

JOURNAL OF MEDIEVAL MILITARY HISTORY



VII. The Age of the Hundred Years War

Edited by CLIFFORD J. ROGERS,
KELLY DEVRIES and JOHN FRANCE

THE JOURNAL OF

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History*

Volume VII

This seventh volume of the *Journal of Medieval Military History* has a particular focus on western Europe in the late middle ages, and specifically the Hundred Years War; however, the breadth and diversity of approaches found in the modern study of medieval military history remains evident. Some essays focus on specific texts and documents, including Jean de Bueil's famous military treatise-cum-novel, *Le Jouvencel*; other studies in the volume deal with particular campaigns, from naval operations to chevauchées of the mid-fourteenth century. There are also examinations of English military leaders of the Hundred Years War, approaching them from prosopographical and biographical angles. The volume also includes a seminal piece, newly translated from the Dutch, by the eminent military historian J. F. Verbruggen, in which he employs the financial records of Ghent and Bruges to illuminate the arms of urban militiamen at the end of the middle ages, and analyzes their significance for the art of war.

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Editors

Clifford J. Rogers
Kelly DeVries
John France

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Volume VII
The Age of the Hundred Years War

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The Military Role of the Order of the Garter

Richard Barber

The wars of Edward III have been intensively studied from the point of view of military strategy, personnel and commissariat in recent years, against a trend that has treated the fourteenth century as an unfashionable period of history. The reign of Edward III has suffered from a reaction to the over-adulation of Edward as one of the heroic English kings, and from the twentieth-century liberal historian's dislike of nationalism and aristocracy. Edward III's court and its culture has both nationalism and nobility in spades; the same is true of the subjects of my article, the personnel who made his military achievements possible. Administrative historians and students of military theory studies have had their say on Edward's wars; it is perhaps the turn of the biographer again. Even in such an old-fashioned field and with such an old-fashioned subject different approaches are possible, and what I am attempting is a group biography, a genre which the *Dictionary of National Biography* has recently embraced. What follows is in effect a brief group biography of the original members of the Order of the Garter.

The Order of the Garter is familiar enough to us as one of the first secular orders of knighthood, but it is worth going over the ground again briefly before we examine its military function in Edward's wars and look at the military elements in the careers of the individual knights. If I had been giving this lecture at the first Kalamazoo conference forty years ago, I would probably have claimed that the Garter was perhaps a great innovation, the first of all such secular monarchical orders. But research in the last four decades means that we can now see that it belongs to a kind of broader chivalric movement.¹ There are no known secular orders in 1300; by 1350 we can name at least half a dozen where records have survived. The honor of being the earliest such orders now belongs to the "fraternal society" of St George in Hungary (1326) and the "order" of the Sash in Castile (c.1330). Two German confraternities, the Company of the Cloister of Ettal in Bavaria, founded in 1330–40, and the Company of the Grail-Templars of St George in Austria (c.1337) are technically not "orders," but the Order of the

¹ D'Arcy J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, revised edn (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2000), remains the standard work on the secular orders.

Garter was described in the earliest surviving statutes as “a company,” and the twenty-six members were called “companions.” Only the Castilian institution was made up of “knights” and was specifically called an “order.” The Hungarian and Austrian societies were limited to fifty knights, that in Bavaria to a mere fourteen. In this light, and in the light of the statutes, the Garter has more of the character of a confraternity than later writers have cared to admit: but it is clear that the concept of such knightly groupings was still very fluid. The Castilian order of the Sash appears to be the odd one out; but Edward may have adopted one important idea from it: the use of a distinctive item of clothing which could be worn *over* armor as a distinguishing mark. Contemporaries seized on this as the key image of the order: it was technically dedicated to the Virgin and St George, but was from the moment of its formation known colloquially either as the “society of the Garter,” or “the society of St George of the garter.”

It is possible to see the orders of St George in Hungary and of the Sash in Castile as institutions designed to foster loyalty to the crown. Hungary had a troubled history, and king Karóly, founder of the order, had had to fight his way to the crown; faced with a precarious political situation and powerful barons, a means of securing their allegiance was clearly welcome. Alfonso XI in Castile was equally anxious to secure personal loyalty; he cast his net wider in terms of numbers, but both the Castilian and the Hungarian orders were novel in that they used honor rather than land or cash to bind the knights to the king.

Both these orders also envisaged that the knights would serve the king in both tournaments and war. The Hungarian statutes ordain that the knights should keep the king company “in all recreations and in games of war” (*in omni solatio et in ludo militari*),² while the statutes of the Sash specified that “the knights of the Sash were required to take part as a corporate body in three distinct activities: general meetings, tournaments and military campaigns.”³ This requirement to serve in both tournament and warfare was typical of indentures in England in the early fourteenth century. When Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, retained Sir Bartholomew de Enefield in 1307, he specified that he was to serve in peace and war; his allowance was increased in time of war and during a tournament, and the terms were the same in both cases. In founding their orders, the kings of Hungary, Castile and England sought to create an extended version of such a bond between knight and lord, based solely on chivalric honor.

The Order of the Garter was therefore by no means the unique and pioneering enterprise that it was once believed to be, but a part of the courtly and chivalric culture of the period, and integral to Edward III’s attempts to create a royal court in England to rival those of the Continent in splendor. It was in turn imitated: the short-lived French order of the Star was probably a direct riposte to the English foundation. Unlike the other secular orders, however, the Garter survived and

² Erik Fügedi, “Turniere in mittelalterlichen Ungarn,” in Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 80 (Göttingen, 1985), p. 394.

³ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 83.

flourished long after the rest were extinct. This was due to the care with which Edward chose its members, and to their close relationship in politics, war and tournaments. The date of the foundation of the order was long debated, because Jean Froissart, well acquainted with Edward's court but writing from memory many years afterwards, had associated the beginning of the Order of the Garter with a great festival held at Windsor in 1344. It is now generally accepted that the real date of foundation is 1348, and that the first assembly of the knights-companions was at the feast of St George in the following year. This later date provides a clue to one of the major influences on the choice of the original members. These ranged from great magnates to knights whose names are scarcely known outside the Order's records. The membership consisted of Henry duke of Lancaster, the king's cousin; three earls (Warwick, Salisbury and Kent); two lords who subsequently became earls (March and Stafford); and a group of barons (Lisle, Mohun, Grey of Rotherfield, and the captal de Buch from Gascony). There were bannerets who had already established themselves as commanders, such as Sir John Beauchamp and Sir James Audley, and then a wider group of young knights from the household of the king and his son: Sir Bartholomew Burghersh the younger, Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir Richard FitzSimon, Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir Thomas Wale, Sir Hugh Wrottesley, Sir Neil Loring, Sir John Chandos, Sir Otho Holland, Sir Henry Eam, Sir Sanchet d'Abrichécourt and Sir Walter Paveley. Of the last four very little is known, though others such as Chandos were to become important commanders in the wars with France. At the head of the order were the king and prince of Wales, and the stalls of the knights in St George's chapel were divided into the king's side and the prince's side, though the placing of the knights does not always reflect their known allegiance to king or prince.

There is good evidence to suggest that the English victory at Crécy two years before the foundation of the order was at the root of the choice of the first knights of the Garter. Of the twenty-six members, eighteen were definitely at the battle of Crécy; five may have been there; and three were fighting elsewhere in France. The idea that the Garter originates in Edward III's French campaign is reinforced by the motto which Edward adopted for it, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," "Shame on him who thinks badly of it," referring to his claim to the throne of France, the Garter colors being the blue and gold of France. But there were many other commanders and knights in the victorious army who were not included in the order, and the choice of the original knights must therefore depend on other factors as well as presence at Crécy. Of the divisional commanders during the Crécy campaign, the earl of Warwick was the only one to be included among the initial appointments; Suffolk and Northampton became members as soon as vacancies arose, but Arundel and Huntingdon were never included: Huntingdon had been taken ill during the campaign and returned to England, and it seems to have been some years before he fully recovered, which might explain the omission.

The other important qualification for membership was chivalric achievement. Edward III was an enthusiastic participant in tournaments, and the knights whom he chose for the Garter were both companions of the order, and the king's companions in the tournament field. In the sparse descriptions of the series of

tournaments held by Edward between 1334 and 1356 and from entries in the royal accounts, most of the knights of the Garter can be identified as members of tournament teams on these occasions, and it has been suggested that the king's side and prince's side in the layout of St George's chapel represent two such teams.⁴ Given that chapels traditionally had facing stalls running lengthwise down the nave, this is perhaps a fanciful view, as the division was dictated by this layout; but this is not to deny the importance of chivalric achievement. It may well account for the inclusion of knights, such as Sir Miles Stapleton, of whom we otherwise know little. Stapleton also participated in another form of chivalric achievement among the original Garter knights which has not previously been noted: he was one among no less than nine of the twenty-four knights who went on the so-called "Preussenreisen," the annual expeditions led by the Teutonic knights against the heathen Prussians, which were a recognized form of chivalric exercise. Even though they were nominally crusades, the secular chivalric element was strong: there was a "table of honor" (*Ehrentisch*) for distinguished visitors, great feasts before the start of the campaign and on the knights' return, and even tournaments, normally forbidden to religious orders of knighthood. Members of the order also fought in the Spanish *reconquista* and in the siege of Alexandria, both regarded as crusades and highly valued in the chivalric world. We are close to the world of Chaucer's knight, that realistic picture of fourteenth-century knighthood which has been mistaken in recent years for satire.⁵

The relationship to the king and to the prince of Wales needs to be emphasized: among the knights were men such as the earl of Warwick, who had helped Edward III to capture Roger Mortimer and to gain effective control of his kingdom in 1330. Equally, there were particular friends of the king such as Sir John Beauchamp, who died on the Reims campaign of 1360 and was greatly mourned by Edward. On the prince's side, there were his personal friends and favorites, such as his standard bearer Sir Richard Fitzsimon, Sir John Chandos and Sir James Audley. Furthermore, there was a complex web of marriage relationships and kinship among the knights, which reinforced the closeness of the order.

