. The indenture is between Salisbury and John Valentine, a citizen and carpenter of London, who agreed to provide a further two carpenters who would also be arrayed as archers. It states that Valentine and his 'fellowship [were] to do in all things as a true and good soldier and labourer ought to do', before also stating that they were to obey the terms of the indenture: TNA, E101/71/2/852. By contrast, the other extant sub-indentures state that the indentee and all men-at-arms and/or archers provided by them were to 'truly do and obey in all things as is contained in the indenture made at this time generally', and those made between the earl and the captains of other retinues: see TNA, E101/71/2/826-851, 853-853b; E101/71/3/854-868b.

the division of spoils and shipping both to and from France. However, a section in the middle of the indenture outlines that the earl would not suffer any deductions for the death or sickness of any 'souldoiers' during the six months for which they were retained. Salisbury had agreed to lead the army during the parliament which opened in October 1427, and it might be suggested that these additional clauses were a consequence of the outstanding money still owed to him for the Agincourt campaign. Along with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, he had petitioned the same parliament in regard to this money, seemingly employing the term in a catch-all manner.[171] The term is not employed in either the instruction to muster Salisbury's army or the particulars of his account for the campaign,[172] but it is found in a plea from the duke of Bedford to the council in England for reinforcements following the earl's death at the siege of Orleans, noting that some of the earl's 'soldiers' had subsequently quit the place.[173]

If it is argued that the majority of 'professional soldiers' were already permanently serving in Normandy, then who were these men? Salisbury's army had been recruited very widely,[174] so had the clerical use of the term changed to simply denote all those in receipt of Crown wages, no matter the duration or motivation of their service? The answer would appear to be no. It is certainly feasible that its employment in Salisbury's indenture was a consequence of his own long-term service in France in the company of professional 'soldiers',[175] the clause certainly seems to have been added at his insistence. Moreover, it was not being used in a catch-all fashion by contemporary chroniclers or copyists commenting on the war in France. The account of the war between 1415 and 1429, written in the years following the loss of Normandy by Peter Basset and Christopher Hanson - who had themselves served as a 'soldiers' in France, for example, employs the term 'souldoyers' on just two occasions - both in the context of those serving in garrisons. In other contexts, they more commonly used collective terms such as 'gens de guerre' and 'noble retenue'.[176] A similar use of terminology is also found in the vernacular *Brut* and London chronicles with

[171] *PROME*, x, pp.334-7. His actions in parliament may have been politically motivated: see *Ibid*., p.322.
[172] *CCR*, *1422-1429*, p.408; TNA, E101/52/1, /2.
[173] *POPC*, ii, pp.322-3. Bedford stated that he needed two hundred men-at-arms and 1,200 archers to maintain the siege. The council agreed to send one hundred men-at-arms and seven hundred archers: pp.323-4.
[174] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.134.
[175] This concept is explored further in Chapter II.
[176] London College of Arms, MS Arundel M9. For 'soldiers', see fols.59, 62v. For discussion of this chronicle, see A. Curry, 'Representing War and Conquest, 1415-1429: The Evidence of College of Arms Manuscript M9', in *Representing War and Violence, 1250-1600*, eds. J. Bellis and L. Slater (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.139-58.

the term 'soldier' almost always being employed in the context of a garrison.[177] However, some of these same authors also recorded that the mayor and citizens of London had 'sent sowdyers to Caly' in the crisis of 1436.[178] It is suggested, therefore, that it is to London that we should look to understand the changing clerical use and understanding of the term.

Historians such as Curry have long argued that there were 'enhanced opportunities for military employment' among the rank-and-file after 1420, and that this in turn facilitated the development of an 'extensive pool' of men with military experience, but with no traditional tie to any particular captain.[179] In general, discussion has focussed more on the concept of their professionalism rather than on who these men were or how they were recruited. Nonetheless, the striking prevalence of men who gave London as their place of residence when taking out letters of protection and attorney, especially in the period 1415-1453, has been noted by the authors of the *Soldier in Later Medieval England*.[180] While they indicate that this might simply reflect the comparative ease of access Londoners had to the Chancery in Westminster, they also conclude that

> the city had become recognised as the main centre for recruitment, and that those who sought a career under arms increasingly tended to stay there when they were not on campaign.[181]

There is further evidence which not only supports this notion, but perhaps indicates the development of a not-insignificant 'community' of men who were permanently residing in and around London between campaigns. Importantly, these men were increasingly identifying themselves, and being identified by others, as 'soldiers'. This identification was doubtless a direct consequence of the 1413 Statute of Additions, and it is not surprising that the clearest examples of this trend - as is explored in greater detail in Chapter IV - are provided by the legal records of the Court of King's Bench.[182] The vast majority of those described as 'soldiers' in these sources are recorded as residing in – or having been outlawed from - London or its hinterland.

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[177] These sources are all discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.
[178] The Mayor and Aldermen of Calais had written to the Mayor and Aldermen of London in late June 1427, asking that they use their influence with the king and his council to persuade them to reinforce the town: *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.148, printed in full in J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre* (Paris, 1847), pp.252-3. For the chronicle accounts, see below, pp.133-4.
[179] Curry, 'The English Army', pp.41-8; Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.67, 96-99.
[180] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.217-26.
[181] *Ibid,* pp.217-26.
[182] For an example dating to 1413, see Kb9/204/3, no.1 and 2.

Further substantive evidence for this notion, however, is difficult to find. Despite the frequency with which expeditionary forces crossed from England to France, only six muster rolls survive for the whole reign of Henry VI, thus preventing any detailed comparative prosopographical analysis.[183] Moreover, single 'soldiers' - let alone the concept of a community - rarely feature in the historical studies of medieval London. There is evidence though to suggest that the citizens and companies of London sometimes played a significant role not only in financing the recruitment of 'soldiers', but also in encouraging the Crown to send expeditionary forces to France. For instance, when the merchants of Paris wrote to the 'Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London' regarding the loss and re-taking of Rouen, and detailing that Paris was being threatened by the French, they specifically asked 'the civic authorities again to use their influence with the King' to encourage him to send assistance.[184] Similarly, Salisbury – as other leading captains did both earlier and later – kept the city updated on his progress in 1428.[185]

London would certainly have been the most rational location for men seeking regular employment in expeditions to congregate. Not only could they be kept abreast of events such as planned expeditions, but the city was also awash with armourers, bowyers, bladesmiths and other groups from whom men could readily buy the accoutrements of war; there was even a growing trade in second-hand armour.[186] It was also where the various lords and army commanders most commonly signed their own indentures with the Crown, and it would make sense that both sub-recruiters - perhaps along with small retinues - and other individuals would gather there to seek employment. Similarly, any short-comings as the muster date approached might be made up in the same fashion. Many such 'soldiers' would likely have frequented the London taverns, and it has been speculated by the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* that 'particular inns may have served as military labour exchanges'.[187] It is certainly intriguing that there survive a good number of examples throughout the period of orders to the sheriffs of London to proclaim that all 'soldiers' in the

[183] See Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.110.
[184] *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.101, printed in full in Delpit, *Collection générale*, pp.250-1. For discussion concerning the importance of the London merchant class to the war effort, see W.J. Turner, 'London Businessmen and Alchemists: Raising Money for the Hundred Years War', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III)*: *Further Considerations*, eds. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp.333-54.
[185] *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.55b.
[186] For example, see K. Kelsey-Staples, 'Fripperers and the Used Clothing Trade in Late Medeival London' in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 6, eds. R. Netherton and G.R. Owen-Croker (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.151-71.
[187] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.127. Albeit viewed with a degree of caution, we are also reminded of Shakespeare's Prince Hal and John Falstaff who associated with 'old soldiers' in London taverns.

city retained for service should head to the specified muster locations.[188] Likewise, other instructions relating to the return of 'soldiers' suggest that the authorities believed such men would head back to London.[189]

The various instructions relating to the two expeditionary armies raised in 1436 and the raising of further men for the defence of Calais that same year provide a mini case-study. In December 1435, preparations had begun for the purpose of raising two sizable expeditionary armies in response to increasing English losses in France. A letter of 3 December informed the Norman estates of reinforcements under the command of the duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk for service in Normandy, and a further force under Edmund Beaufort, earl of Mortain.[190] Neither Beaufort's indenture nor the muster of his four hundred men-at-arms and 1,600 archers survives, but the warrant for the payment of the first quarter's wages shows that he was retained to serve in Anjou and Maine for the unusual period of two years. These terms would have been copied from the original indenture, and there is no apparent use of the term 'soldier.'[191] Having been instructed to muster on 2 April 1436,[192] his force was diverted to Calais in response to the duke of Burgundy's intentions to besiege the town. In late March, the king and council had dispatched letters to various counties and religious houses reporting that Calais had been reinforced with 'suffissaunce of nombre of men', but also asking that all 'personys defensable' be ready to sail for the town's defence if required.[193] This same terminology was employed in the appeals for men issued in June,[194] and a July writ to the sheriffs of seventeen counties in the south and midlands stated that all 'knights, esquires and *valetti*' who wished to aid in the defence of Calais should make their way to Sandwich to sail in the company of the duke of Gloucester.[195] Importantly, these sources did describe those members of the Oye

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[188] For examples, see *London Letter-Book: I*, fols.166, 178b, 211b; *London Letter-Book: K,* fols.10, 93b; *CCR*, *1413-1419*, p.499; *CCR*, *1429-1435*, p243; *POPC*, v, pp.232-3. The sheriffs of London had been instructed to proclaim that all captains and 'soldarii' retained by the earl of Salisbury in 1428 were to make ready to march with him to Sandwich: *Foedera*, IV, iv, p.138.

[189] For example, *Foedera*, IV, iv, p.160.

[190] M.K. Jones, 'The Beaufort Family and the War in France, 1421-1450' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 1983), p.90.

[191] TNA, E404/52/196, cited in Jones, 'The Beaufort Family', p.90.

[192] *CPR*, *1429-1436*, p.533.

[193] J.A. Doig, 'A New Source for the Siege of Calais in 1436', *EHR*, 110 (1995), pp.410-12.

[194] *Ibid*., pp.413-16. The sense that numerous volunteers would pass through London on their way to Sandwich is demonstrated by a writ to the mayor and sheriffs, to proclaim that no armourer, vinter, or victualler should seek to sell their goods at a higher rate to the 'men-at-arms, armed men and archers' of the counties who were responding to the plea: *Foedera,* V, i, p.32; *CCR*, *1435-1441*, p.65.

[195] *Foedera,* V, i, p.32; *CCR*, *1435-1441*, pp.68-9. The term is not employed in the appointment creating Gloucester the lieutenant of the force: *Foedera*, V, i, p.33. A number of the London chronicles record that Gloucester's force comprised of men from every city, town and borough in England, as well as those provided by every ecclesiastical landholder. For example, see BL, MS Vitellius A. XVI, fol.98r; BL,

garrison who had been killed by the duke of Burgundy's forces as 'soldiers'. It was the force under Gloucester to which some London chroniclers specifically recorded that the city had provided 'soldeours'. The only other example of the words use in this period, however, also relates to London but is found in connection to York's army. On 1 May 1436, the sheriffs of London were ordered to proclaim that all 'soldiers, knights, esquires and others in the retinue of Richard, duke of York, Richard, earl of Salisbury, and William, earl of Suffolk' were to 'leave the City and hasten to Wynchelse'.[196] It would appear reasonable therefore to assume that all had recruited a proportion of their retinue from an available pool within the capital following the signing of their own indentures earlier in February.[197]

One of the principal considerations concerning the London 'soldiers', however, is that they should perhaps be viewed as being 'semi-professionals', thus broadening the contemporary understanding of the term. Given the financial benefits, military service was likely to have been their primary source of income, but such expeditionary service was largely seasonal in nature. Some, therefore, must have looked to other sources to supplement their income between campaigns. Some can perhaps be seen on occasion to have been employed in a military context by the city on a local basis. Caroline Barron has concluded that the city companies were compelled to provide or finance 'soldiers' on at least nine occasions between 1445 and 1456 to safeguard the city, help the mayor and aldermen keep the peace, patrol the Thames, and to escort notable figures into the city.[198] Others might have found private military employment as escorts aboard merchant vessels to deter pirates, though it should not be overlooked that profits could also be made from attacking enemy – and often friendly – shipping in this context too.[199] Others must have looked to non-military occupations. There were a number of crafts which worked in the winter but had less to do in

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MS Cleopatra C. IV, printed in *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p.142; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, pp.61-2.

[196] *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.160b.

[197] On 20 February, York had indented to serve with five hundred men-at-arms and 2,200 archers, while Salisbury had indented to serve with 260 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers, and Suffolk with forty men-at-arms and 160 archers: See Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, pp.20-1; *CPR, 1429-1436*, pp.535-6.

[198] See C. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2004), p.230-2. For records specific to the payment of 'soldiers', see LMA, Journal 5, fol.11, and Journal 6, fol.106.

[199] Powers were granted in April 1436 to the admirals who were instructed to 'lead, rule and govern all the masters, mariners and soldiers of their ships and vessels': *CPR*, *1429-1436*, pp.511-12. An earlier instruction of February would imply that this arrangement was initially granted for a period of four months, though a further licence was issued in September for a further ten weeks: *CPR*, *1429-1436*, pp.509-10; *CPR*, *1436-1441*, p.1. The term is also found in the Common's enquiries concerning the safe-keeping of the sea in January 1442: *PROME*, xi, pp.359-60, 373-5. In the early 1460s, Richard Martyn filed a false suit for ransom against the purser and merchant of a ship on which he and others had been 'hired for a Soudyour': TNA, C1/28/438. This system may well have given way to the practice of 'wafting' in the reign of Edward IV: see C. Ross, *Edward IV* (2nd ed., London, 1991), p.353.

the summer months – although this is not to suggest that all such men provided military service.[200] The evidence of the criminal records would further support a notion that some sought dual occupations. William Parker, for instance, was described as a groom 'alias sawdier',[201] Richard Brompton a 'sowdyour' and purser,[202] and William Raulyns, who would be executed for seditious speech just prior to the outbreak of Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450, was described as a woolpacker and 'soudyour'.[203]

The absence of this 'community' of 'soldiers' in the everyday records and accounts of London might, therefore, be best explained by the very nature of their profession. Despite the contemporary recognition of the perpetual nature of the war and the numerous years for which it would ultimately drag on, there was certainly no consensus that it was to be never-ending, and some must have viewed each opportunity for service as it came. While there was certainly some popular opposition to the notion of peace with France, both the king and much of the aristocracy were actively looking for an end-game through the 1440s.[204] At such a point, such 'semi-professional soldiers' would have become defunct, for there was still no official standing army and nor did the Crown possess the wherewithal to form one. There was, therefore, no sense in establishing a guild or similar civic body through which these men would be brought into the mainstream. Nonetheless, their increasing prevalence in and around London through the first half of the fifteenth century seemingly influenced the more collective clerical understanding and use of the term. With the loss of Lancastrian Normandy in 1450 and Gascony in 1453, references to 'soldiers' largely disappear from the administrative records. There is remarkably little, for example, to suggest that the term was employed by either royal clerks or chroniclers in the context of the armies which fought in the civil conflict which dominated the second half of the century. These were certainly not professional armies,[205] though some veterans might have served in the opening

[200] The role of the crafts in the 1436 crisis is emphasised in BL., MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.178-9; *The Brut*, ed. Brie, p.468.
[201] TNA, KB9/252/1, no.15.
[202] TNA, KB9/250, no.96.
[203] TNA, KB29/81, no.12
[204] For example, see the sentiments expressed by the earl of Suffolk and the king's privy council in 1444: *POPC*, vi, pp.32-5.
[205] The contemporary comments of Philippe de Commynes concerning the lack of experienced men in the army which accompanied Edward IV to France in 1475 provide a relevant insight. It is also noteworthy that at no point does he refer to them as 'soldiers': P. Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. and trans. M. Jones (London, 1972), pp.226, 229, 241-2; and *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, ed. E.L.M. Dupont (3 vols., Paris, 1840-47), i, pp.362-8. As Goodman states, however, consideration must be given to Commynes' political motivations: Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp.194-5.

engagements, and such forces were rarely maintained for more than three weeks.[206] In fact, the use of the term among clerks and chroniclers alike was applied only to those still serving in the permanent garrisons of Calais and Berwick.[207]

VI: CONCLUSION

It has been argued through this chapter that what defined the later medieval understanding of the term 'soldier' was the principally the pursuit of continuous long-term military service in receipt of Crown wages over other vocations. While it is apparent that this understanding derived from an earlier association with payment – a stipend - in return for military service, it is argued that the increasing clerical employment of the term from the beginning of the fourteenth century should be viewed as evidence of the progressive development of a 'legitimate' military 'profession' through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was a direct consequence of the Crown's cumulative willingness and need to retain an escalating number of fighting men continuously over a protracted time, principally occasioned by the largely perpetual nature of warfare with both Scotland and France through the period.

The main cause of the clerical use of the word was the development of permanent Crown-paid garrisons, for it was only through these that a year-round, waged service-in-arms could be achieved. Initially, the term was shaped by the necessity to account for - and thus distinguish between - those men-at-arms who served continually for the king's wages, and those who provided service through more traditional means for a predetermined, often short, duration in the centrally controlled garrisons of the Anglo-Scottish border. It has been proposed that these men provided the Crown with the early foundations of a quasi-permanent standing force, for they could be utilised as officers for both raiding parties drawn from temporary garrison personnel and as levied forces for more major operations. The term originally appears to have been a regional phenomenon. It is not found in English administrative records outside the context of the Anglo-Scottish border until the establishment of a network of permanent Crown-paid garrisons in Calais and it march in 1347, and its first consistent employment in the rest of the British Isles is similarly found in the circumstances of the permanent English garrisons in the Welsh rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr and the standing forces which served in Ireland from the turn of the fifteenth century.

Importantly, the term was consistently employed alongside other military expressions, such as the collective use of 'men-at-arms and archers'. This would further

[206] Goodman has estimated that the duration of active campaigning between 1455 and 1485 equated to just sixty-one weeks: Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp.227-8.
[207] See Chapter III.

support the notion that the term denoted a defined group within the wider military community. The majority of the vocabulary found in the surviving administrative and chronicle evidence is implicit of a sense of residual garrison specialism, with the term not being applied to other troops who came and went with greater frequency. It has been demonstrated that there was a core group of men who provided a continuity of service in the centrally controlled permanent garrisons through both the fourteenth and fifteenth century, who were often specifically categorised as 'soldiers' by royal clerks and contemporary chroniclers alike. In keeping with the development of mixed retinues, there is some evidence to suggest that such service was no longer confined to the ranks of men-at-arms by the mid-fourteenth century. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, such garrison specialism was primarily provided by men of lesser social standing serving as archers – particularly those serving in Lancastrian Normandy and the *Pays de Conquête*.[208]

While garrison service provides the most common context in which the term was employed, it is also evident that there was a gradual broadening in the clerical use of the term that seemingly coincides with the resumption of the war with France in 1369. It is argued that this was a direct effect of both the changing nature of English military recruitment and organisation, particularly the use of the indenture system, and the Crown's continuous need for manpower to serve in various types of expedition. Combined, these factors enabled so-inclined sub-knightly men-at-arms – such as William Pecche - to make war their primary occupation as 'mixed-careerists' by repeatedly sub-contracting under various different captains. It has been convincingly argued that these developments facilitated an increasing professionalisation of war, and the use of the term in this context would seem to substantiate this notion. For such men, 'soldiering' was a vocational choice. Some would probably have been younger sons of families of reasonable standing but who were unlikely to inherit any land, and military service provided a means by which they could legitimise their social self-awareness. While contemporary critics of war appear to have understood the term in this context, it was not similarly being employed by chroniclers.

The extent to which men of lesser standing could similarly pursue a profession-in-arms in the second half of the fourteenth century is less clear and requires further examination. From the 1400s, though, a greater dependence was placed on archers over men-at-arms in both expeditionary armies and garrisons, and the clerical use of the term begins to be increasingly found in a more catch-all fashion - especially following the Treaty of Troyes. It has been suggested that most professionally inclined 'soldiers' – both garrison

[208] See Bell *et al*., pp.171-7.

specialists and mixed-careerists - were already serving in Normandy after this point. This was a factor in the difficulties associated with the recruitment of further troops not just following the English capture of Rouen, but also at later stages through the war.[209] As such, perhaps the most significant occurrence of this period was the development of a 'community' of 'semi-professional soldiers' residing in and around London, of whom it would appear likely that most were of lesser status. These men provided recurrent service in the expeditions that were sent from England on a near-yearly basis. While they probably viewed military service as their primary vocation, the nature of such service was seasonal and there is evidence to suggest that some looked to other non-military sources of income in between campaigns. Importantly, though, they often identified themselves as 'soldiers' – a usage reflected in the London chroniclers. It was probably, in part, both the close proximity of these men to the royal clerks in Westminster and the perpetual demand for paid manpower which led to the greater use of the term in a collective fashion in administrative records. The term continued, however, to be employed alongside other collective terms in both the administrative records and chronicles alike, indicating that it continued to distinguish a particular element in the military community. This is perhaps clearest in the comparative lack of the use of the term in the context of the Wars of the Roses.

It is proposed, therefore, that the modern definition of the word 'soldier' does not accurately reflect the late medieval understanding or use of the term. In both the fourteenth and fifteenth century, neither military service through obligation nor sporadic voluntary service in receipt of wages meant one was a 'soldier'. 'Soldiering' was primarily a permanent vocation that was practised over a number of near-continuous years as either a garrison specialist or as a mixed-careerist by those with little or no other domestic commitments in England, and for some it possibly constituted a family occupation. To this we can also add the development of a number of semi-professional 'soldiers' in the fifteenth century. While there was undoubtedly an increasing professionalisation of war through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the role played by the thousands of non-professional combatants, particularly archers, who served on only a single or sporadic occasion should not be understated. However, such men were considered to be 'soldiers' neither by contemporaries nor themselves, and their attitudes to the war and motivations for service are likely to have differed significantly from those of professionals. Such an understanding has important consequences for our perception of the wider social contexts of medieval warfare.

[209] See Chapter II, p.79.

CHAPTER II

RECRUITMENT AND SOCIAL REINTEGRATION WITHIN A MANORIAL FRAMEWORK

I: INTRODUCTION

The development of the indenture system over bonds of military obligation as the primary mechanism through which the English sought to raise royal armies from the fourteenth century has a long and well-established historiography.[1] Both the indenture system and consequent use of sub-indentures placed the onus upon the individual captain and sub-recruiters who had entered into contracts to raise their agreed number of men.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, to find men with obvious connections to the captain they served under, such as his kin group, household and affinity, and men raised from among his estates and neighbours. As Curry has commented, there is evidence that an indenture may reflect a given captain's prior knowledge of his ability to provide men readily, and that this might particularly have been the case for captains of a lower social standing, such as esquires.[3] However, it is typically argued that such traditional ties of clientage and obligation often accounted for only a small fraction of the men recruited - especially in larger retinues - and that the 'personal bond between a captain and his retinue' had begun to break down by the early fifteenth century.[4]

This is especially thought to be the case within Lancastrian Normandy. Anthony Pollard's examination of the career of Sir John Talbot established that Talbot made diminishing use of his English estates and connections after 1421, and instead recruited his lieutenants and men-at-arms from professional 'soldiers' with extensive fighting experience, or from others with whom he had forged personal connections in France.[5] The extent to which Talbot was typical, though, is a theme explored in this chapter. Expeditionary armies - albeit of varying size - sailed for France in most years between 1415 and 1444, further enhancing the opportunities for men to provide military service under different captains;[6] it has been suggested in the previous chapter that this regularity of opportunities led to the development of a community of 'soldiers' in and around London.[7] Additionally, the authors

[1] See above, pp.18-23.
[2] For discussion of the use of the indenture system in the fifteenth century phase of the war, see Curry, 'The English Army', pp.41-8; eadem, 'Military Organization', i, pp.118-23.
[3] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.86-8, 110-17.
[4] Morgan, 'Going to the Wars', p.288; Curry, 'Military Organization, i, pp.112-7.
[5] Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp.75-6, 83-5.
[6] Curry, 'The English Army', pp.43-5.
[7] See above, pp.68-73.

of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* have demonstrated the 'cosmopolitan' nature of English armies in this period, establishing that the war in France was a national effort with men from various different parts of the country frequently serving within the same companies.[8] The consequent changes in the social context of military obligation and recruitment have hence been convincingly regarded as giving rise to an increasingly professional 'soldiery'.[9] However, it is also acknowledged that the significantly larger pool from which archers could be recruited also 'made feasible shorter careers and a high turnover'.[10]

Despite the many advances that have been made in the studies of both fifteenth-century military and social history over the past few decades, there has still been relatively little detailed investigation into the social contexts and origins of the military personnel from below the rank of the gentry.[11] This is, in part, a consequence of the surviving material record. Exchequer documents rarely highlight the more nuanced processes involved in the recruitment of fighting men, but historians have on occasion been able to reveal some insights where relevant private estate records have survived.[12] The surviving account of the earl's receiver general enabled Curry to establish not only that the retinue raised by John Mowbray, earl Marshal, in 1415 comprised multiple smaller 'sub-companies' of varying size and composition, but also that several of those who provided or served in the sub-companies - both men-at-arms and archers - were members of his household.[13] Similarly, Philip Morgan utilised a fragmentary expense account of the household of Thomas, lord Morley, from 1416 to demonstrate that, while his personal retinue had been drawn from both a small group of 'longstanding associates and neighbours' and an even smaller group drawn from his permanent household, some of the archers appear to have been more 'professionally' inclined.[14] As Morgan himself states, however, such 'mapping [of] the retinue roll onto private estate records is possible only for a handful of retinues'.[15]

A further complication is perhaps a result of the now well-established disengagement of the knightly and gentry class from the 1420s, which it has been suggested

[8] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.229-35.
[9] *Ibid*., pp.267-70. Also see above, pp.20-1.
[10] *Ibid*., p.262.
[11] For some recent discussion and analysis on this topic, see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, Chapters 4 and 5.
[12] Albeit somewhat later, Ross has shown that substantial numbers of the household might form part of an earl's military force in the reigns of Henry VII and VIII: J. Ross, 'The Noble Household as a Political Centre in the Early Tudor Period', in *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C.M. Woolgar (Donington, 2018), pp.75-92.
[13] Curry, 'Personal Links and the Nature of the English War Retinue', pp.153-67.
[14] Morgan, 'Going to the Wars', pp.285-314.
[15] *Ibid.*, p.287.

may also have denied the Crown access to such men's local recruiting networks.[16] While Christine Carpenter argued that almost all the knights found in the returns of the 1436 income tax for Warwickshire had provided, or would go on to provide, military service in France,[17] both Eric Acheson's and James Ross's respective examinations of Leicestershire and Essex county society conversely support this more common notion of limited gentry participation.[18] For example, by analysing the surviving 1436 income tax records for the county of Essex, supplemented by the 1434 oath list - by which all knights, esquires and yeomen swore not to maintain peace-breakers -[19] and comparing them with the surviving muster and retinue rolls of the three resident noble families within the county for the campaigns of 1415 and 1441, Ross was able to demonstrate that the gentry of Essex, including members of the respective households, 'were conspicuous in their absence, rather than their presence' in the retinues of each lord.[20] However, he also observed that perhaps less than expected use was made of 'professionals'; of the sixty men-at-arms that de Vere took with him in 1441, Ross noted that only fifteen had any evident previous experience, which, in some instances, included a gap of twenty-five years between service. Similarly, in Bourchier's case, just sixteen of his forty-nine men-at-arms had previous experience in France.[21]

As outlined in the Introduction of this thesis, there has been some recent research into those who served as archers in the late fourteenth century. Both Gary Baker and Sam Gibbs have provided county level investigations by utilising the surviving poll tax returns of 1377, 1379 and 1381 to explore topics such as socio-economic origins and possible service relationships, and they too made observations on the changing social contexts of recruitment.[22] In his exploration of the retinues recruited by resident Essex captains between 1367 and 1417, for instance, Gibbs argued that 'the links between tenurial obligation and military service were limited… with few men appearing to serve as a result of their residency on their captains' lands'.[23] Regarding the thirty retinues raised by the twenty-one captains

[16] Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.75-84, 229-35.
[17] C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity. A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.59, 66-7. Also see, G. Bognor, "Military" Knighthood in the Lancastrian Era: The Case of Sir John Montgomery', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 7 (2009), pp.104-26.
[18] Acheson, *A Gentry Community*, p.73, and Appendix 3; Ross, 'Essex County Society', pp.53-80.
[19] For the Essex returns, see TNA, E179/240/267, mm.1-4. For the 1434 oaths and the parliamentary act to which they correlate, see *CPR, 1429-36*, pp.370, 400-2; *PROME*, xi, pp.80-3, 149-52. All are cited in Ross, 'Essex County Society', pp.55-6.
[20] Ross, 'Essex County Society', p.62.
[21] *Ibid*., p.61.
[22] See above, pp.17-20. Also see Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.9-59; Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.155-6, 157-62.
[23] Gibbs, 'The Fighting Men of Essex', p.95.

he examined, only one captain – Sir William Bourchier – recruited more than 2 per cent of his archers from his own landholdings in the county.[24] Like Ross, Gibbs also noted that there was a significant increase in the number of Essex men found serving in the retinues of captains whose landed interests lay outside the county, arguing that this points towards the development of a 'service market'.[25] Such findings are also largely in keeping with Curry's argument that the use of tenants was significant, 'but not overwhelmingly so'.[26] The degree to which various lords and other captains of sub-retinues continued to be reliant upon their tenurial links over any available 'service market' throughout this period, however, has yet to be fully explored.[27]

Remarkably little use has been made, for example, of surviving manorial records such as rentals, accounts and court-rolls - which have typically been the preserve of social and economic historians. It has been argued that the abundance of extant manor court records 'represents the single most important source for the study of English local society in the Middle Ages'.[28] While the 1415 retinue of Edward, duke of York (c.1373-1415), was drawn from 'all over England', Barker has demonstrated through a range of sources that the duke relied heavily on his principal land holdings. More specifically, however, he was able to draw on four extant court rolls for York's manors of Oakham and Langham in Rutland to observe that the county provided 'no fewer than' thirty-two men.[29] In part, this chapter considers the degree to which the systematic analysis and application of such sources might benefit military historians and supplement existing studies. For example, can differences be observed based on the proximity of an estate to both the lord's own place of residence and to the location in which the war was being waged? Is it possible to observe any trends in the type and duration of service that tenants provided? More specifically, however, the chapter explores the effect that a lord's own military service might have had on the type of men they recruited. For instance, Pollard noted that Talbot had made some use of his family estates in 1421, but did not do so again until tasked with raising an army in 1452 - when he argues that Talbot was met with a general reluctance from veterans of Normandy.[30] To what degree,

[24] *Ibid*., pp.85-8. Gibbs did not look at any of the retinues raised by the de Vere family in his study.
[25] *Ibid*., p.88.
[26] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.116.
[27] *Ibid*, pp.116-7. Also see above, n.12.
[28] M. Bailey, *The English Manor, c.1200-1500* (Manchester, 2002), p.167.
[29] G. Baker, 'To Agincourt and Beyond! The Martial Affinity of Edward of Langley, Second Duke of York (c.1373-1415)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 43 (2017), pp.40-58.
[30] Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp.99-101. A court-roll for the manor of Painswick detailed that sixteen tenants had served under him during the war: p.100, n.125.

though, were lords who provided more sporadic military service still reliant on tenurial networks over any available service market of 'soldiers' for hire?

In keeping with the broader theme of the second half of this thesis, the chapter also considers the topics of criminality and reintegration in connection to military service. Powell has argued that the 'judicial investigations of 1414 provided ample scope' for the granting of pardons in return for military service on the Agincourt campaign, and demonstrated that some retinues - such as the earl of Arundel's - included tenants and other men indicted in the court of King's Bench for their misdeeds.[31] How wide-spread this practice was however, especially among sub-captains, and whether lords continued to draw on the more undesirable elements of society after 1417 - when Henry V promulgated his intention to govern Normandy as its rightful ruler - is less clear. Where tenants are observable in the retinues of their lords, therefore, is there any evidence to suggest that minor criminal activity played a role in the selection process of those chosen to serve - thereby enabling the manors' residents to temporarily relieve themselves of troublemakers? Finally, what - if any - conclusions can be drawn from these sources regarding the ability of men who had provided military service - both short and long term - to reintegrate into local society?

II: METHODOLOGY

Two detailed case studies seek to begin to explore these questions, through analysis of manorial records in conjunction with the surviving army and garrison muster records. The first examines the sub-retinue provided by Sir John Fastolf in 1415 - for which both a muster and retinue roll have survived – and also considers the various personnel who served under him during the conquest and occupation of English-held France within the context of his manor of Castle Combe in Wiltshire. Sir John makes a relevant case study for numerous reasons, not the least of which is that, while he was quickly to become one of the leading professional Lancastrian captains, he had originated from an established but minor gentry family in Norfolk where he held relatively little in the way of land prior to his career in France.[32] He had, however, acquired a number of estates – including Castle Combe - through his marriage to Milicent, daughter of Robert, lord Tiptoft, and widow of Sir Stephen Scrope

[31] E. Powell, *Kingship, Law, and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), pp.233-40; idem, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship,* ed. G.L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), pp.71-2.

[32] See A.R. Smith, 'Aspects of the Career of Sir John Fastolf' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1982), p.7. McFarlane, 'John Fastolf's Profits of War', p.130.

in January 1409.[33] Castle Combe benefited greatly from Fastolf's investment in the manor, though he is not thought to have personally spent any time there, instead relying on stewards – such as William Westbury and William of Worcester - to oversee the daily management.[34] Nonetheless, while located well away from Fastolf's principal interests in Norfolk, Castle Combe was only a two-day march from Southampton, from where the expeditionary army sailed in 1415. The men he recruited in 1415, therefore, need to be analysed in this light. Moreover, while their survival is imperfect, the extant records for those who served under Fastolf during his career in Lancastrian France enable a sufficient degree of analysis to allow both comparisons and comment to be made. For example, there is a muster of his personal retinue for the conquest of Maine taken in 1424,[35] and numerous records survive for the various retinues he was required to maintain in the castles and towns of which he was captain.[36]

The second case study examines the retinues raised by the de Vere family, with a particular focus on the personnel who served under their banners in the expeditionary armies of 1439, 1441, and 1443 – for which complete muster rolls of each have survived - in conjunction with the manor of Earls Colne, held by the de Vere earls of Oxford between 1137 and 1583. Located roughly forty miles from London, the manor was one of the family's principal holdings, but not their main residence. The three expeditions provide varying contexts under which men were recruited; that of 1441 was raised by John, earl of Oxford, while two sub-retinues were recruited by his brothers Sir Robert and Sir Richard in 1439, and one larger sub-retinue by Sir Robert in 1443. A further point of interest is the difference in the military careers of not only the earl and Fastolf, but also the two brothers who provided intermittent service in Lancastrian France – of which, frustratingly, only a single nominal record has survived.[37] Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to reflect upon the differences in the

[33] He also inherited the manors of Bentley and Wighton in Yorkshire, Oxenton in Gloucestershire, and Bathampton in Wiltshire. The total inheritance was jointly valued at £240 per annum: William of Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp.349-351. Also see, Scrope, *Castle Combe,* pp.144-5; J. Hughes, 'Stephen Scrope and the Circle of Sir John Fastolf: Moral and Intellectual Outlooks', in *Medieval Knighthood IV*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp.109-46; G.L. Harriss, 'Fastolf, Sir John', *ONDB*.

[34] Scrope, *Castle Combe*, pp.199-203. Also see E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'Evidence of Industrial Growth on some Fifteenth-Century Manors', *EHR*, 12 (1959), p.197.

[35] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/93.

[36] For example, musters for the garrison of Alençon during his captaincy survive for the years 1427-29, 1431-32, 1434-35 and 1437, to which various other records, such as detachments drawn for service in the field, can also be added. For his captaincy and the lieutenants he appointed during his absence, see Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, pp.xli-xlii.

[37] Sir Richard was captain of the *creu* assigned to the garrison of Verneuil in 1448: BNF, ms. fr. 25778/1831.

nature of the men that they, as professionally inclined captains, recruited once outside of France, in comparison to the retinues maintained by men such as Fastolf and Sir John Talbot, who remained almost continuously in the duchy.

The selection of Sir John Fastolf and the de Vere family as case studies is not purely based on their contrasting military careers. Central to the intentions of this chapter is the requirement for each case study to have a relatively complete series of court-rolls and supplementary manorial material from which to build the investigation. There is a wealth of extant court-rolls for Fastolf's manor of Castle Combe. While there is a frustrating gap between 1403 and 1414, a record of at least a single court thereafter survives for most years through to 1455.[38] Moreover, found among these are a handful of lists of landless men – frequently absent from such records - who paid 'chevage' for the right to remain in the manor each year.[39] The court-rolls are supplemented by returned rent rolls conducted for the manor in 1377, 1447/8, and an extent and rental for 1454.[40] The exceptionally full manorial records for Earls Colne in Essex are perhaps better known, having been the subject of an Arts and Humanities Community Resource project of 'the village' between 1375 and 1854.[41] If, as a consequence of spelling variations, one allows for a degree of error, then the substantial number of surviving court-rolls for the manor dating between just June 1430 and May 1450, supplemented by a handful of account rolls for both the manor and priory, and a rental for the manor conducted in 1455, provide 306 family names of those either resident in the manor - both living and deceased - or who presumably had other connections to the manor and/or de Vere family.

There are, however, a number of limitations connected to the use of manorial documents, particularly the court-rolls, that impact upon this study.[42] For a start, they do not provide a complete overview of all those who resided in the manor. Women and minors are largely underrepresented, and landless sons are rarely recorded. Similarly, free tenants as well as the lowest ranking members of local society – the lesser land-holders – rarely feature in the court-rolls, typically only appearing in relation to their misdeeds.[43] While this is not necessarily a problem in itself, it does mean that any potential inter-family links are subject to the pitfalls of identification errors. Where possible, therefore, prominence has been given

[38] BL, Add. Ch. 18473, 18475, 18476, 18478, 18479, 18481.
[39] For discussion, see Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of Industrial Growth', pp.199-200.
[40] For 1377 and 1447/8, see BL, Add. Ch. 18471, 18480. The roll of 1454 is printed in Scrope, *Castle Combe,* pp.203-31.
[41] http://linux02.lib.cam.ac.uk/earlscolne/
[42] For broader discussion, see Baily, *The English Manor,* pp.41-3, 184-92.
[43] The problems commonly associated with the use of aliases are not a prominent feature in the two case studies which follow.

to names which are of a more unique nature to support any wider generalisations. Additionally, the court-rolls are somewhat limited in their usefulness as evidence of judicial practice. Indeed, the term 'court' is rather misleading, for the tribunal functions – such as electing local officials, enforcing by-laws, and recording the payment of fines and performance services owed to the lord – exceeded any judicial role.[44] However, their value as a source of information on the topic should not be overlooked; not least the insight that they provide into developments in local authority and autonomy in the period. Nonetheless, and in further recognition of the limitations occasioned by the analysis of court-rolls for a single manor in consideration of any correlation between criminal activity and military service, they are here - where possible - viewed in conjunction with the records of King's Bench for the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Wiltshire.[45] While it is acknowledged that this approach is imperfect – for men were indicted in the county in which the accused crime was committed, and this may not necessarily be the same county in which they resided - it is not feasible to undertake a nationwide search of these records within the time constraints of this project.

III: Sir John Fastolf and the Manor of Castle Combe, Wiltshire.

Sir John Fastolf actively pursued a near-continuous professional military career over several decades. He had served in Ireland as an esquire under Thomas of Lancaster (later duke of Clarence) between at least 1401 and 1409,[46] and again in Aquitaine in 1412-13 where he was made lieutenant to the constable of Bordeaux.[47] He did not return to England with Clarence in late April 1413,[48] instead entering into the service of Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, who had become lieutenant of the duchy in Clarence's absence. Fastolf participated in Beaufort's

[44] L. Bonfield, 'The Nature of Customary Law in the Manor Courts of Medieval England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989), pp.517-18.

[45] For discussion of these sources and their limitations, see Chapter IV.

[46] *L. and P.*, II, ii, pp.758-9; *CPR, 1408-1413*, p.41. Clarence was only thirteen when he was appointed lieutenant of Ireland in 1301. Accordingly, actual command was granted to Sir Stephen Scrope (d.1408). For a rendered account of Scrope in this capacity, see BL, Add. Ch.18222. For broader discussion, see Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp.249-53; A. Dunn, 'Loyalty, Honour and the Lancastrian Revolution: Sir Stephen Scrope of Castle Combe and his Kinsmen, c.1389-c.1408', in *Fourteenth Century England III*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.167-83.

[47] *CPR*, *1408-1413*, p.41; Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iv, p.74, n.3. For Bordeaux, see TNA, E101/185/6, m.2. Also see Vale, *English Gascony*, pp.67-8. This was the largest English army to cross to France since the expedition of 1380. For its composition, see TNA, E101/69/2/340; *Foedera*, IV, ii, pp.15, 17, 18; Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iv, pp.72-3. Also see, J. Milner, 'The English Commitment to the 1412 Expedition to France', in *The Fifteenth Century XI: Concerns and Preoccupations*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2012), pp.9-24.

[48] On 18 April, Clarence authorised Fastolf and William Swinburne to receive instalments of the sums due to him from the French. See Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iv, pp.80-7.

operations against the Armagnacs to the north,[49] and on 4 February 1414 he was granted the castle and lordship of Vayres before returning to England later that year.[50] Unfortunately, no retinue or muster roll has survived for any of his early expeditions, so little comment can be made concerning Fastolf's own recruitment of other men between 1401 and 1415.[51] There is clear evidence, however, that he led a sub-retinue in the army which crossed to France under the command of Thomas of Lancaster in 1412, with the bailiff's account of that year for the manor of Castle Combe recording that Fastolf purchased cloth 'for the great livery of the lord beyond the sea' at a cost of £7 18*s.* 4*d.*.[52] Exactly how sizable this group was and how it was recruited is unknown, but the surviving records for the nine men-at-arms and thirty archers he recruited in 1415 perhaps provide some clues.[53]

MEN-AT-ARMS.

Of the nine men-at-arms recruited by Fastolf in 1415, only one – Roger Osborne - shares a surname with any individual listed in the extant records of his manor of Castle Combe. The Osborne family appear to have ranked among the more affluent echelons of the manor's hierarchy during the second half of the fourteenth century, making it plausible that they could have equipped a man-at-arms. In both 1340 and 1377, a John Osborne was recorded as a free man holding a messuage with thirty acres at a fixed rent of 10*s.* a year, and he was among those whose certified the returns of both these rent-rolls.[54] In 1380, a Richard Osborne – along with John North – was listed as a church warden in a suit against Thomas Touker, who had withheld 147 pounds of lead.[55] Frustratingly, this same social standing means there is rather little evidence of the family's activities in the manor in the fifteenth century. They appear to have sub-let their lands in the manor by 1413,[56] but a William was sworn in as a witness in November 1430.[57] In 1439, a Jacob Osborne was recorded among a

[49] According to William Worcester, Fastolf became captain of the castle at Soubise following its capture in June 1413 – although it was subsequently recovered by the French: MCA, Fastolf Papers, 69.
[50]TNA, C61/114, m.1.
[http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/edition/calendars/C61_114/document.html#it114_01_01f_059].
[51] Stephen Cooper has suggested that this is conceivably a consequence of the IRA having destroyed the records of the Irish Public Record Office in 1922: S. Cooper, *The Real Falstaff: Sir John Fastolf and the Hundred Years War* (Barnsley, 2010), p.12.
[52] BL, Add. Ch. 18474. Also cited in Scrope, *Castle Combe,* p.255, and Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of Industrial Growth', p.198. William of Worcester noted that Fastolf continued to purchase cloth from Castle Combe for the livery of his men in each of the following twenty-two years: Scrope, *Castle Combe,* p.245.
[53] TNA, E101/45/5m m.8d, E101/44/30, no.2. Also see TNA, E404/31/405; *Foedera*, IV, ii, p.130.
[54] The 1340 return is printed in Scrope, *Castle Combe*, pp.146-51. For 1377, see BL, Add Ch. 18471.
[55] See Scrope, *Castle Combe*, p.163.
[56] BL, Add. Ch. 18475, m.3. Also see BL, Add. Ch. 18480; Scrope, *Castle Combe*, p.212.
[57] BL, Add. Ch. 18478, m.5

sizable group of men who were accused of having broken into the lord's park and killed two deer, and to have also forcibly taken fish from other men's lands - attacking one John Hull in the process.[58] No record of Jacob's punishment has survived, but it was probably on a par with that handed out to John Corston for his part in the crime – a total fine of forty shillings.[59] Jacob was probably a landless son, and first appears in the manor in the chevage list of October 1439, in which he is recorded as a weaver in the employment of Richard Holewey.[60]

While the distinct lack of any records for the manor between 1403 and 1414 exacerbates the problem of identification, Roger's absence from the later extant records does not necessarily disprove any link to the manor. He too may have been both a free man, and/or landless, and thus not observable in the administrative records. Alternatively, he may even have been part of Fastolf's household – which would also explain his being equipped as a man-at-arms – and/or he may have resided elsewhere on the estates Fastolf had inherited through his marriage. There is certainly some evidence to suggest that at least part of the family resided in and around the nearby manor of either Bathampton or Oxenton at this time.[61] A rental for this manor taken in 1450 records a John Osborne holding lands valued at an annual rent of 26*s*. 7*d*., while a William was recorded as a juryman in a contemporaneous court-roll.[62] In 1460, this same William was recorded as holding lands in the manor at a yearly rent of 21*s*., and also held land outside of the common fields for which he paid a further 2*s*.[63] The Osbornes were far from the only ones to have had inter-family links between the two manors.[64] If the identification is correct, then it would appear likely that Roger's service was a consequence of the families' standing in the community, combined perhaps with his own lack of local landed opportunity.

There is also circumstantial evidence which might indicate that the family had previously supplied men for military service. In 1395, a Michael 'Osbarn' was among the archers receiving wages in the retinue of Sir Stephen Scrope – then lord of Bentley and Castle Combe – nominal commander of the standing force stationed in Ireland.[65] It is likely that

[58] BL, Add. Ch. 18479, m.1
[59] *Ibid*., m.2.
[60] *Ibid*., m.5
[61] Two court-rolls dating to c.1425 and 1450, and a rent-roll dating to c.1460 have been assigned as belonging to the manor of Castle Combe: Gloucestershire Archives [Hereafter GA], D1637/M20, M21. However, nominal analysis would suggest that they more likely originate from either Bathampton or Oxtenton.
[62] GA, D1637/M20.
[63] GA, D1637/M21.
[64] Others include the Norths, Haleweys and Pleystedes.
[65] TNA, E101/41/39, m.2. A William Osbarn also served as an archer in the retinue of Hugh Curtays: E101/41/39, m.7. For Sir Stephen Scrope, see Scrope, *Castle Combe,* pp.131-45.

Scrope had recruited some men from among his own principal holdings. Of the surnames commonly found in the records of Castle Combe prior to 1402, at least a further ten – of which at least seven were landholders of various status - share a surname with men found in Scrope's retinue.[66] These were the same estates that were inherited by Fastolf in 1409, and the possibility is strengthened further by the exceptionally rare nature of the surname Spruce in the extant army and garrison musters. The evidence would imply that the Nicholas Spruce who served as an archer under Fastolf in 1415 was likely to have been a close relative of, or perhaps even the same man who had sought protection to serve as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Cherbourg under Sir Stephen's brother, William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire in 1386.[67]

Following this same line of reasoning, it is also conceivable that the Hodgekyn Somerton who served Fastolf as a man-at-arms in 1415 resided somewhere within his Scrope inheritance.[68] However, there is no trace of the name Somerton in the records for Castle Combe and, while this alone is not conclusive, it is more likely that he was a Norfolk man. Indeed, with the possible exception of Roger Osborne, it will be made apparent that Fastolf predominantly relied upon his Norfolk connections for recruiting men-at-arms in 1415. While the topographical nature of surnames must be used cautiously,[69] Hodgekyn may have been a member of a relatively minor gentry family who took their name from the manor of Somerton, lying roughly 14km north of Fastolf's own holdings in and around Great Yarmouth.[70] There is no extant evidence that the two men had previously served alongside each other in either Ireland or Aquitaine,[71] and Hodgekyn does not appear to have been inclined toward a profession-in-arms. Like Fastolf, he was seemingly invalided home after the

[66] These men are John Clerk, John Coke, Richard Comyn, Nicholas Danyell, Thomas Payn, John Redemell, Simon Saxford, John Young, and John and Richard Perers (esquires). With the exception of the Perers, all served as archers. The status of the latter two men also perhaps suggests that they were more probably relatives of Sir Edward Perers than men of Castle Combe: see Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, p.247.

[67] TNA, C76/70, m.14.

[68] Five individuals with the surname Somerton are recorded as having served in Ireland in 1395. A Robert mustered under Sir Stephen: TNA, E101/41/39, m.2.

[69] Not the least owing to increased levels of social mobility from the late-fourteenth century. This is abundantly evident in the ever-increasing number of migrants drawn to Castle Combe as a consequence of its thriving industrial activities in the fifteenth century: see Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of Industrial Growth', pp.199-200.

[70] The two families had both held lands and tenements of other prominent families in and around that area from at least the mid-fourteenth century. For example, see F. Blomefield, *Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols., London, 1808), viii, p.305; xi, p.250.

[71] The only evident family service in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is a John Somerton, who served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk in 1389: TNA, E101/41/17, m.1.

siege of Harfleur.[72] Though it would appear that he subsequently returned to France in 1417 - mustering in the retinue of Sir John Holand - there is no evidence that he served again after that date,[73] although one must certainly allow for the possibility of his having died in service.

The two men-at-arms recorded in the muster roll immediately after Fastolf can be more confidently identified. John Braunch and William Radcliff were associated with Fastolf through links of both marriage and military service, all of which predated his inheritance of Milicent's estates in 1409. John Braunch was the youngest brother of Sir Philip Braunch of Gresham in Norfolk,[74] who had married Fastolf's half-sister Margaret Mortimer. Like Fastolf, Philip had fought in Ireland in 1408 and again in Aquitaine in 1412-13.[75] Likewise, William Radcliff was an elder - though landless -[76] brother of Sir John Radcliff (knighted in 1415), the latter of whom had married Fastolf's other half-sister, Cecily, by which means he had secured lands in East Anglia and Norfolk – principally the manor of Attleborough.[77] Sir John had also served in Ireland between at least 1403 and 1404 - acting as Thomas of Lancaster's secretary - and again between 1406 and 1408, and had probably seen service in Aquitaine in 1412-13.[78] In a similar vein, the John Thorpe who served under Fastolf in 1415 is likely to have been the nephew of the aging Sir Edmund Thorpe of Ashwelthorpe in Norfolk,[79] and John Thornton may well have been a relative of the William Thornton who had served alongside Fastolf as an esquire in 1412-13.[80] The military connections that Fastolf had established in Ireland and Aquitaine, therefore, provided a focal point for his retinue in 1415.[81]

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[72] Fastolf had been invalided home but, having recovered quickly, returned to Normandy and entered the garrison under the command of the earl of Dorset. See TNA, E101/44/30, no.1, m.10; E101/47/39.
[73] TNA, E101/51/2, m.34. A John Somerton is also recorded under a number of captains between 1415 and 1421: see TNA, E101/46/36, m.3; E101/51/2, m.18; E101/50/1, m.2.
[74] John himself held the manor of Stodley after his mother's death in 1420: Blomefield, *County of Norfolk*, ix, p.441.
[75] *CPR*, *1408-1413*, p.41.
[76] Their eldest brother, Richard, had inherited the family holdings, including the manor of Radcliffe in Lancashire, upon the death of their farther, Sir Richard Radcliffe (d.1409): see *A History of the County of Lancaster*, vol.5, eds. W. Farrer and J. Brownbill (Victoria County History, London, 1911), pp.56-67.
[77] The first husband of Fastolf's mother - Mary Park – had been Sir Thomas Mortimer of Attleborough (d. by 1387).
[78] On 1 January 1406, Fastolf and Radcliff had jointly been granted the office of chief butler of Ireland for the duration of the earl of Ormond's minority: Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iii, p.168, n.8. For Sir John Radcliffe's career in arms, see A. Compton-Reeves, 'Sir John Radcliffe K.G. (d. 1441): *Miles Famosissimus*', in *Journal of Medieval Military History XI*, eds. C.J. Rogers, J. France and K. DeVries (Woodbridge, 2013), pp.183-214. Also see L.S. Woodger, 'Radcliffe, Sir John (d.1441), of Attleborough, Norfolk', *History of Parliament* [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/radcliffe-sir-john-1441].
[79] He was probably the son of Edmund's youngest brother, Robert: See, Blomefield, *County of Norfolk*, vol. v, p.149.
[80] Wylie, *Henry the Fourth*, iv, p.74, n.3.
[81] Curry has commented on this trend within Lancastrian France: 'Military Organization', i, pp.114-5.