One final element was to play a large part in the later history of the order. Membership was not confined to knights who were natives of England. Jean de Grailly, captal de Buch from Gascony, Sanchet d'Abrechicourt from Hainault and Henry Eam from Brabant were all technically foreigners: the captal de Buch was a key figure in the Gascon political world, the Abrechicourt family had – if we are to believe Froissart – earned the favor of queen Philippa on her journey to marry Edward, and Henry Eam was a household knight of the prince of Wales. In later years, chivalric orders were to become a weapon of diplomacy; the Garter is the first to introduce this idea, which is present from the beginning.

But what marks out the original group of Garter knights particularly is the close companionship in war and tournament, in court and household. Before

⁴ Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 88–91.

⁵ Terry Jones, *Chaucer's Knight*, revised edn (London, 1994).

the Crécy campaign, Edward had intended to found a much larger order on the model of Arthur's Round Table or the order of the Franc Palais from the romance of *Perceforest*, probably written for Edward III or queen Philippa in the 1330s.⁶ After his great victory, Edward ensured the success of the order of the Garter by restricting its membership and selecting knights with proven ability in warfare and deeds of arms. Ultimately, however, it was the success of those knights as commanders in warfare which lent the order its particular glamor and gave it a pre-eminent reputation in the late fourteenth century.

Firstly, the Garter knights were skilled fighters at a personal level. I can only find one example before the end of Edward III's reign of a member of the Order being killed in action, and that seems to have been an accident: Sir John Chandos, according to Froissart, was fighting on New Year's Day 1370 near Poitiers, when he slipped on the wet ground; he was not wearing a visor and was blind in one eye from an old hunting wound, so did not see the French squire who stabbed him fatally in the face.⁷ The correlation between skill in tournaments and personal prowess in the field depends on hearsay rather than hard evidence, but it may be that the relatively low death rate generally among knights is accounted for not only by the security of their armor, but also by long years of practice in arms in peacetime. The individual joust, valuable for the steadiness of hand and eye which it encouraged, was less relevant to the chaos of a medieval battle than the team tournament or *mêlée*, and it was the latter that seems to have predominated in the early years of Edward's reign, though the evidence is far from clear. But the implication of the indenture we have quoted already, between the earl of Hereford and Sir Bartholomew de Enefield, is that contemporaries saw tournaments as valuable military experience as well as a sport about which the lords of the time were often passionate.

Next, we need to look at the type of warfare in which the English armies were involved. The *chevauchée* is the most common form of military activity in the campaigns of the 1350s and 1360s; its place in overall strategy is not my concern here, but simply the frequency with which knights would find themselves taking part in these glorified raids. The distinction between a *chevauchée* and a simple raid into enemy territory of the kind that was endemic on the Scottish border is probably one of scale rather than substance: the objective of disrupting economic life and winning booty were much the same, but the execution of a *chevauchée* on the scale of the Black Prince's expedition through south-west France in 1355–56 was something which required much greater planning and logistical support than a wild dash of fifty or even one hundred miles into enemy territory followed by a rapid retreat.

The development of the *chevauchée* before the 1350s has been little studied, and I would like to suggest that the experience of the Garter knights in Prussia

⁶ See Julian Munby, Richard Barber and Richard Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2007).

⁷ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre I, Le Manuscrit d'Amiens*, ed. George T. Diller (Geneva, 1993) IV:74.

may be relevant. Each summer the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order mounted a *sommer-reysa* or summer expedition, a tactical foray into enemy territory designed to achieve a specific aim. The planning of such an expedition was complicated by the fact that Prussia presented exceptionally difficult terrain. The wilderness of woods and bogs was formidable, and a journey of twenty-seven miles might involve cutting your own path through woodland for half that distance, even outside the true *Wiltnisse*, the wilderness that marked the limits of the Order's rule. And military activity was only possible in the depth of winter, when the ground was frozen enough to ensure safe transit of bogs and rapid movement, and in the height of summer when there was a hot sun and drying wind. The *winter-reysa* was a rapid incursion by a troop of between two hundred and two thousand men, like the Scottish raids; its objective, in Eric Christiansen's words, was to "do all the damage they could without taking or building forts, or spending long enough to invite a serious counter-attack,"⁸ since winter conditions made a long stay in enemy territory impossible. The *sommer-reysa* was

usually a bigger affair, when the masters of Prussia and Livonia mobilised all their resources for a full hervart (offensive expedition), and the grand-prince [of Lithuania] set out [against them] with a *karias* of boyars, castellans and their levies. It was usually intended to secure new ground by destroying an enemy fort or building a new one in enemy territory; but it always involved devastation, plunder and harassment as well, and was sometimes preceded by smaller incursions intended to "soften up" and impoverish the area round the fort marked out for attack. The Order's marshal appears to have collected reports on the enemy's state of readiness, and to have made his plans accordingly ...⁹

These extreme conditions tested the commanders' techniques for controlling forces in conditions where communication was difficult, and teamwork and understanding of one's fellow commanders was crucial. I would argue that the chivalric events which preceded such expeditions were designed to promote a "team spirit" among the knights, which was essential to survival in such harsh conditions, and that the *Ehrentisch* or table of honor at which Chaucer's knight distinguished himself had a very practical subtext.

The Black Prince's army was not struggling with such extreme conditions on the *chevauchée* in 1355–56, but the practical problems which such an operation involved have perhaps not been considered sufficiently; tactics and strategy have been discussed, but not the actual management of the forces on the ground.¹⁰ The principal difficulty with any expedition of this kind is that of supplies. The raiding army needed to be highly mobile, and this meant that the supporting elements, baggage and provisions, had to be kept to a modest level: the army was, like all medieval armies, dependent on living off the land after the first few days. A large army, either seeking an enemy or attempting to lure an enemy into battle,

⁸ Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100–1525* (London, 1980), p. 164.

⁹ Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, p. 165.

¹⁰ See H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–1357* (Manchester, 1958).

would move more slowly than the raiding army which was attempting to cover large distances to reach the maximum number of possible targets. As a result, the raiding force often split into separate groups, either in search of forage or to attack different locations at the same time. Once the army was separated, the logistical difficulties increased. If enemy forces suddenly confronted one part of the army, it might take several hours to get a message to the other half of the force, and they in turn might have encountered opposition or physical obstacles to their progress. The information on which the commanders were working was often minimal, and much of their decision-making was based on instinct rather than hard fact. As an extreme example of how the separate divisions of a raiding force might spread out, the recorded positions of the three groups of the Black Prince's forces on 23 August 1356 show a spread of nearly fifty miles across the countryside of Berry.¹¹ In these circumstances, it was essential that the commanders should be able to trust each other, and even to understand how the others might react in adverse circumstances, whether attacks by the enemy, encountering difficult terrain or even the onset of harsh weather.

The *chevauchée* which culminated, whether by design or through circumstance, in the battle of Poitiers, was led by Garter knights. Of the twenty-six members of the Order, we find fourteen definitely there; five were engaged in military activity elsewhere, and for the remaining seven we have no definite information. The commanders of the divisions during the raid and at the battle were all Garter knights, with the single exception of the earl of Oxford, who never became a member of the order. There is not room in this article to look at the vital other side of the coin, the commanders in Edwardian armies who remained outside the Order. Instead, I want to focus on the battle of Poitiers as a series of moves made by the divisions under the Black Prince's direction. Jonathan Sumption, in his massive if somewhat indigestible account of the Hundred Years War, finds himself puzzled by one particular aspect of the battle:

However, the most striking contrast between the two armies was at the level of command. Manoeuvring large bodies of men-at-arms who had never trained together was one of the perennial problems of medieval battlefields. Orders were generally transmitted to section commanders by trumpet, occasionally by messenger, and thence by shouting. Signals could be complex, and hard to hear inside a visored helmet. Yet the Prince and his adjutants had shown a remarkable ability to control the movements of their men in the midst of the fighting, far superior to anything that the King of France's staff had been able to achieve. The French divisional commanders had been given their orders before the battle, and they carried them out with grim persistence regardless of what was happening elsewhere. By contrast, the Prince had been able to improvise plans in the heat of the action and to communicate them quickly to those who had to act on them in the line.¹²

The answer to this, it seems to me, lies as much in the psychology of the leaders

¹¹ See Clifford Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2000), p. 355.