However, these relatives of the men who served under Fastolf also provided military retinues of their own in 1415. Sir John Radcliff served as a member of Henry V's household, bringing with him five men-at-arms and twenty-one archers,[82] while Sir Philip served once more in the company of Thomas of Lancaster, now duke of Clarence, providing a single further man-at-arms and nine archers.[83] The size of the retinue provided by Sir Edmund Thorpe to serve in the company of Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset is not known,[84] but in 1417 he mustered with a following of nine men-at-arms and thirty-three archers.[85] It is relatively common to find relatives serving in the same retinue in both expeditionary and garrison forces – often as both men-at-arms and archers -[86] and one might therefore have expected to find such men serving under their kinsmen and not Fastolf. Sir John Radcliff did recruit another of his elder brothers, Henry, in 1415 and again in 1417, when a further John 'Radclyff' was also listed among his archers.[87] Having entered the garrison of Harfleur following its capture, however, there is no clear evidence that William provided any subsequent service after 1416.[88]

Little comment can be made concerning the origins of the three remaining men-at-arms.[89] Only one appears to have had any professional inclinations – perhaps adding weight to the idea that Fastolf had primarily recruited men-at-arms from among neighbours and tenants. If the identification is correct, only John Thornton can clearly be observed providing further military service in France. Along with William Radcliff and a further four men-at-arms of the retinue, Thornton had entered the garrison of Harfleur and remained there throughout into 1416.[90] He subsequently appears to have re-crossed in the company of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, in 1417, and perhaps remained in the duchy under a number of captains through to the late 1430s.[91] No records survive to illuminate whether William Radcliff and

[82] TNA, E101/45/11 m.3.
[83] TNA, E101/45/4 mm.2, 10.
[84] An Arnald Savage took out Letters of Attorney to serve under Thorpe: TNA, C76/98, m.19a.
[85] TNA, E101/51/2.
[86] It has been argued that this phenomenon demonstrates that the 'divide between archers and men-at-arms was not necessarily that great': Bell *et al*, *The Soldier,* p.162. For discussion, see *Ibid.,* pp.162-7, 252-3; Also see, Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp.40-1.
[87] TNA, E101/51/2 m.40.
[88] TNA, 101/47/39.
[89] Thomas Barnstaple may have originated from the port town of that name in north Devon.
[90] TNA, 101/47/39. The other four men were John Thorpe, John Halle, Roger Osborne, and Thomas Barstaple.
[91] This is a very common name. Yet, only a single individual by this name served as a man-at-arms in 1415 – under Fastolf. In 1417, however, two John Thornton's mustered as men-at-arms; one under John Mowbray, and the other in the retinue of Sir Richard Hastings: TNA, E101/51/2, m.27 and m.39, respectively. One of these two men subsequently served in Richard Woodville's personal retinue between 1421 and 1422: TNA, E101/49/37, m1; BNF, ms. fr. 25770/727. This same man then appears to have served in the garrison of Caen under Woodville between 1423 and 1428 and remained there

the four remaining men-at-arms who had also entered the garrison of Harfleur in 1415/16 had similarly returned to England by early 1417, or if they continued to accompany Fastolf when he himself joined up with the invasion force in 1417. None are recorded mustering in Harfleur after 1416.[92] It is not beyond possibility that they were among the twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers that Fastolf agreed to maintain in the bastille of St. Anthony of Paris in January 1421.[93] There are no extant nominal records, however, which would definitively evidence that any provided any further service. None is recorded among the men-at-arms who mustered under Fastolf as captain of Meulan in 1422,[94] and - more tellingly - none mustered in his personal retinue for the conquest of Maine in 1424/5.[95] Moreover, none appears to have clearly provided any later service under any alternative captain either.

As Anne Marshall has observed, nonetheless, both 'territorial proximity… and the ties of marriage back home' did continue to play some role in Fastolf's affinity.[96] Both Sir Philip and Henry Braunch *did* serve as part of Fastolf's personal retinue for the conquest of Maine, and Sir Henry Inglose was recorded as a mounted man-at-arms in the retinue which Fastolf led to the siege of Orleans.[97] However, while a number of Norfolk knights and esquires are intermittently found serving under Fastolf's command in both the field and garrisons, it would appear that such connections were the exception and not the rule. Sir Philip was appointed as his lieutenant for Anjou and Maine in 1435,[98] but Fastolf appears to have largely

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under other captains - including Fastolf – until at least 1438, perhaps re-entering it in 1448: AN, K 62/7/4; BL, Add. Ch. 93; BNF, ms. fr. 25767/67; 25772/920; 25767/117, 140, 188; 25768/308; 22468/41-43; 25769/512, 526; 25770/765; 25773/1081, 1120; 25774/1259, 1292; 25778/1822.

[92] For a muster taken there in 1417, see TNA, E101/48/17.

[93] This is based on an eighteenth-century translation of the indenture between Henry V and Fastolf: Norfolk Record office, Phi/612/6, 578X6. Also see J. G. Nichols, 'An Original Appointment of Sir John Fastolfe to be Keeper of the Bastille of St. Anthony, at Paris, in 1421', *Archaeologia*, 44 (1873), pp.113-23.

[94] BNF, ms. fr. 25766/810. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether any of the men who mustered as part of the garrison continued to serve after 1422, as very few musters have survived for this garrison. The next full surviving muster dates to 1434, by which point all of the men-at-arms who served under Fastolf are certainly absent: BNF, ms. fr. 25771/814. There is, however, perhaps some evidence that Eliot Bernard, John Payn and John Crosby, served elsewhere at later dates under different captains.

[95] See BNF, ms. fr. 25767/93. The indenture between John, duke of Bedford and Fastolf for the Maine campaign is printed in *L. and P.*, II, i, pp.44-50. It is also translated and printed in *Society at War: The Experience of England and France During the Hundred Years War*, ed. C.T. Allmand, (Edinburgh, 1973), pp.58-60. Also see, Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.219.

[96] Marshall, 'English War Captains', pp.46-9.

[97] *Ibid.*, p.47, citing BL, Add. Ch. 11611. Both Fastolf and Inglose had initially been retained by Sir John Tiptoft in April 1415, to provide sub-retinues for service in Aquitaine. The king subsequently withdrew both their contingents in May. See Vale, *English Gascony*, pp.76-7. Inglose had also served alongside Fastolf in Aquitaine in 1412-13: TNA, C76/95, m.8; J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth* (London, 1898), p.73.

[98] *L. and P.*, II, i, p.436. Also cited in Marshall, 'English War Captains', p.47

followed Talbot's trend in recruiting his lieutenants from among professionals with whom he had no domestic links, but who had proven track-records of military service in France.[99] For example, Fastolf commissioned James Dryland to be his sub-lieutenant at Caen between at least 1432 and 1435 - when he was himself the duke of Bedford's lieutenant there. Dryland continued in the office following Bedford's death in 1435 and Fastolf's later promotion to captain in 1436.[100]

From an early stage in the conquest and occupation, this also appears to have been the case with many of those who served simply as men-at-arms in the various retinues he maintained. The clear majority of those whom he recruited in 1424/5,[101] for example, appear to have been professional mixed-careerists with whom he shared no previous links; some were veterans while others seemingly had no previous experience but went on to serve under a number of different captains in careers of varying duration.[102] For some, this included further periods under Fastolf's banner. John Nongle, John Buchden, William Eynon, Thomas Hunte, Henry Chambre, Robert Wardale and Guillelm Cresstio all served under Fastolf once again at the siege of Pontorson in 1427.[103] That same year, John Coventree mustered among his men-at-arms serving in the garrison of Alençon.[104] Others such as Yvon Peny and William Kyrkeby are found among the additional men and reinforcements attached to the garrison of Alençon under Fastolf in 1429,[105] while Henry More and Richard Yarrow are recorded as having been present in the field under his command in both 1427 and 1429.[106] Finally, having also mustered as part of the reinforcements attached to Alençon in 1429, John Mordyng

[99] See Pollard, *John Talbot*, Chapter 5. Also see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.137-8.

[100] Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, pp.liv-lv. Also see, BNF, ms. fr. 25770/686, 25770/765, 25771/779, 25771/798, 25773/1081, 25773/1120. Dryland then spent two years as the earl of Warwick's lieutenant in the castle at Rouen, before serving as lieutenant to Matthew Gough in the garrison at Bayeux – where he had bought property some years earlier - until at least 1448: Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, p.94.

[101] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/93.

[102] A complete overview of the careers of those who served in his 1424/5 personal retinue is provided in appendix C.

[103] Unless otherwise noted, all references to his retinue at the siege of Pontorson are BNF, ms. fr. 25767/216 and 25768/225.

[104] BNF, ms. fr.25768/239. He remained in the garrison until at least 1442: AN, K 63/10/25, BNF, naf. 8602/19, BNF, ms. fr. 25771/826 and 864, ADO, A. 411/A, AN, K 67/12/80, BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602.

[105] All references to these forces are BNF, ms. fr. 25768/424 and 432.

[106] After 1429, Yarrow continued to serve in the garrison at Alençon through to at least 1447 – serving under both Edmund Beaufort, earl of Dorset, and Sir Richard Woodville: BNF, ms. fr. 25771/843 and 864, 25772/1044, AN, K 66/1/57, 66/12/80, BNF, ms. fr. 25777/1786. Similarly, Henry More is found mustering in the Alençon garrison in February 1431, while Thomas Gower held the office of lieutenant there. In July and August, More was serving under Matthew Gough at the siege of Louviers: AN, K 63/10/34, BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617 and 621. Thomas Gower had served in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424, while Gough had been among the men under his command at the siege of Pontorson.

went on to serve Fastolf in the garrison of Fresnay between at least 1435 and 1438, and is recorded entering Harfleur in 1445.[107]

While the records detailing Fastolf's various retinues in France throughout his career are imperfect, what does survive suggests that Fastolf, much like Talbot, was not dependent upon his English estates to provide reinforcement men-at-arms.[108] None of the families found in the records of Castle Combe appear to have served under Fastolf in this capacity at any point after 1415. Similarly, there is nothing which indicates that any of the families who held lands or manors of the barony of Castle Combe served under Fastolf at any time either.[109] The more commonplace nature of some surnames found in the records of Castle Combe makes determining whether any men served under alternative captains in this capacity much more complex. However, the lack of any army or garrison muster for those in the manor with more uncommon surnames would suggest that any such service was, at most, highly unusual. To what degree this evidence can be seen as reflective of patterns at his other estates - especially those in Norfolk - however, requires further investigation.

One consequence of this seemingly greater reliance upon more professionally inclined combatants is that it is not easy to reflect either on any possible recruitment of men with a criminal history, or on the ability of those who did serve under his banner for a prolonged period to later reintegrate peacefully into county society.[110] As outlined in the methodology, a systematic analysis of the surviving legal records for the entirety of England in conjunction with the army and garrison musters between 1417 and 1450 is simply not feasible here on the scale that would be required. Nonetheless, we are on firmer ground to make some observation when it comes to his retinue of 1415. Here it is at least evident that none of the men-at-arms in his retinue for that year are to be found among the indictments filed with the Court of King's Bench for the counties of Norfolk or Wiltshire between 1414 and 1420 – suggesting that their experience of war did not have any immediate impact on their behaviour once home.[111] Similarly, there is nothing at a manorial level to suggest that Roger Osborne's service was a consequence of lawlessness, or that it had any detrimental impact on the family's local standing.

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[107] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/195, 25768/432, 25772/195, 25772/964, 25772/1043, AN, K. 64/10/8bis, BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1297 and 1309, 25775/1386, 26274/10. Between 1429 and 1435, Mordyng was serving out of the garrison of Falaise under Sir Thomas Kingston, mostly in the field: BNF, ms. fr. 25768/403, 25770/679 and 757.

[108] This is also in keeping with observations concerning the declining participation of the gentry after 1421.

[109] For example, see the Honorial Court held on 4 October 1414: BL, Add. Ch. 18475, m.5

[110] Although this latter theme is explored in more detail in Chapter IV.

[111] TNA, KB9/113; /207/1-2; /39; /208; /206/2; /209; /210; /211; /212/1-2; /213; /214; /215/1-2; /216/1.

ARCHERS

Conclusions regarding the thirty archers recruited by Fastolf in 1415 are rather more difficult to draw. While three men sought letters of protection for the expedition, none provided a location of origin.[112] At least a proportion of the archers would have been supplied by his men-at-arms, thus further shrinking an already small evidence base from which to analyse Fastolf's own influence. William Burgate may have originated from the village of that name in Norfolk. If he still resided there in 1415, then it is likely that he would have been recruited by either William Radcliff or John Thorp, both of whose relatives' principal lands both lay within half a day's walk. Only two further archers have topographical surnames which might possibly be taken as indicative of their origins. Both William Blaby and Henry of Derbyshire may have resided in the East Midlands, and it is conceivable therefore that they were unknown to Fastolf or his men-at-arms and were instead recruited from an available service-market of archers seeking employment. Even so, any professional inclination on their part can be questioned; the unique nature of their names in the surviving army and garrison musters - taken at face value - would indicate that neither man provided any earlier or later service.[113]

One individual can more clearly be associated with Fastolf's Norfolk estates. A John Candeler is recorded among the retinue recruited by Sir Hugh Fastolf – John's father - to serve at sea under Sir William de Neville in 1372.[114] The relative rarity of this surname in the army and garrison musters might suggest that the John Candeler who served as an archer under Thomas, lord Berkeley in a naval expedition of 1404 and under John Fastolf in 1415 were both one and the same individual and a relative of the man who had served in 1372.[115] Candeler was invalided home after the siege of Harfleur.[116] In 1417, he mustered in the retinue of William de la Pole,[117] the son of Michael, earl of Suffolk. While his movements over the following few years are unknown, Candeler had re-joined Fastolf's service by 1426 at the

[112] TNA, C76/98, m.11: John Hoppere and William Lynsted. C76/98, m.17: John Riggele.
[113] A Henry Derby does appear to serve as an archer in the garrisons between 1429 and 1445, but the fifteen-year gap between 1415 and 1430 perhaps indicates that this was a different individual.
[114] TNA, E101/32/24, m.6.
[115] For 1404, see: TNA, E101/43/32, m.1. There is no further crossover between the nineteen other archers Sir Hugh raised in 1372, and the retinue Sir John raised in 1415. A Peter Candeler also served in the company of Michael de la Pole in 1415, but as part of the earl's own retinue: TNA, E101/46/24, m.3d.
[116] TNA, E101/45/1/ m.11.
[117] TNA, E101/51/2, m.14.

latest, mustering under him as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Honfleur until 1429.[118] He was also among the detachment that Fastolf took to the siege of Orleans in 1429.[119]

With the exception of Candeler, there is little evidence to suggest that any of Fastolf's other archers provided prolonged service under his command, though a minority did perhaps provide further single short terms of service under him at later dates. For example, both a Thomas Holond and Richard Fox are recorded among the archers drawn from his garrison of Verneuil in 1429, but there is no clear evidence that either man served in the garrison before or after that date.[120] Some entered into the Harfleur garrison after the town had been captured and, unlike his men-at-arms, a handful can still be observed mustering there in 1417. Just two, though – John Adam and John Thomaeson – mustered there in 1418; Adam under the new lieutenant Sir Hugh Lutterell.[121] The common nature of some of the names in question makes it unclear whether some did either remain in France in the retinue of another captain, or subsequently returned under one at a later date. However, it can be argued that this was not the case for the majority – with such lack of 'professionalism' perhaps again indicating that a not insignificant percentage had been recruited from among his tenants - or those of his men-at-arms – who had returned home after their contract had ended. Richard Bussh, Thomas Douglas, Raulyn Fouler, William Godston, Richard Milam, Nicholas Spruce, Jordan Taillor, Henry Tollay and John Wordley all appear to have provided no additional service whatsoever after 1415. Moreover, not a single archer from his 1415 retinue is recorded mustering under him at either the garrison of Meulan in 1422,[122] or in his personal retinue in 1424/5.

So, what then of the manors inherited through his wife? Nicholas Spruce's probable link has already been highlighted. It is unlikely that he resided in Castle Combe, for he is not recorded in any of the extant documents. It is feasible, though, that he was recruited by Fastolf, perhaps along with the aforementioned Roger Osborne, from his manor of Bathampton/Oxenton. Indeed, based on surnames recorded in the surviving court-rolls for

[118] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/154, 25768/255 and 284. He is not recorded as having mustered there in 1423, when William FitzHenry was captain: BNF, ms. fr. 25767/30.
[119] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/420.
[120] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/440
[121] TNA, E101/48/19, E101/48/6. Lutterell had been appointed lieutenant in June 1417: *The Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, ed. W.B. Brett (London, 1883), p.597. Neither Adam nor Thomaeson is recorded in Harfleur in the next extant muster in 1421: TNA, E101/50/9, no.2, ADSM, 100J/30/32. Thomaeson's identity is perhaps a little more complicated. An individual by that name mustered in the expeditionary retinue of Sir John Cornwall in 1417 and, though it is probable, it is not clear if it was the same man: TNA, E101/51/2, m.35. He seemingly also served as an archer in the field army under Richard Woodville in 1421: TNA, E101/49/37, m.5.
[122] A William Barbour is recorded in this muster, but the possibility that it is the same individual is negated by the extremely common nature of the name.

that manor in 1425 and 1450,[123] there is evidence to suggest that Fastolf recruited a further five archers from that location: William Cook; Thomas Glover; John Lech; Matheu Reynold; and Lucas West. Unfortunately, though, the ubiquitous nature of the names in question, not to mention the paucity of records for the manor, makes determining who – if indeed any – were recruited from there impossible. The service of a John and Hugh 'Leche' in the retinue of Sir Stephen Scrope in 1395, however, is certainly tantalising,[124] and that both Matheu Reynold and Lucas West only appear to have served on this single occasion might also point toward more traditional recruitment networks.[125] There is remarkably little evidence, though, even to begin to suggest that Fastolf recruited archers from among his tenants in Castle Combe in 1415. In fact, if we omit the omnipresent surnames Baker and Cook, then only a single archer in Fastolf's sub-retinue - Raulyn Fouler - shares a surname with anyone recorded in the manor at any point in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and even that dates to 1355.[126]

There is, however, one particular observation concerning his Scrope inheritance that requires some consideration. There is evidence pointing to men having served under another captain - Sir William Beauchamp of Powick, Gloucestershire.[127] If we again pass over the common names such as Cook, Clerk and Smyth, then perhaps three of the thirty archers who mustered under Sir William in 1415 share a surname with an individual found in the manorial records of Castle Combe: Ralph Walsh, William Danyell and John Brigge. None are particularly uncommon names, but if we broaden this examination of Beauchamp's retinue to take account additionally of the names recorded in the 1425 court-roll of Bathampton/Oxenton, then up to a further five archers may have been related to men resident there: John Deny, Richard Nasshe,[128] John Folke, John Waterfalle, and Thomas Asshe - the last-named of whom may well be the same individual who served in the retinue. John Drape, recorded in this same court-roll in relation to two separate debts, but as being of the near-by village of Walden, may also be the individual by that name who served as an archer in Beauchamp's retinue. Roughly one third of Beauchamp's archers, therefore, may have been drawn from Fastolf's Wiltshire manors.

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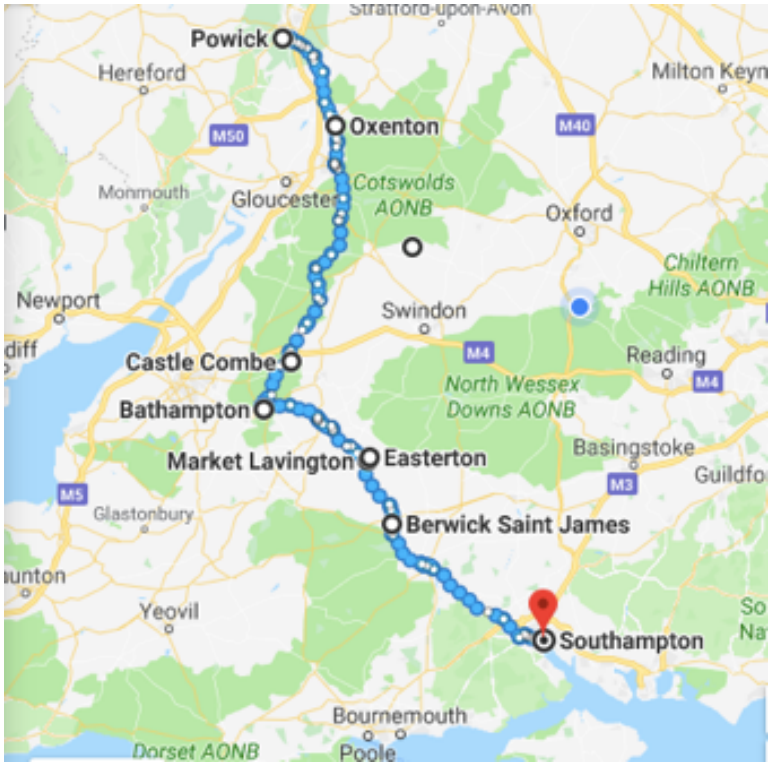
[123] GA, D1637/M20.
[124] For example, see TNA, E101/41/39, m.1i, m.7.
[125] West seemingly fought at Agincourt before being mustered for the last time in the garrison of Harfleur in 1417: TNA, E101/48/17.
[126] Scrope, *Castle Combe*, p.160.
[127] TNA, E101/45/13, m.1. This is not the Sir William Beauchamp, lord Abergavenny (d.1411) discussed in Chapter I, but a cadet branch of that family: see L.S. Woodger, 'Beauchamp, Sir William (d.c.1421), of Powick, Worcs. And Alcester, Warws.', *History of Parliament*.
[128] Members of the Nasshe family are also recorded in the Castle Combe court-rolls from the 1430s.

The less common nature of the surnames Folke, Nasshe, and Waterfalle strengthens the identification. It is also intriguing that a Thomas Asshe is later found serving under a further man with whom Fastolf had close connections, and in a region that was well known to him. In 1435 and 1436 he is recorded as having mustered under Sir William Oldhall in and around the garrisons of Essay and Alençon.[129] Similarly, the only other surviving record for the surname Waterfalle relates to a Henry, recorded mustering as an archer in the garrison of Alençon in 1442.[130] While Fastolf had relied more on his Norfolk connections, it would appear that he had perhaps granted Beauchamp permission to recruit from among his tenants in Wiltshire. Castle Combe and Bathampton lay approximately two days' march south of Powick, lying roughly *en route* to the muster point at Southampton. While there is little clear connection between Fastolf and Sir William, it should perhaps not be overlooked that the latter's younger brother, Walter Beauchamp, held neighbouring Wiltshire manors in Steeple Lavington (now Market Lavington) and Easterton, along with a number of others in the county such as Berwick St James.[131] Ultimately - if the identifications are correct – then it is simply too coincidental that these men would all have ended up in Sir William's retinue by other means.



Map 2.1: Possible route between Powick and Southampton including the relevant Wiltshire manors of Sir John Fastolf and the principal Wiltshire manors of Sir Walter Beauchamp.

[129] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/987, AN, K 64/1/9, BNF, ms. fr. 25773/1146, 1157.
[130] AN, K 67/12/80, BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602.
[131] See J.S. Roskell and L.S. Woodger, 'Beauchamp, Sir Walter (d.1430), of Bromham and Steeple Lavington, Wilts.', *History of Parliament.*

Analysis of the archers recorded in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, as well as those who served under him in various garrisons, would – like his men-at-arms - suggest that he drew more on professionally inclined men who were either already serving in the duchy, or who would continue to do so, than on reinforcements from his English estates.[132] For example, none of the archers who served in his personal retinue seemingly share any link to his manor of Castle Combe. Nonetheless, like Asshe and Waterfalle, there is some evidence that a few from within his wider Scrope inheritance sought occasional service as archers. Some, such as Henry Thode, may have specifically sought service under Fastolf; he is only found serving on a single occasion, mustering as part of the retinue that Fastolf led to the siege of Pontorson in 1427.[133] Similarly, a Reginald Graunte is only recorded mustering at Caen in 1436 – when Fastolf was lieutenant.[134] Other men are also occasionally found serving under the command of men with whom Fastolf had forged links through previous military service. For example, a John Buk is recorded mustering at the garrison of Falaise under Thomas Gower on a single occasion in 1429,[135] while a Robert Buk was listed among the detachment drawn from the garrison of Fresnay in September 1438,[136] where Fastolf had been captain between October 1422 and Michaelmas 1426 and again between 11 December 1431 and 6 March 1438.[137] If such identifications are correct, then we can perhaps presume that others with more common surnames would also have been related to men recorded in the manorial documents. Intriguingly, though, there is remarkably little evidence that any of these men sought prolonged periods of military service - although we must bear in mind the incomplete nature of the available records.

The unique nature of some surnames found in the documents of Castle Combe and the surviving army and garrison musters would imply that a small minority of men were also able to choose to serve at different times and under different captains. John Gaudeby, who served as an archer under Thomas Burgh in the garrison of Avranches between 1424 and 1427,[138] and the Thomas 'Garwardby' who similarly served in connection to the garrison of Falaise in 1441 and 1442,[139] may well have been landless relatives of the William and John Gaudeby who were both regularly elected as jurors and held other local offices in Castle Combe between the 1420s and 1450s. That the two Johns were not one and the same is

[132] See Appendix C.
[133] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/225.
[134] BNF, ms. fr. 25773/1081, 1120.
[135] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/396.
[136] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1360.
[137] Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, p.lxxxi.
[138] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/96; BL, Add. Ch. 11573.
[139] BNF, naf 8606/70, 77, 84; AN, K 67/12/14.

demonstrated through one continuing to be sworn in as a juror in 1427.[140] Similarly, John Selewyn, recorded as an archer in the retinue of John Sharp in the expeditionary army of 1443,[141] may well have been a member of the prominent family by that name.[142] John Deverell, who served in the 1443 expedition but in the retinue of John Holand, may have been related to the Thomas Deverell who was elected and sworn in as a principal juror in 1420,[143] and who continued to hold similar local appointments through to the 1450s. In 1440, both William Gaudeby and Thomas Deverell were among the jurors who declared Richard Bocher to be a thief and outlaw.[144] As outlined below, this correlation between those wealthier tenants who held local positions of importance and the military service of possible relatives is also noticeable at the de Vere manor of Earls Colne. Where such family links might be identified, it is rarely the landholder himself serving but rather his sons, brothers and perhaps cousins. Military service, therefore, would appear to have been a means of employment for the surplus population of the manor, rather than the yeomanry themselves.

There is nothing in the surviving manor court records to suggest that any of the identified individuals served as a consequence of lawless behaviour – although it must be noted that any evaluation of this is restricted by the lack of nominal material relating to English expeditionary armies in the reign of Henry VI.[145] Nonetheless, Ralph Walssh, William Danyel, and John Brigge, all of whom may have served in 1415, do not feature in in the extant court-rolls of 1413 or 1414.[146] Likewise, neither Thomas Gaudeby nor John Deverell appears in any of the twelve extant court-rolls of March 1437 through December 1442 – thus bookending their possible service.[147] Moreover, while the apparent lack of military service among Castle Combe tenants makes it very difficult to comment on their ability to reintegrate peacefully back into county society, the fact that none of those identified subsequently appear in the court-rolls following their service either, suggests at the very least that they had little difficulty in doing so.

Castle Combe certainly had its share of miscreants. While a clear majority of fines that were issued in the court-rolls relate to everyday minor offenses that men – and women – committed, such as breaking hedges, cutting timber without licence, failure to maintain

[140] For example, in the court-roll of 15 May 1427, both William and John are listed among the jurors: BL, Add. Ch. 18476, m.13.
[141] TNA, E101/54/5, m.7.
[142] A John Selewyn is recorded among the landless men who owed chevage in 1435, 1436, 1437: BL, Add. Ch. 18478, mm.8, 13, 20.
[143] For John, see TNA, E101/54/5, m.11. For Thomas in 1420, see BL, Add. Ch. 18475, m.23.
[144] BL, Add. Ch. 18479, m.6.
[145] See Curry, 'The English Army', pp.44-6; eadem, 'Military Organization', i, p.110.
[146] BL, Add. Ch. 18475, mm.1-5.
[147] BL, Add. Ch. 18478, mm.16-21, and Add. Ch. 18479, mm.1-12.

paths and highways, and breaking the assize of bread and ale, somewhat more serious offenses such as poaching and minor fights are relatively frequent too.[148] Yet, allowing for the common nature of surnames such as Smyth and Cook in the army and garrison musters, those who committed these offenses do not appear to have provided any military service. For example, neither William Gamelyn nor Philip Wayte who – along with Thomas Baker – in 1413 had 'feloniously stolen and carried away' a horse, chair, bed and blanket of Robert Webbe, valued a combined 45*s*. appear to have provided service at any time, and if Thomas did serve in 1415 it was not under Fastolf or Beauchamp.[149] Similarly, despite the violent nature of their crime, neither Jacob Osborne nor John Corston, nor Thomas Mabanke, who was likewise accused alongside them, appears to have provided any military service as a consequence.[150]

IV: The De Vere manor of Earls Colne, Essex.

The de Vere family played a prominent role in the war with France in the fifteenth century. Before his death in 1417, Richard de Vere, eleventh earl of Oxford, had recruited and led a military retinue for Thomas, duke of Clarence's campaign of 1412-13, Henry V's Agincourt campaign of 1415, and he also fought at the naval battle which helped to maintain the English hold on Harfleur a year later.[151] Similarly, having reached his majority in 1429, Richard's son, John, the twelfth earl of Oxford, provided a retinue for the defence of Calais in 1436, and again in 1441 when he accompanied Richard, duke of York, during the latter's second term as lieutenant of Normandy.[152] Additionally, in April 1454, he was one of a number of captains selected to keep the sea for a period of three years.[153]

It was not just the earls who recruited men. Richard's brother, Sir John de Vere, served as a captain in the retinue of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester in 1415,[154] and both brothers of John, the twelfth earl, provided military service as captains too. Both Sir Robert

[148] It should be noted, of course, that the manor court did not have jurisdiction over more serious violent crimes.
[149] BL, Add. Ch. 18475. Their punishment has not survived.
[150] A John Corston had served as an archer in the garrison stationed at Montgomery in Wales under Thomas Neville, lord Furnivall, in 1404: TNA, E101/44/6, mm.2, 5.
[151] For 1415, see TNA, E/101/50/26; E101/46/36, m.2, 3; BL, Harley 782, fo.76; TNA, C76/98, m.14. For a detailed examination of the family in this period, including the military service of the eleventh and twelfth earls, see J. Ross, 'The De Vere Earls of Oxford 1400-1513' (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2004), particularly Chapters 2 and 3.
[152] TNA, E101/53/33, m.1, 2; E101/54/9 m.1. During this campaign, he was also appointed captain of St Lô. See, Curry 'Military Organization', ii, p.cxxxv
[153] H. Castor, 'Vere, John de, Twelfth Earl of Oxford', *ODNB*.
[154] TNA, E101/50/26; E101/45/13, m.2. He was invalided home after the siege: E101/44/30, no.1, m.4

and Sir Richard had possibly accompanied their elder brother in 1436,[155] and both provided separate sub-retinues for service in Gascony under John Holland, earl of Huntingdon in 1439.[156] Robert must still have been in Gascony in August 1441, for Huntingdon – then in England – appointed him seneschal of Guyenne.[157] In 1443, Robert provided a large sub-retinue for the army led by John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and was appointed captain of St Lô for a term of one year on 29 June 1444.[158] He subsequently remained in France for an unknown duration, but had returned to England by 1447 at the latest.[159] On 20 August 1449, he once more indented to serve in France at the head of a small army of a hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers intended to reinforce the stronghold of Fougères – though he made it no further than Caen - where he was captain of the castle when the town was surrendered on 24 June 1450.[160] Like his elder brother, Robert too was appointed as one of the keepers of the sea in 1454. Sir Richard's service after 1439 is rather more obscure, but he was captain of a *creu* attached to the garrison of Verneuil in 1448,[161] and intended to serve in the retinue of his brother John in 1454.[162]

While the military actions of the de Vere earls and their brothers can be relatively well traced, significantly less is known about the men they recruited for these endeavours. Of the 306 surnames documented among the records of Earls Colne, 127 - or approximately forty-two per cent - match those of men who can be found serving in the various retinues of the de Vere family between 1387 and 1448.[163] The common nature of some of these surnames inevitably creates issues of accuracy and, no doubt, some, such as the ubiquitous Smiths and Cooks, might not relate to the same individual in each circumstance. Nonetheless,

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[155] A Richard Vere is recorded as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Cherbourg under Thomas, lord Scales, at the end of July that year: BL, Add. Ch. 11918. He may, however, have been a member of the Northamptonshire cadet branch of the family.

[156] TNA, E101/53/22, m.3.

[157] C61/131, m.9. For reasons unknown, however, he was unable to take up this position and had soon returned to England. He was re-appointed on 15 November 1445: C61/134, m.6. For further details, see Vale, *English Gascony,* p.245.

[158] TNA, E101/54/5; BL, Add. Ch. 3979. Also see, Curry 'Military Organization', ii, p.cxxxv. For discussion of Robert's links to Beaufort, see M.K. Jones, 'John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset and the French Expedition of 1443', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp.92, 100.

[159] He was among the members of the duke of Gloucester's household that were arrested on 21 February 1447: *Davies' Chronicle*, p.117.

[160] TNA, E404/65/223, 225; *L & P,* i, pp.292-3. For discussion of the circumstances of this army, see Curry 'Military Organization', i, p.54-6; B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp.206-9. Following the surrender of Caen, Robert was one of the knights surrendered to the French: Marshal, 'English War Captains', p.93.

[161] BNF, ms. fr. 25778/1831.

[162] TNA, C76/135, m.7.

[163] Seventy-six – or twenty-five per cent - have no surviving evidence of any military service whatsoever in either the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

there is a good number of more uncommon names where it is possible to be more certain of identifying particular individuals. In turn, possible patterns emerge which, when applied with a degree of common sense, perhaps increase the chances of those with more common names being identified more readily.

MEN-AT-ARMS.

Of the sixty men-at-arms recruited by John de Vere in 1441, perhaps as many as nine – or fifteen per cent - share a surname with an individual found in the Earls Colne records.[164] As Ross has stated, little of certainty is known about most of the men-at-arms de Vere recruited, but some clearly had links of proximity and clientage to him. The family of John Weston, for example, held Prested Hall in Feering of the earls of Oxford.[165] Of the other five men-at-arms identified by Ross, only one can clearly be linked to the fifteenth-century records of Earls Colne – William Talworth, who held the manor of Little Holland in Essex near to de Vere's manor of Great Bentley,[166] and was steward of the earl's household by the mid-1460s.[167] Based on the close proximity between those manors and the rarity of the surname Talworth in the surviving army and garrison musters, it can be tentatively suggested that both the John and Thomas Talworth found in the records of Earls Colne on seven occasions between 1437 and 1468 were related to William. Both men had landed interests in the manor - John having sold a cottage with garden to a John Soneld without licence in 1437,[168] and Thomas, shortly prior to his death (c.1440-1), similarly having alienated a bonded tenement to the same John Soneld.[169]

If this methodology is applied to the rest of the earl's men-at-arms in 1441, then perhaps a further four can be shown to have had similar links – James Pitman, Richard Birde, Richard Hauke, and John William. In 1440, a John Pitman was recorded as having at some

[164] These are Thomas Belle, Richard Bird, Richard Hauke, James Pitman, Robert Preston, William Talworth, John Weston, John William, and Thomas Wode. All references to John de Vere's retinue in 1441 are to TNA, E101/53/33 m.1.

[165] The other four individuals Ross identified were John Wenlok, William Lynde, John Spearman/Sparham, and Thomas Wode (d.1442-3) who held the manor of Pympe in Kent, and/or Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire: Ross, 'Essex Country Society', p.60. A Thomas Wode is, in fact, recorded in the manor court in 1452, 1453 and 1454. However, given the common nature of the surname and the fact that he was recorded being fined for breaking the assize of bread and ale - his wife, Joan, was similarly fined for brewing ale - it is unlikely that the two were related.

[166] Ross, 'Essex County Society', p.60, n.39.

[167] He is recorded as having 'recently' been steward in 1466-7: ERO, D/DPr128, m.1d. My thanks to Dr Ross for highlighting this document to me.

[168] ERO, D/DPr68 [*Records of an English Village 1375-1854*, http://lib.cam.ac.uk/earlscolne/contents.htm, Online Document Identifier: 57200007, 57100816, 57200896].

[169] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400335, 57400589]. The rental of 1455 highlights that Thomas had also held a house near the churchyard: ERO, D/DPr109 [Online Identifier: 43801180].

undated time previously held a cottage parcel within the tenement of Symonds within the manor of Earls Colne.[170] In 1442, a John Bird is recorded in the priory accounts as having paid 10*s* in rent for the tenement of Couchoes, and a further 10*s* for the tenement of Herts.[171] Similarly, while there is no surviving evidence of a Richard Hauke within the Earls Colne records, both a John – described as a carpenter - and William Hauke – described as a fishmonger - appear frequently in connection to their landed interests within the manor between 1439 and 1468 - at least a proportion of which were freehold.[172] John William first appears in the records slightly later, when he was fined 4*d*. for attacking William Wright in 1460.[173] Between 1462 and 1468, he can be found in a number of landholding records, in some of which it is apparent that he had a son also named John.[174] While it is possible that he may have been related to the William William recorded in the manor records in 1430 and 1431,[175] it is more likely that his service had been recommended to the earl by one of his brothers, Sir Robert or Sir Richard, both of whom he would probably have come into contact with in Aquitaine.[176] Whether John William had any earlier military experience is unclear, but it would not outwardly appear so. Given that only a single man-at-arms by this name served in the 1441 expedition, it is not inconceivable that, having perhaps been compelled to accompany the earl of Huntingdon back to England, he looked to connections made during that service to provide re-employment in the next available expedition.[177] This argument is strengthened by the appearance of Richard Brode in the earl of Oxford's 1441 retinue, he too perhaps being the same individual who had served as a man-at-arms in the sub-retinue of Sir Thomas Rempstone in 1439.[178]

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[170] ERO, D/DPr10 [Online Identifier: 43100581].
[171] ERO, D/DPr59 [Online Identifier: 45300109].
[172] Both also served as chief pledges during this time. For examples, see ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57200839] (1439); D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57300974] (1441); D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400241] (1442); D/DPr109 [Online Identifier: 43800516, 43800603, 43800649] (1455).
[173] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 58500091].
[174] It was possibly this son who, in 1472, was described as a yeoman of Colne and indicted as being a principal instigator in the assembling of an armed group of men who broke into the homes of Stephen May, John Drewe and Richard Boteler, threatening to maim and murder them: ERO, D/DPr69 [Online Identifier: 59300118].
[175] In 1430, he is recorded as having made an attack upon Richard Skynnere, then constable of Earls Colne, with a dagger: ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56500676]. A William Willyam is also recorded in a court-roll of 1429 as being bailiff of the hundred of Lexden, of which Earls Colne was a parish. The Earls Colne bailiff was ordered to warn him to leave, but it is not clear if this is the same William who is recorded above. ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56500154].
[176] Although it should be noted that at least three individuals by this name also served as archers.
[177] Huntingdon did not serve in 1441.
[178] Only a single John William served as a man-at-arms in the 1439 expedition to Aquitaine, mustering in the retinue of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon: TNA, E101/53/22, m.4.

It is possible that parcels of land within the manor might have been offered by the earl as either an incentive or reward for military service.[179] With the improbable exception of John William, none of the family names identified above appear in the Earls Colne records prior to the late 1430s. This would be in keeping with both the earl's coming of age in 1429 and the fact that his first military expedition was not until 1436. However, if this was the case, then there appears to have been no stipulation included for any future military service. William Talworth is the only individual with that surname who can be shown to have definitively provided any military service in the fifteenth century, and he only appears to have served on a single occasion.[180] Neither John nor Thomas Talworth appears to have provided military service at any time. Likewise, James Pitman is one of only two surviving service records for his surname, and he too seemingly only served on a single occasion.[181] Prior to 1441, John William had perhaps served on a single further occasion in 1439, but there is no evidence that he served again subsequently. The same also appears to be true of Richard Brode – although the unique nature of the record of John 'Brody' who served under Sir Robert de Vere in 1443, may indicate that they were related. There is no evidence of a John Pitman having served at any time. The Richard Birde who served under de Vere in 1441 again provides the only surviving record of a Richard with that surname. The only surviving records for John Bird, however, do perhaps hint at some occasional service as an archer in the garrison of St Lô.[182]

This would largely appear to support Ross's findings that there was little link between the men-at-arms that de Vere recruited and his Essex estates – at least prior to any service. Moreover, only four individuals – John Lightfoot, Thomas Bermerham, William Kighley and John Lowys – can be seen to have provided repeated service as men-at-arms under a de Vere. It has been suggested by Ross that John Lightfoot - who served in both 1439 and 1441 - was a member of the earl's household by 1449,[183] and it is suggested here that John Lowys may

[179] It can be speculated that such arrangements would have been to the benefit of some gentry families, not the least providing younger sons with a potential source of income, but perhaps also enabling the family to conceal the full extent of their income as the income tax was only payable in a single county. See T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross. 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', *B.I.H.R.*, 26 (1953), pp.1-28.

[180] We lack any nominal information for a number of expeditions, especially that of 1436 in which Oxford served. The only other record for the surname Talworth is recorded in the Treaty Rolls in 1389, and was signed in Wycombe, Buckinghamshire: TNA, C76/74, m.25.

[181] The second record relates to a Stephen Pitman who can be found serving as an archer in the garrison of Falaise in 1427: BNF, ms. fr. 25768/242.

[182] A John Bird is found serving under Sir John de la Pole in 1422 and 1423, and again in 1437 under John Hastings: BNF, ms. fr. 25766/809; BNF, ms. fr. 25767/1; BL, Add. Ch. 6912.

[183] Ross, 'Essex County Society', p.60. The Lightfoots' links to the de Veres may, in fact, be traceable to the turn of the fifteenth century: In September 1401, a John Lightfoot was described as 'the lord's

feasibly have been a member of Sir Robert's household. Like John William and Richard Brode, Bermerham and Kighley may initially have been recommended into the earl's service in 1441 through his brothers.[184] There is no extant evidence, however, that any of these men provided further military service. This is perhaps a consequence of the earl's own lack of service after 1441; we can perhaps speculate that they may have numbered among the men he raised in 1454. Given the rarity of the surname in the army and garrison musters, it is probable that the John 'Lyghtfot' recorded serving under Sir Richard de Vere as an archer in the *creu* attached to the garrison of Verneuil in 1448 was a relative – perhaps his son, given that they shared the same forename.[185]

NAME	SERVICE TYPE	CAPTAIN	COMMANDER	DATE
Thomas Bermerham*	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Robert de Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Kighley	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard de Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Lightfoot	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Robert de Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Lowys	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

*Also see Richard Bermygeham in table 2.2, below.

Table 2.1: Repeat service as a man-at-arms under the de Vere family, 1439-1443.

auditor' in the household of the young Sir John de Vere, the brother of the eleventh earl, who was still in his minority at this point: ERO, D/DPr120 [Online Identifier: 47600097]. It is probably this same individual who was appointed to levy and collect the aid for the marriage of Blanche – the firstborn daughter of Henry IV – in December 1401, and as one of the controllers of the collection of the subsidy for Essex in March 1404: *CFR*, *1399-1405*, pp.147-8, 257.

[184] A John Bermyngeham also served in 1441, but in the retinue of another resident Essex noble, Henry Bourchier, count of Eu: TNA, E101/53/33 m.7. This same individual also seems to have served in 1439, although no retinue captain is recorded: TNA, E101/53/22 m.1. Furthermore, he may also have served in the 1430s, as his intention to serve under the duke of Bedford in 1429 is recorded in the Treaty Rolls: TNA, C76/112 m.27. It is unclear whether he did in fact serve, however, as there is no surviving record of anyone with this surname in the Norman garrison musters in either the 1430s or 1440s.

[185] BNF, ms. fr. 25778/1831. In this same light, it is possible that the Thomas Robbesson, found serving as an archer in the same creu under Sir Richard de Vere, was related to John Robertson who served as a man-at-arms under John de Vere in 1441, while John Mancel may have been a relative of the John 'Mauncell' found serving as an archer under Aubrey de Vere in 1378: TNA, E101/36/39, m.5.

However, when one compares all the names of those who served under de Vere in 1441 with the sub-retinues raised by his brothers in 1439 and 1443, a greater degree of continuation is evident within probable family groups residing in and around Earl's Colne for whom service in the various expeditions appears to have been shared among different family members (table 2.2).[186] Despite the more common nature of the names in question, there is still remarkably little evidence of professionalism among these men.[187] This may have been a direct consequence of the recruitment practices of the de Veres themselves. As we will see below, there is very little evidence of the de Veres having recruited more than a single man-at-arms or archer from any family at a given time.

NAME	SERVICE TYPE	CAPTAIN	COMMANDER	DATE
Thomas Belle[188]	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Robert Belle	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Thomas Bermerham	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard Bermygeham	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard Brode	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Brody	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Mortimer	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Robert Mortimer	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

[186] Without examining the records for other near-by de Vere manors – little of which survives in comparison to the abundance of Earls Colne - it remains unclear how many may have been tenants elsewhere.

[187] Anne Marshall noted that the William Mortimer who served under de Vere in 1441, subsequently continued to serve in the garrison of St Lô through until at least 1445: Marshall, 'English War Captains', p.92. However, while John de Vere was temporarily made captain of St Lô, it is not clear whether Mortimer accompanied him back to England or remained in France. Certainly, none of the other men-at-arms recruited by the earl in 1441 are similarly found in the garrison, and the first extant muster in which William is recorded dates to 1443. It might be more plausible, therefore, that the William Mortimer who served in the garrison between 1443 and December 1447 was, in fact, the same man-at-arms who had served in a number of garrisons throughout the 1430s. That the two are not one and the same is inferred by the latter's mustering in the garrison of Falaise in both 1440 and March 1441: BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1444, 1506; BNF, naf 8606/70. For musters relating to St Lô, see AN, K 67/12/11; BNF, ms. fr. 25777/1659, 1674; BL, Add. Ch. 8030.

[188] It is possible that this was either the same individual or related to the man of that name recorded in the account of the manor of Earls Colne in September 1446, where he is described as being of Colchester, and as having received a part payment of a significant sum for the provision of certain unknown items: ERO, D/DPr124 [Online Identifier: 4800217].

Richard White	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John White	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Ralph White	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

Table 2.2: Possible repeat service as a man-at-arms within a family group under the de Vere family: 1439-1443.

If this same methodology is extended to include those who also served in 1415, as well as those who served in the retinue of Sir Aubrey de Vere in 1378 – both of which have complete musters rolls – then further inter-family connections might also be highlighted (table 2.3). A Thomas 'Westan', for instance, served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Sir John de Vere in 1415, perhaps suggesting that – as with the Lightfoots - there was already some form of link between the two families prior to 1441. If these men are indeed all related, then it would appear that the de Veres were in fact drawing relatively heavily on both tenants and men with whom they had some form of alternative connection, rather than making any extensive use of an available service-market of professionally inclined men-at-arms. Nonetheless, it would still appear to remain the case that this connection, landed or otherwise, did not necessarily oblige military service in return. This could, of course, be a product of circumstance – the minority of John de Vere meant that the family played no role in the war with France between 1417 and 1429, and the lack of details for the retinue of 1436 presents a further issue.

NAME	SERVICE TYPE	CAPTAIN	COMMANDER	DATE
John Aleyn	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
John Aleyn[189]	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	Humphrey, duke of Gloucester / Henry V	1415
John Arderne	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Richard Arderne	Expedition, France	Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford	Henry V	1415
John Barton & Thomas Barton	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
John Barton, Robert Barton, William Barton[190]	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441

[189] That this is unlikely to be the same individual is based on the thirty-seven-year gap between campaigns. Assuming the John Aleyn who served in 1378 was sixteen when he was recruited, this would mean he was fifty-three in 1415.

[190] A Thomas Barton is recorded as a clerk in the thirteenth earl's household in 1466-7: ERO, D/DPr128, m.1d.

Hugh Brugge	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
John Brygge & John Brygge jnr.	Expedition, France	Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford	Henry V	1415
Robert Chamberleyn	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Thomas Chamberleyn	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Thomas Fitz Henry	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
John Fitz Herry & Robert Fitz Herry	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard Holme	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Ewayn Holme	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Thomas Jonesson	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Thomas Joneson	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Lauton	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
George Laughton	Expedition, France	Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford	Henry V	1415
John Massy	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Robert Massy & William Massy	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Neuton	Expedition, Ireland*	Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford	Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford	1387
Thomas Newnan	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Preston	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Edmund Preston and William Preston	Expedition, France	Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford	Henry V	1415
Robert Prestaton	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Tyderyngton	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Thomas Tyringham	Expedition, France	Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford	Henry V	1415
Thomas Westan	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	Humphrey, duke of Gloucester / Henry V	1415
John Weston	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Laurence William	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
John William	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Wode	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378

Thomas Wode & Christopher Wode	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Richard Wyrham	Naval Service	Sir Aubrey de Vere	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster	1378
Robert Wyseham	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

Table 2.3: Possible repeat service as a man-at-arms within a family group under the de Vere family: 1378-1443.

The tables above suggest that very few of the men-at-arms with whom the de Vere family seemingly had connections either chose, or were compelled, to serve on more than one occasion. Those who did could choose whose service to enter into. Alternatively, there may still have been a greater requirement to provide service but, if so, then the de Veres were perhaps careful to ensure that no family was repeatedly called upon in quick succession. That as few as six possible family connections can be demonstrated among the retinues recruited in 1439, 1441, and 1443 would indicate that such service was voluntary. What this evidence also implies, though, is that these men did not see military service as anything more than the six months or a year for which they were contracted, and presumably had little trouble subsequently reintegrating back into county society. Certainly, none of the men-at-arms recruited by the de Veres are found in either the indictment or plea files for Essex between 1439 and 1445.[191] Similarly, that none appear in these records during the four years prior to the 1439 expedition would also imply that they had not initially been recruited as a consequence of any misbehaviour.[192] For example, Robert Weston of Feering, had along with John Rampton and William Butte of Great Tey, trespassed upon de Vere's park at Earl's Colne, causing unknown damage through 'shooting' in October 1430.[193] It was John Weston, not Robert, however, who served in the war.

ARCHERS.

Of the 210 archers found in the retinue of John de Vere in 1441, perhaps as many as forty-eight – or c.23 per cent - share a surname with an individual found in the Earls Colne records between June 1430 and May 1450. Of these forty-eight, perhaps fifteen refer to the exact same individual (see table 2.4), while the remainder might feasibly be relatives of those who

[191] TNA, KB9/229/2 - /251; KB27/707-738.
[192] TNA, KB9/227/1 - /230B
[193] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56600140]. Given the close proximity of both Feering and Great Tey to Earls Colne, it is probable that this was the closest hunting park for these men. It is clear from the subsequent fines that the latter men had previously paid for the right of pannage within the same park: ERO, D/DPr122 [Online Identifier: 47801149].

served. This is a quite striking percentage of the total force, and it is likely that a number do not relate to the same family units. Archers represent by far the largest group of combatants in the English armies of the fifteenth century and problems of identification - especially generalisations - increase significantly in comparison to those concerning men of better social standing.[194] This is especially true when looking at patterns of service through the irregular survival of nominal data for the expeditionary armies.[195] It is impossible to know whether men such as John Adam, Thomas Brown, Robert Cook and John Smith,[196] found in both the 1441 retinue of John de Vere and the manorial records of Earls Colne, were respectively one and the same.

Where names are unique or relatively rare in the army and garrison musters, we can be somewhat more confident that they relate to the individuals of the same name in the manorial records. For example, the name Stonhard has only seven service records for the entire fifteenth century. While a John can be found mustering as part of the official retinue of Hugh Spencer, bailli of Caux in 1430,[197] the only other record for a John is that of the archer who served under de Vere in 1441. It would seem highly unlikely, therefore, given that individuals with the surname Stonard are found in the records of Earls Colne in most of the surviving years throughout the whole of the fifteenth century, that he had been recruited from elsewhere. Similar observations can be made for the service of other individuals found in the manor records such as John Wheler and John Kene.[198] There is no evidence of either man having provided any continued service in Normandy, and John Wheler's service in 1441 appears to have been the first by anyone with that name since 1428.[199] Similarly, after 1404, there are only four extant military service records for a John Kene. The rarity of the name would suggest that it was the same man who served under the earl in 1441 and subsequently served under his brother, Sir Robert in 1443.[200] Neither Stonhard, nor Wheler nor Kene is

[194] For discussion concerning the changes in the ratio of men-at-arms to archers, see Curry, 'The English Army', pp.44-6; Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.139-44, 264-5.

[195] We are on somewhat firmer ground when it comes to the identification of those archers who served in the Norman garrisons. As the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* note, 'the garrison provides a specific, localized context of service and a sense of continuity and stability for many individuals'. Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, p.171. Also see discussion in Chapter I of this thesis.

[196] A John Smith was also a member of the earl's household at this time. See Ross, 'Essex County Society', p.62.

[197] BNF, ms. fr. 25769/458.

[198] Both names appear slightly more frequently in the army and garrison musters – fourteen and twenty-six records respectively.

[199] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/320.

[200] The other individual by this same name also happened to serve as an archer in 1441, but in the retinue of Sir Ralph Grey: TNA, E101/53/33, m.7. It was most probably one of these two individuals that was mustered as part of the additional force which was attached to the garrison of Domfront in March 1442, although which remains unclear. AN, K 67/1/11.

recorded in the manor court held in June 1441,[201] the same month in which York's army landed at Harfleur –[202] although this could of course be circumstantial.