¹² Jonathan Sumption, *Trial by Fire: The Hundred Years War II* (London, 1999), p. 246.

of the two armies as in their arms and equipment. Now I have to admit that my military experience is nil, so I turned for advice to someone who had served in conditions which seem as near to this kind of warfare as possible in today's circumstances, a former officer in the British SAS. His comments were very interesting to a novice in such matters: he cited modern examples of maneuvers with minimal communication, and explained the concept of a mission goal, where the point of departure and the ultimate objective were set, logistics and support provided, but the commander was left to achieve the desired result by his own means. He emphasized too the huge value of charisma in an officer in terms of his relationship with his men: the officer in the Falklands war who could say to his men "Follow the black bobble hat if in doubt, and you'll be OK," is very like the banneret with his group of men at arms: if the banneret was a knight renowned for his prowess in tournaments or war, his men would follow his banner with confidence.

The fact that the prince's men had been marching and fighting together for three months in the previous year, and had assembled again two months before the battle, meant that they knew each other and their commanders well. Medieval armies generally do not appear – as far as we can tell – to have had any kind of group training, and fighting on raids was an excellent substitute. By contrast, the French army had been thrown together scarcely more than a fortnight before. But there are two ways of training an army: my source of military wisdom suggested that the British way in modern times has been to train from the ranks up, and to spend much less time on coordinated training of the officer groups; the German approach has been the reverse, to concentrate on the brigade-level staff, and to ensure a tight and well-trained central commanding machine. I would argue that Edward III's army had just such a coherent general staff, and that it was largely made up of the knights of the Garter.

In order to answer Jonathan Sumption's puzzle, let us try to look at the actions of the Garter knights leading the various divisions at Poitiers. The confusion and uncertainties of any account of a medieval battle are further complicated by partisan views of French and English historians, and the widely differing accounts given by strictly contemporary sources and slightly later writers such as Chandos Herald and Froissart. For an extreme example, a classic French account of the battle published in 1940 offers us an engagement in which the course of events was largely determined by the prince's Gascon allies, rather than the English forces or even the prince's advisers.¹³ It is also worth reminding ourselves of the nature of a medieval army; H. J. Hewitt's vivid sketch is a good likeness:

A feudal army had not a well-defined hierarchy of command ... nor was it a military machine the parts or whole of which responded immediately and unflinchingly to the will of the commander-in-chief. It was an assembly of groups of men with their leaders whom they recognised by their shields or banners, and a "battle" was nothing more

¹³ J. M. Tourneur-Aumont, *La Bataille de Poitiers (1356) et la construction de la France* (Paris, 1940).

than a combination of small groups into a larger group.¹⁴

The leaders of these groups were therefore critical to the functioning of the army as a unit; if they failed to co-operate or to understand each other's likely reaction in the face of unexpected problems, the army was likely to disintegrate into these smaller units.

The battle of Poitiers opened with a French attack on the vanguard led by the oldest of the prince's commanders, Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Warwick, at forty-two, had fought in all of Edward III's campaigns, and had a formidable reputation: in 1344 the abbot of Abingdon addressed him as a "magnificent and powerful man and most energetic warrior."¹⁵ The maneuvers that he executed have been interpreted in very different ways: the opening gambit of the battle can be seen as a possible attempt to retreat, or as an effort to force the French to engage. But there is no reason why it should not have been both, a maneuver which would either provoke an attack by the French or allow a quick exit if the French refused to give battle: this would explain why Warwick had the baggage train with him. The result, however, was clear enough. Warwick's movements caused the French marshals in charge of the enemy vanguard, Clermont and d'Audrehem, to quarrel about the correct response. As a result only half the French vanguard attacked, led by d'Audrehem, and Warwick was able to contain this onslaught while marshal Clermont held back. This is a classic illustration of the point I have just made about the absolute necessity for understanding between the army's leaders. When Clermont attempted to retrieve the situation, the next English commander came into play: the earl of Salisbury, who was in charge of the rearguard, brought his men up to cover the flank of Warwick's men, now heavily engaged with d'Audrehem's men. This seems to have been both good fortune and quick thinking by Salisbury, who found himself within striking distance of Clermont at the critical moment, and realised what was happening. Salisbury, at twenty-eight only two years older than the Black Prince, had seen service at Crécy, in the sea-battle at Winchelsea and in Prussia. The expedition of 1355–56 was his first opportunity for major command. Both he and Warwick were described by Geoffrey le Baker as fighting "like lions" in the hand to hand combat that ensued.¹⁶ This combat was indecisive until the earl of Oxford, the other commander of the vanguard, moved a detachment of English archers into a position where they had a clear line of fire on the French cavalry; in the ensuing carnage one of the French marshals was killed and the other captured.

The first stage of the action had been decided by quick tactical thinking and an understanding of what would have appeared as a very confused struggle to

¹⁴ Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, 115.

¹⁵ Quoted by Anthony Tuck, "Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh earl of Warwick (1313/14–1369)," *Dictionary of National Biography Online*.

¹⁶ Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), p. 148. Baker's account is splendidly rhetorical: "Continuatur orrida Martis insania, decertantibus Warewicensi Saresburiensique leonibus, quis eorum profusiori sanguine Franco terram Pictavensem debriaret, armaque propria calido cruore gloriaretur maculari."

the English commanders. At this stage the Black Prince and his advisers were on higher ground overlooking the scene of the action, and may have been able to send messengers with the necessary instructions; yet there was no guarantee that a messenger could reach any of the commanders in person. If no message was received, the prince and his advisers could rely on their friends to keep to the “mission goal” while improvising their immediate responses.

The next French onslaught was a more or less frontal attack on the prince’s own second division, which had come down the slope to merge with the vanguard. The prince, taking overall command in a battle for the first time, was evidently anxious to gather his forces and use the superior weight of numbers which this would give him. The maneuver was a fairly obvious one, and would have required little other than a command to move forward; and discipline among the English troops was good, so that there seems to have been little problem in merging the two divisions. The attack by the dauphin of France and the duke of Bourbon was driven off with heavy casualties, and the dauphin left the battlefield for safety, apparently on his father’s instructions. The effect of this on French morale seems to have been unexpected and eventually disastrous, as a number of other men now fled, including many of the other half of the French division who had not yet engaged the English army.

The final stage of the battle now depended on the morale of the two sides: the French third division and the remains of the first two divisions were still a very large force, though many of them had already tasted defeat. The English were all weary, and Geoffrey le Baker indicates that some of them were beginning to despair when king Jean launched his attack, blaming the prince for leading so many men away from the army to defend the rest of Aquitaine. Matters were made worse by the fact that some of Warwick’s men had set out in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, not realizing that the decisive action was yet to come. The prince and his commanders seem to have rallied their men successfully in this desperate situation. But if the French fought an orthodox battle, the prince and his commanders improvised brilliantly. One move, the dispatch of a small mounted reserve under Jean de Grailly, captal de Buch, to attack the French from the rear, was straight from the textbooks; but de Grailly, a Gascon who had fought with the prince for the last year, carried it out expertly. The unexpected moves were those of the prince and Warwick: the prince, in face of the advancing French, ordered his banners to *advance* to meet the French, which both strengthened the morale and commitment of his men and surprised the enemy, who were expecting to attack a defensive line. Equally important was the improvised attack by Warwick, who succeeded in rallying enough of his scattered troops to mount an assault on the French flank before the captal de Buch was even in sight. This cannot have been a premeditated move on the prince’s instructions, because the prince was in the thick of the fight, with other Garter knights such as Sir John Chandos and Sir James Audley. The double assault of Warwick and the captal de Buch, a classic if unplanned pincer movement, combined with the forward movement of the prince’s division, was enough to decide the day.

The English commanders had worked together with one aim in mind and had

understood each other's tactics in an exemplary fashion. By contrast, the French had hampered each other: they had adhered rigidly to a battle plan, and had failed to co-operate. From the outset, when Clermont and d'Audrehem quarreled, they were convinced of their ability to defeat the English easily, and therefore did not concentrate on what was actually happening, and what supporting action was needed. The departure of much of the second division was similarly due to poor coordination of the command, in that if Jean II did indeed order his sons to leave the battlefield, as he later claimed, he failed to get the message to his commanders, and they in turn failed to realize the purpose of what he was doing.

I would argue that the English success at Poitiers owes something – though by no means everything – to the spirit of teamwork and chivalric unity promoted by the Garter. These were men who knew each other well, who had fought together, in real warfare and mock warfare, and who in a tight corner instinctively realized how the others might react. The prince may indeed have managed to convey his commands to them in the heat and confusion of battle: but he would not necessarily have known how matters stood with them. Much of what happened on the battlefield was like a mission goal: the commanders knew the objective, and were free to use any means they chose in order to achieve it, if orders did not reach them, or did not correspond to what was happening on the ground. The prince inevitably had to rely as much on their judgment as his own, and he knew them well enough to trust them implicitly. If this analysis is correct, it sheds a new light on what most historians have tended to dismiss as a piece of chivalric vainglory, and makes the Order of the Garter a key element in the English military machine of the mid-fourteenth century.