NAME	YEARS IN WHICH RECORDED IN THE MANORIAL RECORDS
John Adam	1430; 1431; 1432; 1436; 1439; 1443; 1446; 1448; 1451; 1454
John Boteler	1432; 1433; 1434; 1436; 1437; 1439
Thomas Brown	1430, 1431; 1440; 1442; 1455
John Bury	1430
Robert Cook	1430
John Kene	1430; 1431; 1432; 1434; 1436; 1437; 1455
William Morton	1433
Thomas Morys	1430; 1431; 1432; 1433; 1435; 1436; 1437; 1439; 1451; 1454
John Pain	1430; 1431; 1432; 1433; 1434; 1436; 1437; 1439; 1441; 1442; 1446; 1448; 1449; 1451; 1452; 1453; 1454; 1455
Richard Roo	1430
John Smyth	1430, 1449
William Spycer	1430; 1431; 1432; 1433; 1436; 1437; 1439; 1455
John Stonard	1430; 1431; 1432; 1440; 1442; 1454; 1455; 1457
Thomas Ward	1435
John Wheler	1426, 1430, 1443, 1446, 1448, 1451

Table 2.4: Presence of possible archers in the retinues of 1441 in the manorial records, 1430-1455.

The appearance of a possible archer in the manorial records in 1441 – such as in the case of John Pain - would not necessarily prove that the individual in question was not resident in the manor.[203] Several of the families identified in the manorial records demonstrate a recurring use of forenames among consecutive generations. The name John Adams, for example, appears consistently in the records between 1395 and 1468, while John Stonard similarly appears between 1379 and 1457. With this in mind, and if the identification is correct, then it is likely that the John Kene who served in 1441 was a relative of the John Kene who appears in the manor court records up to 1437, when it is noted that he had died.[204] This same is probably true of John Pain, a striking example of recurring nomenclature, one of whom was one of the manor's chief pledges from at least 1430, and was elected bailiff in 1436.[205] As observed with regard to their counterparts in Fastolf's manor of Castle Combe, with very few exceptions, none of those landholders who held senior positions within Earls

[201] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57300403-57301134].
[202] Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.153.
[203] Court rolls survive for 13 June, 25 October, and 28 December 1441, and for 6 June and 4 December 1442: BL, Add. Ch. 18479, mm.8-12. De Vere had likely returned from France by summer 1442: Ross, 'The De Vere Earls of Oxford 1400-1513', pp.105-6.
[204] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100519].
[205] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100432].

Colne between 1430 and 1450 appears to have provided any military service at any point.[206] Certainly, none did so in either 1439, 1441, or 1443.

Instead, it was - once again – seemingly the sons, brothers and cousins of the landholders who provided military service in the fifteenth century. The John Kent found in the earl's retinue in 1441 may have been a relative of Robert Kent, a chief pledge from 1430 to 1442 and the affeeror for the manor court in 1439.[207] Much the same might be said of the probable relationships between William and Walter Scott, Thomas Staple, John Cook and John Ascheford - all of whom were chief pledges and sporadically held other manorial duties too - and those men with the same surname who served as archers in 1441. Likewise, the William Morton who served under de Vere in 1441 was probably related in some way to both Roger and Thomas Morton, both chief pledges from 1430 and 1432 respectively.[208] Further examples may be found by identifying men serving in the de Vere retinues raised in 1439 and 1443, who were probably related to other holders of local offices.

It is striking that the archers recruited by both Sir Richard and Sir Robert de Vere in 1439, and by Sir Robert again in 1443, also demonstrate a significant degree of overlap with the family names found in the manorial records of Earls Colne. This is particularly the case given that neither held much in the way of estates in Essex,[209] but nor did they hold Earls Colne; it was a favour by the earl to allow his brothers to recruit among his tenants, even though they were free men. Of the thirty-seven archers recruited by Sir Richard in 1439, as many as seven – or roughly nineteen per cent - share a surname with an individual found in the manor records. Similarly, of Sir Robert's forty archers in that same year, eleven – or c.28 per cent – share the same surname.[210] Only one of these eighteen men - John Botiller - might conceivably have also served under the earl in 1441. Of the 160 archers Sir Robert recruited in 1443, as many as thirty-seven – or c.23 percent – share the same surname with an individual recorded in the manor. At the very least, it is intriguing that this is the exact same

[206] Robert Sebryght is listed as a chief Pledge between 1430 and 1442. Based on the rarity of this name in the army and garrison musters, it is possible that the same Robert Sebryght, or more probably a relative by the same name, served in the retinue of Sir William Phelip, lord Bardolf, in 1415. If so, then it is intriguing that he is not found in either of the two retinues raised by members of the de Vere family in that year.

[207] He is first recorded as a chief pledge in the court held on 6 June 1430: ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56500607].

[208] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56500607, 56900007]. Roger is recorded as having died by May 1437: D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100519].

[209] In addition to lands in Herefordshire, Shropshire and Essex, Sir Robert inherited a number of major estates in Devon and Cornwall through his marriage to Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay, and widow of Sir Nicholas Carew, in October 1450. H.W. Kleineke, Forthcoming article on 'Sir Robert de Vere', *History of Parliament*.

[210] For both retinues, see TNA, E101/53/22, m.3.

percentage found for the earl's 1441 retinue. Frustratingly, almost all of these men have common surnames, creating not just problems of accuracy but also making it difficult to establish any clear patterns of service, especially whether they might also have served under other captains or within the Norman garrison establishment. There is certainly little evidence of any extended service by any of those identified.

The unique nature of names such as Alex Belle and Libewys Botiller – both found in Richard's retinue in 1439 - in the surviving army and garrison musters would suggest that they both only served on a single occasion. This also seems to be the case for some of the other archers found in both retinues recruited in 1439, but who do not necessarily appear to be associated with Earls Colne. The records of ten archers in Richard's retinue and seven in Robert's provide the only surviving matches for their surnames.[211] For other more commonly occurring names, such as William (served 1439), John and Thomas Cliff (served 1443), we can also perhaps be relatively confident that they all only served on a single occasion. While John and Thomas's records are effectively unique, the only other surviving records for a William Cliff dated after 1415 appears to relate to two separate individuals who served in the Norman garrisons throughout much of the 1430s and into the early 1440s, thus coinciding with William's service under de Vere in 1439.[212]

Of all those who served as archers under John de Vere in 1441, only eleven appear to have provided service in the retinue of another de Vere in 1439 or 1443. Once again, the rare and often unique nature of these names in the army and garrison musters would appear to suggest that the vast majority - if not all - of these eleven men had no professional inclination, but would rather have been known to the de Vere family and recruited through more traditional service ties.[213] The accounts detailing the service of Richard Crekett, Richard Osbarne, and Thomas Wastelyn, for example, provide the only extant army and garrison musters for those names. Similarly, while the surname Lowys occurs more frequently in general, the archer who served in a de Vere retinue in both 1441 and 1443 provides the only

[211] Those in Richard's retinue are: Richard Nawedon, Richard Donbray, John Ottle, William Haddesey, William Moggottson, William Rogan, William Pentecost, Henry Kyngesmelle, Roger Cerfute, and John Peryngton. It should also be noted that this same John Perynton may also have served in 1430, for he is recorded in the Treaty Rolls intending to serve under John Holland, earl of Huntingdon: TNA, C76/112, m.14. Those in Robert's retinue are: William Chelmsford, Thomas Kensham, Thomas Carvyn, William Joscelyn, Robert Hasylden, Peter Towbar, and Robert Frevody.

[212] For example, one can be found under Sir Richard Harrington, in the garrison of Evereux in 1432, before serving in his personal retinue in his capacity as bailli of Caen from at least 1436 to 1441: BNF, ms. fr. 25770/732; 25773/1101; 25774/1243, 1354; 25775/1383; BNF, MS. Clairambault 220 no.23; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1547.

[213] The frequency with which the names John Boteler and John Newton appear in the records makes any generalisation on their part very difficult. Eight John Botelers serve under various captains in the 1441 expedition alone.

two surviving records of a William Lowys dated after 1417.[214] Even William Talbot appears with surprising infrequency.[215] In this light, we can possibly presume that much the same was also true of the six more commonly named men who served as archers in both 1439 and 1443.[216]

NAME	DATES OF SERVICE
John Boutillre	1439; 1441
Richard Crekett	1439; 1441
John Meryk	1439; 1441
Richard Osbarne	1439; 1441
Thomas Wastelyn	1439; 1441
John Kene	1441; 1443
William Lowys	1441; 1443
John Newton	1441; 1443
John Smyth	1439; 1441; 1443
William Talbot	1441; 1443
John White	1439; 1441; 1443

Table 2.5: Repeat service as an archer under the de Vere family, 1439-1443.

If, based on the evidence of those archers who seemingly had links to the manor of Earls Colne, we can reason that some of the others identified above would have been recruited from among their other estates,[217] then – just as with the men-at-arms - it would not appear that any of the de Veres felt the need to make any substantial use of an available 'service market' of professional soldiers when recruiting archers. The extent to which the same can be said of the retinues maintained in France by both Sir Robert and Sir Richard outside of these expeditionary contracts, however, is frustratingly unclear, and one wonders if it would more likely have followed the same pattern observed for both Sir John Fastolf and Sir John Talbot. The one surviving muster of the *creu* commanded by Sir Richard and attached to the garrison of Verneuil in 1448 is inconclusive on the matter.[218] Only three men demonstrate possible family links to men who had previously served under a de Vere,[219]

[214] William was probably a younger relative of John Lowys, who served as a man-at-arms on both of these expeditions. See above, pp.102-3.
[215] There are only four extant records after 1415: an archer in the garrison stationed at the Tower of London in 1425-6: TNA, E101/51/21, m2. An archer in the retinue of John de Vere in 1441; an archer in the naval expedition led by Sir Stephen Popham in 1442: TNA, E101/54/3, no4_m3. An archer in the retinue of Sir Robert de Vere in 1443.
[216] Of these six men, only John White and John Barby had served in Robert's retinue in 1439. William Baker, John Banastre, John Bygge, John Smyth, and Thomas White had all previously served under Richard.
[217] The de Veres held a number of other manors of similar status to Earls Colne in East Anglia, such as Castle Hedingham, Wivenhoe, Lavenham, Great Bentley, Maldon, and East Winch, not to mention numerous other smaller manors.
[218] BNF, ms.fr. 25778/1831.
[219] See above, p.102.

while a handful of others are clearly of Norman origin. A significant number appear to have provided only a single term of service – although this is likely to be a consequence of the surviving material record at this time.[220]

A small minority of the archers who served in 1439, 1441, and 1443 – or possible relatives of theirs – were also both willing and able to serve under a variety of different captains, although this is hard to establish with any certainty.[221] Any such service, however, appears to have commonly been for just a single term and was seemingly a consequence of the de Veres rarely recruiting more than a single archer from a particular family at a given time. With the exception of the very common names Botiller and White, there is no overlap whatsoever in the surnames recorded in the two sub-retinues raised in 1439. While it is likely that Richard Lynde, who served as an archer in the retinue of a de Vere in both 1441 and 1443 was related to the William Lynde who served as a man-at-arms under John de Vere in 1441,[222] it is not clear whether they were also related in any way to the John Lynde who served as an archer in the sub-retinue of an unknown captain in Aquitaine in 1439, and again as an archer in the retinue of Richard Crewe in 1443.[223] Similarly, while the William Grigge/Gregge recorded in the retinue of Sir Richard Vere in 1439 only appears to have provided a single term of service, it is unclear whether it is the same John Grigge/Gregge who served under Sir Stephen Popham in the naval expedition of 1442,[224] and in the retinue of Sir Robert de Vere in 1443.[225] There is little evidence of compulsorily service, but rather men appear to have enlisted voluntarily. By and large, there does not appear to have been a

[220] Take, for example, Robert Postyltewed, who is found on only two occasions in the surviving records. He is first recorded in the service of John, lord Darcy at the siege of Tancarville in 1437 [his name is recorded as Postellefowest: BL, Add. Ch. 137], and then under Sir Richard at Verneuil in 1448. It is probable that he would have provided further service during this time, for which the records have not survived.

[221] An intriguing example with regards to the force that was sent to Aquitaine under the command of Sir John Tiptoft in 1415-1417, is also noteworthy. Of the eighty men at arms and 415 archers who mustered in this force, perhaps as many as forty-six share a surname with an individual found in the Earls Colne records, including – for example - John Felbrigge who is recorded in Earls Colne from 1411, is absent in 1416, but reappears in July 1417. Such movements would be largely in keeping with events in Aquitaine, which saw Tiptoft reduce his force to just thirty men-at-arms and one hundred archers in the spring of 1416; the rest returning to England. Importantly, there is no overlap in the names of the forty-six who mustered under Tiptoft and those named in the Agincourt retinue of Richard, the eleventh earl of Oxford. For Felbrigge, see ERO, D/DPr66 [Online Identifier: 54900773, 54900834]; D/DPr67 [Online Identifier: 55400750]. For Tiptoft, see J.S. Roskell and L.S. Woodger, 'Tiptoft, Sir John [d.1443], of Burwell, Cambridgeshire', *History of Parliament*.

[222] See above, p.100, n.165.

[223] TNA, E101/54/5, m.13.

[224] TNA, E101/54/3, no.4, m.4.

[225] It is unclear whether these men were also related to the Adam 'Grigge' who served in the retinue of John Barre in 1441, and/or Robert 'Grege' who also provided naval service in 1442, but under John Heron: TNA, E101/53/33, m.7; TNA, E101/54/3, no.3, m.2. Also see William Talbot, above, n.215.

significant incidence among de Vere's archers of their providing repeated military service. This may not be surprising, given the unlikelihood of any significant gain for the average archer during this period.[226] As far as the available evidence shows, the vast majority of those recruited appear to have served on only a single occasion and, even where a greater continuity of service can perhaps be demonstrated among different generations of a particular family, it is relatively rare to find members of such families serving in consecutive expeditions.

One circumstance that seems rather clearer, is that – much like Fastolf - the de Veres do not appear to have taken advantage of the need to raise men for foreign service in order to relieve the manor of its troublemakers. Earls Colne appears in general terms to have been relatively peaceful in the period examined. The vast majority of fines issued by the manor court relate to frequent – but minor – misdemeanours such as failing to scour ditches and breaking the assize of bread and ale. There are, however, a number of individuals who recurrently seem to have committed relatively more serious offences. In 1442, for instance, Richard Bank, described as a tailor, was accused of being a 'common stirrer of trouble and an eavesdropper at night', and of having attacked Thomas Wryght.[227] That same year, John Noke, a probable relative of Ralph Noke who had been the bailiff in 1437, was also not only accused of being a 'stirrer of trouble', but was also fined for attacking William Hauke, who was constable at the time.[228] Minor fights seem to have been a relatively common occurrence, as do accusations of men being 'common poachers' – such as Robert Wylde, Adam Cutte and John Chaloner in 1436.[229] There is remarkably little evidence, however, that the individuals so accused provided any military service in 1439, 1441, 1443, or 1448.[230] Their continued appearance in the manorial records would imply that they were similarly not recruited into any of the forces maintained in France by Sir Robert or Sir Richard in the 1440s. There is also no evidence to suggest that any of these men were recruited into the retinue of any other captain either.

Perhaps one of the clearest examples is provided by Robert Felbrigge. Fined for poaching on the lord's land and fishing on other men's property without licence in 1436,[231] he was also accused of a number of trespasses and affrays, including a fight in which he drew

[226] See Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.475.
[227] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400181, 57400516].
[228] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400145, 57400151].
[229] They were fined a combined 3*s.* 8*d*: ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100110].
[230] A John Adam was fined 2*d*. in 1436 for having attacked Hugh Wryght: ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100092].
[231] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57100119].

blood from John Blamibylde in 1442.[232] It is probable that Robert was a relative of John Felbrigge who had possibly served as a man-at-arms in Aquitaine in 1415-16,[233] and who may also have served in 1417.[234] Robert himself, however, seemingly never served. Similarly, if the identification is correct, while a John Payn did serve as an archer in 1441, neither Henry nor William Payn, both described as being 'common hunters' in 1432,[235] appears to have served at any time. A systematic analysis of the indictment and plea files of the Court of King's Bench for the county of Essex between the years 1435 and 1441 in conjunction with the muster rolls of the retinues raised in 1439, 1441 and 1443 indicates that neither the de Veres, nor the men-at-arms who provided them with sub-retinues, were recruiting archers from among the county's criminals.[236] It would seem, therefore, that the de Veres neither wanted, nor needed, troublemakers or men of ill-repute serving under their banner – indeed, why should they?

It is impossible to know for certain whether all the men that Earls Colne and the family's other estates provided to serve in the French wars returned home at the end of their indenture.[237] Most would presumably have returned to their respective manors. Yet despite the apparent greater number of men who provided service in comparison to Fastolf's manor of Castle Combe, tracing these individuals' ability to reintegrate into the manor still presents a highly problematic challenge, not least because the majority rarely featured in the records even prior to any service. Nonetheless, this continued lack of presence in the court-rolls in connection to anything more serious than the run-of-the-mill transgressions noted above, might indicate that a clear majority encountered little difficulty in reintegrating peacefully. None of those who can perhaps specifically be associated with Earls Colne appear to have come into any problems regarding debts in the manor, and nor do they clearly feature in the county's indictment files in King's Bench between 1439 and 1445.[238]

V: CONCLUSION

Despite some evident limitations, this chapter has demonstrated that a systematic use of manorial documents, in conjunction with more commonly utilised military sources, may

[232] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400133].
[233] See above, n.221.
[234] A man-at-arms by this name is recorded in the sub-company of John Grey, lord Grey of Codnor: TNA, E101/51/2, m.18. This same man also sued for protection, signing his intention to serve in Suffolk: TNA, C76/100, m.14.
[235] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 56900306].
[236] TNA, KB9/227/1 - /237; KB27/695 - /722.
[237] There is nothing in the way of detailed lists noting those who had been wounded or died.
[238] TNA, KB9/230A - /251.

significantly further our understanding of the complex and varied recruiting methods and practices in the fifteenth century phase of the Hundred Years War. It might also provide a degree of insight into the apparent ability of various lords to quickly raise large retinues of fighting men for the civil conflicts that followed in the wake of the loss of Lancastrian Normandy, for which little nominal evidence survives. The sheer numbers involved in the Wars of the Roses suggest that lords must have relied not only on feudal tenants,[239] but also heavily on their manorial tenantry. It has been shown that traditional ties of clientage, regional proximity, and connections forged in his earlier experiences of war were all central to the sub-retinue that Fastolf raised as an esquire in 1415. Once established as a captain in France, however, any reliance on his English estates appears to have significantly diminished, and he – like Sir John Talbot – drew more significantly upon new connections forged in France. There is some evidence, though, that those who sporadically chose to cross from his estates during the English occupation of France proceeded specifically to serve either under Fastolf himself, or in regions in which he held influence.

Connections forged in war also appear to have played a key function in the men-at-arms that John de Vere recruited for the 1441 expedition. At least four may have been recommended into the earl's service by one of his brothers, alongside whom they had earlier served in 1439. However, in contrast to Fastolf, the de Vere's were more consistently reliant upon more traditional recruitment networks – especially their tenantry – in particular when recruiting archers. This was almost certainly a consequence of the service they themselves provided. Despite periods of extended service as captains within France, neither Sir Robert nor Sir Richard served continuously over a prolonged number of years, unlike Fastolf or Talbot. Consequently, they appear to have raised archers from the family estates on each occasion that they crossed with an expeditionary force, and the family appears in general to have made rather limited use of any professional archers through the mechanics of any service market.[240]

However, while service under the family appears to have been given voluntarily, there seems to have been little desire among individuals – both men-at-arms and archers - to provide any repeat service. Can it perhaps be suggested, therefore, that by the late 1430s there was a general lack of interest in providing even recurrent military service in France

[239] For example, see A.J. Pollard, 'Late Feudalism in England: The Case of Richmondshire', in *Kuge to Buke: Sono Hikaku Bunmei Shiteki Kenkyū/Courtiers and Warriors: Comparative Historical Perspectives on Ruling Authority and Civilization*, ed. K. Kasaya (Kyōto, 2004), pp.469-82; M. Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (Harlow, 1995), pp.185-200. Also see J. Ross, 'The English Aristocracy and Mense Feudalism in the Later Middle Ages', *EHR*, 133 (2018), pp.1027-59.
[240] See Appendix D.

among non-professional men-at-arms and archers alike? Service in a garrison or army of occupation was probably neither very interesting nor provided much opportunity for serious financial gain. This observation would also seem to be in keeping with the evidence of the 'soldier community' in and around London detailed in the previous chapter, as well as with the increasing number of unwaged combatants who were remaining in France in the 1430s and 1440s. Those who wished to be 'soldiers' were already in service.[241]

The chapter has also argued that there is remarkably little evidence of troublemakers or men of greater criminal inclination being either selected or freely recruited into any of the examined forces raised by Fastolf or the de Veres. Similarly, there is also little evidence to suggest that the more disruptive elements of the population of these manors saw France as a region they could exploit through enlisting under a different captain, perhaps further demonstrating that most Englishmen knew how little opportunity there was to make any profit through illicit – but sometimes sanctioned - means as the war progressed. Instead, where such men can be traced, it would appear that a small proportion of men-at-arms comprised men retained from among gentry and wealthy free men in either Essex or Wiltshire, while those archers who can be linked to both Castle Combe and Earls Colne appear to have been the landless sons, brothers and cousins of the upper echelons of village society who held both lands and positions of social responsibility.

This was probably a consequence of their ability to better afford the equipment required - especially a horse - but the possibility that wages they received may have sufficiently supplemented a family's wealth to enable them to purchase more land within the manor should also be taken into account. The ability to acquire further land was certainly one way in which men could rise through the social ranks,[242] and would also perhaps demonstrate that these men were able to reintegrate into local society after their period of service. The somewhat restricted nature of the surviving documentation makes this almost impossible to substantiate with any certainty. For example, in June 1441, both John Assheford and Thomas Mordon - along with another chief pledge whose possible relative was serving with the earl - purchased a tenement with all its appurtenances at a cost of £7.[243] Assheford further added to his holdings in May 1442 – along with the aforenoted William Hauke - while Mordon was granted and let to farm a field for a term of ten years at an annual

[241] See M.R. Powicke, 'Lancastrian Captains', pp.371-82; Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War', pp.297-311.
[242] See above, pp.17-20.
[243] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57300866].

rent of 6*s*. 8*d*. in January 1443.[244] However, these were far from these men's first forays into the land market, and that such ventures were undertaken in the years immediately following the 1441 expedition may simply be coincidental.

By and large, it would seem that the majority of those who provided service through more traditional recruitment links associated with the two manors explored did so for a short period, and only on a single occasion. War was not a way of life for these men and, as such, it is argued that they would not have considered themselves to have been 'soldiers'. There is also little to suggest that they continued to be influenced by any exposure to violence once home;[245] none of those identified above as having served is subsequently recorded in the court-rolls in relation to anything but the most run-of-the-mill minor infractions, and nor are they clearly found among the indictments presented to the Court of King's Bench in the years immediately following any service. However, there is need for a caveat. There is no guarantee that the findings in the two case studies here are typical. Indeed, it is not suggested that there was a typical type of service provided by tenants and it probably varied from lord to lord – if not from manor to manor.[246] How representative these case studies are of a wider whole remains unclear, and any investigation into the topic would be heavily reliant on the survival of relevant manorial records. Nonetheless, while the recent studies into the development of professionalism in the fifteenth century have been of significant benefit to our understanding of the military community in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the parallel importance of those who provided single and occasional periods of service in the English war effort have perhaps been somewhat overlooked.

[244] ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400711]. Also see D/DPr124 [Online Identifier: 48000015]. In a similar vein, it is perhaps noteworthy that in that same January, John Wheler was granted and let to farm of all the earl's 'lynde for having and making bast thereof growing in the lord's park taking at all times annually… with all the profits… [for] a term of twenty years', at an annual rent of 24*s*: ERO, D/DPr68 [Online Identifier: 57400702].

[245] For further discussion on this theme, see Chapter IV.

[246] It is perhaps evident that men from Fastolf's manor of Bathampton/Oxenton were more likely to serve than those from Castle Combe. This would probably have been a result of the greater employment opportunities within Castle Combe, especially in the cloth industry.

PART II

CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTIONS AND CRIMINALITY

War is an ethical problem because it obligates us to do abroad what would be illegal and immoral at home, namely to kill strangers … to hold innocent men, women and children hostage … to lay waste to their environment and plunder their national treasures; and to do all this in the name of economic, political and ideological agendas.

(D.A. Wells, *An Encyclopaedia of War and Ethics* (Westport, 1996), p.vii.)

CHAPTER III

THE REPRESENTATION OF COMBATANTS IN THE LONDON CHRONICLES, 1415-1461

I: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

By the 1420s, the monastic and chivalric traditions of historical writing in England had largely ceased, the various Latin narratives detailing the reign of Henry V represent something of their swansong.[1] As Curry has noted, while there are numerous accounts of both the English conquest of Normandy and some - predominantly French - accounts of its loss three decades later, there is 'little in between'.[2] Perhaps the most useful, yet underutilised, account of the war between 1419 and 1429 is the chronicle by Peter Basset and Christopher Hanson found in College of Arms MS M9 (hereafter referred to as M9).[3] Written in the years following the loss of Normandy, it is 'unique in fifteenth-century England as a prose narrative of the war written by soldiers' who had themselves served during the period of the events they recorded.[4] It focuses solely on military events and provides often detailed, and at times unique, information in a factual tone. Its content was first discussed by Benedicta Rowe in 1926, though she concluded that it offered little new information for it had been extensively drawn upon by Edward Hall in the sixteenth century for his own historical chronicle.[5] However, the value of M9 to the study of medieval military history has more recently been

[1] In her examination of the surviving source material, Curry has provided a detailed and interesting exploration of ten English and sixteen French and Burgundian contemporary chronicle accounts of the battle of Agincourt, deliberating on the ways in which they have been received and interpreted by readers from the sixteenth century through to modern day. Her analysis highlights the conflicting narrative accounts of the two nations; while the English chronicles emphasise the remarkable nature of the victory and of God's support, the French and Burgundians look to ascribe blame: Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*.

[2] A. Curry, 'Guns and Goddams: Was There a Military Revolution in Lancastrian Normandy 1415-1450?', in *Journal of Medieval Military History VIII*, eds. J. France, C.J. Rogers, and K. DeVries (Woodbridge, 2010), p.172.

[3] The chronicle runs from Henry V's capture of Harfleur in 1415, down to the arrival of Joan of Arc at the siege of Orleans in 1429.

[4] Curry, 'Representing War and Conquest, 1415-1429: The Evidence of College of Arms Manuscript M9', p.141, 151-4. Frustratingly, the chronicles authors do not provide any insight into their own personal motivations or experiences of war.

[5] B.J.H. Rowe, 'A Contemporary Account of the Hundred Years War from 1415 to 1429', *EHR*, 41 (1926), pp.504-13. Also see, J.G. Nichols, 'Peter Basset. A Lost Historian of the Reign of Henry V', *Notes and Queries*, second series, 9 (1860), p.424. For Hall's account, see E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (1543), ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1809).

stressed by Curry, who argued that it 'has much to offer on how war was represented and memorialised close to the period it narrates'.[6]

Typically, however, the period is one that is viewed as being rather ill-served by contemporary authors of history, especially from a military perspective. What had replaced the earlier traditions was mainly a series of anonymous vernacular town chronicles written by ordinary lay people. The most prominent and well-documented of these are the so-called London chronicles, written by citizens of the city - especially the rapidly flourishing merchant class - who were also their chief readers.[7] They were based on an earlier tradition of Latin chronicles written in the city, as well as on the fourteenth century Anglo-Norman *Brut*. Yet, despite being the first examples of historical writing consistently undertaken in English since the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle some two centuries earlier,[8] they have been subject to relatively little scholarly study beyond their codicological context, such as their authorship and date, and their variations and reliability – though this is not to play down the importance of such studies.[9] To date, the only topic on which significant use of them has been made by historians is the study of the 1450 rebellion of Jack Cade.[10] More commonly, they are widely discredited

[6] A. Curry, 'Representing War and Conquest, 1415-1429', pp.139-58. Curry's forthcoming critical edition and translation of the text with Rémy Ambühl will be of significant value to the study of the period.

[7] Mary-Rose McLaren identified forty-four extant manuscripts and sought to separate them into relational groups: *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century*, pp.3, 86-90, 100-39. However, this does not account for a number of texts, such as *John Vale's Book* (BL, Add. MS 48, 031A) and the Frowyk chronicle. See, *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, eds. M.L. Kekewich, C.F. Richmond, A.F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs and J.L. Watts (Stroud, 1995); A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Making of a Minor London Chronicle in the Household of Sir Thomas Frowyk (Died 1485)', *The Ricardian*, 10 (1994), pp.86-103. Additionally, this chapter does not agree with McLaren's re-classification of the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* as a London chronicle (discussed below).

[8] This has been interpreted by some modern commentators as being symbolic of a 'country increasingly conscious of its anti-French national identity. See D. Woolf, 'Historical Writing in Britain from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of the Enlightenment', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Vol. 3: 1400-1800*, eds. J. Rabassa, M. Sato, E. Tortarola and D. Woolf (Oxford, 2012), p.474.

[9] For example, see C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913); A Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II, c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), pp.220-49; M.R. McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Woodbridge, 2002); eadem, 'The Textual Transmission of the London Chronicles', in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, eds. P. Beal and J. Griffiths (London, 1992), pp.38-72. Also see, F. Durgan, 'Power and Identity in Lancastrian England: 1399-1461 English Historical Writing in the Fifteenth Century' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2013), pp.75-83. Discussion of them is largely omitted in Chris Given-Wilson's, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004).

[10] For example, see I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991); Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp.610-65; Wolffe, *Henry VI,* pp.231-38; W. Scase, *Literature and Complaint in England 1272-1553* (Oxford, 2003); A.L. Kaufman, *The Historical Literature of the Jack Cade Rebellion* (Farnham, 2009); D. Grummitt, 'Deconstructing Cade's Rebellion: Discourse and Politics in the Mid Fifteenth Century', in *The Fifteenth Century VI: Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.107-22.

by historians for their emphasis on selective reporting of local events and for their repeated commentary on what we as a modern audience view as trivialities, such as references to the weather and the food served at banquets, not to mention their clear political prejudice.

In the context of their reporting on the war with France and the Wars of the Roses, they have all but been disparaged by modern scholarship owing, not least, to a perceived ineptitude on the part of the authors to provide accurate information.[11] Anthony Goodman, for example, described the London Chroniclers as lacking 'literary skill or good sources of information' and that they were 'consequently often a hotch-potch of bald and inaccurate facts', though he recognised their importance in 'reflecting contemporary rumour'.[12] For Christine Carpenter, they – along with the rest of the chronicle tradition of the fifteenth century - 'tend to purvey bitty information' and lack 'the unity and penetration' and 'the accurate analysis found in earlier histories'. Carpenter suggested that in the context of the Wars of the Roses all that can be derived from these sources is a 'purposeless list of events'.[13] Charles Ross argued that they lack 'any explanation of the causes or significance of the events they describe',[14] while Jack Lander purposely avoided their use, arguing they are 'meagre, ill-informed and clumsy narratives', though he did not disregard in the equivalent manner the subjectively Yorkist *Brut* continuation commonly referred to as *Davies' Chronicle*, nor the profoundly Lancastrian 'Warkworth's continuation'.[15] Despite also being written in London by anonymous authors, it should be stressed here that the prose *Brut* continuations of the fifteenth century are stylistically distinct from the London chronicles. Not only are the latter dated by mayoral- rather than regal years,[16] but the *Brut* also continued to be composed in a quasi-chivalric tone, often providing a more embellished narrative. It should not be

[11] It should, of course, be noted that the accuracy of 'war reporting' in earlier chronicle traditions has also been questioned. For discussion and analysis, see K. DeVries, 'The Use of Chronicles in Recreating Medieval Military History', in *Journal of Medieval Military History II*, eds. B.S. Bachrach, C.J. Rogers and K. DeVries (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.1-16; A. Bell, 'Medieval Chroniclers as War Correspondents During the Hundred Years War: The Earl of Arundel's Naval Campaign of 1387', in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.171-84. Also see A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Did London Chroniclers Spin Their Facts or Did They 'Wryte in theyr Regystres Suche Thynges as Dayly Happen and Falle?', *The Ricardian*, 14 (2005), pp.137-43.

[12] Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses*, p.10-11.

[13] C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p.4-5.

[14] Ross, *Edward IV*, p.431.

[15] J.R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility* (London, 1976), pp.5, 101, 137 n.48. For Warkworth, see *Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. L.M. Matheson (Woodbridge, 1999), pp.93-124.

[16] The account of each year begins on 29 October, thus coinciding with the mayoral election.

overlooked, however, that the various *Brut* continuations were partly derived from the London chronicles.[17]

There is a generalised modern perception among some historians that the 'soldier' of the fifteenth century was habitually lawless in nature. As outlined in more detail in Chapter IV, it is common argued that they were unable to abandon the illicit habits they had acquired in service in France, and that they were viewed by contemporaries as a largely violent and criminal element who were widely feared and mistrusted by English civilian society.[18] On occasion, historians have drawn directly on the London chronicles and *Brut* continuations to support such arguments. For example, the involvement of 'soldiers' in the death of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester on 9 January 1450 is frequently cited,[19] while others similarly refer to the depredations committed by Queen Margaret's northern army in 1460.[20] The chronicle accounts have also been cited to suggest that the violent tendencies of disbanded and demoralised 'soldiers' returning following the loss of Normandy in 1450 created tensions in London and the South-East in the early 1450s. A clear example of this reading is provided by Isabel Harvey, for whom 'troops streaming back across the Channel… were an element likely to express themselves forcibly about the government which had put them where they were', and who 'disrupted the city and its surrounds with their disorderly presence'.[21] This chapter seeks to challenge this supposition. It is argued that the London chronicle accounts needs to be read in the context of their wider narrative construction. While annalistic in structure, the accounts were not updated on a yearly basis and should not be read as if they were.[22] They were compiled retrospectively and would, consequently, have been shaped by

[17] Unsurprisingly, it has been suggested that the *Brut* chronicles were the preferred reading of the nobility and knightly class. With the exception of the two Wycliffe translations of the Bible, no other Middle English text survives in more manuscripts than the prose *Brut,* highlighting its contemporary popularity. For discussion of the close relationship between the *Brut* and the London chronicles, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II*, pp.221-7.

[18] See below, pp.159-63.

[19] For example, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.519; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.221; J.R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1990), p.35; Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p.78. Also see, J. Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-1450* (London, 2009), pp.393-4; S. Curran, *The English Friend: A Life of William de la Pole, First Duke of Suffolk (1396-1450)* (Norwich, 2011), p.256. For further discussion, see below, pp.140-1.

[20] For example, see H.E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.165-6, 190-5. For further discussion, see below, pp.152-5.

[21] Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion*, pp.63, 67, 68, 131. For similar viewpoints, see Grummitt, 'Changing Perceptions', pp.194-6; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp.613, 645-6; M.A. Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses* (New Haven, 2010), p.60.

[22] See Appendix E. Similarly, the *Brut* continuations were also not written continuously – the years 1377 to 1419 being composed in c.1430, with subsequent continuations ending in 1430, 1436, 1461, and 1475: Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.114-15.

more immediate socio-political opinion, in which the war with France, its ultimate failure, and the civil conflict which followed were major considerations.

The focus of the chapter is on the specific representation of English common combatants in the London chronicles between 1415 and 1461, with a particular emphasis on the contemporary perception of their actions and behaviour – both positive and negative. Accordingly, the chapter is broken into four further sub-sections, each of which focuses on a different aspect of this topic within the framework of the chronicles' broader narrative construction. It outlines how common 'soldiers' and combatants were, in fact, collectively represented in a typically positive manner in the chronicles, as well as in other contemporary historical accounts of the war with France. They are frequently characterised as serving for the greater good of the realm, and accounts of their behaving illicitly, both during this period and following their forced return to England as a consequence of the loss of Normandy in 1450, are relatively rare. Furthermore, such references were not intended to draw direct attention to the faults of these men but were interwoven with various other topics on which the chroniclers reported which, taken together, served to highlight significantly greater threats to good public order, especially those posed by the concepts of misgovernance and the evil council about the king. Indeed, various contemporary sources are commonly sympathetic to the circumstances of the professional 'soldiery' in the wake of the loss of Normandy. Limitations on space mean that it is not possible to discuss all aspects of the London chronicles' construction. One aspect in particular is worth noting briefly here: the representation of lords' men. This is particularly prevalent in the chroniclers' accounts of the unrest in London which accompanied the lords riding to parliament with armed followers in 1450/51. While such men could clearly be defined as combatants, they are not discussed in the context of this chapter for the focus was not on them, but instead feeds into different historical debates and other contemporary concerns regarding livery, maintenance and bastard feudalism, which go beyond the scope of this chapter. Finally, the chapter also explores the chroniclers' representation of combatants' actions and behaviour in the civil disputes between 1455 and 1461, again suggesting that they formed part of their narrative construction by highlighting the dangers that the Lancastrians posed to the commonweal. Rather than reflecting any perceived fear of combatants more generally, the overstated accounts of plunder and rapine committed by the queen's army in 1460/61 instead drew on an increasingly hostile southern perception of the North in the mid-fifteenth century.

The analysis is chiefly based on those chronicles which have been printed; though, for the benefit of reference, the textual relationships between these and a number of non-printed manuscripts is outlined in Appendix E. In a number of cases, only a small section of

the various texts has been printed by modern editors. Where this is the case, the rest of the text has been consulted from the original manuscript. In such instances, footnotes are provided to the original manuscript and folio number. So as to avoid confusion, where the text from the manuscript has been printed, reference is then given to both the original manuscript and the modern edition along with the page number. This is also the case where extracts from multiple chronicles appear in a single modern edition. A further non-printed chronicle, British Library, MS Vitellius F. IX, has also been fully analysed. The analysis and conclusions offered in the chapter are contextualised through the exploration of further contemporary sources, including ecclesiastic and clerical chronicles,[23] the *Brut* and Hardyng's verse Chronicle, as well as more immediate sources such as administrative records and private correspondence. Regarding analysis of the individual London chronicles themselves, confines of space rather prevents any comprehensive survey of textual and minor content variations.[24] Major and/or important variations are outlined and discussed within the body of the text. More generally, however, the footnotes indicate a selection of chronicles which provide either a similar or contrasting account - though for the sake of space and avoiding repetition this is not exhaustive.

II: The Representation of English Combatants in France and the Excesses of War

One of the most intriguing aspects of the London chroniclers' accounts of Henry V's conquest of Normandy is the unusual references some made to the capture of 'Riche' and 'Stronge abbeyes'.[25] While not explicit, the use of this adjective and the context in which such accounts are recorded perhaps connote not only their plundering by English expeditionary armies but also that the chroniclers welcomed such behaviour. Despite military ordinances and ecclesiastic interdiction to the contrary, both officially sanctioned and unsanctioned attacks on church property certainly took place. However, the accounts of the London

[23] Included among the clerical chronicles are those commonly referred to as 'Benet's Chronicle' and *Giles' Chronicle*, both of which demonstrate some similarities to a number of the London chronicles. Their value predominantly lies in their accounts of the 1440s and 1450s, for they often provide contrasting perspectives, and both contain unique records.

[24] The undertaking of such a task would certainly be of significant value to the broader study of the period.

[25] For examples of 'rich', see MS Julius B. II*, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.71; MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089-1483*, p.106; Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives (hereafter WYA) MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.194. For examples of 'strong', see MS Vitellius F. IX, fol.39v; MS Julius B. I, fol.40r; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.56.

**Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts referred to in this chapter are contained within the British Library.*

chronicles present something of an anomaly, for neither the *Brut*, Hardyng, nor M9 provide any similar comment on this topic – though, consequently, nor do they criticise any such behaviour.[26] On occasion, the transgressions of individuals were recorded in the biographies of Henry V; the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* outlines the punishment of an archer who stole from a church on the Agincourt campaign.[27] Walsingham perhaps provides an incidental allusion towards there being a wider issue, in his tale of a monk who complained of being robbed by a man in the king's army during the siege of Caen. The king informed the monk that he had not come to rob churches and would protect them from violence, and a proclamation was made that no-one was to injure or rob any churchman on pain of death.[28] However, while Walsingham informs his audience that greater numbers of ordinary Frenchmen then took to shaving tonsures and wearing clerical attire, his tone is one of humour rather than criticism or condemnation.[29]

Why some London chroniclers chose to describe the abbeys as 'riche' rather than 'strong' is not fully clear. It might be postulated that it points towards the self-serving enrichment of some London merchants through the purchase and sale of plundered goods. In his account of 1417, Adam of Usk reported - with no sense of criticism - that the '[spoil] taken in Normandy was auctioned throughout England'.[30] There is similarly no sense of disquiet among the London chroniclers who recorded the taking of enemy spoils in the earl of Huntingdon's 1417 naval victory, nor is there any direct criticism of the king or his troops in the more widely recorded violent sack of Caen. Henry V himself perhaps joyously alluded to the plundering of Caen in a letter sent to the mayor and corporations of London in which he noted that 'we and our host been in good prosperity and health'.[31] The sack of Caen was both viewed and reported on by English contemporaries as a punitive consequence of the actions of those who rebelled against their rightful lord - thus, the actions of the English were

[26] Similarly, Hall made no references to their capture in his *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke.*

[27] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds. Taylor and Roskell, pp.68-9.

[28] A contemporaneous list of the clergy and churches Henry placed under protection following the siege of Caen survives in the Norman Rolls: *Rotuli Normanniae*, i, pp.330-46. On 10 April 1419, proclamation was made by the bailiffs of Caen and Rouen, and by the sheriffs of a number of other places, that the king's 'soldiers' garrisoned in those regions were to take no victuals or horses without paying for them: *Foedera*, IV, iii, p.107.

[29] *The St. Albans Chronicle*, eds. Taylor, Childs and Watkiss, ii, p.720.

[30] *Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, pp.266-7. The third clause in the 1425 military ordinances of the earl of Salisbury relates to the taking and selling of war gains, and includes merchants: BL, MS Lansdowne 285, fols.150r-152r, also printed in Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, i, pp.46-51.

[31] *London Letter-Book: I*, fol.200, printed in full in Delpit, *Collection générale*, p.220.

within the laws of war.[32] While various sources indicated a degree of moral contemplation on the fate of the civilian inhabitants of Rouen in 1419 - based largely on the eye-witness poem of John Page – there is again no direct criticism in the contemporary English sources of the actions of either Henry or his troops.[33]

There was perhaps some silent criticism among a small minority of contemporary commentators. For example, the ecclesiastic authors of the Crowland chronicle and the so-called *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* both opted not to report on the conquest of Normandy beyond their accounts of the siege of Harfleur and the battle of Agincourt, though the latter does provide a passing reference to Henry's capture of the town of Meulan.[34] At the point at which the London chronicles reported on Henry's invasion of 1417, the Grey Friars author instead chose to focus entirely on the divisions within the church, recording the yielding of Rome to the emperor and his capture of the Italian town of Ponteys.[35] However, neither author actually criticised the behaviour of English combatants in France or indicated any sense of apprehension concerning the return of these men into civilian society.

There is nothing clearly evident in any of the various contemporary or near contemporary English chronicle sources at this point in their narratives to suggest that the actions and achievements of the English combatants – and more particularly those lords who led them – were viewed with anything but praise.[36] Generally speaking, the London

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[32] Henry had presented himself as the legitimate duke of Normandy. For discussion of the legalities of plunder and rapine in a captured town, see Keen, *The Laws of War,* Chapter 8. Also see A. Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy: The Jewel in the Crown', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp.239-52; R. Ambühl, 'Henry V and the Administration of Justice: The Surrender of Meaux (May 1422)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 43 (2017), pp.74-88.

[33] Page's poem on the siege was certainly copied into a number of *Brut* continuations. For example, see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, pp.404-22. Also see J. Bellis, "We wanted þe trewe copy þereof': John Page's The Siege of Rouen, Text and Transmission', *Medium Aevum*, 83 (2014), pp.210-33; eadem, "The Reader myghte lamente': The Sieges of Calais (1346) and Rouen (1418) in Chronicle, Poem and Play', in *War and Literature*, eds. L. Ashe and I. Patterson (Cambridge, 2014), pp.98-101. The poem was not seemingly copied into the London chronicles, but it may commonly have been copied into the same manuscripts which contained them. For example, a copy is found in the common-place book MS Egerton 1995: see *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.1-46. Adam of Usk reported that Henry 'triumphantly conquered' the city and spared the citizens in return for fifty thousand pounds of gold. Moreover, he wrote that the people of London celebrated his achievement with processions and dancing every Wednesday and Friday: *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, pp.268-9, n.4.

[34] *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, with the Continuation of Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1854), pp.364-6; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J.G. Nicols (London, 1852), pp.13-15.

[35] *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, ed. Nicols, pp.14-15. His attitude toward warfare in general appears in keeping with the Franciscan order's own developing views on the subject – perhaps indicating that the author was himself a monk within the abbey. See Appendix E.

[36] Adam of Usk provides an exception in his criticism of 'the carelessness of [Gilbert] Lord Talbot', which he states resulted in the death of more than five hundred Englishmen at the siege of Falaise: *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, pp.266-7. The number of dead is exaggerated, but

chronicles' accounts of Henry V's conquest of Normandy lack the more colourful narratives found in the biographies of Henry V, the *Brut* and Hardyng's chronicle, and nor do they contain the same level of detail recorded in M9. Even so, this does not prevent them from emphasising the numerous towns, castles, strongholds and abbeys which fell to the English at unprecedented speed,[37] thus alluding to an English supremacy in arms.[38] Moreover, the authors provide not-infrequent ancillary accounts of the participation of the rank-and-file through their prominent use of collective terminology such as 'men', 'retinue', 'company', and 'fellowship'.[39] For example, it is implicit that it was the same men whom the duke of Clarence had 'mustryd' before Caen who then won the town alongside the duke 'whythe grete sawte'. As such, they share in the chronicler's accolade.[40] A similar sense of recognition can also be inferred from the detrimental description of the cowardly manner in which the Franco-Genoese naval forces 'fledden away' from the men serving in the 'Retenewe[s]' of the various English lords who fought in John, duke of Bedford's naval victories of 1416, and

more significant is that no other English author appears to have reported the event. For Talbot's raid into the Contentin peninsula, see Wylie, *Henry V*, iii, pp.72-3.

[37] The chroniclers were certainly aware of the official records detailing the capitulations for the surrender of towns and castles. Those of Falaise, Pont Meulan, Meaux, and Rouen were copied into a number of the London and *Brut* chronicles. For example, see MS Julius B. I, fols.40v-44r, 44r-47r; MS, Vitellius A. XVI, fols.48v-50r, 52v-57r; *Great Chronicle*, pp.97-103, 104-8, 120-2, 124-6; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.120-1, 122-7, 143-8, 149-53 (though also see the editor's comments on pp.xix-xx). For the enrolled treaties see, *Foedera*, IV, iii, p.35, 82; IV, iv, p.65. Under the terms of such treaties, the towns were not to be subjected to plunder or rapine.

[38] This was often achieved through the brevity of their accounts, which simply noted the number of 'strong' places which had been captured along with the concurrent, and often-exaggerated, use of saints' days, which incidentally demonstrated the just nature of the English actions in the eyes of God. For example, see MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.126; LP., MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.56; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.115; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.46r-46v.

[39] John Hardyng also made relatively frequent use of these terms in his accounts of Anglo-Scottish warfare, but not in his accounts of the war in France. One wonders if this was a consequence of his own greater service on the Anglo-Scottish border. This would go some way toward explaining the insufficiency of knowledge he often demonstrated toward the war in France. See BL, Lansdowne MS 204, fols.212r-213v, 219v; *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1812), pp.373-4, 380-2, 397-8. [Two versions of Hardyng's chronicle survive. The first, found only in MS Lansdowne 204, was written for Henry VI. A second version, written for Edward IV, contains a number of changes to the text and survives in a greater number of manuscripts, one of which was edited by Henry Ellis. For discussion and analysis of the two texts, see S.L. Peverley, 'John Hardyng's *Chronicle*: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2004)].

[40] MS Egerton 1995, in *The Historical Collections of a Fifteenth Century Citizen*, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1876), p.115; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fol. 46r; MS Julius B. I, fol.39r. Similarly, see the account in BL., Sloane MS 1776, printed in *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta*, ed. B. Williams (London, 1850), pp.113-14. Hardyng also acknowledges the 'many a man' present at the siege but ascribes its taking to Henry V: MS Lansdowne 204, fol.166r. The *Brut* chronicles ascribed victory to both Henry and Clarence, making no mention of their men: *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, pp.383-4; *Davies' Chronicle*, pp.45-6.

the earl of Huntingdon's victory in 1417.[41] The impressive nature of this latter feat was further accentuated by the boastful description of the Genoese fleet as 'the grettest that euer was seyne in these costes'.

The 1420 Treaty of Troyes provided an important marker in the textual construction of the London chronicles,[42] leading to a development in the manner in which both English and French fighting men were represented. The treaty is recorded in all the extant chronicles, though their accounts vary from abbreviated records of the principal events toward a more complete copying of its clauses.[43] All Frenchmen who thereafter continued to resist the English are described as being 'false' and 'untrue'. These terms are more commonly found in connection to the perpetrators of public unrest and crime. The authors were, therefore, deliberately depicting the French as being duplicitous and untrustworthy. Conversely, the chroniclers present the necessary continuation of English troops as the means to restore and maintain public order in the English kingdom of France. This quasi-judicial function is particularly evident in the accounts of the battle of Verneuil.[44] The chroniclers take great pleasure in recording the 'vengeaunce' that the English forces took on their 'adversaries' for

[41] For example, see MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.114-15; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fol.46r; MS Julius B. I, fol.40v; MS Julius B. II, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.71; MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089-1483*, pp.105-6; *Great Chronicle*, pp.95-6. WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.192-3. The similarity in phrasing would suggest that the chroniclers drew on a letter from Henry V, seemingly to his council, for their information in 1417: BL, Add. MS 4601, fol.95, cited in N.H. Harris, *A History of the Royal Navy, From the Earliest of Times to The Wars of the French Revolution* (2 vols., London, 1847), ii, p.433. Huntingdon's victory is not recorded in most of the other contemporary histories. For example, it is not found in the *Brut*, Walsingham, Usk, Hardyng, or in M9. Its wider reporting in the London chronicles might indicate that London merchants had directly benefitted from it. The battle is, however, recorded in BL., Sloane 1776, which provides a livelier account, but makes no intimations toward the involvement of ordinary combatants: printed in *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta*, ed. Williams, pp.110-11. Worcester also included it in his *Boke of Noblesse*, ed. Nichols, p.16. For a French perspective, see *Les chronicques de Normendie (1223-1453): Réimprimées pour la première fois d'après l'édition rarissime de Guillaume Le Talleur (Mai 1487)*, ed. A. Hellot (Rouen, 1881), p.27.

[42] For discussion of the treaty and its consequences, see A. Curry, 'Le traité de Troyes (1420). Un triomphe pour les Anglais ou pour les Français?', in *Images de la guerre de cent an*, eds. J. Maurice, D. Couty, and M. Guéret-Laferté (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), pp.13-26; eadem, 'Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France', in *The Contending Kingdoms': France and England 1420-1700*, ed. G. Richardson (Aldershot, 2008), pp.23-42.

[43] Examples of those which provided the clauses of the treaty include: MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.128-38; MS Vitellius F. IX, fols.47v-51v; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.57r-66r; *Great Chronicle*, pp.109-15. The treaty is also recorded to differing degrees by Hardyng, the *Brut*, M9, and John Vale, but it is not found in either the Croyland or Grey Friars chronicles.

[44] For a letter from the mayor and Aldermen of the city to the duke of Bedford, congratulating him on his victory, see *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.21, printed in Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, iii, pp.369-70. For discussion of the battle, see M.K. Jones, 'The Battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424): Towards a History of Courage', *War in History*, 9 (2002), pp.375-411; R. Wadge, *Verneuil 1424: The Second Agincourt – The Battle of the Three Kingdoms* (London, 2015).

the English defeat at the 1421 battle of Baugé,[45] exaggeratedly recording that upwards of ten thousand French and Scots were killed.[46] Moreover, the recording of the death of the vicomte of Bourbon, he who had so 'trayterously slouh the Duk off Burgoyne' while he knelt at the dauphin's feet, is clearly presented as a judicial resolution to this crime.[47] Similarly, some of the chronicles joyfully recorded the complete defeat, destruction and pillaging of a joint force led by Arthur de Richemont and his brother, the duke of Brittany, which had attempted to capture the English border stronghold of St. James-de-Beuvron.[48] Both men had defected to the Dauphin – in Brittany's case albeit temporarily - and thus broken their vow to uphold the Treaty of Troyes.[49]

Contemporary French commentators such as Michel Pintoin and the Bourgeois de Paris also generally presented the English combatants during the period of the conquest in a relatively favourable light; emphasising both their greater effectiveness in war and their superior discipline in comparison to French and Burgundian troops.[50] However, such attitudes altered as the war progressed. For example, both Robert Blondel and 'the often-violently anti-English' author of the *Chronique de la Pucelle* were highly critical of the illicit

[45] The London chroniclers pass over the defeat at Baugé with little comment beyond the death of Clarence and the capture of other lords. Hardyng, however, sought to diagnose the defeat as a consequence of Clarence having listened to the advice of a foreign spy, Andrew, a 'fals Laumbarde', rather than that of his lords – who are presented by the author as having fought courageously nevertheless: BL, Landsdowne MS 204, fol.214r-214v. The account is also recorded in M9. For discussion, see Rowe, 'A Contemporary Account', p.510. Wylie has argued these accounts are not based in truth: see *Henry V*, iii, p.301, n.6.

[46] Some chroniclers deliberately recorded the marriage of the Scottish king to a member of the Beaufort family prior to their accounts of the battle - a result of which was that he signed a seven-year truce with England – so that they could further portray those Scotsmen who fought at Verneuil as duplicitous, and traitors to their crown, who received their due comeuppance. For example, see MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.81v-82r; MS Julius B. II, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.75.

[47] For example, see MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.129; MS Julius B. II, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.75; MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.112; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.198.

[48] *Great Chronicle*, p.149; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.161; MS Julius B. I, 76r; MS Vitellius F. IX, fol.63r-64v; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.84v-85r.The chroniclers did not, however, report on the Breton capture of nearby Pontorson in December 1426, or the English recovery of it six months later.

[49] The chroniclers had earlier recorded the duke of Gloucester's campaign to claim the Hainault territories of his wife, Jacqueline of Bavaria, with no sense of criticism. This was despite the threat it posed to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. There is no suggestion among the chroniclers that it was Gloucester's actions which largely occasioned Richemont and the duke of Brittany defecting, albeit at the encouragement of the duke of Burgundy. See, J.H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York: A Century of English History (1399-1485)* (2 vols., Oxford, 1892), i, pp.354-5, 363-4. Also see *L and P*, II, ii, pp.386-7.

[50] For discussion, see G.H.P. Le Brusque, 'From Agincourt (1415) to Fornovo (1495): Aspects of the Writing of Warfare in French and Burgundian 15th Century Historiographical Literature' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2001), pp.67-9.

excesses committed by the troops under the earl of Salisbury in 1428/29.[51] Both authors highlighted the 'desecration' and looting of the wealthy Chapel of Nostre Dame de Cléry, informing their readers that these actions incurred God's wrath and, consequently, turned His favour toward French interests. The authors took great satisfaction in recording the French victories at Orleans and Patay, with Blondel stating that the usually strong and well organised English offered no resistance and were 'butchered like pigs on the market'.[52]

There is no similar recording of excesses being committed by Salisbury's troops in any English literary source. While some of the London chronicles note the earl's crossing into Normandy and his laying siege to Orleans, others only recorded his death at the siege and its subsequent raising.[53] The author of the so-called Short Abbey Chronicle of St Albans provides the most detail, stating that Salisbury returned to France with 5,000 'armed lances' to recover the towns and castles which had been lost through 'betrayal' and French duplicity in the Argentan peninsula.[54] Even within this ecclesiastic framework, however, there is no criticism of Salisbury's or his men's actions on the campaign. While some record the English victory at the so-called battle of the Herrings,[55] none of the chronicles provide any specific reference to the disastrous battle of Patay. Instead, most report that the earl of Suffolk and the lords Talbot and Scales were taken prisoner by means of French 'myschef' following the breaking of the siege.[56]

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[51] On 5 September 1428, the earl of Salisbury wrote to the mayor and corporations of the city, informing them of his capture of more than forty towns, castles and 'stronge chirches': *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.55b, printed in Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, iii, pp.370-2.

[52] See Brusque, 'From Agincourt (1415) to Fornovo (1495)', pp.104, 131-2. These attitudes may also have been shaped by the debate on whether the duke of Orleans lands – including Cléry – should have been subject to attack while his was a prisoner in England.

[53] For examples of his crossing, see MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.162; *Great Chronicle*, p.151. For examples of those which begin with his death, see MS Julius B. II, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.96; MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089-1483*, p.116. Hardyng only records the earl's death at Orleans, although he records that Salisbury was highly praised and lauded for his achievements: BL, Lansdowne MS 204, fol.218v. The Grey Friars chronicle also records the earl's death at Orleans but provides no context: *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, ed. Nichols, p.16.

[54] *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani: Annales Monasterii S. Albani, a Johanne Amundesham…*, ed. H.T. Riley (2 vols., London, 1870-71), I, pp.22-4. (The chronicle runs from 1421 down to 1431).

[55] For example, see MS Harley 565, in *A Chronicle of London*, *from 1089 to 1483*, p.116; MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.132; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.202. Also see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, p.435.

[56] For example, see MS Julius B. I, fol.80v; MS Vitellius F. IX, fol.65r; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.62. Some others, like the author of MS Julius B. II, only record men being taken captive and not those killed: see *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.96. It is hard to determine how much more detail the author of M9 might have gone into had the chronicle been continued beyond the arrival of Joan of Arc at the siege – a point made more complicated still by the accusations brought against Fastolf regarding his own conduct at the battle of Patay. See Curry, 'Representing War and Conquest', p.157. None of the London chroniclers' comment on the dispute which arose between Talbot and Fastolf. For discussion, see H. Collins, 'Sir John Fastolf, John Lord

It is at this point that the London chroniclers began once more to regularly comment on the crossing of expeditionary armies out of England. What is particularly significant, though, is the contradistinction between the authors' representation of said English forces and the reprehensible nature of the French. While English set-backs and reverses in the early 1430s were not recorded in detail, it is nonetheless implicit that the expeditionary forces were sent in response to French territorial gains. French successes are ascribed not to military mechanisms, however, but to the treachery of the native populace and, especially in the case of the duke of Burgundy, traitorous circumstances of the 1435 Treaty of Arras, all of which contravened the Treaty of Troyes. The English combatants and the lords under whom they served are presented as the antithesis of the French and Burgundians. Indeed, phrases such as a 'grete power', a 'godely meyny', and a 'fayre ffelleshyp' began to be commonly employed in relation to English forces from 1429 through to the 1444 Truce of Tours -[57] after which the chroniclers unsurprisingly fall silent on military events in France until 1449. As such, English combatants are depicted in a positive manner, and as acting in defence of both the English kingdom of France and England itself.

Once again, the chroniclers gleefully recorded the punitive actions meted out by some of these forces with no disapproval of their excesses. For example, Cleopatra C. IV provides a unique account of English military activity in early 1437. The author recounts in an untroubled tone that Lords Talbot and Scales with Sir Thomas Kyriell, Sir Thomas Hoo and 2,000 men 'brent and slew all that myght be takyn of the contre vn to the nomber of viij^{c} in the tovne of lilbon, and brent the tovne'. Three days later they 'toke and slew un to a m^{1} of hem of Caux and brent many a riall markett tovnes'. Additionally, they plundered the countryside, taking all cattle and sheep, 'And thus all the contre of Caux whas destroyed both of men and of bestis, and of all her goodis'.[58] The account is inaccurate on a numer of levels, not the least of which is that the English sought to recover some of what had been lost in the region, not destroy it.[59] It is argued, however, that the author's intention was not to provide

Talbot and the Dispute over Patay: Ambition and Chivalry in the Fifteenth Century', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. D. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp.114-40.

[57] For example, following the breaking of the siege of Orleans, the *Great Chronicle* refers to both the 'feire meyne' who had sailed to Normandy under Cardinal Beaufort, and the 'grett retynew off men off war' who crossed under two esquires, Thomas Bough and Thomas Grey: p.152. These phrases were also employed, though much less frequently, in the *Brut* and by Hardyng. For example, see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, p.454. Contrastingly, the *Short Abbey Chronicle* more plainly recorded that the Cardinal and his '*stipendiariis*' had been diverted from their planned crusade to assist the duke of Bedford: *Annales Monasterii S. Albani, a Johanne Amundesham*, ed. Riley, i, p.39. 'Benet's Chronicle' simply refers to his having crossed with '10,000 men': p.182.

[58] MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.140.

[59] The castle at Lillebonne, for instance, was retaken and garrisoned. See J. Barker, 'The Foe Within: Treason in Lancastrian Normandy', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen*, eds. P. Coss and C. Tyerman

his readers with an accurate record of events, but rather that its draconian nature was intended to emphasise to the reader the punitive consequences which met those who rebelled against English sovereignty.

The clearest example of this is the 1436 Calais crisis on which all the London chroniclers commented to a greater or lesser extent.[60] Take for example the representation of the duke of Gloucester's retributive raid into Flanders following the raising of the siege. The chroniclers delighted in Gloucester's old-fashioned *chevauchee* whereby his men did 'moche harme', burning, pillaging and devastating the towns of 'Poperynge and Belle', taking many spoils.[61] Similarly favourable accounts are also found in more immediate contemporary sources such as newsletters and ballads – on which the chroniclers had almost certainly drawn.[62] These actions read as being a consequence of the duke of Burgundy's offences against the English, not least his role in orchestrating the Treaty of Arras.[63] Similarly, the people and towns of Flanders were punished for supporting him - although strong anti-Flemish sentiment among the London merchants no doubt also played a role too.[64] What is particularly notable, however, is the positive manner in which the chroniclers refer to Gloucester's force returning to England, with some even going so far as to recount their having 'comen hom sauf and sounde blessyd be god of his soule'.[65] While the composition of

(Woodbridge, 2009), pp.312-13. However, the narrative of the author was largely in keeping with the sentiments expressed by Sir John Fastolf in his 'Report on the Management of the War in France upon Conclusion of the Treaty of Arras, September 1435', printed in *L and P*, II, ii, p.580.

[60] The siege is not recorded by the author of the Croyland chronicle and is only noted in passing in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, ed. Nichols, p.17.

[61] For references, see n.65.

[62] Four ballads survive for the siege; two narrative and two satirical. For the texts, see T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (2 vols., London, 1859-61), ii, pp.148-9, 151-6; *The Brut,* ed. Brie, ii, pp.581-4, 600-1. For discussion, see R.A. Klinefelter, "The Siege of Calais': A New Text', *PMLA*, 67 (1952), pp.888-95. Hardyng wrote of the 'grete honoure and all the victory': BL, MS Lansdowne 204, fol.219r-219v; *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, p.396. Some *Brut* chronicles conversely describe Gloucester's raid as having been of little value – though they do not criticise the excesses of the troops: see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, pp.469-70, 505; *Davies' Chronicle*, p.55.

[63] In May 1435, Burgundy had written to the city of Paris concerning the forthcoming congress at Arras, in which he referred to Henry VI as 'his adversary and the adversary of the King of France': see *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.147r, printed in full in Delpit, *Collection générale*, pp.251-2.

[64] In May 1436, the sheriff of London was instructed to proclaim that no natives of Flanders who had remained loyal to Henry VI were to be molested: *London Letter-Book: K,* fol.160r, printed in full in Delpit, *Collection générale*, p.265. Similar instructions were sent to sheriffs in various other counties: see *Foedera*, V, i, p.27.

[65] For example, MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.122; MS Vitellius F. IX, fol.69r-70v; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.207; TC, MS 509. Others gave thanks to God for their coming home without losing a single man: for example, see MS Vitellius A. XVI, fol.98v-98r; *Great Chronicle*, pp.172-3; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.179; MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *London Chronicles*, ed. Kingsford, p.141-2; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.62. The author of MS Julius B. I recorded the *chevauchee* but did not record the duke or his men returning to England: fols.83v-83r. Also see 'Benet's Chronicle', p.185; *Giles' Chronicle*, pp.15-16.

this army was rather different from those which crossed on a near-yearly basis between 1415 and 1443,[66] it is still notable that such a sentiment would appear to be a far cry from a fear that men would continue in such undesirable habits of war once home.

III: Negative Representations of Combatants During the War with France?

The 1433 mutiny of the Calais garrison – whereby the 'soldiers' of the garrison had seized all the wool belonging to the merchants of the Calais staple in lieu of their wages - is one of only two instances between 1415 and 1449 in which English combatants are seemingly characterised in a negative fashion in the London chronicles. While the event is recorded in most of the chronicles,[67] there are two quite different representations offered. For example, the account in Cleopatra C. IV, Egerton 1995, and Vitellius A. XVI are all brief, stating simply that, following a meeting of the Council at Calais, a number of 'soldiers' were put to death with others banished. Only Cleopatra C. IV specifically states that this was on Bedford's orders.[68] A seemingly greater proportion of the chroniclers, however, opted to provide a little further detail:

> This same yere the duke of Bedford regent of Fraunce com to Caleys the Tuesday before Estre day; and in the morwe after the sowdeours were arrested and put into warde… and the xj day of Jun, on seynt Barnabe day, were foure sowdeours of Caleys beheded; that is for to sey, John Maddeley, John Lunday, Thomas Palmere, and Thomas Talbot; a v score and x banshyd that same tyme, and before that tyme were banshyd vj score.[69]

None, however, provides any context for the mutiny or for the duke of Bedford's subsequent actions. Conversely, some *Brut* continuations do, outlining that a 'gret discord' fell between the 'soldiers' and Bedford's lieutenant in the garrison, Sir William Oldhall, whom they expelled for want of their wage arrears. Bedford subsequently met with the treasurer of Calais and promised to pay the 'soldiers'' arrears through the revenues of local customs, and we are told that he was then 'wurchiply recevid' by the burgesses, merchants and 'soldiers' of the town. The following day, however, he reneged on his promises, ordering the

[66] See Chapter I, pp.70-1.
[67] It is not recorded in LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, MS, Julius B. I., or 'Benet's Chronicle'. Similarly, it is not found in the Croyland chronicle.
[68] MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of England*, ed. Kingston, p.135; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.176; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.96v-96r.
[69] For example, see, MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089-1483*, pp.119-20; MS Vitellius F. IX, fol.69v; *Great Chronicle*, p.170; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.207.

arrest of numerous 'soldiers', condemning four to be beheaded, and banishing 100 others whose wage arrears were declared forfeit.[70]

Why then did the various London chronicles report on this incident and, moreover, in the manner in which they did? Was it outrage at the actions of the 'soldiers' and a sense of their having received due punishment? Almost certainly not.[71] It is highly likely that the cause of the mutiny was common knowledge among London's civic elite, who were the primary readers of these chronicles. Grummitt has highlighted the links between the garrison who 'guaranteed the safety of the English Staple, and the London merchants, who provide the wealth for the Crown to meet its military obligations'.[72] Moreover, he has suggested that the garrison's seizure of the wool in 1407 and 1442 may have been undertaken with the merchants' tacit support.[73] It is certainly intriguing that neither the London chronicles nor *Brut* made any comment on the garrison's seizing the wool in either 1423, 1442 or 1454. It can be argued, therefore, that rather than indicating an insufficiency of knowledge, the chroniclers' intention was to draw their readers' attention to the actions of Bedford, and that the fate of the 'soldiers' should be viewed sympathetically.

The accounts of this event need to be read in the context of the partisanship which some of the chroniclers demonstrated toward the duke of Gloucester, and their representation of enmity between him and Bedford dating back to their accounts of the establishment of Henry VI's minority council. This rancour had also only shortly beforehand clearly been further highlighted by some authors in their decision to include Bedford's involvement in the serious and potentially violent dispute between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, then bishop of Winchester in 1425/6.[74] Bedford's punishment of the 'soldiers' followed the chroniclers' noting the conference at Calais between the two dukes, which had been occasioned by their disagreement on the future conduct of the war and the function that Calais should play in the defence of Normandy. Bedford was frustrated in his plans by Gloucester, whose different opinions on Calais were largely aligned with the interests of the Calais staplers and London merchants.[75] In this light, it is significant that some chronicles chose to record the names of the four 'soldiers' who were executed. One of these men, John

[70] For example, *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, pp.570-1. It is not recorded in *Davies' Chronicle*.
[71] Though this might have been closer to the sentiment of the author of *Giles' Chronicle* who referred to the event as a rebellion: p.12.
[72] Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, p.98.
[73] *Ibid.*, p.98.
[74] For example, see *Great Chronicle*, pp.136-49; MS Julius B. II, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingston, pp.76-95; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.159-61; MS Vitellius A. XVI, fols.83r-85r. For discussion of Gloucester and London's relations with Beaufort and Bedford, see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp.40-3, 67-9, 76-7.
[75] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.194. Also see Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp.255-7.

'Madley', had in December 1432 presented a petition to the King's Council from the 'soldiers' of the garrison for their wages, to which Gloucester had promised to satisfy them.[76] It was the reaffirming of this promise which had gained Bedford entrance into Calais.

The support for Gloucester and the increasing hostility demonstrated toward Bedford by some – but by no means all – of the chroniclers can be observed in the different manners in which the authors recorded the events of the following two years. Those which provided only passing references to the mutiny subsequently state that Bedford was 'worthily received' by the mayor and city of London when he attended parliament in July that same year, and record both the earl of Huntingdon and lord Talbot separately crossing to France with a 'fayre meyne' to 'kepe the contree'. Finally, the death of the 'good Duke of Bedford' is recorded with great solemnly. Those which recorded the mutiny in more detail, however, note his attending parliament but not that he was well received. The earl of Huntingdon's and Talbot's expeditions are not recorded.[77] This was a deliberate omission, their narratives consequently implying an unfair link between Bedford's handling of the war and the disastrous Treaty of Arras. Most surprisingly, though, they did not record the death of Bedford.[78]

Intriguingly, the author of Cleopatra C. IV provided a seemingly unique account that, having returned to Rouen in 1427, Bedford ordered the execution of Richard Venables, 'ffor he made a riseng in the lond of Normandy of the comens'.[79] Venables was an English captain who genuinely did act in an excessive manner. As a captain of a not insignificant company of men, and operating out of the walled abbey of Savigny, Venables fought the French in the name of Henry VI, but he simultaneously filled 'his pockets by organised brigandage at the expense of Henry's subjects'.[80] However, no English chronicler opted to report on the excesses of Venables and his men. Rowe has suggested that the letters issued to some captains in northern Normandy in the weeks following Venables's death indicate that upwards of four hundred of his men had been pardoned for their behaviour, but ordered to return to England.[81] If this was the case, then there is certainly nothing in the chronicles to imply that these men caused any collective trouble having returned.

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[76] *POPC*, iv, p.139.

[77] This is intriguing, considering it was a loan from the staplers to Gloucester in April 1433 which financed Huntingdon's expedition. See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.195; Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.37-8

[78] The author of the aforementioned *Brut* continuation cheerfully recorded that Bedford suffered with ill-health after the mutiny until his death. See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp.194-6.

[79] MS Cleopatra C. IV, in *Chronicles of London*, p.137.

[80] See B.J.H. Rowe, 'John Duke of Bedford and the Norman 'Brigands'', *EHR*, 47 (1932), pp.598-9.

[81] *Ibid*, p.599, citing BL, Add Ch. 3749.

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The second instance in which combatants are perhaps presented in a negative light is found in the context of John, duke of Somerset's disastrous campaign of 1443.[82] However, this supposedly negative perception is found in only a single chronicle: MS 509, more commonly referred to as the chronicle of Robert Bale.[83] The author records the debacle of Somerset's army having to be mustered 'diverse tymes', the result of which was 'grevous to the contree'.[84] The author does not specifically state that it was the violent excesses committed by the troops awaiting embarkation to which he was referring, but this was the view of Ralph Flenley when he printed this part of the chronicle in his *Six Town Chronicles of England*.[85] This same interpretation has more recently been repeated by Grummitt.[86] However, such a reading is too one-dimensional; the unique nature of the account brings into question the individual author's motives for including it in his chronicle.

Not all the chroniclers opted to comment on the expedition,[87] but a few who did demonstrate an unprecedented level of negativity towards Somerset personally at this point. Upon his return to England in 1444, some noted 'he [had] lost many of his men'.[88] None, however, criticise the troops under his command. In these instances, it would appear that the author's Yorkist political partialities played a role. 'Benet's Chronicle' goes somewhat further, detailing how the duke's failures incurred the king's wrath and indignation.[89] Similarly, the Lancastrian orientated *Giles' Chronicle* severely criticises the duke too, claiming

[82] For a detailed account of this expedition, see M.K. Jones, 'John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and the French Expedition of 1443', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp.79-102. Also see P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York, 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp.41-5.

[83] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles,* ed. R. Flenley, p.116.

[84] The army had been due to muster on 17 May, only Somerset failed to show up. Somerset then failed to appear for a second muster, this time drawing the irritation of the king and council. However, this had as much to do with financial concerns as the situation in Normandy - delays were costing £500 a day. See Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.468.

[85] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.116, n.4.

[86] For example, see D. Grummitt, 'Changing Perceptions of the Soldier in Late Medieval England', in *The Fifteenth Century X*, ed. H. Kleineke (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.192-3.

[87] For example, MS Vitellius A. XVI; MS Rawlinson B. 355; *The Great Chronicle*.

[88] LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.64; MS Julius B. I, fol.84v, and also see *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.133 [the editors used the text of Julius B. I as a continuation of Harley 565 from October 1444]. Rather strikingly, the author of MS Egerton 1995 seems to have attempted to put a positive spin on the campaign: in *Historical Collections*, p.185.

[89] 'Benet's Chronicle', pp.189-90.

he returned with neither profit nor honour.[90] In part, these criticisms were probably in reference to Somerset's ill-advised capture of La Guerche in Brittany and his allowing his troops to pillage it, which created an unwelcome diplomatic incident between the king and the duke of Brittany.[91] However, neither in Benet's nor *Giles' Chronicle* are the actions of the troops denounced in any manner, the importance being that – as is outlined in the following subsection - the latter *did* go on to criticise the actions of an army which later tarried in England.

MS 509, however, does not report negatively on Somerset's return, and, unlike the aforenoted chronicles, treats his death in 1444 with deference, referring to him as a 'full worthy werreour'.[92] The accounts of his expedition in Cleopatra C. IV and Harley 565 are also notable, for both chronicles are incomplete and come to an end prior to Somerset's return to England. Neither provides any insight into the delay, but both refer to his having sailed with 10,000 'goode men' and conclude with the prayer 'whom J'hu spede for his mercy' - suggesting that they had been written shortly after his death.[93] Contrastingly, the author of Julius B. I, which appears to have been closely related to Harley 565 down to 1443, similarly notes his passing with 10,000 'goode men' but does not include the prayer.[94] As noted above, he then records that Somerset 'lost many of his men'. It might be suggested, therefore, that the author of MS 509 was not highlighting the excesses committed by troops awaiting muster, but rather the financial costs of his delay - which admittedly included men fraudulently mustering on more than a single occasion - and, more importantly, the deleterious effect it had on the state of affairs in Normandy. This would appear to be in keeping with the criticisms and instructions issued by the council to Somerset on 9 July in response to his repeated failures to muster his army.[95] While it is recognised that this communication also alludes to 'complaints' having been made by those upon whom the army

[90] It should be pointed out that the same author stated that Somerset had been appointed as a consequence of the duke of York's own ineffectiveness in France. *Giles' Chronicle,* p.31. Also see *POPC*, v, p.260.

[91] For a letter from the king to Somerset on this matter, see *POPC*, vi, pp.22-3. For the compensation that the king offered the duke of Brittany, see *Ibid*., pp.11-13, 13-16, 16-18, 19, 20-21; *L and P*, i, pp.439-41. For further discussion, see Jones, 'John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and the French Expedition of 1443', pp.95-6.

[92] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.117. The *Brut* also recorded his death in a solemnly fashion: *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, pp.484-5. The author of the Croyland chronicle records the duke's death too but does not include any reference to his military campaign: *Ingulph's Chronicle*, ed. Riley, p.399.

[93] MS Cleopatra C. IV, in ed. Kingsford, p.151; MS Harley 565, in *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089-1483*, p.132.

[94] The actual composition of the army was six hundred men-at-arms (including Somerset) and 3,949 archers. See Jones, 'John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and the French Expedition of 1443', pp.87-9, 92.

[95] *POPC*, v, pp.409-14. Also see *Ibid*., pp.303-4.

was billeted, the context would again suggest these were financially motivated. This argument is also further strengthened by the differences in this and the author of MS 509's later account of the excesses committed by troops in 1450 – discussed below.

More generally speaking, the concept of excesses committed by men mustering prior to embarkation is a familiar tale among medieval historians. Logistical and geographical factors dictated that the near-yearly expeditionary armies which were sent to France in this period would be largely constrained to quarter in the towns and regions of the southern counties, and in particular those about the Cinque ports. The repeated demands on these locations understandably caused a degree of resentment among the local populace. However, it can be suggested that the extent to which combatants misbehaved prior to sailing to France during the fifteenth century phase of the war may have been somewhat overstated. The Commons of southern England certainly complained to parliament concerning the transgressions of 'saudiours' in 1425, 1429, and again in 1442.[96] Similarly, the 1439 act against the 'Deceipts of War' outlined how captains' withholding of wages from their men had resulted in combatants falling 'to roberie and pilage, als welle before their goyng on this side þe see'.[97] However, these parliamentary petitions were constructed in legal rhetoric. As such, they do not denote the exact crimes committed by waiting troops but rather provide a list of social ills that contemporaries viewed as unacceptable behaviour in a given context. Indeed, it should also not be overlooked that quartered expeditionary armies would have been swollen by non-combatant camp followers, some of whom would have comprised undesirables such as thieves, vagabonds and prostitutes looking to exploit the opportunities posed by such considerable gatherings.[98] Moreover, such complaints appear to have been relatively rare, considering armies were sent on a near yearly basis between 1415 and 1443, and nor do there do appear to be any extant instructions issued to sheriffs to make proclamations concerning any excesses on the part of mustering forces after 1415.[99] While much may have gone unrecorded, this would perhaps point toward a successful implementation of discipline among quartered troops and a relative lack of lawlessness.[100]

[96] *PROME*, x, p.268, 409-10; xi, p.378.
[97] TNA, C49/24/12; 18 Henry VI, c.18, 19, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, ii pp.314-15; *PROME*, xi, pp.308-11.
[98] See Curry, 'Sex and the Soldier', pp.17-45.
[99] See *CCR*, *1413-1419*, pp.223, 278. Also see *Foedera*, IV, ii, p.138.
[100] A pardon issued to the abbot of St. Radagund abbey in Kent in 1448, highlights the expenses which might be incurred in entertaining billeted troops, but there is no sense that the 'soldiers' acted in a lawless or threatening manner: *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.203, also cited in Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.519.

IV: The Representation of Criminality and Lawlessness Among Displaced 'Soldiers' in 1450-51

The London chroniclers' account of the death of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester,[101] killed on 9 January 1450 while delivering the overdue wages to the army waiting at Portsmouth to sail for France, is of significance here for it is frequently cited as evidence of criminal proclivity among 'soldiers' by historians. In so doing, however, they often demonstrate little consideration for the broader context in which the various chroniclers chose to record the incident. The bishop's death is not recorded in all the chronicles,[102] and nor was it seemingly widely recorded in all the *Brut* continuations. Similarly, it is not found in Hardyng, the Crowland chronicle, or William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*. It is recorded, however, in both 'Benet's Chronicle' and *Giles' Chronicle*. One must consider, therefore, what, if any, function the account played in the narratives of those chroniclers who chose to include it.

To begin, the terminology employed by the chroniclers is important. The author of Egerton 1995, for instance, records that the bishop was 'put… to dethe' by 'schippemen', aided by 'sum mys-a-wysyd men of the sowdyers'.[103] Similarly, 'Benet's Chronicle' states that he was 'killed' by 'soldiers and sailors'.[104] The account in MS 509 does not attribute the bishop's death specifically to 'soldiers', but rather that he was 'killed… be the strenght of the comones'.[105] Only in *Giles' Chronicle* is it specifically stated that Moleyns was actually murdered, although the account in the *Brut* edited by Davies also reflects that the 'soudiers and shipmenne… creulli there kilde him'.[106] Stylistically, these accounts run parallel to those presented by the same authors – as well as most other chroniclers more generally - on the death of the duke of Suffolk; though it should be noted that none state that 'soldiers' were responsible for Suffolk's death. This was probably a consequence of the London chronicler's Yorkist political leanings coupled with Moleyn's close association with Suffolk.[107]

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[101] For Moleyns' career, see A.C. Reeves, *Lancastrian Englishmen* (Washington, 1981), pp.203-63.

[102] Those which do not make any reference include, MS Julius B. I, in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*; *The Great Chronicle*; MS Rawlinson B. 355, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley; MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren.

[103] MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.189.

[104] 'Benet's Chronicle', p.195.

[105] The author confuses the bishop's see and his place of death, stating that he was beheaded in Chichester: TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.127. John Vale also states that it was the commons who had 'slayne' the bishop: *John Vale's Book*, eds. Kekewich *et al*., p.178.

[106] *Giles' Chronicle*, p.37; *Davies' Chronicle*, p.64.

[107] 'Benet's Chronicle' records the popular rumour that Moleyn's had, in his final moments, accused Suffolk of being one of the traitors about the king responsible for the loss of Normandy, Maine and Anjou: p.196. The extent of these rumours was significant enough that Suffolk felt compelled to

Of all the accounts, it is only those in *Davies' Chronicle* and *Giles' Chronicle* which demonstrate any sympathy toward the bishop's fate, the latter noting that he was killed 'brutally and without provocation'. Contrastingly, the London chroniclers clearly demonstrate an aversion to the man for he, like Suffolk, is not afforded any of the prayers commonly associated with the death of notable men. Both are thus characterised in a fashion more typical of criminals and heretics. Their deaths are thereby rendered to the reader in a manner connoting a judicially sanctioned execution for their crimes against the realm -[108] particularly the popular notion that they were among those chiefly responsible for the loss of Normandy.[109] The 'soldiers' therefore present the tool through which this end was achieved rather than being the focus of socio-political concern. Indeed, it is telling that there are no clear references in any of the extant chronicles to the accusations that a significant proportion of these same troops were soon after accused of having marshalled an army in rebellion against the king.[110]

This interpretation is strengthened by what can be shown to have been a deliberate choice on the part of the author of MS 509 to replace the function of the 'soldiers' with the commons. This was a direct consequence of his decision to report on the excesses of these same combatants while they waited to sail to France. Following the bishop's death, he records that 'many sowdeours at Portesmouth wich shuld have passed over afor Christemas and soor pilled and enpoured the contray.[111] As such, he could not have earlier presented them as a judicial tool. However, the author is alone among the London chroniclers in providing this account, though a similar one is found in *Giles' Chronicle*. Why then, did he choose to include it?

There was certainly a heightened degree of unrest in the southern counties occasioned, in part, by the return of further displaced 'soldiers' from Normandy. The author of *Davies' Chronicle*, for example, recorded that the duke of Somerset had 'abatid the

address the Commons when parliament reassembled on 23 January 1450: *PROME*, xii. For discussion, see Watts, *Henry VI,* pp.247-9.

[108] While the Croyland chronicler does not record the death of Moleyns, he does outline the traitorous behaviour of the bishop of Salisbury and lord Saye, stating that both were acting with impunity under the protection of Suffolk. He reports their deaths at the hands of the 'commons of the kingdom' as a good thing, indicating that the judicial system would have protected them. He also described Suffolk's death as a 'due but inglorious end to this traitor': *Ingulph's Chronicle*, ed. Riley, pp.410-11.

[109] A similar sense of indignation toward both Moleyns and Suffolk can be observed in contemporary ballads. For example, see *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed During the Period from the Accession of Edward III, to that of Richard III*, ed. T Wright (2 vols., London, 1859-61), ii, pp.232-7. Both men were also widely held responsible for the arrest and death of the duke of Gloucester.

[110] This is discussed in Chapter IV, pp.184-5.

[111] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.128.

noumbre of the soudiers that were in the garisons, and sente thaym in to Englond vnpaid of their wages, wherby the stregthe of Normandie was lost'.[112] In both 1451 and 1452, orders were issued to proclaim that all those who were not retained as part of the expeditionary force under Sir Richard Woodville and who were 'burdening the king's lieges' were to return home and find 'honest occupation'.[113] It is feasible, therefore, that his account was simply intended as a direct condemnation of the behaviour of the troops under Kyriell. This would certainly appear to be the sentiments of the author of *Giles' Chronicle*, writing that while the army;

> waited on its wages [it did] great damage to the country, pillaging property and raping women of all degrees… Wherefore, like men disobedient to God, they were left without a favourable wind for three months, and when they finally managed to reach France, they were instantly, within three days, defeated by their enemies: a due dessert, it is generally agreed, for their crimes.[114]

However, while the account in *Giles' Chronicle* is unique in any English fifteenth-century chronicle in presenting the fate of an English army as a judicial resolution to its own crimes and misdeeds, the broader narrative context in which the author of MS 509 recorded this event needs to be considered.

The author begins by expressing anger toward the manner in which numerous towns and castles in France had been lost, particularly those of Pont de l'Arche and Vernon, but he places no blame on the combatants who were serving there. He did, however, highlight to the reader that such losses were to the detriment of Henry V's memory and achievements - as had been so reverently outlined earlier in the chronicle.[115] Moreover, the French had 'slewe and taken moche Englissh peple and the lord ffauconberge and meny other Gentiles wer take prisoner'. He then provides a unique account into the financial affairs of the Crown, stating that raising the 'greet power of sowdyers', sent for the relief of Calais and its marches in 1436 had come at great cost to the citizens of London, for 'every person that was of any

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[112] *Davies' Chronicle*, p.68. For discussion of this notion, see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.335-8.
[113] *CPR*, *1446-1452*, pp.478, 577. Royal commissioners had been dispatched on 10 June in an endeavour to establish greater control in the region: TNA, E403/784, cited in A. Curry, *The Hundred Years War* (2nd ed., London, 2003), p.138.
[114] *Giles' Chronicle*, pp.36-7. This was the army that was comprehensively defeated at the battle of Formigny in April 1450. A modern author has rather unreasonably placed the blame squarely on Kyriell's shoulders, suggesting that he simply let his men 'run amok': G. Corrigan, *A Great and Glorious Adventure: A Military History of the Hundred Years War* (London, 2013), p.276.
[115] The English capture of Pont de l'Arche in 1419 was also recorded by most of the chroniclers, including the author of TC, MS 509.

reputacion was sett and tasked to geve therto a parcell of his goodes'.[116] Further loans were then required of the Londoners as war was declared with both Flanders and Scotland, though peace was then quickly declared to the end that 'there was noo good rule nor stableness at that tyme to greet discomfort and hevynes of the peple'.[117] The author then clearly states that the resolution to this could be had if only the king would pass an Act of Resumption.[118] He then details the more commonly reported-on deaths of Moleyns and Suffolk; the preparations in the city toward the threat posed should the lords ride to parliament with armed retainers; the hanging of a man for having spoken out against the rule of the lords; and the brief popular rebellion under a man calling himself Blewbeard. Only then does he remark on the soldiers' transgressions.

In the following sentence, however, he continues;

> And in the mean tyme the dolphin and the kyng of Cecile the quenes ffader laboured in such wyse that they gate all normandy wthoute ony greet resistence and the erledome of Angeoy demayn which hadde be the olde enheritaunce and right evermore and tyme out of mynde of the kynges of Engeland.[119]

Parallels can be drawn between the language in this statement and the author's decision to include an account of Thomas Kerver, a gentleman from Reading, being pardoned at the gallows in 1444, which he claimed had been met by the citizens with 'glad chier'.[120] The accusations that formed Kerver's indictment assert, among other details, that he had declared that 'it would have been worth more than a hundred thousand pounds to England if the king had never been born', and that if he acted more 'manfully' like the Dauphin then Henry 'would be holding those lands [in Normandy] peacefully and quietly'.[121] In this wider context, it becomes clear that the account of the troops' misbehaviour was just one of a number of examples of disorder that the author used to highlight his greater complaint: the

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[116] This was an experimental poll tax in which the merchants of London had a vested interest, particularly those with connections to the Calais Staple. See J.L. Bolton, 'The City and the Crown 1456-61', *London Journal*, 12 (1986), p.15.

[117] This is substantiated by an entry in the account book of the London mercers in 1450, regarding the financing of 'saudeors' sent to Calais: *The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London: An Edition and Translation*, ed. L. Jefferson (Abingdon, 2009), no.662.

[118] Similarly, see MS Julius B. I, in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.137. This opinion was shared by the commons who sought to convince the king of its need in Parliament in 1450, and again in 1451. An act was eventually passed in 1453, but with a list of exemptions so vast as to render it virtually useless. It was also widely employed by the duke of York as part of his political agenda in the early 1450s. See Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp.62-65, 68-69.

[119] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.125-128.

[120] *Ibid*., p.118. An account in the *Brut* records that Kerver had spoken 'vntruly and vngodly and ayenst feith and lawe depraved the kyng': *The Brut*, ed. Brie, ii, p.485.

[121] See C.A.F. Meekings, 'Thomas Kerver's Case, 1444', *EHR*, 90 (1975), pp.331-46.

financial and political mismanagement through which, in his opinion, not just Normandy, but all English territories in France with the exception of Calais had been lost.[122] The combatants, therefore, represented a means through which this scenario could have been avoided, had only the government been better managed in financing the wages of these men on time and providing adequate transport.

The author was certainly far from alone in demonstrating such sentiments. For example, in his *Boke of Noblesse*, William Worcester emphasised the relationship between the inability to finance wages and defeat in France. He reminded Edward IV that the loss of Bordeaux in 1451 had been a consequence of the expeditionary army's tarrying while it awaited payment. Citing Christine de Pizan, however, he emphasised that the troops' dependence on regular payment for service did not reflect badly on themselves: men could not be expected to remain disciplined without regular wages, nor remain loyal when they felt forgotten.[123] Non-payment of wages forced the English 'soldiers' serving in France to pillage and oppress the very people they were supposed to be protecting, which in turn forced the inhabitants to look to Charles VII for redress.[124] The ransoming of six captured labourers by the garrison serving at Pontorson as early as 1440 was perhaps a direct consequence of their wages being in arrears.[125]

Indeed, the threat to Normandy posed by non-payment of wages had been well-established prior its loss. In 1446, Adam Moleyns had, among other things, accused the duke of York of failing to pay the wages of those serving in Normandy, suggesting that such behaviour would result in the 'losse and distrucion' of the duchy – an accusation which York fervently denied.[126] Similarly, articles concerning the misconduct of Edmund, duke of Somerset, were drawn up by Sir John Fastolf in 1449, in which he referred to Somerset's owing large sums of money to the 'souldaiers' who had been forced as a consequence to rob

[122] Londoners were repeatedly called upon to aid in the defence of Calais over the following decade. Appeals were presented in late 1453, and again in 1454, to which the Commons stated they were overburdened and could give nothing more: See LMA, London Journal, 5, fols.134b, 135b, 136, 148, 152, 152b, 183, 184. The author of TC, MS 509 also recorded that Sir Robert Chamberlain, accompanied by 'the two Middletons', rode to the relief of Calais with 'V^{c} men waged by the citee' in 1457: in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.145.

[123] Worcester, *Boke of Noblesse*, ed. Nichols, pp.30-1, 42, 48.

[124] *Ibid*., pp.72-4.

[125] See P. Contamine, *Le France XIVe et XVe siècles: hommes, mentalités, guerre et paix* (London, 1981), pp.257-8.

[126] Moleyns conceded on this point. York's refuting of the accusations and Moleyn's replies were copied by John Vale: *John Vale's Book*, ed. Kekewich *et al*., pp.180-3. For discussion, see Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp.53-4, 58-9; J.L Watts, 'Polemic and Politics in the 1450s, in *John Vale's Book*, pp.39-41.

and plunder the inhabitants.[127] Around 1452, the 'pore souyeours' who had served in Caen petitioned the king to consider in Chancery their numerous previous petitions concerning their wages which they claimed had been withheld by Andrew Ogard, formerly captain of the castle and town,[128] a consequence of which was that some were now in various prisons for debt.[129] A subsequent commission of oyer and terminer to investigate allegations of captains withholding wages against the statutes of 1439 demonstrates that the men of Caen were far from alone.[130]

It was not the fault of the 'soldiers', however, that Normandy had been lost. The author of MS 509 is sympathetic in his depiction of the Englishmen – not just 'soldiers' – who were forced to return from France in 'greet mysery and poverte', and who were forced to 'lyve upon the almes of the peple' in various parts of the country. That he outlined that 'many of them drewe to theft and misrule and noyed sore the cominalte of this land' should also be viewed in the context of the financial mismanagement of the government and its inability to provide for those they had disinherited.[131] A similarly sympathetic sentiment toward the plight of returned 'soldiers' is found in the duke of York's 1450 articles to the king and council calling for justice upon those members of the council whose actions resulted in the shameful loss of Normandy, Anjou and Maine, which caused the king's 'liege men to here utterest destruccion withouten reason or defence'.[132] It is clearer still in an account found in one of William Worcester's notebooks which reads;

> Also we must consider how great the inhumanity and the lack of charity towards one's neighbour would be in abandoning those noble men both of the English

[127] *L and P*, II, ii, p.721.
[128] Ogard had been appointed captain in September 1438. See Curry, 'Military Organization', ii, p.lv.
[129] The petitioners claimed some were in various prisons for debt and that they may never be released without payment: TNA, SC8/289/14448. An earlier petition outlined that as a consequence of their arrears some had been forced to rob the king's subjects in Normandy while others had sworn loyalty to the French. See TNA, C1/19/498. The swearing of loyalty to the French may have been a consequence of being captured and not able to pay a ransom. William Mannyn, a 'soldier' of the garrison of Domfront was pardoned on this account in 1452. See *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.525.
[130] *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.439, 444, 537.
[131] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.128. See the petition of the inhabitants who had been driven out of Maine: *L & P,* II, ii, pp.598-603. Following his copying of the petition, William Worcester noted that it 'was neither conceded nor carried out'. He further stated that, as a consequence, numerous 'soldiers were reduced to great poverty, some for grief became ill and died, others were imprisoned for theft and were condemned to death by justice; while others stayed in France as rebels'. Also see, Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp.77-9, 262-3.
[132] The articles were copied by John Vale: *John Vale's Book*, ed. Kekewich *et al*., pp.187-9. While not referring to the loss of Normandy, the Commons petitioned parliament in November 1450 to remove the 'traitors' from about the king: *PROME*, xii, pp.184-6. In 1452, York accused Somerset of having withheld wages due to the 'soldiers' serving in the defence of the duchy: MS Vespasian C. XIV, fol.40, printed in *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509*, ed. J. Gardiner (4 vols., London, 1904), i, pp.103-8.

> and French tongue and also the common people who for the cause of the king have borne so many burdens for thirty-two years. And if (which God forfend) they were to fall into the hands of the enemy, how many riches for the ransom of their bodies will need to be withdrawn. Also, there is a risk in that case that many English, nobles and others, who during the war with France were accustomed to live lavishly and who could not continue that sort of existence in England, would perhaps attempt to disturb our commonweal. And then many familiar enemies, now lurking and dissimulating, would be able to rise up, such as the Welsh, the Scots and others, both within the realm and outside it'.[133]

This said, the author of MS 509 appears to have been significantly more interested in the actions of the returned 'soldiery' than any other contemporary English chronicler – London or otherwise. He provides a unique record of their various actions and misdeeds in the wake of Jack Cade's rebellion of late spring/early summer 1450.[134] We are told that on 21 July, 'many of the Sowders that cam and wer driven out of Normandy' defaced the tomb of lord Saye in the Church of the Grey Friars, reversing his coat of arms.[135] The following item recorded the duke of Somerset's return from Normandy accompanied by 'many pore sawdeours'. The following day, these 'sowdeours' rode about in various places vandalising the arms of the duke of Suffolk and lord Saye. His account does not directly state that these men *all* subsequently converged on London, but he reports on the families which daily came to London drawing carts filled with armour and bedding 'in right pover array pitewus to see'. That a relatively sizable number were in London by 15 August is outlined in a unique account in 'Benet's Chronicle', their presence dissuading the king from travelling on to Eton to celebrate the Feast of Assumption following his own return to the capital.[136] Indeed, in the following days a payment of fifteen days' maintenance was made to 'soldiers' presenting before the royal household.[137]

By 23 August the sense and scale of unrest caused by the unemployed 'soldiery' was highlighted by the account in MS 509 of St Bartholomew's faire and the requirement for the mayor's deputy and the sheriffs to maintain the peace against the 'soldiers' with a force of three hundred 'men well arrayed and defensable'. This number may well have been

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[133] *L. and P.*, II, ii, p.726. For further discussion on these themes, see Nall, *Reading and War*, pp.54-63.
[134] The apparent lack of involvement in Cade's rebellion among returned 'soldiers' is discussed in Chapter IV.
[135] Unless noted otherwise, the following references to this text are all based on TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.134-8.
[136] 'Benet's Chronicle', p.202. Griffiths has also suggested that an inquisition into the taking of weapons from the city's armouries, including the Tower, was a consequence of returned 'soldiers' stealing from these stores: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.646, citing *CPR*, *1448-1452*, p.388. While this may well have been the case, the language in the writ refers not to 'soldiers', but to their being withdrawn by the 'lieges of the city'.
[137] TNA, E28/80/83, cited in Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.239. Also see discussion in Chapter IV, pp.188-9.

exaggerated, but it might be that these men who acted in the defence of the city were drawn from among those 'soldiers' who provided recurrent service and who resided in the city between campaigns.[138] That they are not referred to as such by the chroniclers might simply be a consequence of their also being inhabitants of the city and not being waged for such service. The chroniclers certainly indicate that the city felt more than capable of defending itself from military threat, be it against Henry Beaufort in 1425, the lords' men in 1450/1, and both the Lancastrian force under lord Scales and the Yorkist force under the earls of Warwick and March prior to the battle of Northampton in 1460.[139] The author also highlighted how the behaviour of forty armed 'soldiers' who harassed the new mayor Nicholas Wyford as he proceeded through the city to take his office had to be met with force. Wyford then issued a proclamation banning any soldier or lords' man from bearing arms within the city on pain of imprisonment. This proclamation is more commonly credited by the majority of the chroniclers to the duke of York following the attempted assault by the 'mob' on the duke of Somerset in December – incidentally indicating to their readers that York both desired and was able to maintain law and good public order.[140] Very few chroniclers ascribed this assault to 'soldiers',[141] with most who opted to include it – including MS 509 – indicating that it was the commons and/or lords' servants who instigated it.[142]

These accounts provide the first, and arguably only, strong indication in the historical chronicles of the period that returned 'soldiers' and other combatants presented a criminal element in society and a threat to social order. However, the author specifically indicates to the reader that his purpose in including all these accounts was not simply to record their misdeeds within the city. Once more, the fault for the 'soldiers' misbehaviour was placed squarely at the feet of those 'evil counsellors' who, in the chronicler's eyes, had overseen the loss of Normandy and continued to mismanage the governance of the realm.

> *Item* the same tyme was leveed a greet money to convey and set toward Burdeux the sowdeours and such peple as wer dryven out of ffraunce and normandy and had not wherof to lyve but robbed and soo to have occupied theym in the werres for to sauf and kepe the kings right therof. But the wer soo

[138] See Chapter I, pp.67-73, and Chapter IV, pp.187-90.
[139] For 1460, see Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, pp.297-301.
[140] Proclamations against the carrying of arms in London, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex had already been issued by the king on 20 February 1450: *Foedera,* V, ii, p.22; *CCR*, *1447-1454*, p.182.
[141] For example, see MS Rawlinson B. 355, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.106; WYA, MS 32D86/42, in *London Chronicles*, ed. McLaren, p.180
[142] For example, see MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.195-6; *Great Chronicle*, p.185; MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingston, p.162; Bodl. MS Gough London 10, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.157. MS Julius B. I, simply notes that Somerset was 'robbid a Blak freris': in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1433*, p.137.

> many fals meanes and restreintes of the money that the seid sowdeours shuld have that they therfor passed not out of this land and soo becam theves and manquellers in divers places of this land.[143]

As Ralph Griffiths has argued, it was seemingly the 'depth of feeling' among the 'soldiery' which influenced a change in the duke of York's political strategy in November 1450.[144]

V: The Representation of Combatants in the Battles of 1455 and 1459-61.

The London chronicle accounts of the first battle of St Albans are fascinating for the manner in which they differ from those of the battles fought in 1459-61.[145] Most of the chronicles deal with this battle in a more abbreviated fashion, simply noting the date, the names of the notable dead, and occasionally the number of others who died.[146] The battle is presented and justified from the perspective of the Yorkist lords in the legitimate context of protecting themselves from, and ridding Henry VI of, the evil counsellors, which was also to the benefit of the realm.[147] The death of the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland and lord Clifford are typically presented in a judicial tone - 'all suche persons were voydid that afore tyme had rule abowte the kyng' - and the accounts of the deference with which the king was received back into London alongside the Yorkist lords is clearly framed in the context of a return to good public order under their leadership, albeit temporarily.[148] Where either army is directly referred to, it is usually in neutral language.[149] For instance, the author of MS Gough London 10, records that York along with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick 'assembled to theym an armye' and 'with theire armye tooke [the] felde'.[150] Similarly, the author of MS 509 states that the Yorkist lords entered the town 'with their peple arraied for werr in like wise as the king and his seid peple wer arried'.[151]

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[143] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.136-7.
[144] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.691.
[145] For detailed discussion of military activity and their socio-political causes and impacts in this period, see Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses*, especially Chapters 1 and 2; Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*, Chapter 8 and 9.
[146] For example, see MS Julius B. I, in *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.139. Similarly, the Grey Friars chronicle simply records that 'Thys yere was a felde at sent Albons between the kynge and the duke of Yorke': *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, ed. Nichols, p.19.
[147] This is also borne out in the parliamentary record of 1455: see *PROME*, xii, pp.338-47.
[148] For example, see MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.165.; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.70; *Great Chronicle*, p.187; TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.142. Also see 'Benet's Chronicle', p.136. The account in MS Egerton 1995 is rather more conflicted: in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.196-7.
[149] McLaren has looked at the use of certain terminology in relation to the chronicler's accounts of battles: *London Chronicles*, pp.80-5.
[150] Bodl., MS Gough London 10, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.158.
[151] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.142.

However, none of the London authors are critical in any way of the common troops who fought for either side. The same cannot be said, though, of the more vivid account of John Whetehamsede, abbot of St. Albans, who derided the character of the king's men who fled, likening them to Paris rather than Hector. Additionally, he noted the soft and unwarlike nature of the men who had been raised from the east of England.[152] This difference was probably a consequence of Whetehamstede's Lancastrian leanings at this point and his desire to diagnose the defeat. His account conflicts, however, with a further contemporary narrative of the battle found in a manuscript among the *Stonor Papers*, which outlines the hard-fought nature of the battle and reports that the Lancastrians would probably have taken the day had it not been for Warwick's flanking action.[153]

In dealing with the first Battle of St Albans, there is no use of positive adjectives towards either side similar to those which the chroniclers had employed in relation to the expeditionary armies of the 1430s and early 1440s. However, this is not the case in their accounts of the naval actions of the earl of Warwick, who had been commissioned in October 1457 to safeguard the sea in the wake of the French raid on Sandwich.[154] His commission outlined that he was to protect friendly foreign shipping, but he was personally involved in at least three naval encounters with friendly – or neutral – fleets in 1458-59. Moreover, he had seemingly previously turned a blind eye to and/or encouraged similar acts of piracy both before and during his captaincy of Calais.[155] Such actions, while illegal, endeared him to the London merchants who delighted in the news of captured and plundered foreign vessels amidst significant ill-feeling regarding licences granted to alien merchants in the city. While the accounts vary slightly in detail, it is not surprising therefore that the chroniclers report gleefully on his having 'gadered a greet felushíp' which defeated a Spanish fleet in 1459.[156]

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[152] J. Whethamstede, *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H.T. Riley (2 vols., London, 1872), i, pp.168-9.

[153] For the text, see J. Bayley, 'An Account of the First Battle of St. Albans from a Contemporary Manuscript', *Archaeologica*, 20 (1822), pp.519-23, reprinted in *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii, pp.25-9.

[154] TNA, E101/71/4/938. His appointment was largely an emergency measure occasioned by the ineffective tenure of the duke of Exeter as Admiral of England – who was reportedly irked by Warwick's appointment. See *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii, pp.125-8; Pollard, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, p.131-2.

[155] In part, while illegal, such action was necessary to supplement the wages of the garrison. The Calais Staple had entered into an agreement with Warwick to finance the arrears of the garrison in early 1456. By 1461, however, the arrears of the garrison had risen again to £37,160 4*s.* 10¼*d*. See G.L. Harriss, 'The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry between Lancaster and York', *EHR*, 75 (1960), pp.45-50; Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, pp.10-11. Also see M. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 1988), pp.144-8.

[156] For example, see MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.168. LP. MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.71; TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.147; MS Rawlinson B. 355, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.113; Bodl. MS Gough London

Both the language and style employed are evocative of the naval victories of 1416 and 1417. Indeed, the chroniclers deliberately seek to cast Warwick in the same light as the men who had so valiantly won and held Normandy some three decades earlier.[157] At the very least, the accounts provide a distinct contrast to the representation of the military failings of the 1440s and 1450s.

However, while the chroniclers widely celebrate Warwick's piracy, they show little inclination to cover the role played by the Calais garrison in these achievements. This is probably because of the subsequent behaviour of a proportion of the garrison's 'soldiers' in the following two years. Within months of Warwick's naval victory, tensions between the Yorkist and Lancastrian lords once more came to a head, resulting in eight military confrontations of varying scale. In September 1459, Warwick landed in Kent, intending to link up with the forces of the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury. A handful of authors specifically report that he had crossed with a few hundred 'sowdyers of Calysse'.[158] At Ludlow, however, Andrew Trollope, a veteran of the war with France,[159] along with the 'soldiers' of the garrison, 'utterly for-soke' Warwick by accepting the offer of a royal pardon which had been extended to all the rebels – with the exception of the earl of Salisbury. The king's repeated offers to pardon any insurgent who would return to his allegiance and the Calais 'soldiers' change in sides is recorded in detail by both Whetehamstede and Jehan de Waurin.[160] The author of MS Egerton 1995, however, is unusual among the London chroniclers in even alluding to the offer of royal pardon, let alone that Trollope and the 'soldiers' accepted it.[161] In fact, most of the chroniclers opt to omit the actions of Trollope

10, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.160-1; *Great Chronicle*, p.190; Also see *Davies' Chronicle*, pp.83-4. Warwick's victory was also lauded by Whethamstede – although dated incorrectly: *Registrum Abbatiae*, i, ed. Riley, pp.330-1.