The Itineraries of the Black Prince's *Chevauchées* of 1355 and 1356: Observations and Interpretations

*Peter Hoskins**

Introduction

There are detailed itineraries for the Black Prince's *chevauchées* in France in 1355 and 1356 which culminated in the battle of Poitiers. The itinerary and events for 1355 were recorded by Geoffrey Le Baker in his *Chronicon*. He was most probably a clerk writing for his patron Sir Thomas de la More, an Oxfordshire knight. He is believed to have died between 1358 and 1360. The record for 1356 is attributed to a monk called Thomas of Malmesbury Abbey writing in his extensive history, *Eulogium Historiarum*, covering the period from the Creation to 1366. There is a continuation to 1413, written by another author, and the inference is that Thomas ceased his work in 1366. Geoffrey le Baker and Thomas were both, therefore, writing soon after the events they describe. Furthermore, both were most probably writing with reference to an itinerary written by members of the prince's middle division.¹ Only occasional reference is made to locations of the vanguard and rearguard. However, on occasion the three divisions were spread over tens of miles to maximize destructive power, and the two itineraries describe only the general axis of advance of the army as a whole.²

* The origin of this article lies in an interest in the Hundred Years War awakened in part by my residence in a region of France which was often from the reign of Henry II until the end of the Hundred Years War "sous la domination anglaise" as it is expressed locally. My interest has subsequently focused on the exploits of the Black Prince and his *chevauchées* of 1355 and 1356. I am currently retracing the routes of these *chevauchées* on foot, which is giving me a local perspective on the conduct of operations. I am indebted to Clifford J. Rogers and other readers of this article for their helpful and constructive advice. Any errors that remain are entirely mine.

- ¹ Galfridi le Baker, *Chronicon*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 127–38, and 292–6, hereafter "Baker." *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, ed. F. S. Haydon (London, 1863), pp. 215–26, hereafter "the Eulogium." *Chronicon*, pp. v–vi, and 293 for biographical notes on Baker and likely access to a contemporary itinerary. Similarly, *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 1, pp. iii–iv, and vol. 3, pp. xxx–xxxvi.
- ² Clifford J. Rogers, "By Fire and Sword: Bellum Hostile and 'Civilians' in the Hundred Years War," in Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers (eds), *Civilians in the Path of War* (Lincoln, NE, 2002), pp. 36–8 for the breadth of destruction in Edwardian *chevauchées*.

Unfortunately some place names in both itineraries are impossible to correlate with modern names with certainty. In some cases uncertainty is of little consequence, but in others a closer understanding of the route can shed light on the nature of operations. It can also resolve differing views of the conduct of the prince's campaigns. This article examines three examples where a better understanding of place names can give a clearer view of the conduct of operations: the route back past Carcassonne in 1355, and the crossing of the Dronne and the deployments in the vicinity of Châteauroux in 1356. The return crossing of the Garonne in 1355 and the route across the Vienne in 1356 are also reviewed, not because in these cases there are doubts over names, but for the examples they give of tactics employed.

1355 – The *Chevauchée* in the Languedoc

The victory of Edward III over Philip VI at Crécy in 1346 and the fall of Calais in the following year had not, as might have been hoped in English circles, resulted in Edward achieving his war aims. The Black Death had intervened between 1347 and 1350 and had had a serious impact on the ability of both Edward and Philip to continue the war energetically. Thus, the pattern of the Hundred Years War in the years immediately following Crécy was one of periods of uneasy truce punctuated by periods of conflict as negotiations for a permanent peace continued. By the spring of 1354 the prospects for a peace which gave Edward full sovereignty over the duchy of Aquitaine and substantial other territorial concessions in return for him renouncing his claim to the French crown seemed within reach. A treaty, drawn up at Guînes, was accompanied by an extension of the current truce until April 1355. An English delegation arrived in Avignon in December 1354 with high hopes of securing the ratification of the treaty. When the French arrived in mid-January 1355 it became clear that there had been a change of heart and that they would not ratify the agreement. The delegations parted in February with nothing to show for their efforts but an extension to the truce until 24 June 1355. Meanwhile the French king's lieutenant in Languedoc, Jean I, count of Armagnac had been a thorn in the side of those Gascons loyal to the English crown, with operations in 1353 in the Saintonge and again in 1354 in the Agenais in violation of the truce.³

The origin of the *chevauchée* in the Languedoc was a visit to England in January 1355 by senior Gascon nobles. They came to argue that when the Truce of Guînes expired in the summer Edward III should take the offensive in the south, in part at least to counter the raids on Aquitaine by Armagnac. At a Great Council in April it was agreed that the Black Prince should go to Gascony with

³ Jonathan Sumption, *Trial by Fire, The Hundred Years War II* (London, 1999), pp. 1–173, for an account of the course of the war from the fall of Calais until the start of the *chevauchée* of 1355.

an army and the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford.⁴ After delays for weather and to muster sufficient shipping, the Black Prince's fleet arrived in Bordeaux on 20 September with a force probably 2,600 strong, including about 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,000 mounted archers, and around 400 foot archers.⁵

At a council of war held the next day it was agreed, despite the lateness of the season, to muster an army to punish Armagnac. This objective sat well with the general concept of operations for an Edwardian *chevauchée*, which Clifford J. Rogers has summarized, drawing on a letter of Edward III to Philippe VI during the Crécy campaign, as being: "to punish rebels against us and to comfort our friends and those faithful to us," and "to carry on the war as best we can, to our advantage and the loss of our enemies."⁶ If the French forces in Languedoc could be defeated in battle so much the better. As Lieutenant Colonel Alfred H. Burne put it: "There were two methods whereby d'Armagnac could be brought to battle: by advancing straight toward him or, if he did not react to that, by devastating his country, until he was forced to take action in its defence."⁷ To achieve these objectives the Black Prince set out from Bordeaux on 5 October with a combined Anglo-Gascon army of between 6,000 and 8,000 men with the Prince's English and Welsh troops supplemented by Gascons – including perhaps 500 men-at-arms and 2,000 light infantry.⁸

By 23 October punishment had been administered with the devastation of a wide swathe of Armagnac's territory up to its eastern borders at Mirande. However, there was more that could be done to carry the war to the French, and the prince's army continued to move east, crossing the river Garonne south of Toulouse on 28 October. The Earl of Derby had been as far as the river in December 1349, but this was the first time that the English had been seen to the east of the Garonne. The result was confusion and panic as the Anglo-Gascon army swept towards the Mediterranean, leaving a trail of destruction in its wake. Armagnac's army had been joined by the constable of France, Jacques de Bourbon, and Marshal Clermont and the French forces were substantially larger than those of the Black Prince, with perhaps as many as four times the number of men-at-arms. Nevertheless, the progress of the Anglo-Gascon army had, other than for some local resistance and skirmishing, been virtually unopposed, with the combined French army avoiding any major contact.⁹ Some sources record the army penetrating as far as Béziers, and Saint-Thibéry 15

⁴ David Green, *The Black Prince* (Stroud, 2001), p. 53; Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2000), pp. 293–4.

⁵ H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–1357* (Manchester, 1958), pp. 20–1.

⁶ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 260 and 324.

⁷ Lt. Col. Alfred H. Burne, *The Crécy War* (1955; repr. Ware, 1999), p. 251.

⁸ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 305, n. 103; Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, pp. 175–6.

⁹ A. Breuils, "Jean I^{er}, Comte d'Armagnac et le mouvement national dans le Midi, au temps du Prince Noir," *Revue des questions historiques*, 59 (Paris, 1896), p. 57 for the Constable and the Marshal joining Armagnac. Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867–77), p. 345 and Jean Le Bel, *Chronique*, ed. J. Viard and E. Déprez, vol. 2 (Paris, 1905), p. 220 for the size of the French army.

miles further still, but on 10 November the prince was at Capestang, a few miles to the north of Narbonne on the Mediterranean coast, and this seems to be the furthest point reached by the main body of the army. It was the turning point for the *chevauchée*.¹⁰

The itinerary after the army turned west from Capestang until the prince's middle guard lodged at Azille on 12 November is not disputed. The two armies were in close proximity, and it has been suggested that the French were to the south of the prince and La Redorte, on the southern bank of the Aude, on 12 November.¹¹ A local guide of the constable of France had been taken prisoner and examined, and it is likely that the prince had sound intelligence on the location of the French.¹²

However, the itinerary from leaving Azille on Friday 13 until Sunday 15 November has been subject to two significantly different interpretations.¹³ The essence of the controversy is whether the army passed either south or north of Carcassonne. The route chosen is not simply of interest for reasons of curiosity. It is fundamental to the question of whether or not the prince was seeking battle with the French, and this is a matter which has divided historians.¹⁴ The route is also of relevance in the wider debate over whether or not there was a general strategy of battle avoidance in the Middle Ages.¹⁵ If the most likely route can

¹⁰ The general accounts of the period after leaving Narbonne give a confusing picture. Baker makes no mention of events at Capestang. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, pp. 350–52 does so but has them occurring before the army reached Narbonne. Dom Claude de Vic and Dom Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, vol. 7 (1844; repr. Nîmes, 1994), p. 191, mentions the army reaching Capestang. Le Bel, *Chronique*, p. 221, has the army ranging to Béziers and 15 miles beyond to Saint-Thibéry.

¹¹ Henry Mullot and Joseph Poux, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'itinéraire du Prince Noir à travers les pays de l'Aude* (Toulouse, 1909), pp. 11, 14.

¹² Robertus de Avesbury, *De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi tertii*, ed. E. M. Thompson (London, 1889), p. 444. Hereafter "Avesbury."

¹³ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 10–15; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 317–19; Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, p. 63.

¹⁴ Writing with a regional perspective Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, and J. F. Jeanjean, *La Guerre de cent ans en pays Audois, incursion du Prince Noir en 1355* (Carcassonne, 1946), are strong exponents of the prince seeking to avoid Armagnac. Hewitt's view, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, p. 63, of the aim after the turn back west is clear: "from now onwards, the ultimate objective is quite clear: it is to reach the march land near Bordeaux with as much of the accumulated booty as can be convoyed without endangering the column." A general perception of battle avoidance is also found in J. M. Tourneur-Aumont, *La Bataille de Poitiers (1356) et la construction de la France* (Paris, 1943), pp. 85–87, in particular p. 85 "... la chevauchée de pillage, autant que possible, sans bataille vers les villes opulentes, rivales historiques de Bordeaux ..." Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 305, takes the opposite view and refers to a general battle-seeking strategy underpinning the *chevauchée*: "... the desire for a decisive battle on favorable terms which always characterized the English approach to strategy in this period ... guided the Prince of Wales in the conduct of his first independent campaign," and, p. 324 n. 197, to the prince's willingness to fight the French given the opportunity.

¹⁵ For debate over battle avoidance versus battle-seeking strategies see, *inter alia*, Clifford J. Rogers, "The Vegetian 'Science of Warfare' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 1–19; Stephen Morillo, "Battle Seeking, The Contexts and Limits of Vegetian Strategy," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 21–41, and John

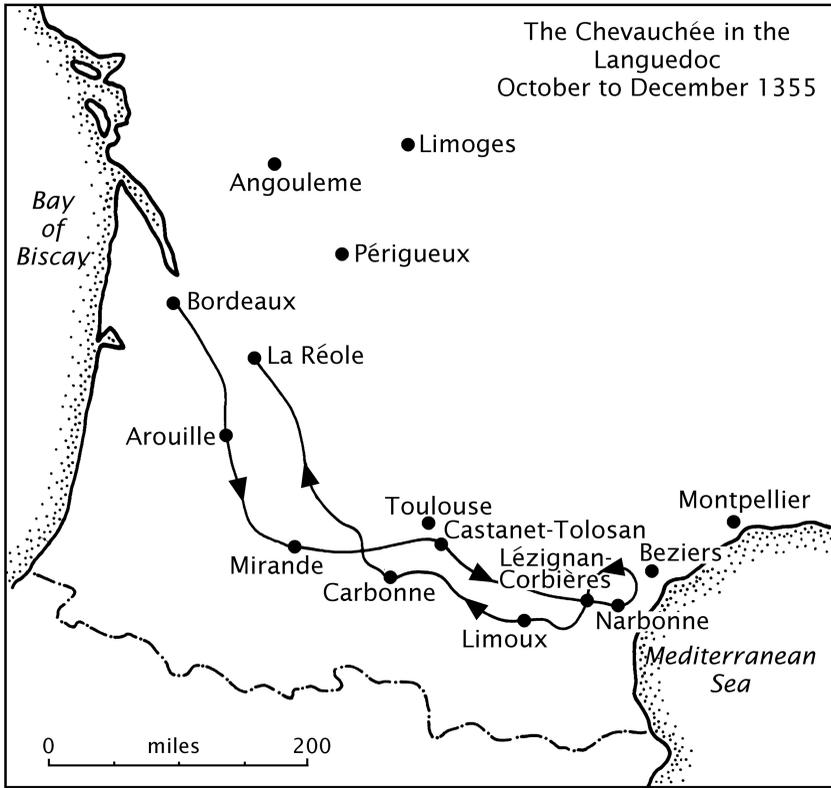


Figure 1 The Chevauchée of 1355

be determined this will be an indication as to whether the prince was pursuing or seeking to avoid Armagnac. With the French army to the south of the Anglo-Gascon army on 12 November, the clear implication of the northern route is that the prince was trying to avoid contact and battle with Armagnac. Indeed, this is the essence of the case of Henry Mullot and Joseph Poux, and of J. F. Jeanjean who draws widely on their work.¹⁶ The southerly route, on the other

Gillingham, "‘Up with Orthodoxy!’ In Defense of Vegetian Warfare," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 2 (2004), 149–58.

¹⁶ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 14: "Au départ de Lamyane, au contraire, une marche en colonnes protégées s'impose naturellement à la prudence anglaise, par suite du voisinage des troupes françaises solidement établies, comme nous l'avons vu, sur la rive gauche de l'Aude. Ce n'est qu'après avoir été rassuré par l'inaction de l'ennemi, qui reste sur ses positions, dans l'expectative, que le prince de Galles se décide de quitter Lamyane." J. F. Jeanjean, *La Guerre de cent ans en pays Audois*, p. 42: "... le Prince ne continua pas sa marche directe vers Carcassonne et l'on comprend pourquoi il tenta de s'éloigner de l'armée du Comte d'Armagnac en remontant vers le Nord."

army burnt among others the town of *Lemoyns*, and a fine town called *Falanges*, which had 21 windmills, and the towns of *Vularde* and *Serre*.¹⁹

Protagonists of the northern route suggest that *Lamyane* was Lamignan. In a near contemporary act, dated 1316, Lamignan was known, *inter alia*, as La Méjane and a corruption from La Méjane to *Lamyane* is certainly feasible.²⁰ Two suggestions for *Lamyane* to the south have been made. The first, Comigne, can be quickly dismissed. It is only 2 miles from the Aude and 10 miles from the starting point for the day. It cannot fit Baker's description of a long and waterless march, and the Latin name of Cominiano in use at the time is not a convincing *Lamyane*. Rogers has suggested that *Lamyane* was Villemagne, south of Azille across Mount Alaric. Records in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show Villemagne variously as Villamagnha, Villa Magna, De Villamanha, and Villare de Villa Magno, and a corruption to *Lamyane* is again feasible.²¹ Both Lamignan and Villemagne fit the bill as being poor places with few houses and little water, assuming that the minor tributary of the Orbieu near to Villemagne had suffered from the unusually dry summer of 1355.²² As for the day's journey, Lamignan is only seven miles from the starting point: not a convincing long march. Villemagne, on the other hand, is twenty miles from Azille. With a climb of eight hundred feet to cross the Montagne d'Alaric this would be a long day's march. The route to Villemagne does cross the Aude, which at first sight does not sit easily with a "waterless march," but it would have been behind the army early in the day and from then on the route is certainly without significant sources of water.

If, as Baker says, they left Lake Esebon (now the dried lake of Marseillette), Carcassonne, and the outbound route to the right then they must have moved south on the Friday.²³ The proponents of the northern route explain this by saying that the prince's army would have seen the lake as a river and the northern shore as the right bank of the river.²⁴ Given Baker's clear description of Esebon during the outbound march as a freshwater lake into and out of which no water flowed, this stretches credulity. Furthermore, the lake, even in its current dried-up state, is clearly visible from higher ground, and is less than a mile from the Aude. It is difficult to conceive that the prince and his senior staff would not have known where they were in relation to both the lake and the Aude.

In a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, written after the return to Bordeaux, the prince states that: "... and by reason that we had news from prisoners and others that our enemies were gathered together and were coming after us to fight us, we turned again to meet them, and thought to have had the battle in the three

¹⁹ Text from Richard Barber, *Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 66 with Baker's place names reinserted.

²⁰ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 10–11.

²¹ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 318 n.165.

²² Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 310.

²³ Thompson's conclusion, *Baker*, p. 295, that *Esebon* is the now dried lake of Marseillette is generally accepted and consistent with other details of the route.

²⁴ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 13.

days next following. And on our turning back towards them, they turned again towards Toulouse. So we pursued them in long marches towards Toulouse.”²⁵ Sir John Wingfield, also writing to the Bishop of Winchester after the return to Bordeaux, tells us that: “... they drew away and disappeared towards the mountains and the strong places, and went by long marches towards Toulouse.”²⁶

With the French south of the Aude the prince's words “turning back towards them” imply the southerly route. It is implausible that the French moved towards the hills of the Minervois with both the Aude and the prince's army in between if they were withdrawing from contact with the Anglo-Gascons. The mountains in question in Sir John's letter must have been those of the Montagne d'Alaric.

Henry Mullot and Joseph Poux, in their advocacy of the northern route, have referred to the destruction of Peyriac-Minervois, Buadelle, Villepeyrroux and Conques to support their case.²⁷ For Peyriac a royal order of 1364 which authorized the inhabitants to rebuild the walls of their church after the passage of the companies of the prince is cited. However, tax exemptions to encourage repairs after the 1355 *chevauchée* were granted for Limoux by Armagnac in February 1356, and King Jean II made similar concessions for Alzonne and Castelnaudary in August 1356.²⁸ A nine-year delay for Peyriac is improbable. Furthermore, there had been incursions by the Great Company in the Languedoc in the early 1360s, with the castle of Peyriac occupied from 11 November 1363 until mid-June 1364. It is more likely that the authority for repairs related to this period.²⁹ No sources are quoted for Buadelle, and that given for Villepeyrroux is erroneous.³⁰ As for Conques, there is nothing more substantive than a reference to a local tradition that the town was sacked by the English.³¹ Even if this were true, again it could easily relate to the period after Poitiers when the countryside was ravaged by the companies. Siran, La Livinière, and Ventajou are also cited as locations that were sacked by the prince's army. Both Siran and La Livinière are within 3 miles of Pepieux, and their destruction would be consistent with them being sacked by outriders on 12 November as suggested by Rogers.³² The only Ventajou to be found now is a hilltop hamlet 7 miles north-west of Pepieux. One

²⁵ Avesbury, p. 438.