[157] A similarly praising eye-witness account of the battle described it as the greatest on the Channel in forty years: see *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii, pp.129-30.

[158] TC, MS 509 states 300 'men well arraied': in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.148; 'Benet's Chronicle' states 500, p.223.

[159] Trollope had served as a man-at-arms in France in various garrisons and field armies since at least 1425. He had served in the field under Somerset's elder brother in 1440 and having moved into the Calais garrison following his surrender of Falaise to the French, was appointed master porter by Somerset in his capacity as captain of the town. See Marshall, 'English War Captains', pp.301-4. For 1440, see AN, K 65/1/15. Additionally, Trollope had himself been involved in piracy as a means to help finance the wages of the garrison and had seized friendly - and even English - ships in 1454, 1456, and 1457, the latter of which had resulted in Warwick being commissioned to inquire into his activities: see *CPR*, *1452-1461*, pp.179, 281, 344, 348.

[160] Whetehamstede, *Registrum Abbatiae*, i, ed. Riley, pp.339-43; Waurin further suggests that Trollop engaged with the Yorkists as they tried to retreat. J. de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes histories de la Grant Bretaigne, a present nomme Engleterre*, ed. W Hardy (6 vols., London, 1858-64), v, pp.276-7. Also see Hick, *Warwick*, pp.162-5.

[161] MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.204-5.

and the 'soldiers' altogether, but those who do include it more commonly suggest that they had 'secretly' departed and revealed the 'secrets' of the Yorkist host.[162] Such accounts are reminiscent of the untrustworthy nature of the French in the 1430s and 1440s.

Frustratingly, the purpose of these accounts is not fully clear, but it can be postulated that it had more to do with each author's particular partisanship towards the earl of Warwick – with the incident being seen as a personal slight on him - than specifically suggesting any sense of duplicity in the nature of the professional 'soldiery' to the reader. Indeed, to have done so would have been to stretch the credulity of their audience, for Trollope's actions in submitting to his liege lord, who had unfurled his banner on the field of battle, was in keeping with the laws of the land and of war.[163] The chroniclers all indicate the "loyalty" of the rest of the Calais garrison in receiving Warwick back after he had fled from Ludlow and in having earlier refused to admit the duke of Somerset. None, however, reported that Trollope had sailed with Somerset and remained with him in the nearby garrison of Guines throughout the 'mini-war for Calais',[164] or that he continued to serve Somerset personally until his death at Towton in 1461. Only Waurin, for instance, indicates that Trollope was present – and played a leading part – in the death of York at Wakefield.[165]

It has been argued by Goodman that the battles of 1459-61 were 'heavily sustained by the involvement of the Crown's main group of professional soldiers' who may have 'acquired a taste for soldiering in England'.[166] He is certainly correct in stating that Calais was the mainstay of professional 'soldiers' in this period, but the continued presence of Trollope in England is not enough to support such an argument for the service of further professionals, or that the numbers of the Calais garrison were significant in the context of increasingly large armies. It cannot be stated for certain that all the 'soldiers' had abandoned Warwick at Ludlow, and nor is it readily apparent that they were all experienced professionals. Similarly, if they had returned to Guines with Trollope, it is certainly not clear that they then all returned to England once more, following Somerset's surrender of the stronghold to Warwick. Moreover, such an argument cannot clearly be supported even through the chronicle evidence. From 1452, it is only in the context of the professional combatants of

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[162] *Great Chronicle*, p.191; MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.169-70. Also see *The Brut*, ed. Brie, p.526-7. 'Benet's Chronicle' records that 'certain men' proposed to betray York and his lords but does not specifically identify them: p.224.

[163] Keen, *Laws of War*, pp.107-8.

[164] See Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, pp.277-82. Somerset had been appointed captain of Calais on 9 October. In November he received payment for one thousand men for a duration of six weeks: *Foedera*, V, ii, p.90; *L and P*, II, ii, p.512. For discussion, see Hicks, *Warwick*, pp.173-7; Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, p.12.

[165] Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques*, pp.325-6.

[166] Goodman, *Soldiers' Experience*, p.98.

Calais that the chroniclers employ the term 'soldier'.[167] With the exception of Ludlow, there are no references to the involvement of men specifically identified as 'soldiers' in any of the battles and/or skirmishes between 1455 and 1461 in any of the extant English literary media or official sources explored throughout this chapter. Similarly, it should not perhaps too readily be overlooked that many of these same sources on occasion point towards there being a lack of ordinary combatants who were proficient in the skills of arms in this period.[168]

While there is a general sense of ill-feeling toward the Lancastrian lords, it is the chroniclers' antipathy toward Queen Margaret which really comes to the fore in this period. Most of the chroniclers emphasised to their readers the threat which she posed to the good governance of the realm by highlighting, and ultimately somewhat exaggerating, the immoral behaviour of those combatants most closely associated with her. The author of MS 509 informs us that, prior to linking with the forces of York and Salisbury at Ludlow, the earl of Warwick had first marched toward Warwick castle for the 'Quene meyne had done moche hurt' in the region.[169] The vast majority of the chroniclers state – somewhat incorrectly – that it was the queen who confronted the earl of Salisbury at Blore Heath.[170] The queen and her men were said to have wanted to kill Salisbury, and 'lay in wait' and then 'set upon' him; the phrasing is similar to that found in criminal indictments. Salisbury and his 'good company… overthrewe the Quenes peple', however, 'manfully' killing many and putting the rest to 'flight'.[171] The author of MS Egerton 1995 refers here to the queen's 'Galentys', thus specifically denoting the men she had recruited and to whom she had given her son's livery – especially in this case in Cheshire.[172] He perhaps somewhat mockingly records that the king

[167] For discussion of the development of the term and its link to military professionalism, see Chapter I.

[168] For example, see Whetehamstede, *Registrum Abbatiae*, i, ed. Riley, pp.168-9; MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.212. Also see Chapter IV, pp.175-7.

[169] TC, MS 509, in in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.147-8. 'Benet's Chronicle' also records the earl marching to Warwick but provides no reason: pp.223-4. MS Egerton 1995 records his marching to Coleshill near Coventry, though stating that it was the duke of Somerset who was in the region. There is no similar suggestion of any wrongdoing on the part of his force: *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.204-5.

[170] At no point did Queen Margaret act as a military general. Either the king or their son, Prince Edward was nominally at the head of the army, although neither took any actual command in the field. Margaret was, however, heavily involved in influencing the politics of the period and rousing support. See D. Dunn, 'The Queen at War: The Role of Margaret of Anjou in the Wars of the Roses', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. D. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp.149-56. For an interesting take on Margaret and her queenship, see Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England*.

[171] For example, see TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.148; LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.72; MS Julius B. I, in *Chronicle of London, form 1089-1483*, p.140.

[172] MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.204. Similarly see 'Benet's Chronicle', p.224; *Davies' Chronicle*, p.80. For discussion, see J.L. Gillespie, 'Cheshiremen at Blore Heath: A Swan

had knighted seven of these men prior to the battle, five of whom were then killed despite, as the author would have us believe, their force outnumbering Salisbury's ten to one; 'a grete wondyr that evyr they myght stonde'.[173] Others more accurately record that it was lord Audley who led the army, but they too choose deliberately to report that it consisted of men from Cheshire, many of whom were slain.[174]

However, the chroniclers did not at this point, as they would frequently do later, refer to the queen's force as 'northern men'. This may have been a consequence of Salisbury's own force having been drawn largely from his Richmondshire estates.[175] The queen's 'northern men' were to become synonymous in the chronicler's accounts with indiscriminate plundering and despoiling following the death of York at the battle of Wakefield in December 1460. Most would make reference to the violent outrages committed by the army on its march south towards London: 'the peple of the North cam upon destroied and robbed on this side the Trent and toke tribute and raunsomed the peple in every cost unto that they came to Seint Albons'.[176] Similarly, the Crowland author would be distressed by the rumours of 'spoil and rapine', the plundering of churches and temporal properties and murder committed by the northern men.[177] Whethamstede would write that the queen had granted licence to the 'northern men' to plunder and rape anywhere south of the Trent in 'renumeration and recompense of their labours'.[178]

As Goodman has argued, however, there is very little firm extant evidence to corroborate the tales of the queen's army. Some Yorkist estates were certainly attacked – and would probably have been considered legitimate targets as rebels against Henry VI.

Dive', in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (Gloucester, 1987), pp.77-89.

[173] He places the strength of the queen's force at 5,000 men and Salisbury's at five hundred men: MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.204. The chronicles all agree that Salisbury was outnumbered, but no other has his force this small. For example, LP, MS Lambeth 306, states he had 4,000 men to the queen's 14,000; TC., MS 509 suggests 3,000 to the queen's 7,000; MS Julius B. I, suggests 3,000 to the queen's 14,000 which the author describes as 'the floure of Chestreshire, Lancastreshire and Derbyshire': in *Chronicle of London, 1089-1483*, p.140.

[174] *The Great Chronicle*, p.191; MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.69.

[175] A.J. Pollard, 'The Northern Retainers of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury', *Northern History*, 11 (1976), pp.52-69. Similarly, some chroniclers recorded that Warwick's force at the first battle of St. Albans consisted of Marcher men. For example, see MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.165. Also see *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii, p.30.

[176] This is taken from the final page which is missing from TC, MS 509. It is found in TC, MS 604, and has been discussed and printed in H. Kleineke, 'Robert Bale's Chronicle and the Second Battle of St Albans', *Historical Research*, 87 (2014), pp.744-50. For similar examples, see LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.76; *Great Chronicle*, p.193. Also see *Davies' Chronicle*, p.80-110.

[177] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, ed. Riley, p.422.

[178] Whetehamstede, *Registrum Abbatiae*, i, ed. Riley, pp.388-9, 394.

Beverley was plundered on 12 January 1461. An account detailing payments and gifts made to the lords and captains of the army includes details of the procurement of a proclamation from lord Neville that the town should not be subjected to further plundering.[179] However, the attack on Beverley was seemingly a consequence of the actions of John Reddesham, an inhabitant who had copied for the Yorkists the commission of array that the Lancastrians had issued in the town prior to the battle of Wakefield.[180] Widespread plundering and other excessive behaviour do not, however, generally appear to have been common during the entirety of the Wars of the Roses. Much activity would undoubtedly have gone unrecorded, but Goodman further emphasises that the relatively short nature of military campaigns would have helped keep the behaviour of troops in check.[181]

The condemnation of Margaret's army, therefore, appears to have been deliberately propagated through Yorkist propaganda, probably as a means to garner military support, and drew on the 'North-South divide' which had been steadily developing through the first half of the fifteenth century.[182] It was a sentiment that was common among contemporary writers and not just the London chronicles,[183] though, as Andy King has observed, the scale of vilification in 1460/61 was 'unprecedented in both its intensity and scope'.[184] With Henry VI effectively under Yorkist control, Warwick was able to issue letters through the Privy Council to recruit support against the 'mysruled and outerageous people in the north parties' who were marching toward London with the intent of 'the destruccion therof, of you, and subversion of alle our lande'.[185] The effective nature of this rallying call is demonstrated in

[179] G. Poulson, *Berverlac: or the History and Antiquities of the Town of Beverley* (2 vols., London, 1829), i, pp.233-5, cited in Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses*, p.45.
[180] For the commission of array, see TNA, C1/27/435, cited in M. Hicks, 'A Minute of the Lancastrian Council at York, 20 January 1461', *Northern History*, 35 (1999), pp.216, 219.
[181] Goodman, *Soldiers' Experience*, pp.58-60.
[182] For broader discussion of the 'North-South divide', see Fleming, 'The Battle of Mortimer's Cross and Second St. Albans: The Regional Dimension', pp.91-102; A. King, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of the North in Fifteenth-Century England', *Northern History*, 49 (2012), pp.37-50; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Rose. Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990); H.M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide. The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994), pp.45-7.
[183] Despite being a northern man himself, Hardyng similarly referred to the Lancastrian forces at Wakefield, second St. Albans and Towton as the 'North partie'. He did not, however, include any reference to their plundering: *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Ellis, pp.404-6. King has suggested that this was likely a consequence of his Pro-Percy sentiments. King, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of the North', p.49.
[184] King, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of the North', p.38.
[185] *POPC*, vi, pp.307-10, also cited in King, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of the North', p.40. One item in the articles seemingly published by the commons of Kent who had attached themselves to Warwick on his return in 1460, specifically state that they wished all to know that they would 'nether robbe ne stele but these defaultis to be amended [the removal of the evil counsel about the king] we will goo home'. *John Vale's Book*, ed. Kekewich *et al*., pp.210-2. For discussion of their authorship, see Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', in *John Vale's Book*, pp.30-1.

the letter Clement Paston wrote from London to his brother John in East Anglia requesting he come with 'both footmen and horsemen' to defend against the illicit intentions of the 'people of the north'.[186] Similarly, Antonio della Torre's letter of 9 January 1461 to the duke of Milan relays a perhaps overblown sense of fear that if the Yorkists could not raise an army to defeat the queen then 'the consequent devastation will be worse than has been seen in this realm for a thousand years'.[187] Perhaps the most telling insight into the success of the Yorkist propaganda campaign, however, was the response of the Lancastrians themselves. Prince Edward wrote to the city of London at some point between the end of October 1460 and York's death, and a subsequent letter was sent from the queen following the Lancastrian victory at the second battle of St Albans - neither of which was recorded by the London chroniclers - firmly denying the lies which York had 'sowen amongis' the citizens and other true liegemen, not least of which was that they had raised 'a grete nombre of straungeres… to dispoile and to robbe you… and utterly destruye you'.[188] Nevertheless, as some of the chroniclers note, the commons of the city refused to allow the queen's outriders entry to the city – a consequence of which, some state, was that they pillaged the suburb of Westminster with some being killed by the Londoners.[189]

VI: CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated on a number of occasions that the cherry-picking of short quotes by historians with little consideration of the individual author's motives and the manner in which these texts were received by their intended audiences has led to a degree of misinterpretation. The London chronicles have often been criticised for their inability to report facts accurately, but it is argued that this was neither their literary or political purpose. By reading them as a complete history, it becomes apparent that their accounts of military

[186] *Paston Letters*, ed Gairdner, iii, pp.249-50. Pro-Lancastrian authors, such as the author of *Knyghthode and Bataile's*, however, recorded that the Yorkists 'robbe anende, and sle without pitee'.
[187] *Calendar of State Papers, Milan I*, *1385-1618*, ed. A.B. Hinds (London, 1913), p.42.
[188] The letters were copied by John Vale: *John Vale's Book*, eds. Kekewich *et al*., pp.142, 142-3. As John Watts has commented, the prince's letter also stressed that the Lancastrians had raised a force for their own protection and that the evil counsel about the king was now the Yorkist lords themselves: Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', in *John Vale's Book*, pp.36-7.
[189] For example, see LP, MS Lambeth 306, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p.76; *Great Chronicle*, p.194; MS Vitellius A. XVI, in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingston, p.173; TC, MS 604, in Kleineke, 'Robert Bale's Chronicle, p.750. Also see 'Benet's Chronicle', pp.219-20. The account in a *Brut* continuation is slightly different, recording that the certain aldermen and commoners were appointed to go and treat with the queen, asking her to send the northern men 'home vnto er contre Ageyn; ffor the Cite of London dred fore to be robbed & dispoyled if thei shold come'. It was in this time that they were made aware that the earls of Warwick and March were moving toward London too: *The Brut*, ed Brie, ii, p.531.

events formed part of a greater narrative focusing on the idealised notion of good governance and public order. Thus, to understand fully why the individual authors chose to record and omit events as they did, as well as the varying degree of additional detail provided, one must be conscious of the wider context in which such decisions were made.

In the discussion in this chapter, the London chronicles have been used to challenge the widely accepted preconception that fifteenth century combatants were predominantly viewed by contemporaries in a negative manner and largely feared as a criminal element within society. To this end, it has been demonstrated that such a notion has been somewhat overstated. While rarely referring to the ordinary troops directly, the chroniclers' accounts of the war with France certainly appear to portray English combatants in a favourable light; first through the implicit nature of their shared achievements in Normandy and then as the means through which English good governance was maintained following the Treaty of Troyes. Similarly, even as the fortunes of war began to turn against the English from 1429, the chroniclers presented English troops as the antithesis of the duplicitous nature of the French and Burgundians, acting in defence of the common good of the realm. To this end, the chroniclers often celebrate the very actions, such as theft, pillage and murder, that some modern commentators suggest were viewed dimly by contemporary society. There is nothing in the chronicle accounts to support any notion that contemporaries feared that these men who served in various expeditionary armies, having been exposed to the brutalities of war, would be more likely to commit these same crimes once home. Conversely, on occasion the authors state their desire for such men to return home both quickly and also safely.

Between 1417 and 1449, there are only two instances of the actions of combatants being presented in a seemingly negative fashion. These events are not recorded in all the London chronicles, however - the second being unique to a single chronicle. Similarly, they are not widely recorded in other contemporary literary sources. It has been argued that when read within the wider context of each author's narrative construct, rather than as isolated events, it becomes apparent that these references served to highlight a significantly greater grievance. The representation of combatants was the literary mechanism through which this is achieved. This is further demonstrated by the lack of references to similar disturbances, such as those relating to troops mustering and waiting to embark, that are found in administrative records. This picture admittedly changes somewhat after 1450 with the expulsion of the English from Normandy. However, this is by no means to the degree that is often argued. For a start, it is notable that there is no reference to any similar kind of disturbance caused by those men who were forced to return to England following the Truce

of Tours in 1444.[190] Moreover, the specific expulsion of English troops in 1450 is only referred to by two London chroniclers, and by only one in detail - which further suggests that these men were not represented as being a significant concern for contemporaries.

It is argued that even the one detailed account of their expulsion and subsequent misbehaviour in MS 509 has been mis-contextualised by historians, for the author demonstrates a significant degree of sympathy towards these men. Only when they move outside the boundaries of good public order does the chronicler directly rebuke their actions. Still, it is evident that this remains part of a greater grievance, and that the 'soldiers' are not the primary focus of his anger. Indeed, the importance of the accounts of military events in the 1430s and early 1440s becomes all the clearer in the context of the years 1449 through 1451, with some of the London chroniclers both directly and indirectly criticising the government's inability to send troops who could have prevented the loss of the English kingdom of France. While it is abundantly evident that 'soldiers' in Normandy often committed excesses in lieu of their wages, and that there was a clear sense of the direct link between this and the loss of Lancastrian France, the chroniclers consistently blamed its loss upon both the financial mismanagement of the government and the corrupt nature of those lords and captains who withheld wages from their men – the socio-political and economic circumstances of which they were acutely aware. As such, the London chronicles demonstrate a clear similarity to numerous other sources which were circulating in England through the fifteenth century which sought to diagnose the defeat in France.[191]

Finally, the chapter has explored the representation of combatants in the battles of the first phase of the Wars of the Roses. One important element of these accounts is that there is little which points towards the participation of professional 'soldiers' beyond those of the Calais garrison who, under Andrew Trollope, had abandoned the earl of Warwick at Ludlow in 1459. While it is not possible to know their true motivation, and for all that they

[190] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. See pp.174-7.

[191] These range from - but by no means are limited to - the vernacular translations of the *De re militari* of Vegetius and Christine de Pizan's tracts on the conduct of war, to various manifestos, newsletters, poems, and speeches given in parliament, as well as other literary contexts such as the verse chronicle of John Hardyng, William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*, John Vale's Book, and the *Le morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory. For discussion, see Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth Century England*, Chapter 5; eadem, 'Moving to War: Rhetoric and Emotion in William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*', in *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, eds. S. Downes, A. Lynch and K. O'Loughlin (Basingstoke, 2015), pp.117-32; eadem, 'Perceptions of Financial Mismanagement and the English Diagnosis of Defeat', in *The Fifteenth Century VII*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.119-36; C.T. Allmand and M.H. Keen, 'History and the Literature of War: The *Boke of Noblesse* of William Worcester', in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. C.T. Allmand (Liverpool, 2000), pp.92-105; R. Radulescu, '*John Vale's Book* and Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*: A Political Agenda', *Arthuriana*, 9 (1999), pp.69-80.

were damned by the quills of the Yorkist chroniclers, the actions of these 'soldiers' were technically those of men loyal to the Crown. More significantly, however, is the frequent representation of the Lancastrian forces, especially the queen's northern men, as being ill-disciplined and lawless. Excesses which had earlier been lauded in the circumstances of punitive action against a duplicitous foreign enemy, were depicted as criminal acts perpetrated by those who sought to harm the common good of the realm. It is argued, however, that this had less to with any significant degree of actuality, but instead was occasioned by the Yorkist lords' skilful catastrophising and manipulation of the contemporary 'North-South divide' as a call to arms. As Catherine Nall has noted, such ideological warfare was important:

> To engage in or to allow pillage was demonstrably not safeguarding the common good of the realm, which may go some way towards explaining why both sides during the civil war constructed the armies of their opponents as pillaging, ill-disciplined hordes.[192]

[192] Nall, *Reading and War*, pp.160-1.

CHAPTER IV

'SOLDIERS' AS PERPETRATORS OF CRIME: THE EVIDENCE OF THE CRIMINAL RECORDS

I: INTRODUCTION

Taking into consideration the advances in fifteenth-century military and social history as outlined in the Introduction to this thesis,[1] it is surprising just how little is known of the circumstances of the common combatants of the period. As Ayton has noted, this neglect of research into the rank-and-file has implications 'far beyond the province of military history into the study of many aspects of late medieval English society.'[2] In particular, the return of thousands of combatants, in addition to those Englishmen and their families who had previously chosen to settle in Normandy would, undoubtedly, have had major cultural, political and economic impacts upon rural society in the decade between 1444 and 1453. However, while scholars such as Curry and Neil Jamieson have touched on the problems faced by common fifteenth-century combatants attempting to reintegrate, none has tackled the topic comprehensively.[3] Despite the authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* having recently emphasised the need for revision, there is a commonly accepted generalisation that fifteenth-century 'soldiers' were characteristically violent men, widely feared and mistrusted by civilians, who were commonly guilty of the most severe crimes and 'beyond the laws of society'. In 2011, Grummitt challenged this assumption with the aim to rehabilitating the image of the Tudor soldier, but he too described those of the fifteenth century as the 'Lancastrian Bogeyman', arguing that

> In the wake of the 1413 Statue of Additions, 'soldier' became an increasingly common way of describing the occupation or 'mesteer' [mystery] of those accused of theft and violence… [and] during Henry VI's reign the records of the court of King's Bench contain numerous soldiers indicted for assault, robbery and murder.[4]

[1] See pp.14-26.
[2] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses,* p.2.
[3] For example, see Curry, 'Isolated or Integrated?', pp.191-210; eadem, 'Military Organization', i, pp.134-6; N. Jamieson, 'Sons of Inequity: The Problem of Unlawfulness and Criminality Amongst Professional Soldiers in the Middle Ages', in *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crimes, Government and Society c.1066-c.1600*, eds. P. Dalton and J.C. Appleby (Farnham, 2009), pp.91-110; idem, 'The Recruitment of Northerners for Service in English Armies in France, 1415-50', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance*, eds. D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies, and P. McNiven (Stroud, 1994), pp.102-15.
[4] Grummitt, 'Changing Perceptions', pp.189-202, quoting p.192.

In part, such views are anachronistic. Interest in the criminality of soldiers in the past has stemmed directly from contemporary observations and concern regarding the social and cultural impact war, and in particular demobilisation, has on modern society. Fear that returning soldiers would lead to an increase in violent crime is observable in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. However, it was not until the First and Second World Wars that such sentiment became common belief and began to be investigated by academics.[5] Edith Abbott's 1918 comments on the matter are a useful demonstration of this point:

> In our vast armies there are thousands of lads living in clothes and on food which are dealt out to all alike, and developing casual habits as to the preservation of their own belongings or respect to those of others… The coming of peace can, therefore, hardly fail to bring a peaceful readjustment of ideas based on these conditions and a corresponding increase in conflict with laws designed for normal conditions.[6]

Such fears were augmented in no small degree by the development of the mass media, which zealously drew attention to soldiers' involvement in violent crimes. In May 1919, Sir Nevil Macready, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, attached blame for recent crimes to men 'grown callous after four years' experience of killing'. He also stated that the 'battle-hardened husband might now murder his wife rather than, as before the war, administering 'just a clip under the ear'.[7] The subject continues to be hotly debated today, although more current focus has typically been driven from a psychological and medical perspective, with particular emphasis on the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder.[8] Nonetheless, in 2013, Clive Emsley published his research concerning the criminality of veterans returning from the First and Second World Wars. His findings would be familiar to most medievalists, in short arguing that society witnesses a reduction in crime as men leave

[5] B.B. Rosenbaum, 'Relationship Between War and Crime in the United States', *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminality*, 30 (1940), pp.722-40; Rev. C. Parsons, 'The Influence of the War on Crime', *American Prison Association Proceedings* (1917), pp.266-8; F.W. Blackmar, 'Does War Increase Crime?', *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings* (1918), pp.121-4.

[6] E. Abbott, 'Crime and the War', *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminality,* 9 (1918), p.39.

[7] *The Times*, 5 May 1919, p.7, cited in C. Emsley, 'Violent Crime in England in 1919: Post-War Anxieties and Press Narratives', *Continuity and Change*, 23 (2008), p.175.

[8] For example, D. MacManus *et al*., 'Aggressive and Violent Behaviour Among Military Personnel Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan: Prevalence and Link with Deployment and Combat Exposure', *Epidemiologic Reviews*, 37 (2015), pp.196-212.

for war, only for there to be a significant increase in crimes such as murder, rape and theft, as men trained in, and subjected to, violence return at its conclusion.[9]

Historians working on fourteenth-century warfare have tended to argue for the criminality and lawlessness of 'soldiers' based on evidence of the recruitment of convicted criminals in return for pardons.[10] Edward III certainly made extensive use of granting pardons as a means to recruit troops. Mark Ormrod has noted the contemporary perception in the 1330s through 1350s that 'soldiers returning from the wars were responsible for increasing levels of crime and violence', with 'frequent requests in parliament that charters of pardon should be restricted.[11] Such petitons were effectively ignored. At least 1,800 pardons were issued for the army at the Siege of Calais in 1346 alone.[12] These included men guilty of 'homicides, felonies, robberies, rapes of women and trespasses'.[13] Herbert Hewitt has estimated of the armies in the period 1339-1361, that from two to twelve per cent of those recruited were criminals, of whom at least three quarters were murderers.[14] However, it should not be overlooked that, by their very definition, such criminal acts had been committed before these men became combatants. Moreover, not all those who sought pardons would have been guilty.[15]

Nonetheless, such evidence has been used by some historians to argue that Edward paid little concern to the maintenance of law and order during his reign. Richard Kaeuper, for example, suggested that it represented a move from a 'law society' to a 'war society'.[16] Whilst this view will, undoubtedly, continue to be debated,[17] Barbara Hanawalt provides a

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[9] C. Emsley, *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services since 1914* (Oxford, 2013). Also see A. Allport, *Demobbed: Coming Home After the Second World War* (New Haven, 2009).
[10] Incidentally demonstrating a parallel with the use of previously convicted criminals and the fears expressed toward the returning British armies of the Napoleonic and Crimean wars. It should also be stated that Edward III was not the first English king to resort to such methods when in need of men to fill his armies. See N.D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon for Homicide to A.D. 1307* (Oxford, 1969), p.249.
[11] W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III* (2nd ed., Stroud, 2000), p.57.
[12] For example, see *CPR*, *1345-1348*, pp.476-516; Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp.219-79.
[13] Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, p.173. Also see L.J.A. Villalon, "Taking the King's Shilling" to Avoid "The Wages of Sin": Royal Pardons for Military Malefactors during the Hundred Years War', in *The Hundred Years War, Part III: Further Considerations*, eds. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp.357-436.
[14] H.J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester, 1966), p.30.
[15] For example, see H. Lacey, *The Royal Pardon: Access to Mercy in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2009), p.100. It should, however, be noted that the sources Lacey used, and therefore her conclusions too, need to be treated with caution. Her research is entirely based on the TNA class SC8 petitions which were artificially selected by nineteenth-century archivists and thus not necessarily representative of petitions to the Crown generally, or pardons.
[16] R.W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1998).
[17] For example, see A. Musson, 'Second "English Justinian" or Pragmatic Opportunist? A Re-Examination of the Legal Legislation of Edward III's Reign', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell

typical paradigm. Extending the argument of John Bellamy, that the king could not control his subjects while he was absent from his country on prolonged military campaigns, Hanawalt argues that the military experiences of pardoned criminals increased violence in English society as a whole as such men would commit further felonies once home.[18] The general consensus is that medieval combatants were exposed to increased levels of extreme violence and brutality, and that such acts were frequently feted rather than condemned when committed under the sanction of authority, resulting in a rise in violent crime in the wake of war. John Hale provides a typical example of this stance, noting that 'soldiers' were 'lovers of war', who once back could not simply abandon the violent lifestyles acquired in France.[19]

Henry V certainly made some use of criminals in his campaigns of 1415 and 1417, with Powell suggesting that he utilised the opportunity of a foreign war to relieve local feuding at a magnate and gentry level 'by physically removing the protagonists from the scene for an extended period'. He notes that the majority of the esquires who mustered in the earl of Arundel's retinue in 1415 had been indicted for misdeeds in Shropshire, with some enlisting as archers their servants who had also been indicted.[20] Importantly, however, this was not the recruitment of common criminals on the scale seen in the fourteenth century, though there is evidence that pardons in return for military service were issued to prisoners in Westmorland in 1418.[21] In general, though, the Crown appears to have made far less use of pardoned criminals from the 1420s, not least as English war aims after the conquest began to shift towards peace-keeping duties.[22] Even had criminals continued to serve overseas, as Curry has reflected, military service in France was 'conducted under much more controlled and regulated conditions than virtually any other occupation in civilian life'.[23] Notably, Powell has suggested that violent crime was more common on the continent than in England, owing to the less militarised nature of English society.[24]

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore and reflect on the types of criminality in which 'soldiers' were involved through a systematic investigation into the,

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(York, 2001), pp.69-88; R. Partington, 'Edward III's Enforcers: The King's Sergeants-at-Arms in the Localities', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp.89-106.

[18] J.G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England*; B. Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348* (Boston, 1979).

[19] J. Hale, 'War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Past and Present*, 22 (1962), p.22. Also see S. McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire: Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare* (London, 2009), p.16, 34; L. James, *Warrior Race* (London, 2001), pp.140-50.

[20] Powell, Kingship, Law, and Society, pp.233-40; idem, 'The Restoration of Law and Order', pp.71-2.

[21] TNA, C47/2/49, mm.9-10, cited in Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.134-5.

[22] Curry, 'The English Army', p.40.

[23] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.135. Also see, Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English Garrisons', pp.1-8; Rowe, 'Discipline in the Norman Garrisons', pp.194-208.

[24] Powell, 'Law and Justice', p.40.

hitherto underutilised,[25] wealth of information contained in the corpus of medieval legal documents., with a focus on the period 1442 to 1456. This fifteen-year period enables any patterns that emerge to be sensibly analysed over a protracted duration, especially either side of the loss of Lancastrian Normandy and Gascony. Moreover, it also allows for analysis of the years both immediately prior to and after the 1444 Truce of Tours. In so doing, the chapter seeks to explore the extent and frequency to which 'soldiers' appear as the perpetrators of crime in the judicial records of the period, and to see if any conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of their crimes and what influenced them. Did 'soldiers' band together to commit crimes? Were they commonly accused of violent crimes such as assault, rape and murder, or was their criminality driven by the penurious circumstances in which they returned? Moreover, did the return of 'soldiers' from Normandy have a clearly detrimental impact on English society? For example, can these records provide any insight into the extent to which returned 'soldiers' participated in the upheaval of the early 1450s, particularly the rebellion of Jack Cade? Ultimately, to what extent should the accounts of 'soldiers" crimes and violence be viewed as the actions of individuals, rather than stereotypically reflective of general behaviour?

II: METHODOLOGY

This chapter is primarily centered on the analysis of the criminal records generated by the court of King's Bench, with a particular focus on the indictment files (now found in the National Archives series KB9). They are the local records sent into the central court and thus allow some insight into local issues such as the identities of those sitting as justices of the peace and jurors. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, the indictment files, as well as the pleadings in the National Archive series KB27, increasingly included the date and place of the alleged offence, along with its nature and an account of what had been stolen and/or what weapons had been used. Following the 1413 Statute of Additions, all legal records also had to include the name of the accused along with their 'estat ou degree ou… mistere'.[26] Collectively, therefore, the indictment and plea files provide the most detailed source through which the study of criminality among men identified as 'soldiers' can be pursued. In the context of this chapter, therefore, a detailed investigation of all the surviving indictment files has been conducted for a fifteen-year period between 1442 and 1456 on a nation-wide scale.

[25] For discussion, see above, p.14.
[26] 1 Henry V, c.5, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, p.171.

While there is a good survival rate for the indictment files for much of the fifteenth century, they are far from complete. For this reason, additional examination has been undertaken of the plea files, especially for the critical years of 1450 and 1451, again on a national scale, in order to supplement any major gaps. The plea files contain accounts of the proceedings for each case brought before the court in a given legal term. They are highly formulaic in their construction, often provide little to no insight into the actual details of the case in question, frequently demonstrate an unbalanced weighting toward recording plaintiffs' arguments over those of defendants, and the complex procedural mechanisms often make them difficult to navigate.[27] Moreover, there is a distinct lack of judicial resolutions as cases tended to be settled away from the court.[28] Nonetheless, they can provide detailed accounts of criminal behaviour and its consequences. These records are all then analysed in the context of the economic and social conditions of the period and supplemented by more commonly considered qualitative sources, to ensure that all conclusions drawn from them are properly contextualised.

While these sources contain a wealth of information, they are not without their limitations and difficulties. For example, there are social implications caused by the poor survival rate of lesser local court records such as the quarter sessions. The central courts only provide a partial view of law breaking – and indeed enforcement – at the lower end of the social scale, for they only heard serious crimes and cases of high debt. Furthermore, relatively little is still known about the legal processes of the court. For example, it is not clear who provided the occupation or social standing of the accused. As Philippa Maddern has observed, the Statute of Additions did not actually specify what terms should be employed to define defendants.[29] Did men outline their own degree and/or occupation? Alternatively, was it based on a personal knowledge of the individual, or in the case of strangers was it based on some physical identifier such as a type of knife or clothing? If the latter is the case, then this might clearly impact upon whether the identification of an individual as a 'soldier' – or not as the case may also be – was correct. One may conclude that references to 'soldiers' are probably for the most part accurate. They can be trusted precisely because in numerous other criminal cases where the formulaic expression 'with force of arms' is

[27] The difficulties in using legal records have been noted by a number of historians. For example, see Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, Chapter 2; Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, Appendix 4.

[28] In regard to gentry criminality and violence, Maddern has suggested that use of force was typically not intended to cause harm or injury, but to bring about a settlement: *Violence and Social Order*, pp.4-19. For discussion, see above, pp.26-8.

[29] P. Maddern, 'Gentility', in *Gentry Culture in Late-Medieval England*, eds. R. Radulescu and A. Truelove (Manchester, 2005), p.23.

employed, those on trial are not so described. 'Force and arms' was a term commonly applied across all types of occupations and social groups, and having a bow, sword or dagger did not in itself define the person carrying it as a 'soldier'. Moreover, while the description of some men changes between records, this is seemingly only the case for two men identified as a 'soldier' at any point - both being subsequently described as yeomen.[30] Ultimately, there is little alternative but to accept the identifications provided.

In addition to analysing the central court records, this chapter explores the possible military service of those described as soldiers within the indictment and plea files, by cross-comparing them with the extant army and garrison musters. Consequently, a further - and in many regards interlinked - difficulty is presented by the use of aliases in the court records, particularly additional surnames. Each name can be examined; however, where names are common this creates further problems of identification. The difficulties associated with nominal data have been alluded to in the Introduction to this thesis,[31] but it is worth treating them in little more detail here. The historian researching the hundreds of thousands of names listed in nominal army and garrison musters, such as retinue and muster rolls – made accessible through *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* database - is rarely provided with further clues as to an individual's identity, particularly those below the rank of the gentry. Vital information such as age, place of origin, and occupation is, unfortunately, rarely provided. On occasion, letters of protection do provide some additional information such as occupation and the location in which the individual signed – though this does not necessarily indicate that they resided there. Protections were issued to those who wished to protect themselves against harms such as legal actions during their absence from home. Still, data drawn from these documents must be used with caution.[32] Not all soldiers applied for them, and the numbers who did declined considerably in the fifteenth century. The common 'soldier' serving permanently in France was unlikely to apply for them as he probably had little – if any - in the way of interests to protect in England.[33] Of those who did apply, not all actually served; rather, the rolls merely show an intention to serve. Moreover, not just combatants sought letters of protection. Thomas Edyngham, rector of High Halston in Kent, for instance, sought protection in 1443, 1444 and again in 1451.[34] In 1443 he was supposed

[30] TNA, KB9/256, no.80, 121;
[31] See above, pp.12-13.
[32] For a more detailed account of the methodological difficulties associated with letters of protection, see Bell *et al*, *The Soldier*, pp.5-7.
[33] *Ibid.,* pp.202-3.
[34] In 1443, his protection was revoked for tarrying in High Halston: TNA, C76/126 m.16, calendared *CPR*, *1441-1446*, p.251. For 1444 and 1445, see C76/126 m.2, C76/128 m.13.

to have been responsible for overseeing the 'purveyance of ships and vessels for the transport of stone, timber and other stuff for the works of the town [Calais] and marches' - thus demonstrating the incidental wealth created in Kent by the needs of English-held Normandy.

Where the names of the 'soldiers' identified in the central court records are more uncommon within the army and garrison musters we can perhaps be somewhat more confident in identification. By analysing any associated patterns and employing a degree of common sense, such unique names might also point toward a more considered identification of more commonly occurring names too. Additionally, surnames themselves can frequently prove an invaluable source of information, though they must again be approached with caution. The predominance of patronymic and common topographical surnames can often create confusion. Such problems are magnified when it comes to the most common surnames, such as Baker, Miller and Smyth, which appear frequently among all the lower social degrees. Many early hereditary surnames, based on previously topographical by-names,[35] show a distinct regionalism, often developed through varying pronunciation. However, greater migration, a key factor in the fifteenth century, is one of a number of problems, and spelling, by no means standardised in this period, another. Separate scribes might easily have spelt the same man's name differently. He could conceivably appear in service records, local records and a criminal indictment with his name spelt differently in each.

III: The Evidence of the Court of King's Bench, 1442-1456

In the fifteen years between 1442 and 1456, just 136 men described as 'soldiers' were accused of criminal behaviour in eighty-eight files of indictments, informations, and bills of accusations brought before the court of King's Bench, now in the series KB9.[36] A further eleven 'soldiers' are recorded in the surviving returns of twenty-four larger, specific, general commissions of oyer and terminer – filed separately from the annual files in the modern sequence – which sat between 1450 and 1456.[37] As the table below demonstrates (table 4.1),

[35] See *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, eds. P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson (London, 1991); R.A. McKinley, *A History of British Surnames* (Abingdon, 2013).
[36] TNA, KB9/238-279.
[37] TNA, KB9/46; /47/1-4; /122; /109; /133; /48/1-2; /15/1-2; /105/1-2; /134/1-2; /34/1-2; /103; /65A; /40/1-2; /42/1-2; /94; /9/7/1-2; /26/1-2; /118; /85; /12/1-2; /148/1-2; /149; /16; /49. The returns for a number of other oyer and terminer sessions have occasionally been filed together with the quarter sessions of the annual files. For example, the sessions held in Colchester on 26-27 February 1451 and 1-2 April 1451, as part of the commission sent into Essex in that year, are found in the Michaelmas file for 1452: KB9/268, no.18-48.

the survival of the indictment files for the period under investigation is not complete, and further examples of men identified as 'soldiers' can periodically be found in the plea rolls (KB27) which are complete for this period. The additional numbers do not significantly differ from that observable in the indictment files. For example, a total of eighteen 'soldiers' are found in relation to ten crimes in the plea rolls for the whole of 1450 – counting both the civil and Crown sides – the indictments for eleven of whom (relating to eight crimes) do not appear to have survived.[38] Similarly, indictments do not survive for a further eleven 'soldiers' who were brought before the court in 1451.[39] Proportionately, therefore, 'soldiers' appear to have accounted for little more than a drop in the proverbial ocean that was the hundreds of accusations and cases brought before the court on a yearly basis. Indeed, men identified as 'soldiers' appear significantly less often than numerous other occupational groups such as bakers, brewers, butchers, dyers, glovers, grooms, hostellers, saddlers, shoemakers and weavers – to name but a few.

One important reflection of this data, however, is that there does appear to be an increase in the number of crimes being recorded after 1450. Between 1442 and 1449, forty-four 'soldiers' were implicated in thirty-one crimes.[40] Between 1450 and 1456, these numbers more than double to 103 'soldiers' in seventy-five accusations of criminal activity. In fact, these numbers can be further increased to 125 individuals accused of ninety-four crimes when one also factors in the plea rolls for 1450 and 1451.[41] This would certainly appear to suggest that there was a greater number of 'soldiers' in England as a result of the loss of Normandy in 1450. This spike in the number of 'soldiers' indicted for criminal behaviour between 1450 and 1452 also appears in keeping with the current historiography of the topic, perhaps demonstrating an increase in crime as men returned from war and indicating that such men found it difficult to abandon violent tendencies. Moreover, it would also seem to evidence the accounts found in the contemporary chronicles of 'soldiers' having returned from Normandy in an impoverished and disgruntled state - especially TC, MS 509 - as outlined in the previous chapter.[42] Indeed, as will be discussed in greater detail below, a significant proportion of the indictments relate to London and its immediate hinterland.

[38] TNA, KB27/755, rot.89; /756, rots.74, 98; /757, rots.52, 55; /758, rots.92d, 94d, 109d.
[39] TNA, KB27/759, rots.11, 73, 78d, 80, 80d, 85, 87d; /760, rots.51, 73, 86.
[40] Three of these 'soldiers', Richard Caron, William Burnham (both of London) and Richard Goldyng (of Somerset), were – along with a sizeable group of men not described as 'soldiers – indicted of having robbed a number of religious houses in Kent in 1448. The indictment, however, dates to 1454: KB9/273, no.8.
[41] For a breakdown of the types of crime being committed, see graphs 4.1 - 4.3.
[42] See above, pp.140-8.

DATE	HILLARY	EASTER	TRINITY	MICHAELMAS	OYER & TERMINER	TOTALS
1442	0	2:3	1:1	3:9	n/a	6:13
1443	0	Does Not Survive	0	DNS	0:0 Returns for one commission	0
1444	0	1:2	1:1	0	n/a	2:3
1445	1:4	1:1	3:3	3:5	n/a	8:13
1446	1:1	2:3	1:1	0	n/a	4:5
1447	0	DNS	1:1	2:2	n/a	3:3
1448	0	3:3	0	1:1	n/a	4:4
1449	DNS	DNS	DNS	0	n/a	0
1450	2:2	DNS	0	DNS	0 Returns for one commission	2:2
1451	DNS	DNS	DNS	12:13	6:5 Returns for four commissions	18:18
1452	9:19	DNS	1:1	5:6	5:5 Returns for seven commissions[43]	21:32
1453	3:3	0	0	2:3	1:1 Returns for fourteen commissions[44]	6:7
1454	0	16:18	2:3	DNS	0 Returns for three commission	18:21
1455	DNS	DNS	DNS	7:15	n/a	7:15
1456	0	1:3	4:6	2:2	0 Returns for two commission	7:11

Table 4.1: Number of inferred crimes in which 'soldiers' were the perpetrators, followed by the total number of men described as 'soldiers', within the indictment files (KB9) between 1442-1456.

However, this increase should not necessarily be taken as evidence that 'soldiers' as a collective whole were habitually criminalised, but that there were perhaps specific circumstances which framed their actions. There are remarkably few examples of even small groups of 'soldiers' commiting crimes together, and those there are tend to pre-date the loss of Normandy.[45] In the majority of instances, men described as 'soldiers' are recorded

[43] These relate to the commissions ordered on 6 July 1452: see *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.580. The commissions which sat in Devon (TNA, KB9/15), Somerset (KB9/105), Wiltshire (KB9/134), Hereford (KB9/34) and Shropshire (KB9/103), all include at least one session which sat in 1453.

[44] These relate to the commissions ordered on both 28 September 1452 and 8 January 1453. The seven surviving returns for the counties of Hertfordshire (TNA, KB9/40), Huntingdon (KB9/42), Northamptonshire (KB9/94), Cambridgeshire (KB9/9/7), Essex (KB9/26), Suffolk (KB9/118) and Norfolk (KB9/85) for each of these commissions have been filed together. For the instructions, see *CPR*, *1452-1461*, pp.54-5, 60.

[45] For example, see the discussion below of William Sandebach, Hugo and Richard Sydyngton, and Matthew Swetenham: KB9/247, no.44-6, /248, no. 35-6. For further examples, see KB9/241, no.1, 94; /266, no.22.

committing offences alongside non-soldiers. Indeed, this seeming increase in criminal activity among 'soldiers' is also reflective of the greater degree of general unrest and discord in England in this period, attested by the number of oyer and terminer commissions that were issued. In fact, the overall number of 'soldiers' accused of criminal behaviour from 1450 still provide only a small percentage of the total crimes that were brought before the central courts in these troubled years. It is important, therefore, to consider a number of interconnected questions. First, is there any clear evidence that the accused 'soldiers' had recently returned from Normandy and/or other parts of the *pays de conquête*, and, if so, in what capacity had they served? Can any geographical patterns be observed, and what was the nature of the offences being committed? Were they violent crimes such as murder and assault, or were they predominantly less serious offences such as theft? Additionally, is there evidence of the broader participation of 'soldiers' in lawlessness and unrest on a wider scale, such as in rebellions and riots, and/or the private feuds of the nobility?

IV: LONG-TERM SERVICE

Of all the 'soldiers' recorded in the central court records, only Cuthbert Colville, implicated in the murder of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, and, as will be discussed below, subsequently accused of raising a rebellion in the weeks that followed, can be identified with certainty.[46] Even then our knowledge of his active service in Normandy is patchy at best. He had certainly served as a man-at-arms in the duke of York's personal retinue in 1441,[47] though it is unclear whether he remained in constant service throughout York's tenure as lieutenant in France, or if he had continued to serve between 1446 and 1450 after York had returned home. It is possible that he had earlier served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Philip Chetwynd in the standing force which sailed to Aquitaine under the command of the earl of Huntingdon in 1439.[48] He was clearly acting as a captain in 1449/50 – he was one of twelve such captains who indented to serve for six months on 24 September 1449.[49]

Explicit evidence of any service in Normandy, let alone long-term service within the context of the Norman garrisons, among the men found in the criminal records examined is

[46] See below, pp.184-5.
[47] TNA, E101/53/33 m.1.
[48] TNA, E101/53/22, m.5. The individual in question is recorded as Cuthbert 'Colnell', and this may well have been a spelling error on the part of the scribe. It has also been suggested by Roger Virgoe that Colville had been an esquire of the king's Household: R. Virgoe, 'The Parliament of 1449-50' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1964), pp.192-5, cited in R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), p.281.
[49] For September, see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.55. Also see, TNA, E403/777 m.4; E28/80/15. Additionally, a chaplain named Thomas Smyth sued for protection with the intention of crossing to Normandy as part of Colville's company: TNA, C76/132 m.11.

scarce. Only three individuals in the surviving legal records are clearly identified as having had any links to Normandy. A 1454 indictment describes Bartholomew Maton as a 'soudeour' late of London, alias 'soudeour' late of Normandy. Maton was accused alongside Richard Jakes, a yeoman from Hereford, and Gilbert Warde, a yeoman from Wiltshire, of breaking and entering into the home of Thomas Snowe of Hendon in Middlesex, robbing him of money, weapons and household items. Additionally, they were accused of assaulting and robbing both John Buderwode and John Coke in Westminster.[50] No individual with the surname Maton appears in any surviving army or garrison muster. This might indicate that he had only served in the duchy in the final years of the occupation, although it is not infeasible that he might also have earlier served in one of the garrisons in the regions outside of Normandy, such as Maine. It is also possible that the reference to Normandy is an indication of his nationality.[51] Neither Jakes nor Warde seems to have provided any evident military service.[52] A Thomas Odyham, a merchant from Hadleigh in Suffolk, is also said to have been a former 'soldier of Normandy' in a legal account dating to Hillary term 1451 – discussed in greater detail in a later sub-section. No one with this surname appears in any surviving army or garrison muster after 1411.[53]

Slightly more might be said of William Phelypp. Described as a 'sowdyer' late of Caen in Normandy, Phelypp was brought before the court during Michaelmas term 1450, having stabbed and killed John Baynes, esquire, in the ward of Bishop's Gate.[54] There is no extant record for a William Phelypp in the garrison of Caen, though this might simply be due to the loss of the musters dating between 1448 and 1450. A Martin Phillip, however, is recorded serving as an archer in and around the garrison of Caen on a near-continuous basis between 1426 and 1439.[55] Based on similar observations of familial service links within garrisons, it is

[50] TNA, KB9/274, no.13.

[51] The surname Maton provides a single result when run through the England's Immigrants 1330-1550 database; a Gillam Maton living in Surrey is first recorded paying an alien subsidy in 1443. TNA, E199/43/5.

[52] There is only a single extant military muster for a Richard Jakes - an archer serving under Thomas Burgh in 1427. BNF, ms. fr. 25768/257; BL. Add. Ch. 11573; BNF, ms. fr. 25767/211. There are no extant muster records for a Gilbert Warde.

[53] Geoffrey Odiham, a tailor took out letters of protection in 1411: TNA, C76/94, m.25.

[54] TNA, KB27/758 rot.92d. Having pleaded self-defence, William was subsequently fined: see TNA, KB27/759 rot.62d.

[55] In 1426, Martin mustered as part of the official retinue of the bailli of Caen and is next found in the service of the same bailli at the siege of Orleans: BNF, ms. fr. 25767/190; 25768/374. He then appears to have entered into the garrison of Falaise, under Sir Thomas Kingston, by December 1429, serving as part of the detachment sent to the siege of Chateau Gaillard in March 1430: BNF, ms. fr. 25768/444, 403. In June 1431, he appears to have mustered as part of the garrison of Bayeux under Robert, lord Willoughby, and is recorded serving in the field under him in July 1432: AN, K 63/13/16; BNF, ms. fr. 25770/709. He is next found mustering in the garrison of Caen in March 1433, where he appears to

possible that William was his son.[56] Alternatively, William may have been something of a journeyman who moved between a number of different garrisons between at least 1437 and 1447. However, the distance between the garrisons in question - not to mention the gaps in service - raise some doubt over this, and it is perhaps more likely that these records relate to the sporadic service of more than one individual.[57]

Attempts to uncover the types and patterns of service provided by all 169 'soldiers' recorded in the court records between 1442 and 1456 through cross-referencing them with the surviving army and garrison musters is similarly ambiguous – owing, not least, to the problems associated with nominal data.[58] Twenty-two of the surnames recorded demonstrate no surviving military service whatsoever, while a further thirty-six have no record for the applicable forename – though on occasion this might be indicative of familial links. Of the remaining 111 names, the vast majority provide multiple results, often spread irregularly throughout the period of occupation, and the ubiquitous nature of most means that it is all but impossible to identify them with any certainty as being the same individual recorded in the central court documents. Somewhat firmer conclusions, however, might be drawn in relation to a good number who have unique or rare surnames. Take for example Matthew Swetenham, William Sandebach, and Hugo and Richard Sydyngton, all described as 'soldiers' who, along with a Christopher Draycote, a London gentleman, as well as a butcher from Chester and a husbandman from Leicester, were accused of a number of felonies including assaulting and killing Thomas Symkynson in Leicester in 1445.[59] There are only two extant matches for a Matthew Swetenham in the surviving army and garrison musters; a man-at-arms in the retinue of Thomas Davenport in the duke of York's 1441 expedition, and an archer in the retinue of John Legh in John, duke of Somerset's 1443 expedition.[60] Military service connections can be made between Swetenham and at least two of the other three

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have remained for at least the next six years: BNF, ms. fr. 25770/765; 25771/779, 798; 25773/1081, 1120; 25774/1259, 1292, 1345; 25775/1435; BNF, MS. Clairambault 220, no.17.

[56] See Appendix B.

[57] In 1437 a William 'Phelip' mustered in Cherbourg. In 1438, an individual by the same name is found serving in the field for the revictualling of Meaux, Creil and Pontoise. In 1439, one is found mustering in the garrison at Essay, then in Avranches in 1442, the Chancellor's retinue in the field in 1446, and in the garrison at Conches in 1447. See, BNF, ms.fr. 25773/1108; 25774/1314; BNF, MS. Clairambault 183, no.67-9; Clairambault 190, no.3; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1603; 25777/1769, 1793.

[58] Multiple variations of spellings were tried for all of the surnames observed (Full use was made of the 'Fuzzy Search' functionality of the online Medieval Soldier Database).

[59] TNA, KB9/247, nos.44, 45; /248, nos.35, 36. They were not seemingly brought before the court before 1450, see TNA, KB27/757, rot.54d.