²⁶ Avesbury, p. 444.

²⁷ Jeanjean, *La Guerre de cent ans en pays Audois*, pp. 43–44; Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 14; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 318, and notes 163–166; Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, p. 63 for discussion of the route on 13 to 15 November.

²⁸ Jeanjean, *La Guerre de cent ans en pays Audois*, pp. 50–51 for Alzonne and Castelnaudary; L. H. Fonds-Lamothe, *Notices historiques sur la ville de Limoux* (Limoux, 1838), pp. 141–47 for destruction and rebuilding of Limoux.

²⁹ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, pp. 465–88; de Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, 7:241–43.

³⁰ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 14 n. 2 cite Alphonse Mahul, *Cartulaire et Archives des Communes de l'Ancien Diocèse et de l'Arrondissement Administratif de Carcassonne* (Paris, 1857–82), 4:51 to support their contention that Villepeyrroux was sacked. That source, however, refers to the commune of Castans and makes no mention of events in 1355.

³¹ Denis Pébernard, *Histoire de Conques-sur-Orvieil et de la manufacture des Saptés* (Carcassonne, 1899), p. 250 for destruction of Conques being in local tradition.

³² Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 318 n. 164.

source relates that this village, having survived the ravages of the Albigensian Crusade in 1210, was obliterated forever in 1355. This may be so, and it may be that the existing hamlet is an old town of that name, but again this could well have been the work of the prince's army as they moved through Pepieux. Furthermore, the archival reference to the destruction of Ventajou is in an order in 1390 to fortify Cassagnoles, 6 miles north of La Livinière, in the light of the destruction of Ventajou. It is unlikely that this relates to the *chevauchée* of 1355, thirty-five years earlier. Indeed, one local historian makes an explicit link between the fortification of Cassagnoles and the later activities of the Great Company, and by inference the destruction of Ventajou.³³

Unusually, Baker records the locations of all divisions on the Saturday night, 14 November. The middle guard was at *Puchsiaucier*, probably Pennautier about 3 miles north-west of Carcassonne, and the vanguard at *Pezence*, almost certainly Pezens 3 miles to the north-west of Pennautier.³⁴ Both Pezens and Pennautier are feasible locations for marches from either Lamignan or Villemagne. For the vanguard, Villemagne to Pezens, some 26 miles, would have been a long day's march, but not unique for this *chevauchée*. The positions of the middle and rear guards do not, therefore, help in deciding between the northern and southern routes.

The position of the rearguard at *Alieir*, however, is of more interest. It has been interpreted by those who favor the southerly route as Saint-Hilaire, 8 miles north-east of Limoux, and as Villalier five miles to the north-east of Carcassonne by those who argue for the route to the north.³⁵ Archival evidence is lacking, and toponymy does not solve the problem.³⁶ However, there is no reason to doubt that in Baker's account of Sunday's events the abbey of *Prolian* was the Dominican abbey of Prouille, and *Lemoyns*, *Falanges*, *Vularde* and *Serre* were

³³ Jean Miquel, *Essai sur l'Arrondissement de Saint-Pons* (Montpellier, 1895), p. 135 for Ventajou, and Jeanjean, *La Guerre de cent ans en pays Audois*, p. 43 for La Lavinière, Siran and Ventajou. Municipal archives of Cassagnoles for order of viguier of Carcassonne, Béziers, and Minerve for fortification of Cassagnoles in 1390 (Ref 54 EDT 4). Joseph Sahuc, *St-Pons-de-Thomières* (1895–1902; facsimile repr. Nimes, 1994), pp. 10–11 for reference to fortification after the activities of Great Company.

³⁴ Preixan has been suggested for *Pezence* (Baker, p. 295). In view of its spelling Pezens looks much more likely. Pennautier, Pech, and a combination of the two neighboring hamlets of Pech-Redon and Sauzens have been proposed for *Puchsiaucier*: Baker, p. 295; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 318. *Pech* appears on the large-scale maps in countless place names, and this does not help in locating *Puchsiaucier*. Of the proposals only Pennautier is shown as having a bridge on the eighteenth-century Cassinni maps. Earlier bridges at the other locations cannot be ruled out, but evidence for them is absent. In addition, in the sixteenth century Pennautier is recorded as having fortifications “in the style of the middle ages,” Mahul, *Cartulaire et archives des communes de l'ancien diocèse* (Paris, 1857–82), vol. 6, Part 2, p. 419 for various names for Pennautier and p. 457 for description of defenses. In sum, Pennautier is the closest fit for a town with a fortified tower and a bridge and the ancient name for Pennautier was “*Puech Nautier*,” which could become *Puchsiaucier*. Pennautier is the most likely location for *Puchsiaucier*.

³⁵ Mullot and Poux, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 14, n. 6.

³⁶ The Occitan name for Saint-Hilaire is Saint Ilari, and there is land close to the village named *Plan d'Alièro*, remarkably close to the spelling of *Alieir*. It is not difficult to see a corruption of either of these names to become *Alieir*, but equally *Alieir* could be a corruption of Villalier.

Limoux, Fanjeaux, Villar-Saint-Anselme, and Lasserre-de-Prouille. Of these Prouille, Fanjeaux, and Lasserre-de-Prouille are all in close proximity. Limoux, however, is fifteen miles south-west of Carcassonne and Villar-Saint-Anselme is between Limoux and Saint-Hilaire. The destruction of Limoux is not in dispute, and it seems probable that this task was undertaken by the rearguard starting from Saint-Hilaire and taking the route via Villar-Saint-Anselme. Assuming that they then lodged in the vicinity of the rest of the army near Prouille that night, they would have had a march of 20 miles. This is feasible even with the activities at Limoux and Villar. Given that the prince's middle division went direct to Prouille from Pennautier, the same operations conducted by the vanguard at Pezens or the rearguard from Villalier would have entailed a march of at least 34 miles. This would have been quite exceptional and is unlikely.

On the only other occasions when Baker records the overnight dispositions of all three divisions, in the vicinity of Simorre on 24 October and at Avignonet on 30 October, the army was closed up to an area less than 3 miles across. Thus, it could be argued that the wide dispersal of forces on the night of 14 November, with the rearguard 13 miles to the south of the other divisions, would be tactically unusual and casts doubt on Saint-Hilaire as the location of the rearguard. However, the following year there is an instance when the rearguard was lodged 30 miles from the rest of the army. Furthermore, Armagnac still showed a reluctance to do battle, and the initiative was with the prince. It is likely that he had sufficient intelligence of the disposition of the French forces, and confidence, to detach one division to destroy Limoux.

A final consideration is the practicality of the route over the Montagne d'Alaric to Villemagne and then on to Pezens, Pennautier, and Saint-Hilaire. The Montagne d'Alaric is a series of hills in a ridge running east to west. The highest point is 2,000 feet above sea level, 1,800 feet above the river valley, and the hills are rugged and steep. From Azille to Villemagne the only practical route without a wide detour is south-west to Comigne and over a pass 1,000 feet above sea level. The pass is generally flat and wide, but at one point has a significant choke-point where it narrows to little more than the width of the road. After the pass there is a gentle descent into a valley, with two points where it narrows to about half a mile. Villemagne sits in an extensive flat area, with a road running west along a wide valley to Villar-en-Val where the climb over the western edge of the ridge begins.

The road twists and turns as it climbs towards the pass at the Col de Taurize, 1,600 feet above sea level. To both sides of the road the ground is steep and movement would have been restricted to the width of the road. Once across the pass the road descends to Lader-sur-Lauquet and the terrain opens out. This road existed in the Middle Ages, with several ancient settlements linked by the road, and reference exists to the route linking Saint Hilaire with La Grasse a few miles to the east of Villemagne.³⁷ There is a second route out of the valley to the

³⁷ Mahul, *Cartulaire et archives des communes de l'ancien diocèse et de l'arrondissement administratif de Carcassonne*, 5:20 for the route from La Grasse to Saint Hilaire.

west. Both routes converge before Laderm, and although the road over the Col de Taurize is the easiest of the routes, the use of both roads would have eased the movement of the army. There is no reason to suppose that the army could not have followed this route as suggested by Rogers.³⁸

If the primary objective at this stage of the campaign was to return home, then the most obvious route would have been west along the valley of the Aude, leaving the lake at Marseillette and Carcassonne on his right and Mount Alaric on the left, and not the route to the north of Carcassonne. This would not, however, have been a “long and waterless march” and it would not have entailed pursuit of the French “towards the mountains.” Furthermore, there are no place names along the valley which correlate with those in Baker’s account. The choice is between north and south. The prince’s and Sir John Wingfield’s letters, Baker’s account, a review of the archival evidence, the topography, toponymy, and an assessment of time and distance all point to the prince crossing the Montagne d’Alaric in pursuit of Armagnac with the rearguard at Saint Hilaire, the middle at Pennautier, and the vanguard at Pezens on 14 November, the whole army having spent the previous night in the vicinity of Villemagne.