[60] TNA, E101/53/33, m.5, E101/54/9, m.3; E101/54/5, m.7. It is feasible that Matthew was related to Thomas Swetenham, a citizen and grocer of London: TNA, CP40/745, rot.109d; *CPR*, *1441-1446*, pp.57-8. However, Swetenham, Sandebach and Sydyngton are all surnames of a Cheshire origin.

'soldiers' indicted along with him. While there is no extant record for a William Sandebach after 1417, a Richard Sandebach had served in the same retinue as Swetenham in 1441.[61] Similarly, Sydyngton is a relatively rare name in the army and garrison musters, with a Richard mustering in the same retinue as the Matthew Swetenham who served in 1443 – perhaps indicating that it was the same Matthew who served in both expeditions despite an apparent demotion in rank.[62] Moreover, the other two matches for the surname Sydyngton – a William and Robert - also served in 1443, though on this occasion in the retinue of John Davenport - presumably a relative of Thomas.[63]

When this methodology is applied more widely, there is remarkably little evidence that any of those indicted for criminal activity provided continuous service over a protracted period within Normandy. Even where extended service might be suggested for an individual, the nature of the surviving material evidence means that it is often not conclusive. Take, for example, Godfrey Somerset, a 'yoman et soudiour' late of London, indicted for robbing a John Seman in 1453.[64] An individual by this name mustered as part of the expeditionary force that crossed to France with Cardinal Beaufort in 1430. The rarity of the name in the army and garrison musters would suggest that it was the same man who then mustered as an archer in the garrison of Honfleur in February 1431.[65] An individual by this name is next found mustering as an archer in the garrison at Caen in March, April and June 1433.[66] Once again, there is then no further record for any man by this name until October 1441 and then September 1448, where on both occasions he again mustered in Caen, but as a man-at-arms.[67] What is not clear, however, is whether these all relate to the same individual, and, if so, whether he had remained in France between late 1433 and October 1441. Had he, like some other Englishmen, perhaps been able to take advantage of the property market in and around Caen and resided there as a non-combatant?[68] This would perhaps explain his service in 1441 and 1448, though it is not clear whether he had remained in continuous service during this time. With the exception of a muster taken in June 1444 – from which he was

[61] TNA, E101/54/9, m.3.
[62] TNA, E101/54/5, m.7. He had also seemingly served in the retinue of John de Vere in 1441: TNA, E101/53/33, m.2, E101/54/9, m.1.
[63] TNA, E101/54/5, m.3. Robert had also seemingly served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Sir John Holland, in his 1439 expedition to Aquitaine: TNA, E101/53/22, m.6.
[64] TNA, KB9/269 no.77.
[65] BNF, ms. fr. 25769/569.
[66] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/765; 25771/779, 798.
[67] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1501; 25778/1822.
[68] See above, p.55, n.108.

certainly absent – there are no other extant muster or counter rolls for the garrison in this period.[69]

In most instances where there is evidence of some sustained garrison service over a few years, the criminal accusations are primarily presented prior not only to the loss of Normandy, but also predate the 1444 Treaty of Tours. Take, for example, Hugh Broun. While his surname is common, only a single Hugh appears to have served in the fifteenth century.[70] First found mustering as an archer under Sir John Salvayn in the garrison of Rouen St, Catherine in June 1438, he is next observed serving under Henry Grey, count of Tancarville, in the garrison of Tancarville in September 1439, before accompanying Grey into the garrison of Rouen Palace a month later.[71] By October 1440, he had returned to the garrison at Tancarville and was part of the detachment drawn to reinforce the army besieging Harfleur.[72] In 1441, he was again drawn from the garrison to serve in the field around Louviers and Conches.[73] There are no further army or garrison muster records for a Hugh Broun after May 1441, and it would appear fairly certain that he returned to England between summer 1441 and summer 1442. In Trinity term 1442, an inquiry was ordered into a 'soudyour' by that name as a suspected felon.[74] Similarly, the surprising rarity of the name Robert Gardyner, a 'marchanter et soudyour' late of London, accused of robbing two men in 1442,[75] might indicate that this was the same individual who served in the garrisons at Rouen between 1426 and 1438,[76] and that he had perhaps subsequently reintegrated into English society as a merchant.

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[69] Being absent from a single muster does not necessarily indicate that an individual was no longer serving in the garrison. The garrison counter rolls frequently record that men were absent from the garrison on 'their own needs and business', or even 'off on adventures'. For broader discussion, see Newhall, *Muster and Review*, pp.83-96.

[70] This includes the variations Broun, Broune, Brown, Browne, Bron and Brone.

[71] BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1329; AN, K 65/1/22; BNF, MS. Clairambault 165, no.25.

[72] BNF, MS. Clairambault 165, no.37 and no.38, 201, no.73.

[73] BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1516, 1519.

[74] TNA, KB9/240 nos.74, 93

[75] TNA, KB9/241, no.79.

[76] BL, Add. Ch. 1424, 11574; BNF, naf 8605/109; BNF, ms. fr. 25768/437*; ADSM, 100J/33/7; BNF, ms. fr. 25772/954; BL, Add. Ch. 191, 192; BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1260; AN, K 64/23/2. It is possible that this was the same man who had earlier mustered in the garrison of Neufchatel/Torcy in 1423, and who had served in the field under Sir Lancelot de Lisle in July 1424 (recorded as Gardigner and Garduner respectively): BL, Add. Ch. 3567, 11520. However, the later years of service might have been provided by a second man, for two men with this name mustered together in December 1429*, one of whom is described as 'junior'. Given the lack of evidence for any service elsewhere by an individual with this name, it is tempting to view them as being related to one and other. It is less clear whether the Robert who served as a man-at-arms in the duke of York's 1441 expedition, and again in John Heron's naval expedition of 1442, were the same or different individual: TNA, E101/53/33, m.7; E101/54/3, no.3, m.1.

While it must be remembered that Curry has estimated that only between forty and fifty per cent of the original Lancastrian French archive has survived, with a particular dearth of records dated after 1444,[77] and that the garrison records for areas outside of Normandy – particularly Maine - are significantly underrepresented, this general lack of long-term service among the men listed in the criminal records raises some important questions. Not least of these is what proportion of those 'soldiers' who provided long-term service in France did in fact return to England as a consequence of the French reconquest? Moreover, of those who did, how many subsequently went on to serve in the ill-fated expedition to Normandy in 1450 and/or Gascony in 1452, as well as perhaps intending to have served in Sir Richard Woodville's aborted campaign to Guienne in late 1450/51? Such questions are clearly very difficult to answer both quantitatively and qualitatively. There are no surviving nominal records for these expeditionary campaigns through which those who served could be compared against the nominal garrison records, especially the handful of which do survive for the latter years of the occupation.

However, it is worth briefly considering the circumstances which followed the Truce of Tours in 1444.[78] Despite the consequential reduction in the garrison establishment, there was no mass exodus of unemployed 'soldiers' back to England.[79] Instead, the truce exacerbated the disciplinary problems already associated with those men 'vivans sur le pays' by adding to their number and necessitating the government making various attempts to control their behaviour. Much of the surplus 'soldiery' and other combatants were quickly employed under Matthew Gough in a joint – but short-lived – expedition under the command of the Dauphin Louis into Germany. By early 1445, these men were back in Lower Normandy and their excesses were a major cause for concern. Ultimately, the duke of York had sought to round up such men in late spring and summer that year, with those deemed suitable being recruited into small companies which were then attached to a number of royal garrisons. Those not deemed fit to serve were ordered to return home; they were marched under supervision to Barfleur and shipped at the Crown's expense to England.[80] There is little in

[77] This survival is also unevenly spread both geographically and chronologically. See Curry, 'The English Army', p.49.

[78] *Foedera*, V, i, pp.133-6.

[79] For a detailed account of the military circumstances which followed the truce – on which this paragraph is based – see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.310-43.

[80] In particular, see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.318-23. Also see, Curry, 'The Impact of War and Occupation on Urban Life in Normandy', p.170. It should also not be overlooked that some of the men previously employed by the English would have been Norman natives and of other nationalities too: see Curry, 'The Nationality of Men-at-Arms serving in English Armies', pp.135-163; Bell *et al, The Soldier*, pp.256-59, 268.

either the contemporary chronicles or in the central legal records, however, to suggest that these men continued to act in an unsavoury manner once back in England.[81] One observation may, however, be offered: Edward Hammes, a tallow-chandler alias 'soldier' from London, and John Oddeshole, a 'soldier' from Lewes in Sussex, were acused of stealing money and silver in 1444.[82] While there is nothing remarkable about that account, what is intriguing is that the following indictment accused the same two men of having led a brief insurrection of two hundred unidentified men drawn from Middlesex, London, Surrey, Essex and Kent on 8 March 1443.[83] Given the circumstances in which the indicments are found, it is just feasible that this dating of this latter document was a clerical error, for it could possibly have been a response to the departure of William, then earl of Suffolk, to treat for peace in France in 1444. At the very least, it is notable that indictments for treason are rare on this scale, especially prior to 1450.

Returning to Normandy, however, the key here is that perhaps the majority of those who were serving in France prior to the truce opted not to return to England.[84] The ability to make this same choice might not have been so straightforward following Charles VII's declaration of war in July 1449. As cities, towns and castles fell to the French, the troops who had previously garrisoned them were commonly sent to defend other places.[85] This said, treaties of surrender forbade the retaking up of arms, and often instructed those who had been defeated to return to England. Of most relevance here are the terms for the surrender of Rouen on 23 October 1449, which included safe passage to England for all those serving in the garrison. This included troops from numerous other previously surrendered locations,

[81] In a similar vein, there is no direct evidence that the c.400 men who had been instructed to return to England following the execution of Richard Venables in 1427, found themselves before the central courts in the following year. However, it must be noted that the survival of the indictment files for this period is particularly poor. Only the Easter and Trinity term files survive for 1428, and none survive for 1429 or 1430. See, TNA, KB9/223/1; 223/2. For the 1428 and 1429 plea rolls, see KB27/667-74.

[82] TNA, KB9/245, no.12. Hammes is a relatively commonly occurring name in the army and garrison muster records. However, the only examples of an Edward probably relate to the same individual. First found mustering as an archer at Verneuil to serve in the field in 1428, an 'Edmund' Hammes then mustered in the garrison there in 1429 and 1430: ADSM, 100J/33/46; BNF, ms. fr. 25768/440, 574, 575. It is possible that this is also the same individual recorded as 'Emond Hamer' in the garrison of Conches in 1440, and 'Emond Hamel', found serving in the field in 1442: BNF, naf 8606/62, 82. No army or garrison muster appears to survive for a John Oddeshole.

[83] TNA, KB9/245, no.13.

[84] Some potential ties' men had to the duchy have been outlined in Chapter I: p.55. For those who had served continuously in France over an extended period, England would likely have been unfamiliar and offered little in the way of comparable prospects. See Jamieson, 'The Recruitment of Northerners for Service in English Armies in France, 1415-50', pp.102-15; Curry, 'Soldiers' Wives', p.201.

[85] For example, those who had gone to Honfleur following the fall of Pont l'Évêque in August 1449, were ordered to Touques for its defence: BNF, ms. fr. 26079/6146, cited in Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.340, n.2.

as well as all those serving in the remaining garrisons of the *pays de Caux* which were to be simultaneously surrendered.[86] It is possible that it was these men to whom the author of *Davies' Chronicle* was referring when he wrote that the duke of Somerset had diminished the number of men serving in the garrisons and sent them back to England.[87] Additionally, while no doubt exaggerating the numbers, Robert Blondel reported that a further two thousand men had sailed back to England following the surrender of Harfleur on 1 January 1450.[88] It would seem logical to think that many of these men would have been keen to recover their livelihoods quickly, not to mention remaining in receipt of Crown wages - which for most would already have been in arrears.

On 4 December 1449, Sir Thomas Kyriell indented with the Crown to lead the relief army and £9,000 was assigned toward their wages.[89] This army had first been discussed in late September, at which point twelve captains had contracted to provide a force of 315 men-at-arms and 2,780 archers, but recruitment did not begin until November. Additionally, Kyriell had agreed to provide a further one hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers. It was not until 15 March 1450 that he finally landed at Cherbourg.[90] This was a relatively sizeable army considering that the government had struggled to raise more than fifty-five men-at-arms and 508 archers in July 1449,[91] and only four hundred further men had sailed to the duchy under Robert de Vere in September/October that same year.[92] It is highly probable, therefore, that the ranks of Kyriell's army were swollen by returning 'soldiers' of Normandy. That this was the case is suggested by the writs issued concerning the behaviour of those gathering in Dover and other ports at this time.[93] In addition to Cuthbert Colville's murder of Adam Moleyns, three further men linked to this force and described as 'soldiers'

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[86] There is suggestion that the troops who had served in Mantes transferred, after its loss, into Rouen: See *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-1450*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1863), p.267, also cited in Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.340, n.2. For the terms of the surrender, see *L & P,* II, ii, pp.609-17. Also see *Chronique de Charles VII, Roi de France, par Jean Chartier*, ed. V. de Virivelle (Paris, 1858), ii, pp.152-4. For discussion regarding the fallout of the surrender in England, see M.K. Jones, 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', *EHR* (1989), pp.302-07.

[87] *Davies' Chronicle*, p.68.

[88] R. Blondel, 'De reductione Normanniae' in *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy*, ed. Stevenson, pp.119-20.

[89] Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.519.

[90] Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.55-6. Various loans had to be raised to pay the first instalment of the army's wages, including pawning the Crown jewels: see *L and P,* I, pp.503-8, 510-12.

[91] *PROME,* xii, p.38; Curry, 'Military Organization', i, p.54; *CPR, 1446-1452*, p.270.

[92] *CPR, 1446-1452*, p.370. It should be noted that financial restrictions also had an influence on de Vere's force, and loans were again required: TNA, E404/65/225; *POPC*, vi, pp.86-7. Having crossed, de Vere's men then tarried in Caen: *L and P,* I, pp.291-5. Also see Curry, 'Military Organization', i, pp.54-5; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp.206-9.

[93] *CPR*, *1446-1452*, pp.478, 577.

were indicted for separate criminal acts, including robbing religious houses.[94] If returned 'soldiers' did cross in Kyriell's expeditionary force – as suggested by both the authors of *Giles' Chronicle* and TC, MS 509 -[95] then few may have survived the ensuing battle of Formigny in April. Having linked up with de Vere's force and, notably, other men drawn from the garrisons of Caen, Bayeux and Vire, French sources reported that 3,774 or 3,768 English combatants died in the battle, with up to 1,400 further men apparently being taken captive.[96] Exaggerated as these figures no doubt are,[97] the defeat was certainly a costly disaster for the English, and the similarly catastrophic defeat at Castillion in 1453 would have further decimated the number of 'soldiers' and other combatants who ultimately returned to settle in England. In this context, it is perhaps unsurprising that numerous contemporary accounts of the Wars of the Roses highlighted a scarcity of men with experience in war.[98]

Clearly, not all the 'old soldiers of Normandy' would have served on the Formigny campaign. Following Somerset's surrender of Caen in June 1450, a purported four thousand English men, women and children were allowed to leave with all their moveable possessions, but only if they returned to England.[99] It was these people to whom the author of TC, MS 509 referred when describing carts, laden not just with armour, but also with bedding and other household goods, drawn by people in 'right pover array pitewus to see'.[100] As outlined in Chapter III, it was seemingly necessity rather than malicious intent that drove these men into criminality.[101] The petitions of the expelled garrison - like those submitted by those expelled from Maine - indicate that their offences were chiefly debt-related, a consequence of the government's inability to satisfy their wage arrears of ten months.[102] A detailed analysis of the records of the Court of Common Pleas might shed some further light on this. It is certainly notable, though, that the majority of 'soldiers' recorded in the criminal indictments submitted to the court of King's Bench between 1450 and 1452 were accused of thefts and robberies rather than violent crimes (graph 4.1), a theme similarly observable throughout the period under investigation (graph 4.3).

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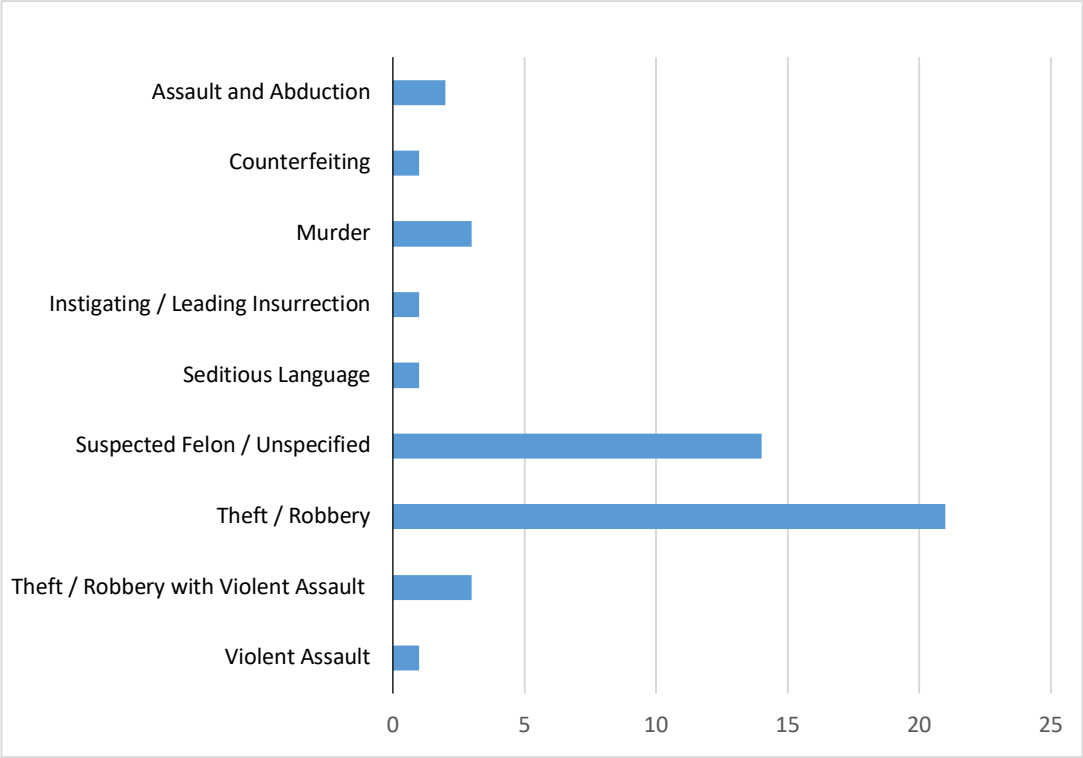
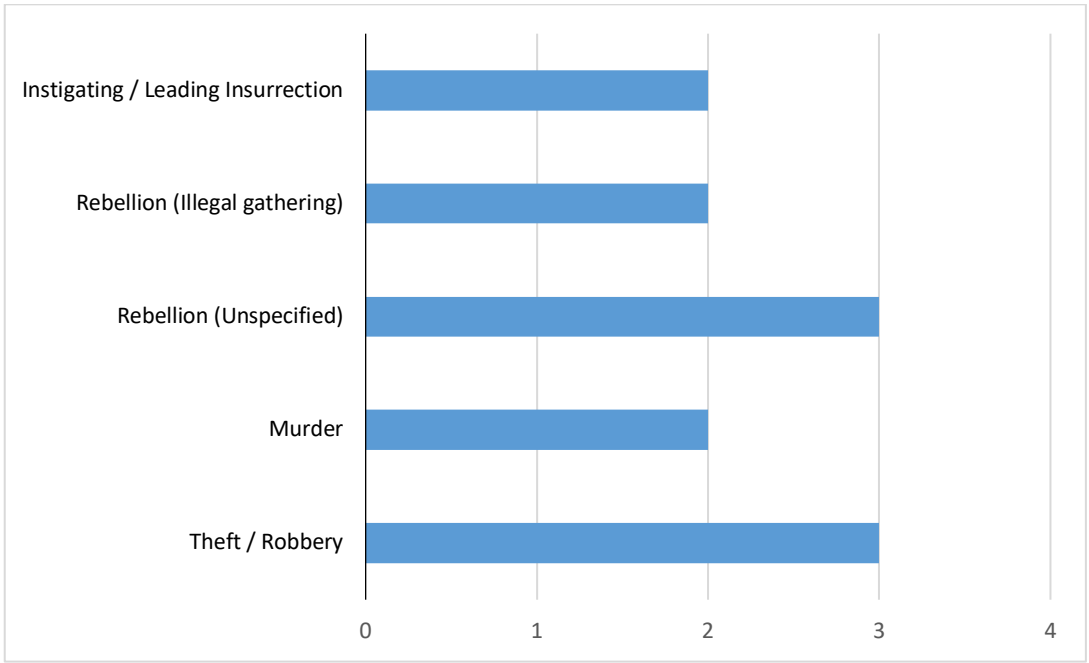
[94] For John Clerk and John Otterley, both late of London, see KB27/757, rot.52; /761, rot.77. For William Wylton, late of Dorking in Surrey, see TNA, KB27//759, rot.80; /760, rot.72.
[95] See Chapter III, pp.141-2.
[96] For example, see *Chronique de Charles VII, Roi de France, par Jean Chartier*, ed. Virivelle, ii, pp.192-200; Blondel, 'De Reductione Normanniae', pp.170-6; B. Herald, 'Le recouvrement de Normendie', in *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy*, ed. Stevenson, pp.330-7.
[97] William Worcester suggests that 2,300 died and nine hundred were captured: *L and P*, II, ii, p.630.
[98] See Chapter III, pp.149-52.
[99] *Chronique de Charles VII, Roi de France, par Jean Chartier*, ed. Virivelle, ii, pp.214-21. Griffiths does not really dispute this number: *Henry VI*, p.521.
[100] TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.134-5.
[101] See above, pp.142-6.
[102] TNA, SC8/289/14448; TNA, C1/19/498; *L & P,* II, ii, pp.598-603.



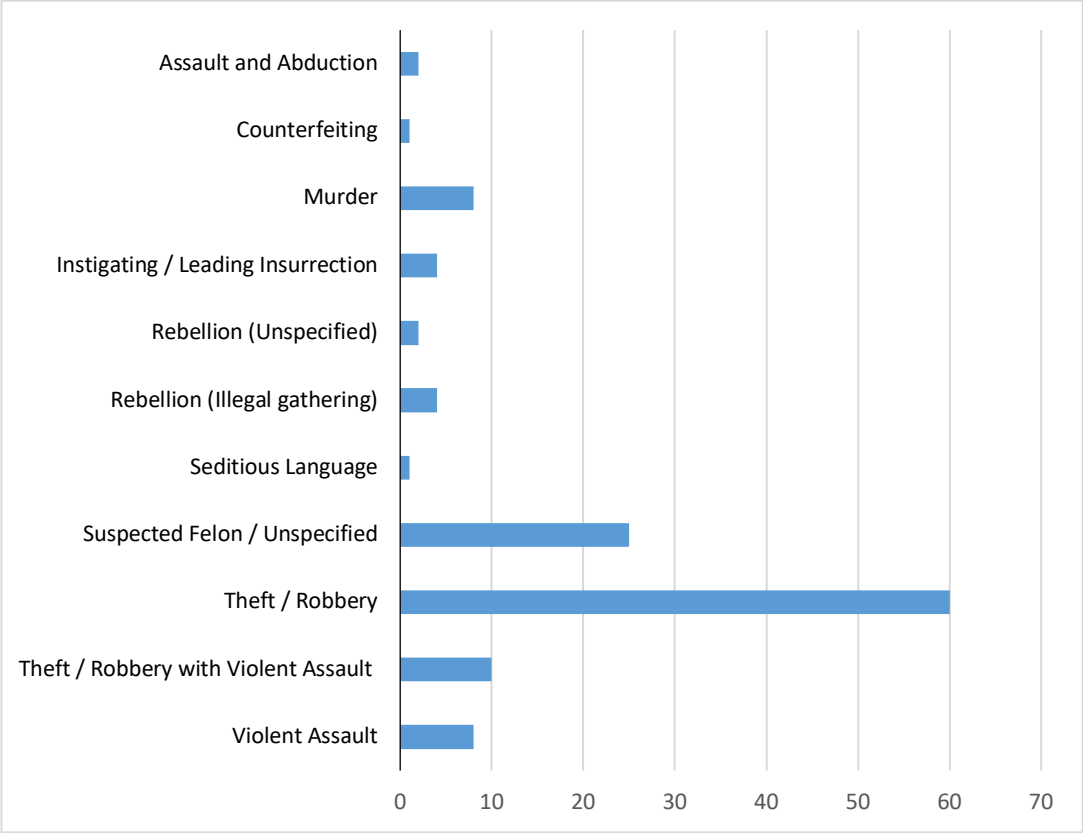
Graph 4.1: The type and number of crimes of which 'soldiers' were accused in the indictment files (KB9) between 1450 and 1452 [*not including the returns of larger, specific, commissions of Oyer and Terminer filed separately from the annual files in the modern sequence*] and plea files (KB27).[103]



Graph 4.2: The type and number of crimes of which 'soldiers' were accused in the returns of larger, specific, commissions of Oyer and Terminer between 1450 and 1456 filed separately from the annual files in the modern sequence (KB9).[104]

[103] One of the four men murdered by 'soldiers' in this period was himself a 'soldier': TNA, KB9/265, nos.95, 157; KB27/762, rots.116, 123.

[104] Cuthbert Colville was indicted of both insurrection and murder: TNA, Kb9/109 no.16, 25; KB27/774 rot.174. For more detailed discussion of 'soldiers' involvement in rebellions, see subsection VI.

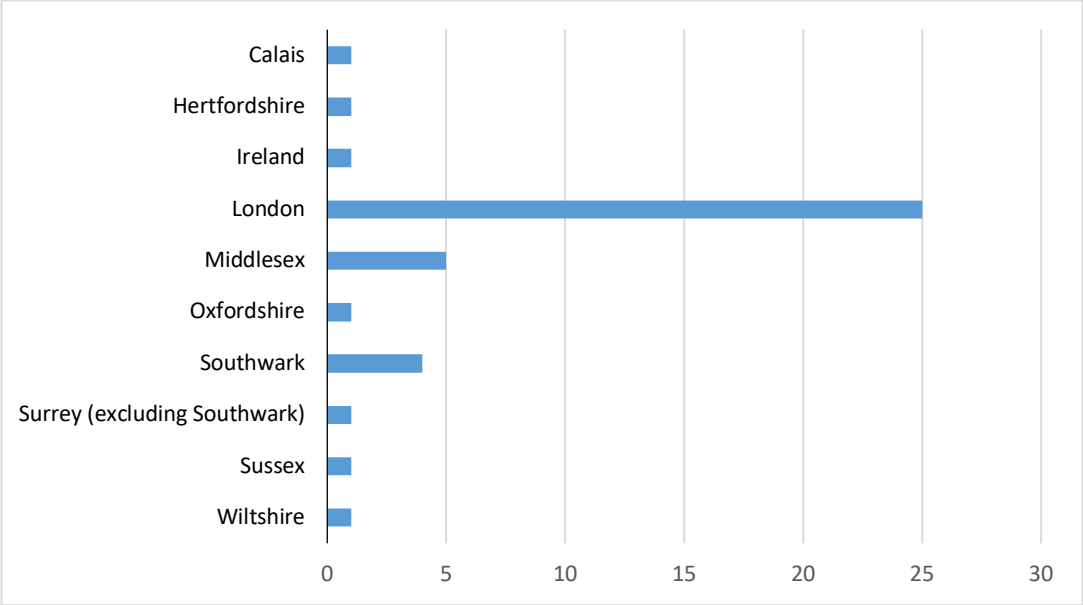


Graph 4.3: The type and number of crimes of which 'soldiers' were accused in the indictment files (KB9) and plea files (KB27) between 1442 and 1456.

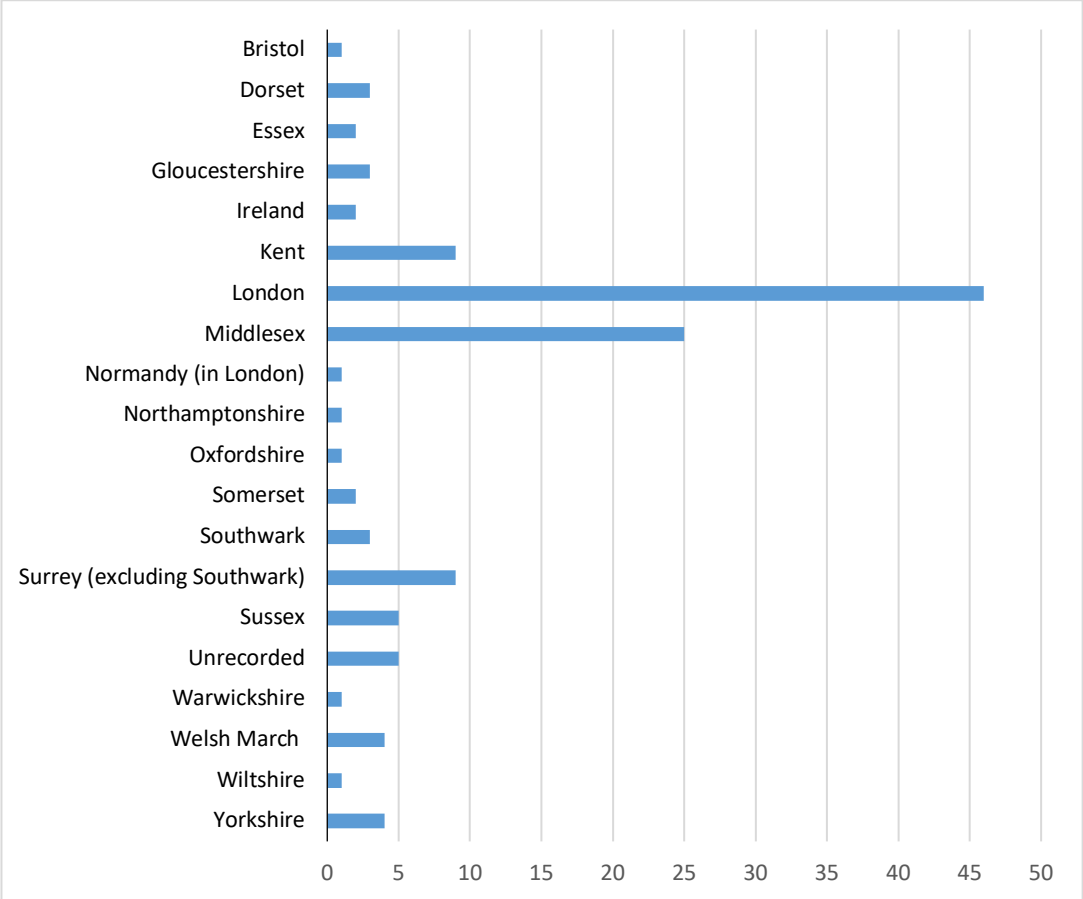
V: Criminality as Further Evidence of a Soldiers' Community in London

It has been suggested in the first chapter of this thesis that a not-insignificant 'community' of 'soldiers' who resided in and around London between periods of service in the near-yearly expeditionary forces had developed from the 1420s. This notion would appear to be supported by the locations of residence and outlawry recorded in relation to the 'soldiers' who appear as defendants in the documents of the central common law courts. As the two graphs below demonstrate, the clear majority are found in London and its immediate environs. Of the forty-one 'soldiers' indicted between 1442 and 1449, roughly 63 per cent were listed as residing in or having been outlawed from London. If one also includes Middlesex and Southwark in this equation, then roughly 82 per cent of individuals are accounted for. Similarly, while there is a greater geographic spread of indictments between 1450 and 1456, the city of London alone still equates for 36 per cent of the 129 'soldiers' accused of criminal offences. By once more including Middlesex and Southwark, this figure increases to roughly 58 per cent. By way of contrast, the next highest proportion is provided

by both Kent and Surrey (excluding Southwark), each equating to roughly 7 per cent, and both of which were subject to an oyer and terminer commission.



Graph 4.4: The place of residence or outlawry of 'soldiers' recorded in the indictment files (KB9), 1442-49.



Graph 4.5: The place of residence or outlawry of 'soldiers' recorded in the indictment files (KB9), 1450-1456, and the plea files (KB27) for 1450-1451.

There appears to be greater evidence that some of the 'soldiers' recorded in these indictments and court proceedings served in expeditionary forces rather than providing continuous service in France. The nature of surviving archival record means that analysis is largely restricted to the major expeditions to France of 1439, 1441 and 1443, as well as the naval expedition of 1442 - although it can also be supplemented by Letters of Protection. Twenty-two 'soldiers' listed as residing in or having been outlawed from London can be found among the ranks of the men mustering in 1439. Twenty-six are found among those mustering in 1441, and thirty-three mustered for the campaign of 1443. A handful of these men might also have served on more than one of the three expeditions.[105]

Other men described as 'soldiers' perhaps seem to have had a more commercial relationship with non-combatants in the City. For example, John Colyng, described as a 'sumtyme Soudeour' from London, had entrusted a number of jewels and other goods into the care of John Haddon, a draper of the City. These had been left to his daughter, who was forced to file a suit against the executor of the will in order to secure them.[106] It is similarly possible that Thomas Walker, a 'soudyour late comen owt of Normandie', who it was alleged had stolen items from Alderman Malpas's house during Cade's rebellion, was familiar with Agnes Neville to whom he gave them for safe keeping – although it appears she subsequently misappropriated them from him. While there is no record of Walker's fate, Agnes was placed in prison, her appeal noting not only that she was mother to three children but that her husband remained in the 'kynges servyce in Normandie'.[107] Files also survive for two further 'soldiers" wives who resided in and around London during this period.[108] It is frustrating that there is next to no archival survival for the Ward Moots or Sheriff's Court for the period under investigation. It should also not be overlooked that the court of King's Bench acted as the local court for Middlesex, thus perhaps explaining the relatively high proportion of non-violent 'soldiers" crimes which appear in them. That further returned 'soldiers' sought employment in the city following the loss of Normandy is also perhaps evidenced by an intriguing ordinance dating to 1452 which specifically forbade brothel owners in Southwark from hiring as an ostler anyone who had previously been a 'soldiour in the perties beyond the see' – though no reason is provided.[109]

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[105] The authors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* have demonstrated that men serving in garrisons frequently moved between the rank of man-at-arms and archer, and this may also be the case with those who provided repeat service in the expeditionary forces.
[106] TNA, C1/19/391.
[107] TNA, C1/19/30. No indictment survives for either Walker or Neville.
[108] TNA, KB9/250, no.77; KB27/760, rot.86.
[109] Cited in M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London, 1996), p.214.

VI: The Involvement of Soldiers in Collective Lawlessness and Popular Rebellion

Magnate Feuds and Parliament 1450-1454

There is remarkably little direct evidence to indicate that 'soldiers' of any rank and length of service played a role in the geographically wide-ranging violent feuds of the nobility in the period examined. For example, at no point is anyone described as a 'soldier' in the indictments and criminal accusations detailing the numerous men, including the infamous 'slaughterladdes', implicated in the criminal career of William Tailboys in and around Lincolnshire in the 1440s and 1450s,[110] or in the accounts of the Bonville-Courtenay dispute in the West Country - this despite the formulaic references to their having been 'arrayed in the manner of war'.[111] This is not that surprising, however, for both the lords and wealthy gentry would have been able to recruit significantly greater numbers of armed men from among their household and retainers as well as their tenants without any requirement to pay wages. Moreover, they could perhaps also rely more on the loyalty of these men. This certainly appears to have been their preferred method of recruitment during the active periods of the Wars of the Roses,[112] though it is possible that some returned professional 'soldiers' would have moved into noble households, but this is very difficult to evidence, especially in the 1450s.

There are - seemingly - evident spikes in the indictment files of criminality among 'soldiers' in Michaelmas 1451, Hillary 1452, Easter 1454, and Michaelmas 1455 which are perhaps indicative of there having been an increased presence of such men during the parliaments which sat in this period; and at which the various lords attended with large armed retinues. Again, however, there is little direct evidence to suggest that these men were serving in the retinues of the lords, not least as they appear to have remained in the capital following the closing of parliamentary sessions. There is, however, perhaps some slight circumstantial evidence. Having returned from Ireland in early September 1450, the duke of York recruited a sizable retinue of men from his estates and other well-wishers on his march south to London, where he arrived towards the end of the month and remained

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[110] For example, see TNA, KB9/260/92-96; KB27/750, rot.74, 94; /753, rex side, rot.18; /754, rot.111, rex side, rots.31, 32; /755, rot.21d; /769, rex side, rot.38; /784, rex side, rot.39.For discussion and further references, see R. Virgoe, 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 55 (1973), pp.459-82

[111] For discussion, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp.574-7; Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, pp.84-92. Also see M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth Century Devonshire', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp.123-44; Kleineke, 'Why the West was Wild: Law and Disorder in Fifteenth Century Cornwall and Devon', pp.75-93.

[112] See above, pp.116, 151-2.

till 9 October.[113] However, a letter from William Wayte to John Paston of 6 October, notes that he also included in his number a company of 'western men'. Wayte does not refer to these men as 'soldiers', but he does record that they had reacted violently to Sir Thomas Hoo having met with York *en route* before St Albans.[114] Hoo, in his capacity as chancellor of Normandy, was among those popularly accused of having withheld the wages due to 'soldiers', and was thus considered by some to have been implicit in the loss of Normandy.[115] It is not clear if these same men later accompanied York when he returned to London shortly after the opening of parliament in November. As Johnson has highlighted, however, York spend some of this time rallying further support from a number of his estates, and there is no administrative evidence to suggest that his men acted in an undisciplined fashion once back in London.[116]

It is perhaps more likely that the purported increase in indictments of 'soldiers' in these years was a consequence of the general unrest and heightened tension in the capital which accompanied these parliaments. Indeed, there was seemingly a general increase in the number of indictments, informations, and bills of accusations being presented to the Court of King's Bench in these sessions. The records for Michaelmas term 1451 and Hillary term 1452, however, are of particular relevance for they also coincide somewhat with the circumstances of Sir Richard Woodville's expedition to Guienne, which had been aborted in mid-August 1451 after months of delays and financial difficulties – not to mention social unrest in the south-west as the army tarried there.[117] Woodville had been appointed seneschal in October 1450, and it is intriguing to consider whether the choice of Plymouth as the mustering point for this army had initially been a reaction to the 'western men's' support of York earlier that same month and the Crown's fear over his intentions. This said, Plymouth was a common embarkation point for armies sailing to Southwest France. Some of the demobilised 'soldiers' no doubt returned to London in a despondent mood, and the high levels of theft-related indictments (see graph 4.1, above) might indicate the extent to which

[113] 'Benet's Chronicle', p.203.
[114] *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii, pp.174-7. Griffiths has suggested that Hoo was perhaps seeking York's protection in a fashion similar to John Sutton, lord Dudley, and Reginald Boulers, abbot of Gloucester, who had ridden to York while he was at his castle of Ludlow in August: *Henry VI*, p.305. He had been among those whose property had been targeted by rebels during Jack Cade's revolt a few months earlier.
[115] For example, see the instructions issued in February 1451 to investigate these claims: *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.439, 444, 537.
[116] Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, pp.85-9.
[117] See above, pp.141-2. Bordeaux had been lost on 30 June, and what money had been raised for the expedition was subsequently diverted toward the defence of Calais. For discussion, see Vale, *English Gascony*, 136-40; *PROME*, xii, p.211-12.

their circumstances had declined as a consequence of the non-payment of their wages.[118] Similarly, while it might simply be coincidental, it is intriguing that there is not a single indictment of an individual identified as a 'soldier' in either Hillary or Easter term 1453, which may well have been a consequence of John Talbot's – ultimately disastrous - expedition to Gascony which had sailed in mid-October 1452.[119]

INSURRECTION AND REBELLION

As noted above, as early as 1443, Edward Hammys and John Oddeshole, both identified as 'soldiers', were accused of initiating an illegal gathering of some 200 men drawn from Middlesex, London, Hertfordshire, Essex, Surrey and Kent, with the intention of attacking Henry VI and various magnates.[120] There is no indication, however, that the other men were also 'soldiers'. Thereafter, it is not until 1450 that any other individual or group identified as 'soldiers' is found in any criminal context in relation to the illegal gathering of men or open rebellion. The commission of oyer and terminer in Hampshire which sat under the duke of Somerset at Winchester between 14 and 17 July 1451 finally brought indictments against those accused of the murder of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chester, on 9 January 1450. Among those indicted was the aforenoted Cuthbert Colville. In addition to the murder of Moleyns, Colville was also one of a number of men – including members of that other infamous occupational group, shipmen - accused of having marshalled an army at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire on 1 February 1450, complete with captains and officers, in rebellion against the king.[121] It would certainly appear that he and his retinue of 340 men had not crossed to Normandy with the rest of Kyriell's army in March.[122]

What had triggered Colville's actions in February cannot be stated for certain, but it is probable that he was influenced in no small part by the government's response to a short-lived popular uprising in south-eastern Kent in January 1450 under Thomas Cheyne, a labourer from Newington by Southwark in Surrey.[123] Cheyne had been captured on 31

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[118] For discussion, see above, pp.142-6.

[119] See, Pollard, *John Talbot*, pp.135-8; M.G.A. Vale, 'The Last Years of English Gascony, 1451-1453: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (1969), pp.119-38.

[120] TNA, KB9/245, no.13.

[121] TNA, Kb9/109 no.16, 25; KB27/774 rot.174. For the contemporary reputation of shipmen, see J. Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* (Cambridge, 1973), p.171.

[122] See Curry, 'Military Organization', p.107. Curry also cites William Worcester who claimed that Colville did cross: *L and P*, II, ii, p.765.

[123] See TNA, KB9/263, nos.56, 57, 58; KB27/755, rex side, rot.4; KB27/756 rot.74, and rex side, rot.2; KB27/786, rex side, rot.2d; KB27/790, rex side, rots.1d, 45. In the two earliest records, Cheyne is described as a yeoman and not a labourer. Also see *POPC*, vi, pp.107-9, which outlines the difficulties in finding men willing to deliver Cheyne's head to Canterbury after his execution. These sources are also cited by Harvey, who provides an overview of this rebellion: *Jack Cade's Rebellion*, pp.94-7.

January, and by 2 February a commission of oyer and terminer under the earl of Wiltshire had been sent to Kent tasked with investigating the recent transgressions. It is possible that Colville and his men were aware of these events and feared that they too might be held to account for their own misdeeds at Portsmouth. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which returned 'soldiers' were involved in Cheyne's uprising, for there is no record of the rebels' identities beyond those of the ringleaders. That the rebels had gathered in the villages between Sandwich and Dover, where numerous men recently expelled from France would undoubtedly have landed, might imply that the ringleaders had hoped to engage the support of returning 'soldiers'. One of the under-captains was certainly identified in the indictment files as a 'soldier', though this does not necessarily mean that others followed suit. Little can be said concerning the identity or service patterns of this one 'soldier', not least owing to the number of aliases associated with him and the frequency with which they are found in the extant army and garrison muster records: John Williamson, alias Nicholas Williamson alias Thomas Taillour, late of Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire.[124] Ultimately, neither rebellion achieved much of note.

The same cannot be said of Jack Cade's rebellion of May through to early July 1450. Yet, once again, there is remarkably little evidence in the criminal records - or elsewhere - to suggest that large groups of returned 'soldiers' had fallen in step with the rebels.[125] Take for example those who took up the Crown's offer of a free pardon on 6 and 7 July.[126] While Griffiths has proved beyond doubt that the offer of free pardons, available to all and offering immunity from future royal actions would have been taken out not only by rebels but also by those whom the rebels complained against,[127] it is intriguing that of the 3,428 named individuals in the pardon roll, the majority of whom provided either their occupation or degree, only one sought to describe himself as a 'soldier': Thomas Andrewe, 'soudee*r*' alias baker alias 'newebaker' of Dartford in Kent.[128] Of course, if 'soldiering' was a long-term profession, there were few who were employed as 'soldiers' at this time, and they may

[124] For example, see TNA, KB27/756 rot.74. There is no record of his fate.
[125] Johnson felt that the rebels' programme would have 'appealed to many soldiers': *Duke Richard of York*, pp.79-80.
[126] *CPR, 1446-1452*, pp.338-74.
[127] Griffith, *Henry VI*, pp.619-23.
[128] The number quoted is an exact count of the names compiled in the modern edition and includes those individuals who appear on the list more than once. *CPR*, *1446-1452*, p.344. There are surprisingly few extant army or garrison musters with the name Thomas Andrewe; five under the spelling Andrewe and a further fifteen under Andrew. Fourteen of these twenty records, including all those under Andrewe, date to 1420 or before, and can therefore feasibly be discounted on age. The remaining six appear to relate to four seemingly unrelated periods of service dating to 1424, 1434-5, 1445 and 1449. BNF, ms. fr. 25767/77; 25771/840; 25772/929; 25777/1724, BNF, MS. Clairambault 182, no.21, TNA, E101/54/11, m.2.

therefore have opted to describe themselves by their degree when out of a job. Andrewe's describing himself as such is not irrefutable evidence that he was among those who had rebelled. This same problem also somewhat blurs the involvement of the aforementioned Thomas Walker,[129] as well as a number of other 'soldiers' who were named in inquisitions in the aftermath of the rebellion. For instance, the returned 1451 oyer and terminer commission for Kent details that inquiries were to be made of the 'treasons, felonies, trespasses, rebellions, insurrections, misprisons, congregations, unlawful gatherings and other offences' in Kent of which John Carpenter, 'soudeour', John Bryght, labourer alias 'soudeour', Robert Clewyn, 'soudyour', and the intriguingly named John Mortymer, a 'sowedeour' late of Maidstone, were all named.[130] This wording was simply in line with the instructions of the commission, and details of their individual crimes have not survived. One further 'sowdyour', however, a Robert Marbery, late of Canterbury, who was recorded in this same commission, was subsequently indicted of having broken into the house of John Frysdon of Chartham and robbed him.[131]

It is possible that these men had been among those 'certain persons naming themselves soldiers' who had reportedly taken advantage of the commotion that rebellion had caused around south-west Kent to despoil and rob, rather than having necessarily played any part in it directly. However, what should be made of the intriguing detail that it was Robert Poynings who, on 22 June, had been commissioned to take a *posse* to arrest these men?[132] Poynings soon after defected to Cade's cause, becoming his carver and sword-

[129] See above p.181. An individual Thomas Walker had perhaps served in the garrison of Creil in 1438 and 1439, before mustering in the creu attached to the garrison of Mantes in 1440: AN, K 64/23/19; BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1414; AN, K 65/1/35; 66/1/44; BNF, MS. Clairambault 169, no.91. The common nature of this name, however, is highlighted by the three separate men who mustered as part of the duke of York's 1441 expedition: TNA, E101/53/33, mm.2, 4, 5. There are no extant musters for this name after 1442.

[130] TNA, KB9/47/4; /48/2 no.2, 4, 7; /48/1, no.3, 13. There are sporadic records for a John Bryght having mustered in various garrisons in Normandy between 1421 and 1437, though no indication of any continuous service in this period. An individual by this name also served as an archer in the duke of Somerset's 1443 expedition: TNA, E101/54/5, m.13. While John Mortymer occurs somewhat more commonly in the army and garrison musters, it is possible that an individual by this name served as a man-at-arms in the garrisons of Pontoise, Dreux, Eu, Vire and Cherbourg between at least 1430 and 1439: BNF, ms. fr. 25769/463; BL, Add. Ch. 11663; BNF, ms. fr. 25770/623; /25772/919, 947, 1022, 1028; /25773/1085; BNF, MS. Clairambault, 199, nos.73-6, 58-61, 62, 37, 41, 38; BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1430; BNF, MS. Clairambault, 164, no.78. This may also have been the same individual who mustered in the retinue of Sir Thomas Kyriell, in the duke of Somerset's 1443 expedition: TNA, E101/54/5, m.2.

[131] TNA KB9/48/2 no.20; /48/1 m.3. Only a single army or garrison muster survives with this name in the fifteenth century, an archer serving under John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, in the field around Falaise in 1448: BNF, ms. fr. 25778/1830.

[132] *CPR 1446-1452*, p.387.

bearer. He certainly had personal grounds for joining the rebellion,[133] but it is not known whether he made the decision to do so either before or after acting on his commission. It is not beyond the realms of possibility, therefore, that it was these same 'soldiers' who encouraged him.

There is certainly some later evidence to suggest that a handful of former 'soldiers' had played a role in the rebellion with at least two accused of having sought to recruit men into satellite rebellions following Cade's defeat and death. On 14 July, just days after Cade's rebels had been defeated in a battle on London Bridge, Simon Sture, a yeoman late of Winchelsea in Sussex, alias Simon Styver, 'soldier', along with John Westbourne, a yeoman from Sussex, instigated a riot at Sedlescombe in that same county.[134] Claiming to be a kinsman of Cade, Sture proceeded to lead his rebels in robbing and despoiling local religious institutions through into October. John Wade, a dyer from London recounted how he had been persuaded to join a further fellowship of Cade's supporters in Hampshire by one Thomas Odyham, a merchant from Hadleigh in Suffolk who had been a former 'soldier of Normandy'.[135] Similarly, John Mathewe, an esquire and 'soldier' late of London, alias late of Wales, and William Fletcher, alias William Barbour alias William Osmonderlawe, a 'soldier' late of Middlesex, were both accused of having been engaged in further insurrection having already been forgiven for 'gathering with other malefactors against the king's peace'.[136]

While a perhaps relatively small number of individual 'soldiers' fell in with the rebels, and while other groups may have taken advantage of the unrest in the southern counties to act illicitly, there appears to be evidence that a greater proportion may have acted in defence against the rebellion. As the parliament in Leicester was adjourned in June 1450, at least one reasonably sizeable group of 'soldarios' and other lieges who had 'come from parts overseas' were presenting themselves before the King's Household in London on a daily basis. On 10 June, Thomas, lord Scales had been among a number of lords instructed to raise a force in

[133] See R.M. Jeffs, 'The Poynings-Percy Dispute: An Example of the Interplay of Open Strife and Legal Action in the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 34 (1961), pp.148-64.
[134] TNA, KB9/122, no.62. Only a single army or garrison muster survives for a Simon Sture. Unfortunately, it is undated. That it provides the name Treverbyn as a captain, however, may well indicate that it dates to the latter fourteenth century: TNA, E101/50/27, m.10. No musters survive for a Simon Styver.
[135] TNA, KB27/759, rex side, rot.6d. There had been an earlier rising in Hadleigh, perhaps in support of Cade, but Odyham is not recorded in any of the indictments, and nor is he found among those from the town who took pardons on 6 and 7 July: KB9/271, no.67; kb9/118/1 no.6; KB27/70 rex side, rot.154d; *CPR, 1446-1452*, 343, 356, 359. He is not recorded in any surviving army or garrison muster.
[136] TNA, KB9/122, no.45; /266, no.58. The majority of these names commonly appear in the army and garrison musters. 'Osmondrelaw' provides a single extant match, though it is for a Thomas, as esquire found in the garrison of St Lô in September 1432: AN, K 63/19/7.

response to the rebels who, on the following day, encamped before London on Blackheath.[137] In the circumstances, it is highly likely that Scales, who had himself provided substantial service in France, recruited these returned 'soldiers' into his service and that they accompanied him on 14 June to scout the rebels' strength and again on 18 June when the king led a royal array to confront the rebels – only to discover that they had retreated under the cover of darkness the previous night.[138] According to some of the contemporary chroniclers, Scales was among the force of reportedly four hundred men subsequently sent to track down the retreating rebels under Sir Humphrey and William Stafford which was defeated near Sevenoaks, with a contemporary account from Bruges even suggesting that Scales had been captured at the ensuing skirmish near Sevenoaks.[139] The author of the *Great Chronicle of London*, specifically refers to these men as 'Soldyours'.[140] However, it is highly unlikely that Scales was captured. Indeed, even his having even accompanied the Staffords to Sevenoaks can be called into question, considering his seniority in both rank and experience over Sir Humphrey. He was certainly soon back in London and charged with keeping order among at least one group of returned 'soldiers' in the city.

On 29 June a sum of one hundred marks was issued from the Exchequer to Scales to distribute among these 'soldarios' to prevent their falling into misrule.[141] On 30 June, he received part of a further £50 specifically to provide fifteen days' maintenance for these same 'solidariis'.[142] If all these men were paid at the rate of an archer in Normandy - 6*d*. daily - then their number would equate roughly to 133 men.[143] In all probability, it was these men whom Scales employed to garrison the Tower of London in response to Cade's host re-appearing on Blackheath, and who subsequently formed part of the force that fought the rebels on London Bridge along with Matthew Gough, another captain with a long history of service in France.[144]

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[137] *CPR, 1446-1452,* p.385, also cited in Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.611.

[138] For example, see TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles,* ed. R. Flenley, p.131; BL., MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.191.

[139] *Hanserecesse*, ed. G. von der Ropp (7 vols., Leipzig, 1876-92), II, iii, no.338, cited in Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p.651, n.14. The defeat of Stafford's force is also recorded in the majority of the London and *Brut* chronicles. For example, see TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles,* ed. R. Flenley, p.131; *The Brut*, ed. Brie, 517; *Davies' Chronicle*, p.66; 'Benet's Chronicle', p.199.

[140] *Great Chronicle*, pp.181-2.

[141] TNA, E403/780 m.9, E404/66/187.

[142] TNA, E403/780 m.10, E404/66/215. The payment of these issues is discussed by Curry, 'The Loss of Lancastrian Normandy: An Administrative Nightmare?', pp.44-5, n.41.

[143] If, however, they were paid at the lower rate of 4*d*. a day, as found in relation to a relatively small number of archers permanently serving in the royal garrisons in Wales, then this would equate to payment for 200 men. For context, see Chapter I, p.52.