The last significant barrier before the return to friendly territory was the Garonne. The crossing of the river gives us a glimpse of the tactical employment of the prince’s troops. Baker tells us that they made this crossing on Wednesday 18 November near Noé. Although the river is only about half the width that it is further downstream at Pinsaguel where they crossed on their way east, it remains a formidable obstacle. Baker recounts that the boats that were normally kept here to ferry people across the river had been removed, and that the local inhabitants were astonished to see the cavalry cross the river in single file. Baker makes no mention of the infantry or the baggage train, and in contrast to his account of the earlier crossing of the Garonne, reference to the cavalry is explicit. The prince states that the army: “pursued them [the French] in long marches near to Toulouse; where we took our road to pass the Garonne at a town called Carbonne ...”³⁹

³⁸ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 318 n. 166.

³⁹ Baker, p. 136, states: “Aquam de Geronde cum gracia Dei petransitam relacione castellano-
rum nullus potuisset petransivisse post inundacionem pluvie diurne, unde eius transitus Dei
virtuti iuste fuerat ascriptus.” Due to the ambiguity of the subjunctive and of *diurne* (which
can mean either “daily” or “of the day”), it is impossible to be certain whether Baker means
here to indicate that they crossed just before the day’s rain *would have* made the ford impass-
ible, or that they crossed after the flooding caused by daily rain *should have* (already) made
the crossing impossible. M. L. de Santi, “L’Expédition du Prince Noir en 1355, d’après le
journal d’un de ses compagnons,” extract from *Mémoires de l’Académie des sciences, in-
scriptions, et belles-lettres de Toulouse*, 10th Series, vol. 5 (Toulouse, 1904), p. 28, inclines to
the former interpretation, but the context (Baker’s emphasis on divine aid) tends to support
the latter (cf. Barber, *Life and Campaigns*, p. 67). De Santi’s reading implies that there was a
degree of urgency to get mounted troops across the river to provide protection for the crossing
over the bridge at Carbonne before conditions deteriorated to the extent that the river became
impassable. The other interpretation makes the matter perhaps less urgent, but no less impor-
tant, since without such cover the entire army would risk being faced with forcing a crossing
on a narrow bridge with the French arrayed on the other bank. My thanks are due to Clifford
Rogers and John France for their advice on the translation of the Latin.

Baker relates that, having taken the village of Noé and accepted the surrender of the castle, the rearguard stayed in the town overnight. The middle guard moved on up the river, and to the amazement of the local people crossed back over the river three miles upstream to take the village of Marquéfave. They then crossed a third time to take Carbonne by assault, from the river side which was not walled, before the arrival of the prince.

In 1355 Carbonne was further south than the present town on a promontory in an ox-bow bend of the river. The town was to the west of the promontory, with open ground to the east and south between the town and the river. It was fortified with ramparts of brick and stone. If one side were unprotected by ramparts then it would be to the west.

According to one source the town had been deserted by the inhabitants before the arrival of the army. Another source states that the inhabitants, seeing that they could not resist, abandoned their houses and withdrew with their families beyond a bridge to the right bank of the river. They resolved to defend the bridge-head where they fortified themselves and repulsed with vigor the attacks of the prince's army, having realized that they must either hold their ground or perish with their families.⁴⁰ If there is truth in this account then the townspeople were foolish in the extreme and had failed to learn from the experiences of others in the region. However, the account is interesting in that it refers to a bridge over the Garonne which is not mentioned by either Baker or the prince. A bridge did exist in 1355, to the south of the town, possibly of Roman construction, but perhaps built in 1264 to provide access between the abbey of Bonnefont and the town. The bridge was of wooden construction supported by brick pillars, one of which still exists, having survived the floods of 1436 which washed away the bridge.⁴¹ The presence of the bridge over the Garonne at Carbonne may explain why the description of the crossing at Noé refers only to cavalry. If the conditions were so bad that the crossing of horsemen aroused such wonder then it is likely that the crossing by foot soldiers and wagons would have been very hazardous if not impossible. One historian has claimed that elements of the army passed by the town of Rieux, about three miles south-west of Carbonne, approaching the ramparts, assessing the defenses and then deciding to pass on since the ramparts

⁴⁰ Blaise Binet quoted in Henri Ménard, *Carbonne, huit siècles d'histoire* (Saint-Girons, 1985), p. 36, from *Mémoire de Blaise Binet*, probably published around 1768. Binet, a member of the Société Royale des Sciences de Montpellier and of l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Toulouse, and a member of the local administration, contributed to the work of a Benedictine monk, dom Bourotte, "chargé par les Etats de Languedoc de la description historique de cette province commencée par dom Vaissete" (see n. 10, above).

⁴¹ Information concerning the wooden bridge provided by the society *Histoire et traditions Carbonnaises*. Map showing location of town in thirteenth century in Ménard, *Carbonne, huit siècles d'histoire*, p. 142.

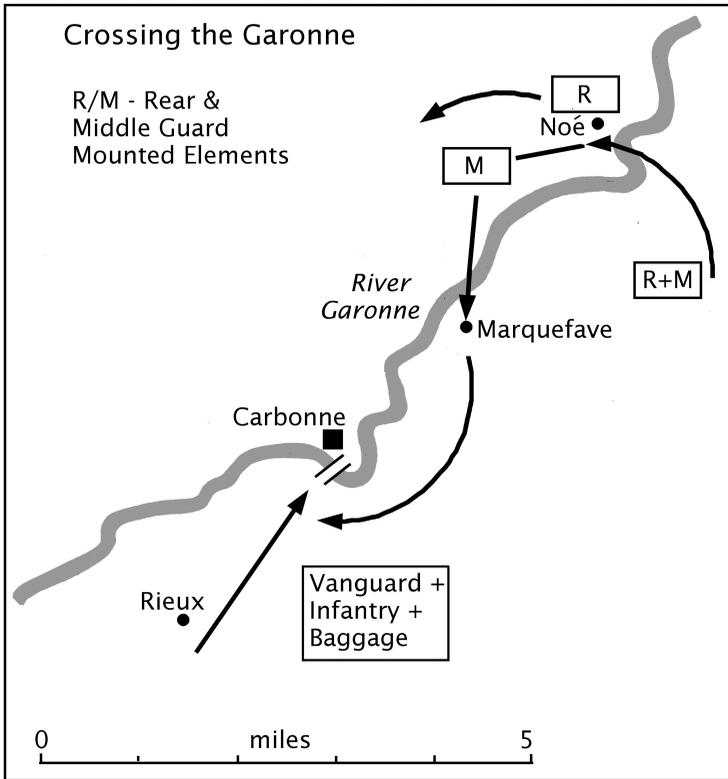


Figure 3 Crossing the Garonne at Noé and Carbonne

were well guarded.⁴² This would be consistent with an approach to Carbonne from the south rather than along the river.

The use of scouts would have revealed the river conditions at Noé and confirmed that the bridge at Carbonne was still standing and would afford a safe and easy passage for transport and infantry. Baker's comment that the middle guard, having moved upriver, took Carbonne *before* the arrival of the prince could also imply that the cavalry of his division had been detached from the infantry and baggage train, and that the prince was with the latter body.

⁴² Jean Contrasty, *Histoire de la cité de Rieux-Volvestre et de ses évêques* (Toulouse, 1936), p. 98, does not produce evidence for his claim. However, it should not be dismissed out of hand. There is a strong oral tradition in the Languedoc relating to the *chevauchée* of 1355. An example being a local historian who recounted to me how, when he was a boy in the 1930s, his grandfather would rebuke him if he were complaining, with the words "Ne te plains pas mon petit, tu verras quand la machine de guerre anglaise passera." The last English army to pass through the village of Ouveillan had been on Tuesday 10 or Wednesday 11 November 1355.

Late on Thursday 19 November news came to the prince that the French, having come out from Toulouse, were in camp about six miles from the Anglo-Gascon rearguard. It is likely that the prince would have been made aware by scouts of the movement of the French in advance of this news. A prudent course of action would have been to get men-at-arms and mounted archers over the river at Noé. They could provide a covering force on the far bank and also a means to secure the bridge at Carbonne for the infantry and baggage train. The account of an initial crossing of the cavalry at Noé, the re-crossing of the middle guard, and the rearguard remaining on the left bank is consistent with such tactics. The result was an uncontested crossing for the army, ready to face the French drawn up close to Carbonne two days later. The prince was ready and willing for battle, but once again the French army melted away to the north-west.

The prince returned to Aquitaine in early December and the Gascon elements of the army dispersed for the winter. At the end of the *chevauchée* in the Languedoc the punishment of Jean d'Armagnac and the comfort to friends of the king of England were evident for all to see. The economic, psychological, and military results, even without a battle, had without question been to the advantage of the king of England and to the loss of the king of France.

1356: The Poitiers *Chevauchée*

On 4 August 1356 the prince moved north from Bergerac, leaving a substantial force to defend Aquitaine in his absence, at the start of the *chevauchée* which was to reach its climax at the battle of Poitiers. Accounts of this *chevauchée* generally treat the conduct of operations, at least until the latter stages immediately before the battle of Poitiers, as being consistent throughout. However, circumstantial evidence points to three distinct phases to the campaign: a deployment phase with the advance to and the crossing of the Vienne, a classic phase of *chevauchée* operations during the advance to the Cher, and a maneuver phase leading to battle at Poitiers.