[144] On 30 June, Henry ordered lord Beauchamp, now Treasurer, to release £100 to pay for the provisions required for the safe keeping of the Tower. TNA, E404/66/186. Also see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp.499-500; Goodman, *Soldiers' Experience*, pp.90-1. For Mathew Gough, see A.D. Carr, 'Gough, Matthew [Mathau Goch, Matago] (d.1450)', *ONDB*. Also see the contemporary poem of Guto'r Glyn,

Similarly, writing to John Paston in 1465, John Payn, a servant of Sir John Fastolf who had been taken before Cade on Blackheath, stated that Fastolf had garrisoned his house in Southwark with 'olde sawdyors of Normaundy' before being counselled that such a move was unwise and that the rebels believed he intended to lead these 'soldiers' to 'destroy the comens of Kent'.[145] Thus, as Grummitt has observed, the rebels were somewhat inclined to view these 'soldiers' as traitors.[146] Fastolf heeded his servants' advice, and he too went with his 'soldiers' to the Tower. It has been discussed in the previous chapter that a number of 'returned soldiers' were still present in the capital following the collapse of Cade's rebellion, their presence seemingly dissuading Henry VI from travelling to Eton to celebrate the Feast of Assumption and encouraging commissions to be appointed in February 1451 to investigate their claims regarding the withholding of their wages in Normandy.[147]

It might also be suggested that it was not only London which looked to the temporary recruitment of 'soldiers' to protect themselves during the rebellious upheaval of 1450, and nor should the perceived threat of a French invasion be overlooked. In 1449, the people of the Isle of Wight petitioned the king to appoint a commander who would take 'sufficient of men' to 'sufficiently defend the castle and isle' from the threat posed by the French. The petition not only states that the people had been warned of the impending threat by 'true liegemen… come out of Normandy', but that the 'country is much denuded of men capable of bearing arms by war and pestilence and the king's castle is in poor repair'.[148] The accounts for Dunheved on the Cornwall-Devon boarder in 1450-51 – where there was a royal castle that was sporadically garrisoned - also clearly demonstrate defensive preparations which included the strengthening of the gates, the purchase of guns, and the payment to various 'sawdiers' under the captain William Porter.[149] Might it also be possible that the quart of red wine sent to 'divers soldiers' by the council of Exeter in 1450, which was thought by Grummitt to have been a 'bribe to induce them to leave', was rather a gift for their service?[150] Such service in the benefit of the commonweal was, after all, in theory at least, the primary *raison*

'In Praise of Matthew Gough of Maelor' [http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=003].

[145] *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii, pp.153-6. According to the letter, the rebels unfairly accused Fastolf of being a traitor who had reduced the garrisons in both Normandy and Maine to such an extent that it was 'the cause of the lesyng of all the Kyngs tytyll and right… that he had by yonde see'.

[146] Grummitt, 'Changing Perceptions', p.195.

[147] See above, pp.146, 182-3.

[148] TNA, SC8/28/1353.

[149] R. Peter and O.B. Peter, *The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved in the County of Cornwall* (Plymouth, 1885), pp.132-4.

[150] Devon Record Office, Exeter receiver's account, 29-30 Hen. VI, m.4d, cited by Grummitt, 'Changing Perceptions', p.194

d'être for the continuous employment of 'soldiers', and such a sentiment to be of continued good service is clearly evident in the aforementioned petitions submitted by the 'soldiers' expelled from Caen and Maine.[151]

Evidence of Military Service Among Cade's Rebels

While it would appear unlikely that significant numbers of professional 'soldiers' were directly involved in Cade's rebellion, the military proficiency of the rebels should not simply be dismissed. Indeed, it is a topic that has been explored by Montgomery Bohna.[152] It would appear that the processes typically employed for the mustering of local arrays were employed by the rebels. The role of constables in organising each hundred remains a point of debate. The evidence for their involvement comes only from their signatures on the pardon rolls, which, organised by hundreds, some argue, signifies only that they sought to protect all those within their constituency. This role, however, would more naturally have been performed by each hundred's bailiff.[153] As Bohna has proposed, it would appear more likely therefore that each hundred's constables were responsible for the physical bringing together of armed men from their parishes.[154] At the very least, the direction and decisive nature of the rebellion, especially in its early stages, would appear to indicate that its leadership and organisation were more than adequate.

Building on this, and given the geographical locations in which the rebellion was most prevalent, it is also likely that a significant percentage of the rebels had experience of providing either occasional or one-off military service in France. While none specifically identifies any of the rebels as being 'soldiers', the various contemporary chronicle accounts and other literary and administrative sources certainly imply a sound degree of military proficiency and engineering techniques. For example, some of the London Chronicles state that the rebels had set their camp on Blackheath 'dyked and stakyde well abowt, as hyt been in the lande of warre'.[155] These same fortification tactics had been increasingly employed by the English in the 1440s in reaction to French field artillery.[156] Moreover, the rebel army acquitted itself well in two armed confrontations; first routing the force under Sir Humphrey

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[151] See above, p.177.
[152] M. Bohna, 'Armed Force and Civic Legitimacy in Jack Cade's Rebellion', *EHR* (2003), pp.563-82.
[153] N.D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon for Homicide* (Oxford, 1969), p.61.
[154] Bohna, 'Armed Force and Civic Legitimacy', pp.656-8. Also see, Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion*, p.110.
[155] For example, see TC, MS 509, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.129-30; Bodl. MS Gough London 10, in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, p.153; BL, MS Egerton 1995, in *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, p.190.
[156] M. Bennet, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, eds. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), p.19.

Stafford with a sophisticated rearguard action, before ultimately clashing with both the citizens of London and the professional 'soldiers' of the Tower on London Bridge in a battle that reportedly lasted all night. This would certainly appear to contradict the traditional view held by some historians, such as Griffiths, that popular violence was conducted through 'ill-organised, poorly armed and badly disciplined' rebels.[157] Both Griffiths and Harvey find the duration of the battle relatively surprising,[158] but neither gives any serious consideration to the possibility that the rebels could count among their ranks numerous men who had experienced occasional active military service in France, but who did not consider themselves to be, or to identify as, 'soldiers'. In part, this is due to the way in which historians study popular revolts, with emphasis placed on what was resisted and their eventual defeat, rather than what was being created and by whom,[159] and also partly because the contemporary chroniclers provide no direct reference to their involvement.

Such a hypothesis is difficult to substantiate. It should not be overlooked that the editors of *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* Database have, to date, collected in excess of 250,000 names from muster records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Approached cautiously, however, analysis of those named in the pardon rolls for the rebellion against the extant army and garrison musters might be informative. Taken at face value, when applied to all those named in the pardon role, this methodology would suggest that roughly sixty-three per cent of the rebels may have served in France on at least a single occasion. Of the 3,428 people named in the pardon rolls, only sixty-six provide unique matches in the surviving army and garrison muster records which might be more indicative of their identification. This would perhaps suggest that some of the more common names associated with both the pardon roll and service records also related to the same men. Indisputable evidence, however, is all but non-existent. For example, while a more detailed case-study of the remarkably full record for the hundreds of Smarden and Pluckley in Kent serves to highlight some possible service and geographical links, it is still far from conclusive. The only definite identification that can be made relates to the revocation of letters of protection in November 1448 which had been granted to Robert Drynker, a husbandman from Plumstead in Kent, to serve in Calais.[160] While this is almost certainly the same individual

[157] Griffith, *Henry VI*, pp.622-23. For discussion, see Bohna, 'Armed Force and Civic Legitimacy', pp.563-82.
[158] Harvey, *Jack Cades' Rebellion*, pp.134-5.
[159] See R.B. Goheen, 'Peasant Politics? Village Community and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century England', *The American Historical Review,* 96 (1991), p.42.
[160] TNA, C76/131 m.12, *CPR, 1446-1452,* p.204.

found in the pardon roll,[161] it demonstrates only an intention to serve, and not necessarily in a military capacity.

On a more general basis, at least forty-three per cent of the 152 names recorded in the pardon rolls as residing in Smarden and Pluckley, the majority of whom appear to be recorded as either yeomen, husbandmen or wage-earners, can also be found in the extant army and garrison musters.[162] However, it is impossible to identify these men as being one and the same with any certainty, especially as some names are very common, often providing multiple results within a single expeditionary force and garrison musters. Recruitment patterns might point towards the identification of these men, but these are again fraught with methodological difficulties. For example, one would expect the geographical locations in which a particular captain was recruiting to have an impact on the make-up of his retinue. In regard to the 1439 expedition to Aquitaine, eight names recorded in the pardon roll for Smerden and Pluckley can be observed in the muster rolls. A John Colyn, Thomas Hert and William Bocher all mustered in the retinue of Sir Edmund Grey.[163] Additionally, while the name of the sub-captain has not survived, that four of the remaining five individuals are grouped together on the muster roll would imply that they too served in the same retinue as each other.[164] Of these eight men, only two might also have served in 1441. On this occasion, however, they are recorded in separate retinues. A John Colyn served under Sir Ralph Grey, while a Thomas Hert served under Sir William Oldhall.[165] Of the further eight names which are found in both the pardons and army musters, only William Goddard also served under Sir Ralph Grey. Four men, however - including one Thomas Cook - might have served in the retinue of Henry, count of Eu,[166] but a Thomas Cook and John Colyn also mustered in that year in the retinue of Sir John Cressy.[167] The expedition of 1443 is even more unsatisfactory, with fifteen men with the same names as those recorded in the pardons found mustering under perhaps as many as fourteen sub-captains. While both a John Colyn and Thomas Hert can be observed mustering once again, it is possible that the Thomas Elys and William Philpot found mustering under Sir Robert Vere had been drawn from de Vere landed holdings and were not the individuals who resided in Smerden and Pluckley.[168]

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[161] *CPR, 1446-1452,* p.359.

[162] Despite Harvey's observations regarding the significant number of rebels who appeared to be engaged within the cloth industry (174), a much higher number of yeomen (436), husbandmen (500) and wage-earners (388) are recorded in the pardons.

[163] TNA, E101/52/2, m.5.

[164] Robert Heyman, Richard Glover, John Stone and Thomas Scot: TNA, E101/52/5, m.2.

[165] TNA, E101/52/22, mm.7 and 5, respectively.

[166] John Hogge, Thomas Cook, Richard Couper and John Symond: TNA, E101/52/22, m.2.

[167] TNA, E101/52/22, m.2.

[168] TNA, E10154/5, m.5. For context, see Chapter II, pp.107-15.

VII: CONCLUSION

Through systematic examination of the extant legal records of the Court of King's Bench on a nationwide scale between 1442 and 1456, this chapter has sought to challenge the generalisation that the English 'soldier' of the fifteenth century was perceived by contemporary English society in a generally negative light – 'an anonymous Lancastrian bogeyman' - and to explore the types of criminality in which they were involved. The analysis that has been undertaken allows for new conclusions to be reached in regard to the current scholarly consensus of shared lawlessness, poverty and social exclusion, especially following the disastrous loss of Lancastrian Normandy in 1450 – which precipitated the return of thousands of servicemen into England.

The evidence of the central court records clearly shows that some men described as 'soldiers' were involved in lawlessness; this is not in question. There is also an evident increase in the number of crimes in which 'soldiers' were implicated between 1450 and 1452, perhaps indicating the presence of a greater number of men so-descibed in England as a consequence of the loss of Normandy. At face value, this would appear to support the idea of there having been a rise in crime in the wake of war, perhaps as demobilised 'soldiers' found it difficult to abandon the violent practices they had acquired. Proportionately, however, 'soldiers' appear in very few of the indictments, informations, and bills of accusations brought before the Court of King's Bench in the whole period under examination. Even the apparent spike in 1450-1452 is reflective of the wider social unrest in these particularly troubled years, and 'soldiers' still account for only a small percentage of those accused of criminality – especially in the returned oyer and terminer commissions. In general, Grummitt's argument that after 1413 the term 'soldier' had become an 'increasingly common way of describing the occupation… of those accused of theft or violence' is rather misleading.[169] Robberies and assaults were commonly committed by people and groups at all levels of society. Indeed, numerous other professions appear in significantly greater numbers accused of these offences throughout the period investigated; even vicars and chaplains appear with relative frequency.

There is remarkably little evidence in the central courts' records of 'soldiers' having banded together to commit crimes. This not least, therefore, calls into question the extent to which accounts of soldiers' crimes and violence should be viewed as the actions of

[169] Grummitt, 'Changing Perspectives', p.192. It would, however, appear to be linked to the development of both the term itself and the increased military professionalism of the period, as demonstrated in Chapter I.

individuals, rather than stereotypically reflective of general behaviour. Only in a handful of the indictments and pleas examined are more than two 'soldiers' implicated in the same offence. Importantly, however, they are quite often accused alongside men from other professions and/or those described by their social rank (i.e. gentleman, yeoman, husbandman, labourer). It is possible, of course, that some of these men may previously have both served and identified as 'soldiers' but chose not to once they were no longer employed as such. This might explain the striking dearth of 'soldiers' found in the court records who resided outside of London and its immediate hinterland. Detailed analysis of 'non-soldiers' found in the files of indictments, informations, and bills of accusations presented to the central court by counties away from London and its more immediate hinterland alongside the records of the extant army and garrison musters, while beyond the scope of this chapter, may yield some interesting results. However, the predominance of 'soldiers' who provided London as their place of residence would appear in keeping with the notion of the development of a relatively sizable community within the City from the 1420s (as outlined in Chapter I). The implications of the possible associations these men shared with non-soldiers are intriguing, not least the nature of the relationships and whether any social networks might be observed in connection to their shared disorder.

The analysis undertaken here has also enabled a fresh insight into what actuated the criminal actions of 'soldiers' in the period under investigation. The majority of crimes of which 'soldiers' were accused were seemingly non-violent thefts –[170] albeit of varying degree in terms of the value of what was stolen and from whom. There are remarkably few indictments of 'soldiers' for violent crimes in the period studied, either before or after 1450. While it is accepted that these figures are somewhat limited by the incomplete nature of the indictment files, over fifteen years there is evidence of only eight murders (in one of which the victim was himself a 'soldier'), eight violent assaults, and less than fifteen per cent of the recorded thefts and robberies were of a seemingly violent nature. It is argued, therefore, that this is not evidence of habitual criminality among 'soldiers', but that these individuals were largely driven into criminality by circumstances not of their own making and outside their control - the Crown's long-standing inability to fully finanace the wages of 'soldiers' and other combatants. This interpretation is also largely borne out in the sympathetic attitudes expressed toward the circumstances of returning 'soldiers' by some contemporary chroniclers, especially in London.[171] These were not evil men, but those who had been left

[170] The formulaic use of *vi et armis*, usually in addition to *contra pacem regis*, does not necessarily mean the offence was definitively of a violent nature.
[171] See discussion in Chapter III.

impoverished and were reliant on criminality to sustain themselves, and perhaps a family too. There was certainly no form of welfare system in place to aid indigent 'soldiers'; as Curry has noted, the payments made to lord Scales by the Exchequer for the relief of 'soldiers' about the king's Household on 29 and 30 June 1450 was an isolated and 'scarcely generous' act.[172]

Despite their impoverished circumstances and the shameful manner in which they were forced out of France, however, it can also be postulated that few 'soldiers' were directly involved in any of more widespread unrest and disorder of the early 1450s. There is little evidence in the criminal records – or elsewhere - of any collective participation in either violent gentry disputes or in the popular rebellions of 1450. The military capability and organisation of the rebels in Jack Cade's rebellion appears to have drawn predominantly on the levy system, but it is probable that a significant proportion had provided either single or occasional service in France – perhaps through more traditional landed recruitment systems.[173] The greater degree of evidence, however, would suggest that the professional 'soldiers' helped to resist popular unrest. Perhaps somewhere in the region of 200 returned 'soldiers' and veterans of Normandy were temporarily employed to garrison the Tower of London during the rebellion of Jack Cade and helped to defeat the rebel force in the battle on London Bridge. These men would probably have been further supplemented by the resident semi-professional 'soldiers' of London, who would have been among those raised by the mayor and Aldermen. A contemporary letter would also imply that the rebels had earlier feared that 'soldiers' would be employed against them to destroy Kent.

Even had there been a somewhat greater number of returned 'soldiers' in London in summer 1450 than the two hundred proposed above, it would still only appear to be a mere fraction of the potentially thousands who had been forced to leave France as a consequence of the French reconquest. While allowing for the inherent problems associated with nominal data, it is certainly noteworthy that there is remarkably little evidence of any long-term service in the Norman garrisons among all the 169 'soldiers' found in the King's Bench records. This might simply be a consequence of the nature of the surviving garrison musters; the latter years of the occupation are relatively poorly evidenced, and there is a distinct lack of nominal data for service in the regions outside of Normandy throughout the conquest and occupation. The extant army musters for 1439, 1441 and 1443, however, would appear to indicate that some of those recorded in the central court records had provided repeated

[172] Curry, 'The Loss of Lancastrian Normandy: An Administrative Nightmare?', p.45.
[173] See Chapter II.

service in expeditionary forces – further substantiating the notion of a 'community of soldiers' in London who provided seasonal service.

The apparent lack of continuous service in a garrison context over a prolonged duration should not, necessarily, be surprising. The circumstances following the 1444 Truce of Tours would indicate that those serving in France opted to remain and seek opportunities there rather than return to England. It has been proposed that many of the 'soldiers' forcibly expelled from the duchy in 1450, therefore, would have immediately sought employment in the expeditionary forces which ultimately ended in the catastrophic defeats at Formigny and Castillon. It is certainly conceivable that the number of professional 'soldiers' who ultimately returned and needed to find civilian occupations in England were considerably fewer than has previously been suggested. Either way, there is remarkably little empirical evidence to suggest that the professional 'soldier' of the mid-fifteenth century was any more inclined toward criminality than the rest of English society as a whole. While it is accepted that the records of King's Bench provide only a limited overview of law breaking - hearing only serious crimes and cases of high debt – and that numerous crimes no doubt went unrecorded, it nevertheless stands to reason that many – if not most - unemployed 'soldiers' must have reintegrated back into society with relative ease.

PART III
END MATTER

CONCLUSION

The study of military history in the late medieval period has flourished over the past few decades. In particular, recent interest in prosoprographical research into the English military communites of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has allowed for increasingly detailed analysis and re-examination of topics that have long been of interest to historians, such as military organisation and tactics, professionalism and recruitment, and finanace and supply, to name but a few. Additionally, these advancements have significantly enhanced our understanding of the social circumstances of the personnel of all levels – men-at-arms and archers - who served in the armies and garrisons of the period. The intention of this thesis has been to employ a prosopographical approach in conjunction with various – in this context - underutilised sources to begin to explore and analyse a number of questions that have yet to be fully scrutinized, with particular focus placed on two broad themes: perceptions of professionalism and criminality. The research undertaken, and the conclusions offered, are not exhaustive, and some areas for further research are identified below. Nevertheless, the thesis both complements and builds upon recent historiography, providing some new insight and understanding. It strongly suggests that the modern perceptions of criminality are not reflected in the extant contemporary legal or literary records. Additionally, while largely supporting modern observations concerning increased English military 'professionalism' through the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries, it argues that the term 'soldier' is best applied to a distinct and relatively narrow group within the wider military community of the period.

Perceived increasing military professionalism in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been the subject of important research and has a long historiography. Put simply, however, the Crown's frequent need for manpower to form expeditionary armies and to fill permanent royal garrisons – both at home and overseas – provided opportunities for men to pursue a continuous 'profession-in-arms' at the wages of the Crown over alternative vocations. It has been argued here that contemporaries were themselves well aware of this professionalisation of military service as a consequence of the Crown's involvement in retaining and paying combatants to remain in continuous service in a particular region over a number of years, and that its development through the period explored can be followed in the employment of the term 'soldier' in administrative records as well as other literary sources.

The term appears to have first developed in the vocabulary of the royal Chancery and Exchequer clerks from the turn of the fourteenth century as an accounting means to distinguish 'professional' men-at-arms whose service was neither a consequence of military obligation nor any affiliation with the constables of the various castles in which they served. It was not until the 1370s that the word began to be employed in any administrative document – or elsewhere – ouside such a context of long-term service in a royal paid garrison. Importantly, this change was directly tied to the use of the indenture system as the primary mechanism through which English expeditionary forces were raised following the resumption of the war with France in 1369. Thereafter, it was increasingly employed in connection to 'mixed-careerists' – particularly sub-knightly men-at-arms – who were able to make the often lucrative business of war their primary vocation through sub-contracting.

By its very nature, such service was restricted to periods of perpetual warfare, and where either the permanent garrisoning of royal castles and strongholds or overseas freelance service provided year-round employment opportunities away from service in the field, or in the absence of an expeditionary force being raised. It is not surprising, therefore, that the apogee of the English 'professional' soldier dates to the fifteenth-century phase of the Hundred Years War, where the extent of English-held France and the length of the occupation – not to mention the significant removal of the inhibitory financial burden on the Exchequer - provided extensive opportunities for service over both time and territory.[1] A greater dependence was also placed onto the recruitment of archers for service in both expeditionary forces and to fill overseas garrisons in this period. In turn, this resulted in a growing pool of professionally inclined men whom the various sources examined throughout this thesis would indicate increasingly resided in and around London between expeditions, viewing it as the primary centre for recruitment. Despite the probable recurrent rather than continuous nature of the service provided by some of these men, they too appear to have viewed military service as their primary occupation, and – following the 1413 Statute of Additions – were increasingly identified as 'soldiers' in legal documents. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the same royal clerks gradually began to move towards an increasingly catch-all use of the term in military records from the 1420s.

This being said, however, and while not underplaying its importance, the predominant modern focus on military professionalism in the fifteenth-century phase of the war with France has perhaps developed somewhat at the expense of studies into those who

[1] Bell *et al*., *The Soldier*, pp.267-70. Also see above, pp.52-6. I plan to undertake a detailed investigation into the observable service patterns of the rank-and-file who served in the Norman garrisons in the near future. Some raw data relating to this is observable in Appendix B.

provided either single or sporadic service through more traditional recruitment networks. The employment of non-professionally inclined combatants throughout the period in question is perhaps evident in the greater continued use of alternative collective terminology in official documents relating to expeditionary and arrayed forces, not to mention in the sheer number of names recorded in the extant records of the army and garrison musters which appear on only a single occasion.[2] Similarly, this same understanding is reflected in the contemporary London chronicles and other literary sources, which predominantly employed the term only in connection to those serving in permanent garrisons. This is particularly clear in their accounts of the Wars of the Roses, where the term is reserved only for those who served in the context of the Calais garrison. It has also been demonstrated, through the systematic analysis of manor court rolls over a protracted period, that the nature of a landholding captain's own service in the war with France is likely to have had an effect on the make-up of his retinue. While Sir John Fastolf, like Sir John Talbot, served continuously as a captain in France over a prolonged number of years and predominantly recruited professional 'soldiers' already serving there, John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and his two brothers, all of whom provided rather more sporadic service as captains, relied heavily on their feudal and manorial tenants - especially for archers.

The extent to which the de Vere family's reliance on its manorial tenants was typical is a topic that would certainly benefit from further future study – not least for the insight it might provide into the mechanisms and abilities of the nobility to raise quickly substantial forces during the Wars of the Roses for short campaigns. Historians assume, rightly, that this is what the majority of peers did in the Wars of the Roses, but direct evidence has rarely survived.[3] The implications of this current research also goes 'far beyond the province of military history into the study of many aspects of late medieval English society,'[4] not the least of which is the extent to which social, cultural and economic experiences of war impacted on the outbreak of social unrest in the 1450s. Many thousands of individuals must have provided at least a single term of service in France – be it either through social obligation or through personal choice under a captain with whom they shared no ties – and countless others would have had fathers, brothers and/or cousins who had done so. Some may even have lost family members to military service. Significantly greater numbers still had invested financial resources in the war effort. The implications of this in connection to the ultimate loss of Normandy in 1450 has yet to be fully considered. While it is undeniable that there was

[2] Bell *et al*., p.262.
[3] For example, see Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, Chapter 7; Goodman, *Wars of the Roses*, Chapter 6.
[4] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses,* p.2.

a sentiment of war-weariness in England following thirty-five years of near constant fighting, the manner of the defeat in Normandy certainly struck a chord with those who voiced their opinions through popular protest and rebellion, with the suggestion that more could, and should, have been done to defend the duchy being commonly asserted.[5]

Significantly, it has been argued that the professional 'soldiery' who had been forced from Normandy as a consequence of Charles VII's invasion and conquest of the duchy played little active role in the unrest which followed the event. There is little conclusive evidence to suggest that they became involved in the unrest that surrounded the parliament which sat in November 1450. Going forward, the possibility that some returned professional 'soldiers' might have entered into noble households, while very difficult to evidence, might be explored through the cross-comparison of the army and garrison muster records with the surviving household accounts of Richard, duke of York, for this period.[6] There is also certainly little empirical evidence in the legal records of the Court of King's Bench – or elsewhere – of any widespread involvement by 'soldiers' in the rebellion of Jack Cade. In fact, a greater degree of evidence points towards a relatively small group of returned 'soldiers' having aided the government in resisting the rebels and ultimately defeating them in a battle on London Bridge. While returned 'soldiers' clearly held resentment toward certain lords and captains accused of withholding wages, such as Sir Thomas Hoo - their actions clearly perceived by some contemporary observers to have directly contributed to the loss of the duchy – there is little evidence to suggest that they shared the more locally motivated resentments of the rebels as a whole. Indeed, the England to which these career 'soldiers' returned no doubt felt alien to them. It is probable that a significant proportion sought employment in Sir Thomas Kyriell's expedition which landed at Cherbourg on 15 March 1450. The crushing defeat of Kyriell's force a month later at the battle of Formigny, in addition to the similar fate which befell the force under the elderly John Talbot at Castillon in 1453, no doubt reduced the number of old 'soldiers' of Normandy who ultimately returned to England.

A further factor connected to the common service of often significant numbers of non-professionally inclined combatants throughout the period is the manner in which both they and professional 'soldiers' were viewed by contemporaries. The notion of an

[5] For discussion, see Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War', pp.297-311; D. McCulloch and E.D. Jones, 'Lancastrian Politics, the French War and the Rise of the Popular Element', *Speculum*, 58 (1983), pp.95-138.

[6] For example, Hampshire Record Office, 23M58/57b, and BL., Egerton Roll 8787 and Egerton Charters 7365-6. The development of *The Soldier in Later Medeival England* database now enables a more thorough analysis of military service provided by men of lesser social standing than that undertaken by Johnson: *Duke Richard of York*, Appendix III.

increasingly negative contemporary perception in fifteenth-century England, not least that such men were largely considered to be habitual criminals who could not abandon their violent tendencies once home, is one that is generally accepted among scholars and popular authors alike. This is despite the thorough research that has been conducted into the measures that were taken to regulate the behaviour of troops in both expeditionary armies and the Norman garrisons.[7] The extent to which such opinions were shared by wider society is a very difficult question to try to quantify, not least as 'common views' of the lowest ranks of society are rarely observable in the surviving material record.

Being written by members of London's civic elite and heavily influenced by their Yorkist political partiality, contemporary town chronicles do not provide insight into the 'common view'. They do, however, provide a relevant – albeit London-centric - lens through which to observe the specific attitudes of a group towards the war with France and those who fought in it. Moreover, analysis of their accounts shows that they often drew on more immediate sources such as newsletters, ballads and poems, and even administrative sources. Between 1415 and 1450, they typically represented English combatants to their readers in a consistently positive manner, often as the antithesis of the duplicitous nature of the French (and the Burgundians after 1435), acting in defence of the common interests of the realm. Additionally, they often provide eye-witness accounts of the heightened sense of fear and unrest in London that accompanied the loss of Normandy. Yet only a single chronicle outlines any clear indication of lawless behaviour among returned 'soldiers'. Even then, the author's attitude is actually one of general sympathy toward the circumstances of these men, thus demonstrating a distinct similarity to numerous other literary sources which were circulating in England in the fifteenth century and which sought to diagnose the defeat in France. While London and other secular and ecclesiastic chronicles do later provide accounts of the indiscriminate plundering and despoiling committed by queen Margaret's army, following their victory at the battle of Wakefield in 1460, this needs to be read in the context of Yorkist propaganda and the extent to which the earl of Warwick had been successful in manipulating the very real sense of a 'North-South divide' which had gradually established itself throughout the century.[8]

Finally, there is remarkably little empirical evidence to suggest that the 'soldier' of the mid-fifteenth century was a habitual criminal who could not abandon the more illicit commonalties of war once home. Unlike in the fourteenth century, on evidence of which this

[7] See above, pp.63-5.
[8] See above, pp.153-5.

modern perception is commonly based, little use was made of pardoned criminals in the armies recruited after 1417. This is certainly reflected in the examination of the de Vere retinues raised in 1439, 1441 and 1443, in which there is no evidence of their having recruited known-troublemakers from their manor of Earls Colne, or other men who had recently been indicted in the Court of King's Bench for more serious criminal behaviour in Essex. Instead, it was seemingly the sons, brothers and cousins of the landholders in the manor who appear to have volunteered to serve as archers – though there was little interest in providing repeat service. Similarly, although more difficult to substantiate, these non-professionally-inclined men appear to have subsequently had little difficulty in reintegrating back into their manors.

In-depth analysis of the Court of King's Bench on a nationwide scale over the fifteen-year period between 1442 and 1456 also demonstrates that men identified in the records as 'soldiers' figure no more prominently than the majority of other occupational groups as the perpetrators of crime. Of course, the extent to which now unemployed 'soldiers' might have stopped identifying as such remains open to debate. One interesting area for future research would certainly be case studies of all those men accused of criminal behaviour in the indictment files for individual counties against the surviving army and garrison muster records. While subject to the limitations of nominal data analysis and the patterns of surviving criminal sources, such an undertaking might yield important regional variations in recruitment and service patterns, as well as more detailed social networks. Nevertheless, that the preponderance of the offences of which 'soldiers' were accused were non-violent thefts and robberies is reflected in the sympathetic attitudes found in contemporary chroncicles, newsletters, ballards, military tracts and other literature regarding the cirumstances in which these men were forced to return.

These were crimes of circumstance, committed by men impoverished as a direct consequence of the military, poilitcal and financial failings of the Crown, but men who, despite this, did not seemingly rebel in any great number against those who had largely abandoned them. Essentially, the professional 'soldiers' of the fifteenth century were neither natural criminals nor perceived by contemporaries in a stereotypically negative fashion. The men who followed a profession-in-arms in this period were widely viewed as serving for the good of the realm. Such men were not instinctively favourable to the Yorkist political standpoints in the early 1450s, with evidence instead suggesting that they, like much of society in the 1450s, remained inherently loyal to the Crown. There is little evidence to suggest that professional 'soldiers' had any major impact on either the politics of the period, or on the specific battles of the Wars of the Roses. Where rare examples are evident, such as in 1459, the Calais garrison demonstrated its ambivalence toward the earl of Warwick and

betrayed York at the battle of Ludford Bridge. What is apparent, however, is that a significant percentage of the English population had, in all probability, some one-off or sporadic experience of warfare in France in the 1430s and 1440s, making English society more militarised than has perhaps been widely realised, the reverberations of which have yet to be fully dissected. While the sources of the early sixteenth century clearly indicate that the professional 'soldier' was held in high esteem – 'exemplars of the good Tudor subject' -[9] the cornerstone of this perception was the experiences and circumstances of the 'soldiers' who had served in the various expeditionary armies and garrisons of the first half of the fifteenth century.

[9] For discussion, see Grummitt, 'Changing Perspectives', pp.189-202, quoting p.201.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

PETITION OF THOMAS DE ALDESTRE, SOUDEOUR (C.1368-1377). TNA, SC8/31/1526.

This petition provides the earliest reference to an individual identifying specifically as a 'soldier'. It has no clear date and it is torn across the right hand-side resulting in roughly a third of the text being lost. However, it has been ascribed to between late 1368 and 1377 in the National Archives catalogue based on the hand, style, and references to other people. Despite the lost text, it is clear that the petition concerns a land dispute over the manor of Offham in Kent, which Aldestre states he had purchased on his return to England having spent much of the preceding years serving as a '*soudeour*' in the king's wars. Unfortunately, it does not say in which theatre he had served and very little can be stated about him for certain. A unique entry for his name in the Soldier in Later Medieval England database provides the only extant military record, but even this must be approached with some caution. The record details that he took out letters of protection in 1374, signifying his intention to travel to Ireland under the command of William de Windsor.[1] However, Aldestre is not found in Windsor's retinue roll for that year, or in 1375.[2] Similarly, he is not recorded in the only earlier surviving retinue roll of 1371.[3]

It is likely that Aldestre had purchased the manor prior to 1374. He claims in the petition to have purchased the manor from Peter Sterre, noting that he had since died. Sterre was a prominent London citizen, and - as the National Archives catalogue states – he is last recorded in the calendars of the Patent Rolls on 3 October 1368.[4] It is certainly feasible that Aldestre had served in Ireland prior to this date; Lionel of Antwerp (later duke of Clarence) had landed in Ireland in 1361. It is also possible, of course, that he had served in France. One possible hypothesis is created by a pardon of outlawry granted in 1355 to one Thomas de Aldestre, a 'dubber' of Coventry, following his submission to the Fleet prison concerning a debt of £17.[5] While we can only speculate, it is feasible that – if the men are indeed one and

[1] *CPR*, *1370-1374*, p.403.
[2] TNA, E101/33/34 and 35; E101/33/38.
[3] TNA, E101/31/25, m.2d.
[4] *CPR*, *1367-1370*, p.125.
[5] *CPR*, *1354-1358*, p.288.

the same -[6] Aldestre turned to military service at some point later as a means to clear his debt. If this was the case, then he would appear to be among the more fortunate men who were able to make a significant profit - perhaps through the gains of war – and invested this wealth in land on his return. If this was the case, then it can also be argued that Aldestre was back in England by 1371 at the latest, when he is recorded as being of Warwickshire and the creditor in a complaint of a debt of £14 against Robert de Newby of Carlisle.[7] The following year he is described as being of London in a complaint of debt against Robert Mounk (also of London) for the sum of 50 marks.[8] It would appear, therefore, that he was a man of reasonable wealth and with landed interests in a number of counties. In this light, it is also relevant that Windsor clearly recruited a number of men in the Midlands around the same time that Thomas sued for protection.

[6] At least three of the nineteen men who took out letters of protection to serve under Windsor in 1374, signed in the Midlands; one in Derby and two in Nottingham. Fifteen of the remaining sixteen provided no location information.

[7] TNA, C241/153/8.

[8] TNA, C241/153/132. This complaint would appear to have remained unsettled in 1375: TNA, C131/193/7, 20, 21.

APPENDIX B

LONG-TERM SERVICE OF INDIVIDUALS IN FIVE NORMAN GARRISONS.

Long-term service at Caen

John Andrew [A]	1421◊, 1423, 1425, 1426, 1427*, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1400, 1441, 1444, 1448
William Porter [MAA]	1421◊, 1423, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1444
William de la Haye [A]	1421◊, 1427*, 1427, 1428*, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Walter Godehyne [A]	1421◊, 1423, 1424, 1426, 1427*, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436
Thomas Pole [A]	1421◊, 1423^, 1424^, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432^, 1433^, 1436^, 1437, 1438
Thomas Halle [A]	1423◊, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436
John Glover [A]	1423◊, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436
Perrot Hortelle [A]	1423◊, 1425◊, 1426◊, 1430^, 1432^, 1433^, 1436^, 1437, 1438
Thomas Smart [A]	1423◊, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440*,1441, 1448
William Broun [A]	1423◊, 1425◊, 1426◊, 1429◊^, 1429 ^, 1432^, 1433^, 1436^, 1437^, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^, 1441^, 1444^, 1448
John Spour [A]	1423◊, 1426, 1427*, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
John Acton [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427*, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1439, 1440
Stephen Cornewaille [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438
James Dryland [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436
John Milcent [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
John Savage [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1439
John Thornton [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Richard Barneby [A]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1438, 1439
William Bigg [A]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1439, 1440*

William Bowen [A]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Doune [A]	1423, 1424, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1433, 1436, 1437
Geoffrey Fissher [A]	1423, 1426, 1427*, 1429^, 1430^, 1431^, 1432, 1433
John Flecher [A]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Rede [A]	1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Robin Schore [A]	1423, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1444
John Codyngton [MAA]	1423, 1424, 1429^{v}, 1430^{v}, 1431^{v}, 1432^{v}, 1433, 1436
John Saunderson [MAA]	1424, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436
Thomas Laweton [A]	1424, 1425, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1448
Walter Laweton [A]	1424, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
Constantine Hyde [MAA]	1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438
Thomas Ciron [A]	1425, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1448
John Archebault [A]	1426$^{◊}$, 1429$^{◊}$, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Kirton [MAA]	1426, 1428*, 1429*, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1436
William Golde [A]	1426, 1427*, 1428*, 1429*, 1430, [1432$^{◊}$?], 1433, 1436, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441
Robert Cook [A]	1426, 1428*, 1429*, 1430, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444^, 1448
John Vyncent [A]	1426, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448
John Tesdale [A]	1426, 1428^, 1429^, 1430^, 1432^, 1433^, 1436^
Martin Philipp [A]	1426, 1429$^{◊}$, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1441
John Foxhunte [MAA]	1428, 1429*, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438
John Godewyn [A]	1428, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438
John Brokedale [A]	1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432^, 1433^, 1437^, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^, 1441^, 1444^, 1448^
Richard Botiller [A]	1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1437
John Bailli [A]	1429‡, 1430, 1431‡^, 1433^, 1436^, 1437, 1438
William Calays [A]	1429‡, 1430, 1432‡, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448

Thomas Wright [A]	1429‡, 1430, 1432‡, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Henry Abbot [A]	1429‡, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Waleys [A]	1429‡, 1432, 1433, 1438, 1441, 1444, 1448
Nicholas Spencer [A]	1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
William Wright [A]	1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
William Brokke [A]	1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
William Taillour [A]	1430, 1431‡, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
Richard at Wode [A]	1430, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1448
William Leff [A]	1432‡, 1433, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444,
William Sendale [A]	1432‡, 1433, 1436, 1437*, 1448
William Hamon [A]	1432‡, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437*, 1441, 1442
Robert Kyrkeby [A]	1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
William Bekkes [A]	1433, 1436, 1437*, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
Emond Sampson [A]	1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
Morgan Davy [A]	1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1444, 1448
John Doncalse [A]	1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442^, 1444^
Godfrey Someset [A]	1433, 1436, 1438^, 1441^, 1444^, 1448^
Thomas Brokton [A]	1434, 1437*, 1440*, 1441, 1442, 1444
John Abbot [MAA]	1436, 1437, 1439ᵛ, 1440ᵛ, 1441ᵛ, 1444ᵛ
Robert Chery [MAA]	1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 14448
John Temple [MAA]	1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1448
Richard Nomand [A]	1436, 1439, 1440*, 1444, 1448
John Tailloure [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
John Rede [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
William Bouciere [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1444
John Egree [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Nomand [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1441, 1444, 1448
William Bromflete [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444
Arnold Ferrour [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Martyn [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1448
John Martin [MAA]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1448

John Roussel [A]	1437*, 1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Draycot [A]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Wat Grene [A]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Botellier [A]	1438, 1439^, 1440, 1441^, 1444, 1448
John Derby [A]	1438, 1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
Sir Thomas Flamyng	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Roger Theryngton [MAA]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Hille [MAA]	1439, 1440*, 1448
John a Gaath [MAA]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Welles [MAA]	1439, 1440*, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Pondemer [MAA]	1439, 1440*, 1441, 1448
Harry Grene [A]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Hayward [A]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
John Boultham [A]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1448
William Roux [A]	1439, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1448
Thomas Armeurier [A]	1439, 1440*, 1444, 1448
William Halyfax [MAA]	1421◊, 1423, 1432
William Morel [A]	1423, 1424, 1428, 1429, 1430

◊: Mustered in the official retinue of the *bailli* of Caen
^: Served at least three months of that year as a man-at-arms.
*: Mustered as part of a detachment drawn from the garrison in that year.
‡: Mustered as part of the creu attached to the garrison

Long-term service at Mantes

William Harman [M]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1430, 1432, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1448.
Benet Lotte [A]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446
William Stothele [A]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^, 1441^
John Kette [A]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1437, 1440, 1443, 1444, 1446
May Halle [M]	1423, 1424, 1427, 1428ᵛ, 1430, 1432, 1437, 1438ᵛ
Roger Longbrege [A]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429*^, 1430, 1432.
John Ellys [A]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432.
John Geny [M]	1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1428ᵛ, 1432
John Ses [M]	1423, 1424, 1429*, 1430, 1437, 1441.
Colin le Pelle [A]	1424, 1429^, 1430, 1432, 1437, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444

Anthony de la Hay [A]	1424, 1427, 1428, 1429*, 1430^, 1432^, 1433*, 1434*, 1437^, 1438^, 1443.
John Banastre [A]	1427, 1428, 1429*, 1430^, 1432^, 1437^, 1438^
William Rescoff [M]	1427, 1430, 1432, 1437
John Hock [M]	1432, 1437, 1438, 1441*^{v}, 1443, 1444.
Matthew Kerry [M]	1432, 1437, 1438, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1448
John Besant [M]	1432‡, 1433‡, 1434‡, 1439, 1440, 1441^{v}, 1443, 1446^{v}
John Halle [A]	1432‡, 1433‡, 1437, 1440, 1443, 1444
John Trompet [A]	1432‡, 1437, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^, 1441^, 1443^, 1446^
Edmund Franceys [M]	1433‡, 1438^{v}, 1439, 1440, 1444, 1446.
Robert Beronst [M]	1437, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1446^{v}.
Robert Gray [M]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446, 1448^{v}
John Rameshede [A]	1437, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1446.
John Samce [A]	1437, 1440, 1443^, 1444, 1446.

^: Served at least three months of that year as a man-at-arms.
^{v}: Served at least three months of that year as an archer.
*: Mustered as part of a detachment drawn from the garrison in that year.
‡: Mustered as part of the creu attached to the garrison.

Long-term service at Essay

Davy Cawardyn [A]	1420, 1422, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438^, 1439^, 1440, 1441, 1448^
Richard Ferrour [A]	1420, 1422, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1448
Henry Rose [A]	1422, 1424, 1431, 1434, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442*, 1448
David Portier [A]	1426, 1427, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448
William Chatbonel [A]	1426, 1427, 1428, 1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441,
Andrew Bannebury [M]	1426,1427, 1428, 1433, 1434, 1435‡, 1439, 1440
Philip Seman [A]	1427, 1428, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440,
John Maior [M]	1431, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437^{v}, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1447$^{◊}$
John Stafford [M]	1431, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448
Piers Chesney [A]	1431, 1434, 1436, 1439, 1440, 1441
John Trompet [A]	1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1439, 1440*, 1441*, 1442*
William Mabruller [A]	1431, 1434, 1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441
Raulyn Rodes [A]	1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435‡, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442*
Thomas Ferrour [A]	1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435‡, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441

John Ferrour [A]	1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441
Oliver le Glesne [M]	1435‡, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442*, 1448
John Ponthe [A]	1435‡, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442*
Philip Loys [M]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448
John Pige(on) [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441,
Reginald Johneson [A]	1436, 1437, 1439, 1440,
John Plumber [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441
Richard Vernon [A]	1437, 1438^, 1439^, 1440, 1441, 1448
Jacquet Forest [A]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1448

^: Served at least three months of that year as a man-at-arms.
ᵛ: Served at least three months of that year as an archer.
*: Mustered as part of a detachment drawn from the garrison in that year.
‡: Mustered as part of the additional force attached to the garrison.
◊ *retrait et logis*

Long-term service at St Lô.

John Ferreur [A]	1421, 1422, 1423, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1443, 1444, 1447
Pierre Wateford [M]	1421, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1443, 1444
Hugh Strengier [A]	1421, 1427, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440
John Babor [A]	1421, 1423, 1426, 1428, 1429, 1431, 1433^, 1434^, 1437^
William Handalle [A]	1426, 1429*, 1433*, 1434, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1443, 1444, 1447
John Clercsson [A]	1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441
Cache Regnault [A]	1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438
Richard Canollez [A]	1426, 1428, 1431, 1435, 1436, 1437
Adam Barbour [A]	1427, 1428, 1429*, 1431, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1443, 1444, 1447
John Harper [A]	1427, 1428, 1429*, 1431, 1433^, 1434^, 1435^, 1436^, 1437^
David Pouer [A]	1427, 1428, 1429*, 1431, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1443, 1444, 1447
John Quenolles [A]	1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434^, 1436^, 1437^, 1438
Richard Bullok [A]	1429*, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1447
John Sacwode [A]	1429*, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1447
Hugh Holt [A]	1430, 1431, 1433^, 1434^, 1436^, 1437^, 1438^, 1439^, 1440^
Hoskin Diqonson [A]	1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1444, 1447
William Touche [A]	1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444

William Cotingan [M]	1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443
John Stafford [A]	1433, 1434, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440
John Foques [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1443, 1444, 1447
Richard Bloudellay [A]	1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1443^, 1444, 1447
Robin Lannson [A]	1437, 1439, 1440, 1443, 1444
Emond Bromfelde [A]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440^, 1441, 1443, 1447
William Fricquam [A]	1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1444

^: Served at least three months of that year as a man-at-arms.
*: Mustered as part of a detachment drawn from the garrison in that year.

Long-term service at Pont de l'Arche

Thomas Welwik [A]	1422, 1424, 1427, 1428, 1429*, 1430, 1432, 1437
Thomas Spenser [A]	1422, 1424*, 1427, 1428, 1429*^, 1430, 1433^, 1434, 1436, 1443*^
Robert Elderbec [A]	1424, 1427, 1428, 1429*, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1448
John Cook [A]	1427, 1428, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1448
John Simon [M]	1429, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1440*
John Dubois [A]	1430, 1433^, 1435^, 1436^, 1437, 1441
John Neauthon [M]	1430, 1433, 1434, 1437, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1448
Richard Fyncois [M]	1432, 1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1442*, 1444
Simon Louvel [M]	1433, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1443*, 1444
William Engulby [M]	1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1440*, 1441, 1445, 1446, 1448
William Lyndeley [M]	1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1445, 1446, 1448
John Kannouyt [A]	1434, 1435, 1436, 1437^, 1441*, 1442*, 1445
John Baker [A]	[1424*], 1435, 1436, 1437, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1448
Guillelm Parquier [A]	1435, 1436, 1437, 1445, 1446, 1448
Philip Hoper [A]	1435, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1445, 1448
Adam Colas [A]	1436, 1437*, 1445, 1446, 1448
John Davy [A]	1436, 1437*, 1441*, 1443*, 1445, 1446, 1448
Roger Morecroft [A]	1436, 1437, 1440*, 1441, 1442*, 1445, 1446, 1448^
William Holme [A]	1437, 1445, 1446, 1448
John Teye [A]	1437, 1441, 1445, 1446, 1448

^: Served at least three months of that year as a man-at-arms.
*: Mustered as part of a detachment drawn from the garrison in that year.

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL SERVICE AMONG JOHN FASTOLF'S 1424/5 PERSONAL RETINUE: BNF, ms. fr. 25767/93.

*The order in which men appear corresponds to the order in which they are recorded in the muster roll.

MEN-AT-ARMS

Sir Philip Braunche

There is no further extant evidence of service in the surviving army and garrison musters after 1424/5. However, it is clear that Sir Philip did provide further service. He is recorded in some London chronicles as having been in the company of Sir Thomas Rempston when he was besieged by the force of Arthur de Richemont at St James-de-Beuvron on the Norman-Brittany border in 1426.[1] It is also noted in the Paston letters that he had been killed in France, although no further detail is provided.[2]

Henry More

A man-at-arms by this name served under Sir Thomas Carew in his naval expedition of 1417.[3] Following his service with Fastolf in 1424, he is next recorded serving under Fastolf at the siege of Pontorson in 1427, and then among the reinforcements who strengthened the garrison of Alençon in 1429.[4] He was still serving in the garrison in February 1431 (under Thomas Gower), though in July and August he mustered in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough.[5]

John Nongle

There are no further extant muster records for Nongle. It is possible, however, that he was the same individual or, given the rarity of the surname, a relative of the esquire by this name who had served under Sir John de Bohun on the earl of Arundel's naval expedition of 1388.[6]

[1] *Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, p.115.
[2] *Paston Letters,* ed. J. Gairdner, iii, pp.156-7.
[3] TNA, E101/48/14, m.1.
[4] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/216; 25768/432.
[5] AN, K 63/10/25; BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617, 621.
[6] TNA, E101/41/5, m.8.

John Bucden

Like John Nongle, Bucden possible appears to have been a veteran – the name is unique among the surviving muster records. As such, it is also possible that he rose through the ranks from a more prosperous archer. A man by this name is recorded as an 'armed archer' serving as part of the standing force in Ireland under Sir William de Windsor in both 1371 and 1374.[7] He is then found serving as an archer/crossbowman under Sir Lewis Clifford in John of Gaunt's naval expedition of 1378.[8] A man by the same name is then recorded as a man-at-arms in the retinue roll of Sir Ralph de Rochefort, presumably as part of the force which crossed to France with him in 1416.[9] Thereafter, the only other extant muster relates to his service under Fastolf in 1424/5.

John Mordyng

Mordyng's first service appears to have been in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5. Thereafter, he is recorded serving as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Falaise between 1430 and 1433, during which time he was part of the detachments that were drawn to serve at the sieges of Chateau Gaillard and St Ceneri, and also mustered for service in the field.[10] Between 1435 and 1438, he once more mustered under Fastolf's banner in the garrison of Fresnay, serving in the field on at least two occasions.[11] Finally, he appears to have mustered in the garrison of Harfleur in 1445.[12]

William Eynon

The first evidence of Eynon's service is that under Fastolf in 1424/5. He is next recorded serving under Fastolf at the siege of Pontorson in 1427. There are then no further records until 1439, when a William Eynon mustered in the retinue of Sir Thomas Gray, to serve in John Holland, earl of Huntingdon's expedition to Aquitaine.[13]

Thomas Loundres

It is not clear whether the Thomas who served under Fastolf in1424/5 was the same individual or a probable relative of the esquire by that name who had intended to serve

[7] TNA, E101/31/25, m.2d; E101/33/34, m.4d.
[8] TNA, E101/36/39, m.2d.
[9] TNA, E101/49/20, m.1.
[10] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/403; 25770/679, /757; BNF, MS. Clairambault 207/111-120.
[11] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/195; 25772/964, /1043; An, K 64/10/8bis; BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1297, /1309, /1310; 25775/1386.
[12] BNF, ms. fr. 26274/10.
[13] TNA, E101/53/22, m.5.

overseas in the company of Henry le Despenser, bishop of Norwich, in 1383, and who served in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Talbot on the earl of Arundel's naval expedition of 1387.[14] There is no further evidence of additional service until 1424/5. Thereafter, Loundres's only other surviving record of service is at the siege of Pontorson in the retinue of Thomas Burgh.[15]

Nicholas Lye

Nicholas may well have initially served as an archer in both 1417 and 1420, though possible spelling variations of the name make this hard to clarify this with any certainty. It is more probable, however, that the Nicholas Lye recorded serving in the garrison of Rouen castle in 1434,[16] at Neufchatel between 1437 and 1441,[17] and in the palace at Rouen between at least 1445 and 1446,[18] was the same individual who had served under Fastolf in 1424/5.

Richard Yakow

Yakow's first service appears to have been in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5. Thereafter, he appears to have remained in France consistently through to at least 1447, mustering in the garrison of Alençcon – although he is not present in all the surviving musters for the garrison.[19] It seems he was relatively regularly drawn from the garrison for service in the field and at sieges. Additionally, it is probable that the Robin Yakow, who mustered in the garrison as an archer between at least 1442 and 1445, was a relative, perhaps even his son.[20]

Peter Donge

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Colomat de Seint Colon

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name. A Naudin de Seint Colon, however, had served as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Harfleur in 1417.[21] If this was not the same individual, but perhaps a relative, then he would still probably have come into contact with Fastolf during this time.

[14] TNA, C76/67, m.17; TNA, E101/40/33, m.12, E101/40/34, m.8.
[15] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/211; BL, Add. Ch. 16257
[16] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/857; BL, Add. Ch.11827.
[17] BNF, MS. Clairambault 201/63-5; BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1395; ADSM, 100J/32/26.
[18] BL, Add. Ch. 8023; BNF, ms. fr. 25777/1768.
[19] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/268; 25767/216; 25768/424; 25771/843, /864; 25772/1044; AN, K 66/1/57, 67/12/80; BL, Add. Ch. 12210; BNF, ms. fr. 25777/1786.
[20] BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602; 25777/1716; BL. Add. Ch.12210
[21] TNA, E101/48/17.

Henry Braunche

There is no other definitive evidence that Henry provided any further service after 1424/5, and nor is it clear whether he had provided any earlier service alongside his farther (see above). He did, however, take out letters of protection in 1433, though it is not clear if he did then subsequently serve.[22]

John Broun

This name is too common to draw conclusions with any certainty.

Yvon Peny

Having seemingly first served as part of Fastolf's personal retinue, Peny is next found serving under him again as part of the additional reinforcements attached to Fastolf's garrison at Alençon in 1429.[23] He is next found serving in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough at the siege of Louviers in 1431.[24]

John Traverse

Traverse's service is difficult to establish with any certainty. Although movement between the ranks was not uncommon, it would seem somewhat unlikely that the John Traverse who served as a man-at-arms under Fastolf was the same individual recorded as John 'Travers' who served as an archer in the garrison of Harfleur in 1417, and in the retinue of Sir John Cornwall, in the expeditionary force which crossed to France in 1421.[25] It is seemingly this same archer who then mustered in the garrison of St Lô/Coutances under William de la Pole the following year,[26] and in the garrison of Caen in 1430,[27] in Vire in 1435,[28] and in Cherbourg between 1436 and 1438.[29] It is not clear whether it was this same archer who mustered in the retinue of Sir Thomas Rempston, in the earl of Huntingdon's expeditionary army of 1439.[30] Finally, a man by this name is also recorded mustering in the garrison at Caen as a man-at-arms in 1448.[31] In this light, it is perhaps more likely that the John Traverse who

[22] TNA, C76/116, m.15.
[23] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/424, /432.
[24] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/621.
[25] TNA, E101/48/18; E101/50/1, m.3.
[26] BNF, ms. fr. 25766/809.
[27] BNF, ms. fr. 25769/512.
[28] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/1028.
[29] BL, Add. Ch. 11918; BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1305.
[30] TNA, E101/53/22, m.4
[31] BNF, ms. fr. 25778/1822.

mustered under Fastolf was a veteran, perhaps the same man-at-arms who had served in Ireland in 1386 and 1389.[32]

Henry Cressy

Cressy is first found mustering in the garrison of Harfleur in 1417 and 1418,[33] and next in Fastolf's personal retinue of 1424/5. In July and August 1431, he mustered in the retinue of Matthew Gough, at the siege of Louviers,[34] and is next found in connection to the garrison of Alençon in 1434 and 1435 - during which time he served in a number of detachments.[35] In 1442, he is found mustering in the garrison of Gallardon where Francois de Surienne was captain,[36] and in 1444, he is found in the garrison of Conches.[37]

John de Sawez

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Remonet de Bullac

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Thomas Gower

That Gower can be seen to have continued in service through to at least 1440, would suggest that the man-at-arms by the same name who had served in the mid-1380s was a different individual - though possibly a relative. Thomas served in the retinue of John, lord Roos of Helmsley, in 1415, and was invalided home after the siege of Harfleur.[38] He crossed back to France in 1417, providing a small sub-retinue in the company of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester.[39] Having then served under Fastolf in 1424/5, he is next found serving as lieutenant to John Talbot in the garrison of Falaise in 1428 and 1429, and is recorded as having been present at the siege of Louviers in 1430.[40] In 1431, he mustered as lieutenant to

[32] *CPR*, *1385-1389*, p.156; TNA, E101/41/18, m.18, 21.
[33] TNA, E101/48/17; E101/48/19.
[34] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617, /620.
[35] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/831, /826, /843; 25772/1044.
[36] AN, K 68/12/70.
[37] BNF, ms. fr. 25777/1682; AN, K 68/1/15.
[38] TNA, E101/50/26; E101/44/30, no.1, m.14.
[39] TNA, 101/51/2, m.5.
[40] AN, K, 63/1/10; 63/7/7; BNF, ms. fr. 25768/396, /419; BL, Add. Ch. 7967.

John, duke of Bedford, in the garrison of Alençon,[41] and as lieutenant to John, duke of Somerset, in the garrison of Cherbourg in 1439 and 1440.[42]

John Coventree

It is not clear if this was one of the two individuals by this same name who had served as archers in 1415, one of whom had possibly also served in the garrison of Dieppe in 1423.[43] The man at arms who had served under Fastolf in 1424/5, was also recorded under him in the garrison of Alençon in 1427.[44] An archer by this name is next found in the garrison of Verneuil in 1430, though it is unlikely that this was the same man.[45] Indeed, between 1431 and 1442, a man-at-arms by this name regularly mustered in the garrison of Alençon (including when Thomas Gower was lieutenant there in 1431).[46]

Thomas Hunte

The more common nature of this name makes it relatively difficult to discuss with any certainty. However, there are not many examples of men by this name serving as men-at-arms. As such, the individual who served under Fastolf may have been the man who crossed to France in the retinue of John Grey, lord Grey of Codnor, in 1417,[47] and who had served in the garrison of Domfront under Sir John Montgomery in 1420.[48]

Piers du Pin

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Guillelm Reymond

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Bertram Polynac

First appears to have mustered as a man-at-arms under Sir Hugh Luttrell in the garrison of Harfleur in 1418,[49] but the only other record for this name is in Fastolf's 1424/5 retinue.

[41] AN, K63/10/25; 63/13/17; BNF, ms. fr. 25770/656.
[42] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1430; BNF, MS. Clairambault 164/82, /78.
[43] TNA, E101/45/13, m.3d; E101/45/18, m.3; BL, Add. Ch. 3565; BNF, ms. fr. 25767/29
[44] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/239.
[45] BNF, ms. fr. 26268/575.
[46] AN, K 63/10/25; BNF, naf 8602/19; BNF, ms. fr. 25771/826, /864; ADO, A 411/A; AN, K 67/12/80; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602.
[47] TNA, E101/5/2, m.18.
[48] AN, K 59/29/3; BL, Add. Ch. 11482-4.
[49] TNA, E101/48/19.

Guillelm Cresstio

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Gerardin Petit

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Richard Babyngton

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Pereton de Fourqs

Seemingly first found in Fastolf's personal retinue, he is next found serving in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough at the siege of Louviers in 1431,[50] before mustering as an archer in the garrison of Alençon in 1434.[51]

John Parker

This name is too common to draw conclusions with any certainty.

Robert Wardale

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Henry Chambre

The relatively common nature of this name makes drawing any patterns difficult, but the overlap of service between a man-at-arms and an archer by the same name at certain points, makes it unlikely that the Henry who served as a man-at-arms under Fastolf had been demoted and promoted with relative frequency. It is possible that the individual who had served with Fastolf in 1424/5 had also served under Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, in 1417.[52] If it was the same individual who served between 1425 and 1442, then he seems to have been constantly on the move. In 1425 he took out letters of protection signalling his intention to serve in France,[53] and he is then found under Fastolf at the siege of Pontorson in 1427.[54] A man-at-arms by this name mustered in the garrison of Pont de l'Arche in 1433,[55]

[50] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617, /621.
[51] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/826, /864.
[52] TNA, E101/51/2, m.9; C76/99, m.5.
[53] TNA, C76/107, m.4.
[54] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/225.
[55] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/753.

in Meulan in 1434,[56] and again in Pont de l'Arche in 1436.[57] In 1439, one mustered in the garrison of Cherbourg,[58] in St Lô in 1441,[59] and in Rouen later that same year before finally mustering at the siege of Dieppe in 1442.[60]

Henry Haye

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name. [probably related to Nicholas below.]

Nicholas Haye

The first muster record relating to Nicholas may show him crossing to France as an archer in the retinue of John, lord Clifford, in 1417.[61] The next evidence of his service is in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, but, by March 1425, he was providing service in the field in Maine in the retinue of Sir William Bucton.[62] There is then no record of his service until 1431, when he is found in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough at the siege of Louviers.[63] Between 1435 and 1438, he is recorded under Fastolf's banner, serving as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Fresnay, although by the end of 1438 – with Sir Gorges Thibault having replaced Fastolf as captain – he had seemingly been demoted to an archer.[64] This record also details Nicholas as being of Norman origin, and it is feasible that the individual who served as a archer was actually the son of the man-at-arms by the same name. Either way, an individual by this name is recorded mustering as an archer in the garrison of Alençon in both 1442 and 1445.[65]

Michael Trenewith

Trenewith is first recorded as a man-at-arms in the sub-retinue of Sir Thomas Burton, which crossed to France in the company of Edward, duke of York, in 1415.[66] He appears not to have fought at Agincourt, but rather to have been placed in the garrison of Harfleur.[67] He does not

[56] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/840.
[57] BNF, ms. fr. 25773/1125.
[58] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1430, /1439.
[59] BNF, MS. Clairambault 186/14.
[60] BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1552; AN, K 67/1/60; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1596.
[61] TNA, E101/51/2, m.21.
[62] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/120.
[63] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/621.
[64] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/195; 25772/964; AN, K 64/8/2, 64/10/8bis; BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1297, /1309, /1310; 25775/1386.
[65] BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602; 25777/1716.
[66] TNA, E101/45/2, m.1; E101/45/19, m.1.
[67] TNA, E101/47/39.

appear to have remained in the garrison after 1416, and is next found mustering in the sub-retinue of Edward Jankyn, which served at sea under Sir Thomas Carew, in 1417.[68] Following this, the only other muster evidence for his service is that under Fastolf in 1424/5.

Pher[…] de Cemlle

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

John Boure

The more common nature of this name makes identification much more difficult. However, that both a John Boure senior and junior mustered under Fastolf's captaincy in the garrison of Alençon in 1427,[69] suggests that John senior may have been the same individual who served as an archer in Wales in 1404, and in the sub-retinue of Robert Shottesbrok in 1415.[70] If this is the case, then we can perhaps presume that it was the John junior who served at the siege of St Ceneri in 1432, and in the garrison of Essay in 1437.[71] It is not clear if this is also the same individual who mustered as an archer in Rouen in both 1436 and 1438,[72] and at the siege of Dieppe in 1443.[73]

William Kyrkeby

This is a very common name in the army and garrison musters, which makes commenting with any certainty very difficult. It is not clear, for example, if it is the same William who had served as a man-at-arms in the sub-retinue William Bowes provided the duke of Clarence in 1415,[74] and who perhaps provided a small sub-retinue of his own for Richard, lord Bergavenny's, expedition two years later.[75] There is also a further record of a man-at-arms by this name crossing under John Clifford, in 1421, perhaps mustering in the garrison of Harfleur, and then a further record of an individual crossing under Sir John Kyghley, in 1424.[76] Following the record for Fastolf's personal retinue, there are no further muster records for anyone with this name until 1428, when a man-at-arms mustered in the field under Sir Thomas Rempston, as part of the Orleans campaign.[77] That there were at least two men-at-

[68] TNA, E101/48/14, m.3.
[69] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/239; 26274/106.
[70] TNA, C47/2/49/19, m.2; E101/44/30, no.2, m.16.
[71] BNF, MS. Clairambault 207/111-120; BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1281.
[72] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/1057; 25774/1337.
[73] BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1635.
[74] TNA, E101/45/4, m.1.
[75] TNA, E101/51/2, m.5.
[76] TNA, E101/50/1, m.1; ADSM, 100J/30/32; TNA, E101/51/16.
[77] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/291, /299.

arms with this name serving in Normandy in 1429, is perhaps demonstrated by the musters of individuals taken at the garrison of Eu on 1 October and at Alençon on 12 October (the latter of which mustered under Fastolf's captaincy), and again on 6 November and 12 November respectively.[78] As such, it becomes very difficult to comment on any further possible service, but at least one man-at-arms by this name certainly continued in service in the field and in the garrison of Rouen bridge through to at least 1441.

Geoffrey Chambre

The first record for a man-at-arms by this name is found in 1418, mustering in the garrison of Harfleur under Sir Hugh Luttrell.[79] Following service under Fastolf in 1424/5, he is next found mustering under Fastolf at the siege of Pontorson in 1427, and then again for service around Le Mans in 1435.[80] A man-at-arms by this name also mustered in the garrison of Mantes in 1437, and in Tancarville in 1438 – in the latter of which he is recorded as being Welsh.[81] Finally, in 1439, a man-at-arms by this name crossed to France in the expedition of Edmund Beaufort.[82]

Lewis Brounflete

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Philip Googh

There are only two extant records for Philip; that in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, and a that of a man-at-arms who was mustered as part of the additional force attached to the garrison of Vire to serve in the field in 1434.[83] Considering the gap between these records, if it is the same individual, then it is perhaps more likely that he served only sporadically – although he may have served more continuously in Maine between these dates.

William Ferrour

This name is very common, and it is therefore not possible to draw any conclusions with any certainty.

[78] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/422, /424, /430, /432.
[79] TNA, E101/48/6; E101/48/19.
[80] BNF, ms. fr. 15768/225; 25772/1046
[81] BNF, ms. fr. 25773/1194; 25774/1320, /1338.
[82] ADSM, 100J/30/35.
[83] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/913.

John Parson

This name is not very common in the surviving army and garrison musters. However, it is possible that all but two of the five surviving records relate to different men. An archer by this name crossed in 1417, in the retinue of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and appears to have mustered in Harfleur in the same year.[84] Any individual by this name is then not found in any surviving musters until that of Fastolf's retinue in 1424/5. While the Norfolk link is certainly noteworthy, there is little other evidence to suggest that Fastolf was drawing on men from English regions in which he had influence.[85] There are only two subsequent records, an archer who served at the siege of Orleans in 1428, and then - quite significantly later – in the garrison of Caudebec in 1441.[86]

John Felow

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Robert Whetyngham

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

William Aleyn

This name is relatively common, and it is clear from the presence of more than a single man by the name in some musters that multiple men with the name served in the duchy. None, however, appear to have any further link to Fastolf.

Nicholas Greye

A Nicholas de Greye took out letters of protection demonstrating an intention to serve in Brittany under Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, in 1374, and again in 1375.[87] This was probably the same individual who sought legal protection whilst serving as a knight in Spain under John of Gaunt in 1386.[88] Given the duration that had past, however, it is not clear if this was the same individual who is recorded mustering as a man-at-arms in the garrison of Domfront in 1420,[89] and/or who served under Fastolf in 1424/5. The only other surviving

[84] TNA, E101/51/2, m.28; E101/48/17.
[85] See Chapter II.
[86] BNF, ms. fr. .25768/328; 25776/1513.
[87] TNA, C76/57, m.10; C76/58, m.20.
[88] TNA, C76/70, m.26 and 11.
[89] AN, K. 59/29/3.

record for this name is an archer who crossed to Normandy in the retinue of John, lord Clifford, in 1420.[90]

Griffin ap Perrott

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

John Gryffin

The first surviving record for John's service is that of Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5. It is possible, but not clear, that he is the same man who is next found mustering as an archer in the official retinue of the bailli of Rouen, at the siege of Orleans in 1429.[91] An individual by this name is then found mustering in the garrison of Alençon in 1435, and 1437.[92] The picture is complicated, however, by the muster at Mantes of an individual with the same name, as part of the detachment from the expeditionary army that was sent to reinforce the garrison in that year.[93] It is not clear, therefore, which – if either – of these men then mustered in the expeditionary forces that were sent in 1441 and 1443.[94]

John Hawkesbury

This would appear to be the only surviving muster record for this individual. The only other surviving record for the name is that of an archer who was muster under Edmund, duke of York, in 1399.[95]

Adam Berkhead

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

John Hogartth

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

[90] TNA, E101/51/2, m.21.
[91] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/387.
[92] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/1044; 25774/1279.
[93] BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1275.
[94] TNA, E101/54/9, m.1; E101/54/5, m.2.
[95] TNA, E101/42/12, m.5.

William Hudelston

Two William Hudelston's appear to have both served in 1415: Sir William Hudelston provided his own retinue,[96] while the second man seemingly served in the retinue of Nicholas Merbury.[97] Sir William crossed again in the company of Henry, lord FitzHugh, in 1418.[98] It is more likely, however, that the man-at-arms by this name who mustered in the garrison at Caen in 1423 and 1424,[99] prior to then serving in Fastolf's personal retinue, was the same man who had served under Nicholas Merby. There are no later records for this name.

John Skatheloke

There is a scattering of records for this name between 1369 and 1431. It is possible, given the uncommon nature of the name in the army and garrison musters, that the John who served under Fastolf in 1424/5, had earlier served as an archer in Wales in 1403, and under Thomas Berkeley in the 1404 naval expedition, before crossing to France in the retinue of John FitzAlan, lord Maltravers, in 1417.[100] After Fastolf's 1424/5 campaign, the only other record for this name is an archer who mustered in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough, at the siege of Louviers in 1431.[101]

Piers Bidake

This spelling provides a unique record in the army and garrison musters. However, it is possible that this was the same individual - recorded as Piers Bidalle – who mustered as an archer in the garrison of Fresnay in June 1429, and sporadically in Alençon between November 1429 (again under Fastolf's captaincy) and 1441.[102] During this time, he may also have served in the personal retinue of Matthew Gough at the siege of Louviers.[103]

William Gieffrey

The first surviving record for William appears to be that in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5. Following this, there are only a couple of further matches, and it is possible they relate to the same man; found serving under Fastolf in the garrison of Fresnay in 1435 and

[96] TNA, E101/44/30, no.2, m.11; BL, MS. Harley 782, f.85. Also see TNA, C76/98, m.19a and 18.
[97] BL, MS. Harley 782, f.83v.
[98] TNA, E101/49/19, m.2.
[99] AN, K 62/7/4; BL, Add. Ch.93; BNF, ms. fr. 25767/67.
[100] TNA, E101/43/21, m.3d; E101/43/32, m.1; E101/43/32, m.36.
[101] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617, /620.
[102] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/432; BNF, naf 8602, no.19; BNF, ms. fr. 25771/864; 25775/1503; AN, K 66/1/57.
[103] BNF, ms. fr. 25770/617.

1436.[104] It is also possible that he was the same man who had earlier served as an archer as part of the standing force in France under Sir William Chamberlain.[105]

Thomas Malhew

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Watkyn Nongle

Having seemingly first served under Fastolf in 1424/5, there is only one other record for this name in the surviving army and garrison musters: a man-at-arms who mustered under Sir Thomas Hoo in the garrison of Mantes in 1440.[106]

Robert Burton

This is a relatively common name and, as such, difficult to comment on with any certainty. However, it is possible that the Robert who served under Fastolf in 1424/5 was a veteran with quite a significant degree of experience. He may well have been a relative of Sir Thomas Burton and have served under him in Wales in 1404 and 1405 and may also have served in the naval expedition of 1404 too.[107] It is not clear if he crossed to Normandy in either 1415 or 1417, for the records for this name all relate to archers. However, an esquire by this name is recorded serving under Sir Thomas Carew, in the naval expedition of 1420.[108] With the exception of the individual who served under Fastolf in 1424/5, there are no other surviving muster records for a man-at-arms by this name.

John Johnson

A relatively common name in the army and garrison musters, although there is no clear evidence to suggest that multiple men with the same name were serving at the same time. It is intriguing that all the references to men-at-arms relate to service provided in the field; all records for the name in a garrison context are mustered as archers. There are relatively regular records between 1415 and 1449, although at no point can any of those named be seen to remain in any one location for more than a single year. As such it is really not clear if we are looking at the career of one or two individuals, or multiple individuals who perhaps served on a single occasion or more sporadically.

[104] BNF, ms. fr. 25772/964; AN, K 64/8/2.
[105] TNA, E101/51/3, m.2.
[106] BNF, MS. Clairambault 169/94
[107] TNA, E101/43/36, m.2; C47/2/49/19; E101/43/32, m.1; E101/44/4, m.1.
[108] TNA, E101/49/35, m.1; E101/48/9, no.1, m.4.

Thomas Hudson

The more unique nature of this name in the surviving army and garrison muster records would perhaps suggest that the Thomas who served in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, is the same individual who provides the first surviving match for the name in the muster records - an archer in the garrison of Harfleur in 1417.[109] He may then have re-crossed to France in 1420, in the retinue of John Thornburgh, before mustering as an archer under Fastolf in the garrison of Meulan in 1421.[110] Given the fourteen year gap to the next extant muster evidence, it is not clear, however, if this was the same man – or perhaps a relative – found in the garrison of Gournay under Sir Thomas Kyriell in 1438,[111] and/or served in the sub-retinue of Henry Grene, in John Beaufort's 1443 expedition.[112]

ARCHERS

The following records all relate to individuals specifically described in the muster as archers. The more common nature of the names of the thirty men detailed as such, makes tracing their earlier and later service more susceptible to error. As such, only those with somewhat more uncommon names are examined here.

Raulyn Streytbarrell

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Richard Watson

Service in Fastolf's personal retinue is the first surviving muster record for this name. There are then no further matches for the name until 1440, perhaps suggesting that the archer whom was drawn from the garrison of Avranches to serve at the siege of Harfleur, and that whom mustered in the garrison of Montivillers between 1441 and 1442, and in Exmes in 1447, was a different man.[113]

John Hogeson

Three John Hoggeson's provide the first match for this name in the muster records, all crossing to Normandy in 1415. Two were perhaps related; mustering in the retinue of Sir

[109] TNA, E101/48/17.
[110] TNA, E101/49/36, m.6.; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/810.
[111] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1368.
[112] TNA, E101/54/5.
[113] BNF, ms. fr. 25775/1482; 25776/1526, /1534, /1561; BNF, naf 8606/101.

John Neville, where they are described as 'senior' and 'junior'.[114] It is not clear if it was any of these men, or a further individual, who crossed in the retinue of John Melton, in 1420,[115] but in April that same year a John Hogeson mustered in the garrison of Tombelaine.[116] We then find a John serving in the official retinue of Richard Woodville (who was treasurer general of Normandy at the time), in 1422,[117] before perhaps mustering under Fastolf in 1424/5. Despite a three-year gap, the next muster relating to service for this name is also connected to Fastolf, when an archer mustered in his retinue at the siege of Pontorson.[118] It is highly probable that this was the same man who is then recorded mustering as part of the force of reinforcements attached to the garrison of Alençon under Fastolf in 1429.[119] He appears to have subsequently remained in the garrison until at least December 1431 (during which time Thomas Gower was the lieutenant there),[120] perhaps then mustering in the garrison of Falaise in 1434.[121] He might also be the same man who then mustered in the official retinue of Thomas, lord Scales, in 1439,[122] and perhaps even re-crossed to the duchy in Richard, duke of York's 1441 expedition.[123]

William Disscheburne

This is an unusual name for which perhaps only two (or three depending on spelling) records survive, but it is possible that each relates to a different individual. A William 'Duchebourne' served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Sir John Cornwall, in 1421.[124] It is unlikely that this is the same man who then served as an archer under Fastolf three years later. Similarly, given the thirteen-year gap between records, it is perhaps also more probable that the William 'Dichborne' who mustered as a man-at-arms in the retinue Sir Thomas Hoo drew from the garrison of Gisors for the relief of Crotoy in 1437, was a different person.[125]

Thomas Birke

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

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[114] TNA, E101/51/2, m.22. Though this may simply refer to their respective ages. The other individual mustered under Richard, earl of Warwick: E101/51/2, m.13.
[115] TNA, E101/49/36, m.9.
[116] BNF, ms. fr. 25766/794.
[117] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/6.
[118] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/225.
[119] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/432.
[120] AN, K 63/10/25, 63/13/17; BNF, ms. fr. 25570/656, /657.
[121] BNF, ms. fr. 25767/33.
[122] BNF, MS. Clairambault 199 no.47.
[123] TNA, E101/53/33, m.8.
[124] TNA, E101/50/1, m.3.
[125] BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1268.

Richard Milnerson

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Richard Hoke

Richard is seemingly first recorded in Fastolf's personal retinue. He may well be the same individual who is then found mustering in the garrison of St Lô in 1430,[126] and then in Alençon between at least 1431 and 1432 (in which time Thomas Gower was lieutenant).[127]

John Hyde

John may have first crossed to Normandy in 1418, in the retinue of Henry, lord FitzHugh.[128] He is next found in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, before perhaps mustering in the personal retinue of Sir Ralph Neville, in 1426.[129] He is then found mustering with relative frequency in the garrison of Alençon between 1427 (mustering under Fastolf) and 1434,[130] and in Fresnay in 1437 and 1438.[131] Despite an individual with this name crossing in the 1441 expeditionary army, it was perhaps also this same John who re-entered the garrison of Alençon between at least 1442 and 1445.[132]

William Barnard

William presents an intriguing case as it is possible that two men by this name served in Normandy in the 1420s, both of whom had links to Fastolf. The archer who served under him in 1424/5, may have been one of the two men by this name who crossed in 1417,[133] but there is no surviving evidence of any service between these dates. It is not until February 1435, that an archer by this name is next recorded, found mustering under Fastolf in the garrison of Fresnay up until at least June 1436.[134] It is possible, however, that one of the original two archers subsequently served as a man-at-arms, mustering in the garrison of Alençon between 1428 and 1431.[135] However, it is more likely that this was the individual whom had served in the garrison of Harfleur between 1415 and 1418,[136] and whom had served in the personal

[126] BNF, ms. fr. 25769/479, /513.
[127] AN, K 63/10/25, 63/13/17; BNF, naf 8602/19.
[128] TNA, E101/49/9/19, m.1.
[129] BL, Add. Ch.11557.
[130] BNF, ms. fr. 26274/106; 25768/326, /427; BNF, naf 8602/19; BNF, ms. fr. 25771/826, /864.
[131] BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1227; 25775/1386.
[132] AN, K 67/12/80; BNF, ms. fr. 25776/1602; 25777/1716.
[133] TNA, E101/51/2, m.2, 5.
[134] BNF, ms. fr. 257767/195; AN, K 64/10/8bis; 64/8/2.
[135] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/326, /427; AN, K 63/10/25; 63/13/17.
[136] TNA, E101/47/39; E101/48/17; E101/48/19.

retinue of Richard Woodville in 1421,[137] and then mustered in the garrison of Caudebec in 1422.[138] He might even have come into contact with Fastolf prior to serving in Harfleur, perhaps being the same man by this name who sought letters of protection to serve in the garrison of Fronsac (Gascony) in 1412.[139] That this was not the same man who later served as an archer is demonstrated by his service in the garrison of Caen between at least May 1436 and September 1440.[140]

Youlyn Cloyte

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Gregory Ches[?]

It is possible that this is the Gregory Chest who mustered under Fastolf in the garrison of Alençon through the second half of 1427.[141]

William Spryngold

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

John Slytter

This is a rare name in the army and garrison musters.

Thomas Bakon

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Richard Hyles

The only other extant record for this name is for a man who mustered in the garrison of Alençon in 1432.[142] Once again, the link to this specific garrison might suggest that it was the same individual who had served under Fastolf in 1424/5.

[137] TNA, E101/49/37, m.1.
[138] BNF, ms. fr. 25766/807.
[139] TNA, C61/113, m.8.
[140] BNF, ms. fr. 25773/1081; 25773/1120; 25774/1259, /1292; 25775/1435; BNF, MS. Clairambault 220 nos.27 and 28.
[141] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/239; 26274/106.
[142] BNF, naf 8602/19.

Robin Wetby

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

John Stryker

Having first seemingly served in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, it is probable that this was the same individual who mustered as an archer in the garrison of Alençon between at least October 1429 and June 1431 (while Thomas Gower was lieutenant).[143] He may also be the archer who served in the field in March 1434; recorded as John 'Straker'.[144] If so, then we can perhaps presume that he also mustered as a man-at-arms a few weeks later in the garrison Fresnay under Fastolf's captaincy, remaining there between at least late March 1434 and June 1436.[145] In the following year, he is found for the last time, mustering in the field.[146]

John Arlowe

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Cok Est

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

Thomas Hemyngton

Thomas is perhaps first recorded mustering in the garrison of Harfleur in 1415/16 and again in 1417.[147] Next found mustering in Fastolf's personal retinue in 1424/5, the only other surviving record for this name would suggest that he later mustered in the garrison of Alençon in 1434.[148]

Walter Lobeor

Appears to be the only surviving muster record for anyone by this name.

[143] BNF, ms. fr. 25768/427; AN, K 63/10/34; 63/13/17.
[144] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/823.
[145] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/815; AN, K 64/10/8bis; 64/8/2.
[146] BNF, ms. fr. 25774/1222.
[147] TNA, E101/47/39; E101/48/17.
[148] BNF, ms. fr. 25771/864.

APPENDIX D

POSSIBLE SERVICE LINKS AMONG FAMILY UNITS IN DE VERE RETINUES IN THE EXPEDITIONS OF 1439, 1441 AND 1443.

NAME	SERVICE TYPE	CAPTAIN	COMMANDER	DATE
Gilbert Balle	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Balle	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Bartelot	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas Bartlot	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Alex Belle	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Belle	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Benet	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Benet	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Bentley]	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Bente[?]	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Libewys Botiller	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Boutillre	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Thomas Brewer	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Brewer	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Brown	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas Brown	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Ralph Brown	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Castell	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas Castell	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Cliff	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas Cliff	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441

John Clyffe	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Cok	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
William Cooke	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Robert Cooke	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Thomas Cooke	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Downs	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Downys	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Ferrour	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Richard Ferreur	Garrison of Verneuil: creu	Sir Richard Veer		1448
William Grigge	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
John Gregge	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Grene	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Grene & Robert Grene	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Hethe	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Haithe	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Halle	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Stephen Halle	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Hayton	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Hawton	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Hunte & Robert Hunte	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Thomas Hunt	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Grant John & Nicholas John	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Mouse John	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Kempe	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Thomas Kempe	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John London	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
William London	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Longe	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441

John Longe	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Thomas Lowys & William Lowys	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Davy Lewys	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Lynde	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Richard Lynde	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Marchall	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Marshall	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Matheu & Lewis Matheu	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Richard Matthewe	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Thomas Morys	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Moryse	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard Osbarne	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Thomas Osbarne	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Parker	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Richard Parkere & William Parkere	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Stephen Preston	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
William Preston	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Rochesford	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Richard Rochefort	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Robert Redde	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Henry Redde	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Roger Roo	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Richard Roo	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Saunders	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Saunders	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Smyth	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439

	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard Smyth	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Stokes	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Stoks	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Henry Symons	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Robert Symson	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Tayllour	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Edward Tailleur, John Tailleur and Thomas Tailleur	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Talbot	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Talbot	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Thomasson	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Thomlyson	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John Vincent	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
Gilbert Vincent	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Walsh	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Philip Walsh	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
William Warde	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas Warde	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
John White	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Richard White	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
Thomas White	Standing Force, Aquitaine	Sir Richard Vere	John Holland, earl of Huntingdon	1439
	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Ralph White	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

Robert Williamson	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
John Williamson	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443
Robert Wykes	Expedition, France	John de Vere, earl of Oxford	Richard, duke of York	1441
William Wych	Expedition, France	Sir Robert de Vere	John Beaufort, duke of Somerset	1443

APPENDIX E

CODICOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE MAIN LONDON CHRONICLE MANUSCRIPTS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER III.

BL. MS Cotton Cleopatra C. IV (1415-1443) [incomplete]

MS Cleopatra C. IV begins imperfectly in 1415. That it begins part way through a sentence detailing the siege of Harfleur can be taken as evidence that the manuscript is missing the opening folios of the chronicle. The entry for 1415 seems to be unique. The author provides a relatively detailed account of the above siege and the subsequent battle of Agincourt not found in any other of the London chronicles. Unfortunately now relatively damaged, in its time the manuscript would likely have been well presented, though McLaren suggests it might have changed ownership on a number of occasions given the various different hands that have made notes in the margins.[1] The text of the surviving extract consists of three of hands. The first change occurs in 1416, the second in 1420, at which point the use of red ink to highlight the text and a more consistent presentation perhaps indicates its passing to a professional scribe.[2] From 1417, McLaren and Kingsford note MS Cleopatra C. IV's similarities to BL. MS Harley 3775 (1189-1430), BL. MS Cotton Julius B. II (1189-1435), Longleat House: MS Longleat 53 (1189-1432), and perhaps to a lesser extent BL. MS Harley 565 (1189-1443). From 1431 there are some loose resemblances to GL., MS Guildhall 3313 (1189-1512), and BL. Cotton MS Vitellius XVI (1216-1509). Between 1440 and 1442 when the chronicle ends, it, again, demonstrates a connection to MS Harley 565.[3] The most notable variation between these texts and MS Cleopatra C. IV, is the latters often detailed and unique recording of military events in France between 1433 and 1439. It is printed in *Chronicles of London*.[4]

BL. MS Egerton 1995 (1189-1469/70) [incomplete]

MS Egerton 1995 is a common-place book,[5] more regularly referred to as William Gregory's Chronicle. As such, it is one of the two extant London Chronicles for which modern editors have ascribed authorship - although such attributions remain the topic of debate.[6] In

[1] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.110-11.
[2] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.ix.
[3] *Ibid.,* pp.ix-xi; McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.111.
[4] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.117-53.
[5] Common-place books are described by Gransden as volumes that contain 'a miscellany of useful, curious and literary items': Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II,* p.232.
[6] For discussion, see *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.iv-v; G. Kreihn, *The English Rising of 1450* (Strasburg, 1892), pp.10-15; McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.29-33. Also see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, pp.230-1; D.R. Parker, *The Commonplace Book in Tudor London. An Examination of BL MSS*

addition to the chronicle, MS Egerton 1995 contains texts on a wide range of topics, such as treatises on health, a list of the churches in London,[7] and a number of poems - including John Lydgate's *The Kings of England*, and John Page's *Seige of Rone*. The manuscript is written in one careful hand throughout. There are a number of red crosses inserted into the text where the author, or possibly a later editor, has identified mistakes. Gransden noted the interrelation that MS Egerton 1995 shares with MS Vitellius A. XVI up to 1440, at which point she argues it becomes independent.[8] More recently, McLaren has highlighted its relationship to College of Arms, MS Arundel 19(2) (1189-1553), and argues that it is only after 1450 that MS Egerton 1995 becomes independent.[9] In his *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*, Kingford described MS Egerton 1995 as the best exemplar of the extant London Chronicles. In particular he noted the detailed account of the rebellion of Jack Cade in 1450, which he extolled for its seemingly first-hand knowledge as it contains details found in no other chronicle.[10] While the account of Cade's rebellion certainly includes a number of unique passages, it should, however, be stressed that Kingsford was unaware of a number of other chronicles which similarly provide what appear to be eye-witness accounts: in particular Trinity College, Dublin MS 509 (1189-1461), and Trinity College, Dublin MS E.5.10. The chronicle is printed in *The Historical Collections of a London Citizen in the Fifteenth Century.*[11]

BL. MS Harley 565 (1189-1443) [incomplete]

MS Harley 565 is an incomplete manuscript ending abruptly in 1443. The end of the final sentence has evidently been erased. Nevertheless, the chronicle is written in one hand throughout, using red ink to highlight and catchwords at the end of each quire. It is headed by a list of the kings of England. Kingsford dated the writing of the chronicle to 1443-4. He did so by stressing the importance of the list of kings found on the first folio, which concludes by stating that Henry VI had reigned for twenty-one years.[12] However, such evidence does not conclusively demonstrate that the chronicle was written at the same time as the list of kings.[13] Indeed, the following four folios were seemingly intentionally left blank, after which

Egerton 1995, Harley 2252, Lansdown 762, and Oxford Balliol College MS 354 (Oxford, 1998), especially pp.32-3.

[7] This is a common feature in most of the manuscripts containing London chronicles.

[8] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, p.229.

[9] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.104-6.

[10] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p.96.

[11] *Historical Collections*, ed. Gairdner, pp.57-239.

[12] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.84-5; *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.x.

[13] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.104 n.16.

are a number of notes in a different and later hand. These are then followed by a further four blank folios and then copies of verse written in the original hand: the first celebrates the victories of Henry V, while the second is a copy of Lydgate's account of Henry VI's return to London in 1432. For Kingsford, MS Harley 565 resembled a number of the other London chronicles, while Gransden particularly noted its close relationship with MS Julius B. II, and with BL. MS Cotton Vitellius F. IX (1189-1439) after 1431.[14] More recently, McLaren has argued that it demonstrates a greater connection to Bodl. MS Digby Rolls 2 (1189-1512). She notes that the two texts are incredibly similar and contain only very minor variations: 'additions or omissions of words like 'of' and 'if' and the indefinite and definite articles'. McLaren concludes that it is likely that either Digby Rolls 2 is a careful copy of Harley 565, or, somewhat more persuasively, that the two shared a common source.[15] MS Harley 565 is printed as *A chronicle of London, from 1089-1483.*[16]

BL. MS Cotton Julius B. I (1189-1483)

MS Julius B. I, is a well-presented chronicle with space provided for the use of decorated initials. Additionally, the author has utilised both red ink to highlight and catchwords at the bottom of each quire. The chronicle is written in one hand up to 1437, after which changes in both the hand and page layout - in addition to the ceased use of red ink from 1436 – are noted by modern editors. McLaren argues that this is probably the result of the chronicle having been initially commissioned to be produced in a professional workshop and subsequently purchased and continued in private ownership.[17] The chronicle demonstrates similarities to a number of others, including St. John's College, Oxford MS 57 (1189-1432), MS Vitellius F. IX up to 1439, Lambeth Palace, MS Lambeth 306 (1189-1465) to 1459, BL. MS Cotton Nero C. XI (1189-1485), and GL., MS Guildhall 3313.[18] The manuscript also contains a number of other items, including poems, ordinances and heraldic writings in a variety of hands, though all different to that of the chronicle. Somewhat confusingly, MS Julius B. I, is wrongly presented as a continuation to MS Harley 565 by the modern editors of *A Chronicle of London, from 1089-1483*, when the latter concludes in 1443.[19] As such, only the years 1444-83 are available in print.

[14] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.x-xi; C.L. Kingsford, 'An Historical Collection of the Fifteenth Century', *EHR* (1914), pp.505-15; Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, p.229.
[15] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.103-4.
[16] *A Chronicle of London, from 1189-1483*, eds. N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell.
[17] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.102.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp.100-3; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.229; *Chronicles of London,* ed. Kingsford, pp.ix-xvii.
[19] *Chronicle of London*, *from 1089 to 1483*, p.133.

BL. MS Cotton Julius B. II (1189-1432/5)

MS Julius B. II is a very well-presented manuscript written on paper in a neat, probably professional, hand to 1432. The change of hand after this date is also neatly presented. The chronicle is noteworthy for its beautifully illuminated initial letter. It makes use of red and blue ink to highlight and catchphrases are employed at the end of each quire throughout. The chronicle ends imperfectly in 1432, although three further mayor's names are listed with spaces left beneath them. There was clearly an intention, therefore, to continue the chronicle. While predominately written in English, all dates and names appear in Latin - in which it is similar only to Longleat House: MS Longleat 53 (1189-1432).[20] It has been suggested, this might imply that the author of MS Julius B. II drew on either an earlier Latin chronicle or, alternatively, that they had access to official city records.[21] Textually, the chronicle demonstrates relationships to MS Harley 565 and MS Cleopatra C. IV (especially between 1420-1430), and to a lesser extent with MS Harley 3775 and Bodl., MS Rawlinson 355 (1189-1460). The chronicle is printed in full in *Chronicles of London.*[22]

BL. MS Cotton, Vitellius A. XVI (1216-1509)

The London chronicle contained in MS Vitellius A. XVI begins imperfectly in 1216. It contains at least four changes of hand, including two in 1440 alone. However, all the hands continue the use of red ink to highlight and catchwords at the end of quires. Up to 1440, the chronicle is closely related to MS Egerton 1995, albeit with the occasional major variation, and also share some resemblance to MS Cleopatra C. IV between 1432 and 1440.[23] McLaren has argued that both MS Vitellius A. XVI and MS Egerton 1995, along with MS Arundel 19(2), likely shared a common source. By identifying significant omissions made by the copyist of MS Vitellius A. XVI, she argues that neither MS Egerton 1995 nor MS Arundel 19(2) could have been copied from MS Vitellius A. XVI, as they do not contain the same errors.[24] From 1440, MS Vitellius A. XVI appears to have become independent of both MS Egerton 1995 and also MS Arundel 19(2). From 1435 to 1496, however, it demonstrates some similarities to GL., MS Guildhall 3313 and, to a greater degree, to Bodl., MS Gough London 10 (1189-1470/95) up

[20] A very small section of which is printed in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.99-100.
[21] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.110.
[22] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.1-116.
[23] *Ibid.,* pp.104-5; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.229; *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.xv, and Appendix I, pp.265-75.
[24] In particular, McLaren highlights that both MS Egerton 1995 and MS Arundel 19(2) contain the details of the second course served at the feast celebrating the marriage of Henry V to Queen Katherine, while it is omitted by MS Vitellius A. XVI: *Chronicles of London*, pp.105-6.

to 1470. The, on occasion, almost identical nature of the texts is frequently augmented by each authors individual and unique details.[25] The years between 1440 and 1509 are printed in C*hronicles of London*.[26]

BL. Cotton MS Vitellius F. IX (1189-1439)

MS Vitellius F. IX contains a London chronicle written in tidy and well-presented professional fifteenth-century hand throughout. However, the copyist has made rather irregular use of both red ink to highlight and catchwords at the end of quires. The manuscript was partially damaged in the Cottonian fire, a consequence of which is that the entries at the top of each page have been lost. The additional texts with which the chronicle was bound appear to have no relationship to the chronicle. Gransden and Kingsford have noted the relationship with MS Julius B. I down to 1431, and with MS Harley 565 down to 1439.[27] Additionally, McLaren has argued that the chronicle shares a close relationship with GL., MS Guildhall 3313 and St John's College, Oxford MS 57, suggesting they perhaps shared a common source down to 1430. In addition to her analysis of the texts, McLaren particularly stresses the use of a professional hand and their shared stylistic similarities, such as the use of highlighting and catchwords, to suggest that these chronicles were the work of one particular workshop.[28] The account of 1438-9 is incomplete, and Kingsford suggests that the chronicle was written in 1439.[29]

London, Guildhall Library. MS Guildhall 3313 (1189-1512)

GL., MS Guildhall 3313 remained in private ownership until 1933 when it was donated to the Guildhall Library.[30] It contains only the text of a London chronicle. It is neatly written in a fifteenth century hand up to 1438, after which the hand changes to a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century hand. Both hands are professional. A single quire is written in a third hand on folio 157r to folio 164, after which the second hand takes over once again. The copyists make use of red ink to highlight up to the quire written in the third hand. Additionally, each quire in the chronicle is numbered. Various hands have subsequently added the companies to which some of the mayors belonged next to their names, indicating that the chronicle did

[25] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.229.
[26] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.153-263.
[27] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii, p.229; *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, pp.xiii-xiv. McLaren has also highlighted some similarities with Hatfield House, Cecil Papers MS 281 (1189-1450) between 1431 and 1439: see below, n.28.
[28] See McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.26-8; 100-3.
[29] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.xiv.
[30] See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.229 n.61.

not perhaps pass into private ownership.[31] The sixteenth century antiquarian John Stow suggested that the second hand was that of Robert Fabyan, a London draper who served as sheriff in 1493, and was elected an alderman in 1494. This assumption was reasserted by the editors of the 1938 edition of MS Guildhall 3313, entitled *The Great Chronicle of London*, in which they noted a similarity of hand, tone and vocabulary with other texts attributed to Fabyan. In their introduction, they examined the relationship between GL., MS Guildhall 3313 and those used by Pryson to print his *The Newe Cronycles of England and of France* in 1516: Holkham House, Norfolk, MS Holkham 671 and BL. MS Cotton Nero C. XI (1189-1485).[32] More recently, McLaren has questioned the likelihood of Fabyan's authorship. Both she and the editors of the text note the chronicles relationship to MS Julius B. I, MS Vitellius F. IX and, at various points from 1432, to MS Harley 565, Bodl. MS Gough London 10, and also some loose resemblances to MS Vitellius A. XVI.[33]

London, Lambeth Palace, MS Lambeth 306 (1189-1465)

MS Lambeth 306 is a common-place book that, in addition to the London chronicle, also contains - of note - a *Brut* continuation and a copy of Lydgate's verses of *The Kings of England*. The manuscript is well-presented, written in a neat and professional hand throughout, and includes decorations such as initials and borders. The manuscript was also bound at the same time as the chronicle. The chronicle was printed by Gairdner in his *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* as the so-called 'Short English Chronicle'.[34] In his introduction to the text, Gairdner categorises the binding as being of Tudor origin, to which McLaren has further noted possibly indicates that the contents were intentionally placed together as they were written. She argues that the hand which wrote the chronicle is present throughout the majority of the remainder of the manuscript as evidence to support this, and that it was likely the product of a workshop rather than the writings of a private owner.[35] Kingsford, however, has suggested that the chronicle was written shortly after 1465.[36] Gransden has noted the relationship Lambeth 306 shares with MS Cleopatra C. IV, to 1443 and with MS Julius B. I, to 1459.[37] Additionally, McLaren notes similarities with BL. MS Harley Roll C. 8 (1189-1463) down to the reign of Richard II, and with Bodl. MS Gough London 10 down to 1435. After this

[31] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.101.
[32] *Great Chronicle*, pp.xxiv-xxxix. MS Nero C. XI is not a traditional London chronicle: it starts out as a *Brut* down to 1189 and reverts back to a *Brut* after 1485 down to its conclusion in 1558.
[33] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.101-3.
[34] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* ed. Gairdner, pp.1-80.
[35] *Ibid*., p.ii; McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.114.
[36] *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p.xi.
[37] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.229.

date the entries in Lambeth 306 become more detailed and include minutiae omitted or severely abbreviated by the others.[38] She argues, therefore, that these chronicles were not copied from one and other, but that the sources the copyists used shared a common progenitor which they individually augmented.[39]

Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Gough London 10 (1189-1470)

MS Gough London 10 is a common-place book that contains a number of other items specifically relevant to London, such as ordinances, oaths taken by city chamberlains and wardens, as well as those taken by members of the goldsmiths' company. As McLaren states, such items would have been of interest to London citizens.[40] It is very well presented in one careful hand throughout. Use has been made of both red and gold ink to decorate the initials - although a number remain incomplete. There is some small use of Latin, but it is for the most part associated with dating and where the reigns of new kings are introduced. The text is relatively abbreviated, and there are occasional large gaps in the chronology. For example, there are no entries between 1248 and 1263. Nonetheless, MS Gough London 10 includes a good number of unique details.[41] From 1435 the chronicle becomes largely independent from MS Lambeth 306, but continues to be closely related to MS Vitellius A. XVI and GL., MS Guildhall 3313.[42] Between 1440 and 1450, however, the entries are notably brief, becoming relatively more substantial thereafter down to up to its conclusion in 1470. Select entries from the chronicle are printed in *Six Town Chronicles*.[43]

Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 355 (1189-1460)

MS Rawlinson B 355 is relatively distinct among the London chronicles as, with the exception of Bodl., MS Tanner 2 (1189-1526) -[44] to which it has no relationship - it is the only chronicle to be written entirely in Latin. It is well presented in a neat hand. It is incomplete, however, as its final pages are contained within Bodl., MS Rawlinson D 913. Kingsford has suggested that the text of MS Rawlinson B 355, while distinctly abbreviated, runs almost in parallel with that recorded in MS Julius B. II down to 1432, and shares some later similarities to MS Vitellius A. XVI and GL., MS Guildhall 3313.[45] McLaren, however, argues that the text is more

[38] Although, Gransden argues that the text remains abbreviated until 1445: p.229.
[39] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp.113-15.
[40] *Ibid*., p.114.
[41] *Ibid*., pp.114-15.
[42] *Ibid*., p.105; Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.103-5.
[43] *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.153-65.
[44] Entries for the years 1460 and 1525 are printed in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.166-83.
[45] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.102-3.

closely related to both MS Harley 3775 and Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42.[46] The accounts of 1439-59 are printed in *Six Town Chronicles.*[47]

Trinity College, Dublin MS 509 (1189-1460/1) [incomplete]

TC., MS. 509, is a commonplace book containing the London chronicle more frequently referred to as Robert Bale's Chronicle.[48] It is written in a neat professional hand of the mid-fifteenth century up to 1437, when a similarly neat hand takes over down to its conclusion in 1461. The writing does however become smaller and less neat in the final pages, as the copyist became aware that he he was running out of space.[49] The outcome of this is that the final page was written on the verso of folio 78 in a separate manuscript: Trinity College, Dublin MS 604.[50] It is well presented, including a mixture of red and blue ornamentation. In addition to the chronicle, the manuscript also contains copies of texts specific to London; including a number of charters and liberties granted to the city and a list of London churches. The chronicle is incomplete, with the years 1357 to 1419 missing. It shares a close relationship to the chronicle in Cecil Papers MS 281 down to 1357 and again between 1419 and 1437, suggesting they shared a common source up to this date. As such, it is likely that the missing years would closely correspond to those recorded in Cecil Papers MS 281.[51] Similarly,it shares some - albeit looser - similarities to MS Egerton 1995, MS Vitellius A. XVI, St John's College MS 57, MS Julius B. I, and GL., MS Guildhall 3313 down to 1437. From 1436 the chronicle is somewhat independent of Cecil Papers MS 281. While reporting on similar content, the details provided vary quite dramatically, perhaps manifesting each chronicler's own first-hand observations and attitudes.[52] This notion is given more weighting by Hannes Kleineke's argument that the author's unbroken reference to Henry VI as king suggests that its final entry was completed prior to March 1461.[53] The years 1437-1460 are printed in *Six Town Chronicles*.[54]

[46] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.111.
[47] *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.101-113.
[48] For discussion of Bale's likely authorship, see *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.66-70; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.233.
[49] The additional texts within the manuscript are irrelevant to the chronicle and written in a single different hand.
[50] See Kleineke, 'Robert Bale's Chronicle and the Second Battle of St Albans', pp.744-50.
[51] McLaren, *London Chronicles*, p.107.
[52] See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, pp.228-9.
[53] Kleineke, 'Robert Bale's Chronicle and the Second Battle of St Albans', p.746.
[54] *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, pp.114-52.

Supplementary Clerical Chronicles

Trinity College Dublin, MS E.5.10

TC., MS E.5.10 contains a Latin Chronicle written in one fifteenth century non-professional hand throughout, commonly ascribed to John Benet, a vicar of Harlington in Bedfordshire (d.1474). The evidence for his authorship is based on an inscription on folio 2v, and that he signs his name on at least twelve occasions throughout the remainder of the chronicle.[55] However, his authorship has been questioned by some scholars.[56] In addition to the chronicle, the manuscript contains copies of a number of other texts in the same hand, including religious poems, political ballads and incomplete notes on civil law. It does not, however, include any texts frequently associated with other London chronicles such as the list of London churches. A number of later hands have made additional notes in the margins, and a later fifteenth-century hand has inserted a table of contents. The importance of this chronicle is that, from 1447, the chronicle becomes very distinctly focused on events within London and contains a number of unique and seemingly eye-witness accounts. The modern editors have suggested that this demonstrates that Benet was living in London from at least this date.[57] From this point, the text also demonstrates some loose resemblances to MS Egerton 1995 and TC., MS 509 in places. That it also records details commonly unique to only one other London Chronicle has led the editors to support the argument that there must have been a 'common source of information' upon which copyists could choose to either extend upon or omit from their own chronicles.[58]

Trinity College, MS E.5.10, cannot, however, be grouped with the London chronicles as its form is closer to that of the fourteenth century *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden, translated into English by John Trevisa in 1387.[59] This text appears to have been the basis for the early years of 'Benet's Chronicle', while a version of the *Brut* appears to have provided the source for the years 1333-1377 and again from 1422-1440.[60] While, like the vast majority of the London chronicles, TC., MS E.5.10 is sympathetic to the House of York, it nonetheless, provides an alternative angle with which to appraise the contexts of the London chronicles. The text is transcribed and printed in 'Benet's Chronicle'.

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[55] For discussion, see 'Benet's Chronicle', pp.152-4.
[56] For example, see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, pp.254-7.
[57] 'Benet's Chronicle', p.152.
[58] *Ibid.,* pp.162-3.
[59] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, pp.220-1.
[60] 'Benet's Chronicle', pp.152-62; Kaufman, *The Historical Literature of the Jack Cade Rebellion*, p.16.

BL. MS Sloane 1776 / BL. MS Royal 13 C. I

MS Sloane 1776, contains an anonymous Latin chronicle detailing the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, ending imperfectly in 1440. The account of Henry VI's reign is abbreviated, the complete copy ending in 1455 only being found in MS Royal 13 C. I - a compilation made by William Worcester in about 1460. The chronicle was printed by John Giles, as *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae de Regnis Trium Regum Lancastriensium Henrici IV, Henrici V, and Henrici VI*. However, Giles was not familiar with the manuscripts themselves, instead being heavily reliant on the earlier transcripts of Henry Petrie. Unfortunately, this led to a number of editing errors, not least of which was that Giles printed the abbreviated and later copy of Henry VI's reign found in MS Sloane 1776 up to 1440, thus accidently omitting the additional events included in MS Royal 13 C. I.[61] Additionally, Giles opted to entirely omit the section on Richard II's reign owing to its close relationship to the Evesham chronicle.[62] Nonetheless, the years 1403-13 demonstrate a distinct change in the character of the chronicle as it began to more closely resemble the accounts found in the *Brut*.[63] The accounts of Henry V's reign more closely resembles an almost verbatim reproduction of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* down to 1417.[64] The account of Henry VI's reign, however, is presented as a continuation to that of his father's. The years 1422 to 1438 primarily resemble the *Brut*, but also appear to share some loose relationships to MS Egerton 1995, MS Vitellius A. XVI and College of Arms, MS Arundel 19(2). The importance of this chronicle, therefore, lies predominately in its accounts after 1438, when it appears to become almost wholly independent. At this point, it is most probably the work of an ecclesiastic author. The key significance of the accounts of the years 1438 to 1455 is that, while not necessarily demonstrating any great degree of predisposition toward the Lancastrians – indeed he frequently treats leading ministers with contempt - the author does not demonstrate the Yorkist partiality that is commonplace among all the other London chronicles, thus providing an often-distinctive insight into contemporary attitudes.

[61] Discussed in, Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.23-6.
[62] *Historia Vitae et Regni Richardi II Angliae Regis, A Monacho Quodam de Evesham Consignata*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1729). Also see Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp.24-5; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, *II*, p.160, n.17.
[63] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p.25.
[64] Curry, *Sources and Interpretations*, p.23; Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p.155.