There are some general comments on widespread destruction during the *chevauchée*, the burning and devastating of the county of Périgord, and to Bartholomew Burghersh capturing two unnamed walled towns on entering Périgord.⁴³ One historian also assumes that because mention is sometimes made

⁴³ Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, in Roberto Palmmarocchi (ed.), *Cronisti del Trecento* (Milan, 1935), p. 526, quoted in Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 355 n. 26, makes general comments on widespread destruction; although as an Italian seemingly remote from the events of the Hundred Years War; the Villani family was widely involved in banking and commerce and the chronicles of Giovanni and subsequently Matteo Villani are well respected sources for events during the war. *Anominalle Chronicle*, trans. Clifford J. Rogers in *The Wars of Edward III, Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 164, refers to devastation of Périgord; *Eulogium*, p. 215 for Burghersh taking unnamed towns. None of these sources, however, gives names for towns taken or destroyed, in contrast to the detailed account in the *Eulogium* after the crossing of the Vienne.

when a town was spared, then by inference any town not noted as having been spared must have been burned. However, there are no reports of destruction of named towns on the itinerary in the Eulogium before the crossing of the river Vienne, apart from the bishop fulminating against looters at Périgueux and the possible destruction of a village near Brantôme.⁴⁴ In addition, the author of the Eulogium is quite specific in stating that banners were not unfurled until the Vienne had been crossed: “Die Dominica, hoc est, XIII. die Augusti princeps transivit praedictam aquam et continuo displicavit vexilla sua et venit ad quamdam villam Litherp vocatam.”⁴⁵ Rogers has suggested that the invaders were “travelling at a moderate pace so as to leave plenty of time for a thorough devastation of the French countryside.”⁴⁶ However, an examination of the crossing of the Dronne, the route through *Quisser* and *Merdan*, the route chosen for the crossing of the Vienne, and the lack of other than generalized statements of widespread destruction support the view of limited combat operations during this phase. The rate of progress may have been due either to a planned meeting with the Duke of Lancaster, as Rogers points out the Prince’s arrival at the Loire was in the event well-timed, or indeed to take account of the longer, more easterly route being taken by other elements of the Black Prince’s army.⁴⁷

On Monday 8 August the prince stayed near a strong castle called *Ramesforde*. This must have been the château of Ramefort which still stands on a rocky outcrop 100 feet above the valley on the north of the Dronne to the south-west of Brantôme. The next day, the prince moved the three miles to Brantôme. From here until they reached Rochechouart three days later there is uncertainty over the route. The prince left Brantôme on 10 August and passed via *Quisser* to *Merdan*, both of which have proved difficult to identify, en route to Rochechouart.

The night of 10 August was passed at *Quisser*, where the army crossed a ford near a mill above which stood a strong castle. Bussière-Badil has been proposed as *Quisser*, but this is implausible since it does not stand on a river and is well to the west of the general line of march. However, Quinsac, six miles north-east of Brantôme along the Dronne, fits Baker’s description well. It has an ancient mill, now in ruins, on the banks of the Dronne, which is thought to be medieval in origin although the earliest existing archive reference is dated 1520.⁴⁸ The château of Vaugoubert stands on the hillside 100 feet above the river valley and about 400 yards from the mill. Although this current château dates from around 1860, and records only survive back to the sixteenth century, there are traces of a moat and two towers thought to date back to a medieval castle. In the Middle Ages there were three fords and an improvised wooden bridge across the river over a distance of about a mile, making a crossing here straightforward.

⁴⁴ Henri Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hopitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1899), p. 119. See also n. 49, below.

⁴⁵ *Eulogium*, p. 216.

⁴⁶ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 353.

⁴⁷ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 353 n. 23.

⁴⁸ Information on Quinsac from L. Grillon, *Un peu d’histoire de Quinsac, des celtes à la révolution* (published privately and undated) and local historian Francis Reix.

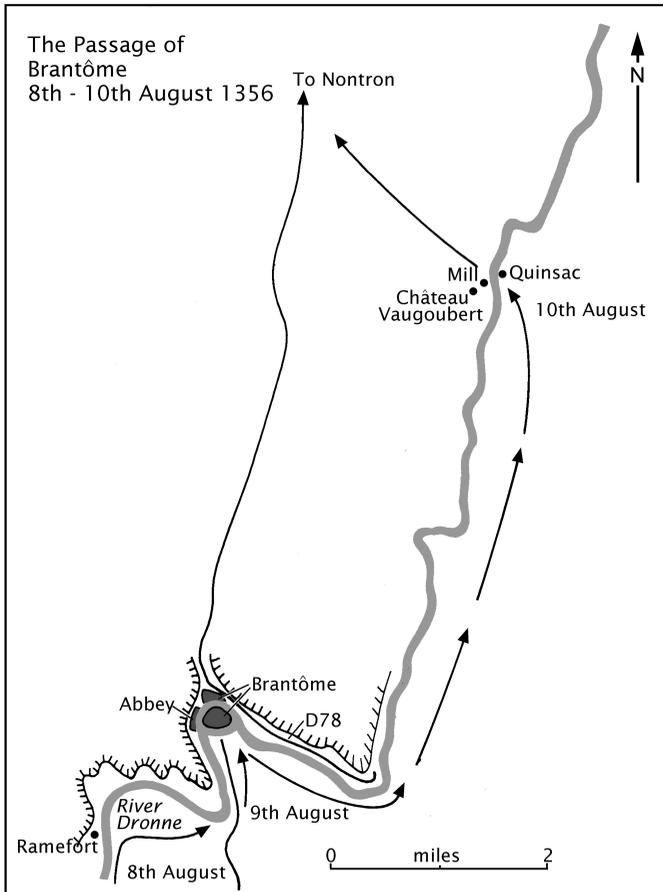


Figure 4 Crossing the Dronne

If Quinsac is *Quisser*, however, we have a conundrum, since if the prince passed through Brantôme, as would seem logical, he would have crossed the Dronne and would have no need to do so again. To do so would take him away from his line of march and across to the wrong side of the river to the east. The solution may lie in the two days spent moving the 10 miles from the vicinity of Ramefort to *Quisser*.

Brantôme is a natural choke-point on the route north. It stands on an island in an ox-bow bend of the Dronne. It was fortified with ramparts overlooking the wide natural moat formed by the river. To the west, immediately across the river, stands a Benedictine abbey, founded by Charlemagne, which was protected by fortifications on the river side, with natural protection behind from cliffs 200 feet high. To the east high ground again rises steeply more than 200 feet above the town. The road north passes through the town over bridges spanning the river

to the south and north. There is a narrow strip of land between the town and the high ground to the east, which currently carries a minor road, which could afford a passage past the town. However, it is well within bow-shot of the ramparts.

The castle and village of La Chapelle-Faucher, five miles east of Brantôme, are said to have been destroyed on the prince's orders.⁴⁹ This seems to indicate that the area was in the hands of forces loyal to King Jean. It is possible that the time spent in the vicinity of Brantôme might be due to consideration of the possibility of an assault, reconnaissance for an alternative crossing, or negotiations to attempt to persuade a garrison undecided about where its best interests lay to come over to the English cause and allow the army to pass. In the absence of an unmolested passage through the town there would, of course, be the option of taking the town by assault. Towns of a similar size had been taken the previous autumn. However, the delay in unfurling of banners may have reflected a desire to avoid unnecessary combat and casualties at a time when the nearest substantial French force was almost 200 miles away with the count of Poitiers at Bourges. Action at this stage would deplete resources without the prospect of provoking the French into battle. If a passage of the Dronne could not be made at Brantôme the best option would be to move east for 2 miles, follow the river north to Quinsac, and then cross the river. This would explain a crossing of the Dronne, from east to west, at Quinsac and not at Brantôme.

What then of *Merdan*, which has been variously interpreted as Marthon, Nontron, and Saint Martin-le-Pin?⁵⁰ Marthon is the closest approximation in sound to the name recorded in the Eulogium, but it is well to the west of the line of march, and the march to Rochechouart would mean a large detour in the route from Brantôme. It would also mean two days of marches each of almost twenty-five miles, which would have been very much out of keeping with the almost leisurely progress to date on this *chevauchée*. In addition, an exhaustive study of the archives of Marthon conducted towards the end of the nineteenth century reveals evidence of an attack on the town in 1347, but not in 1356.⁵¹ This absence cannot, of course, be conclusive proof that the prince did not pass through Marthon, but it seems an unlikely candidate for *Merdan*. Two other places with similar sounding names, are the small town of Montbron, 24 miles north-west of Quinsac, and the castle of Montbrun near the small village of Dournazac a similar distance to the north-east. Other than the toponymy there is nothing else to support Montbron being *Merdan*, and as with Marthon it would have entailed long marches and an unnecessary deviation from the generally northerly march. The castle of Montbrun is more likely, in that the onward march to Rochechouart is shorter at 20 miles, but there is no other evidence to support this proposition.

The Eulogium relates that the prince and his men were able to buy large

⁴⁹ Le Comte de Bruc-Chabans, *Le Château de la Chapelle-Faucher* (Le Bugue, 1992), p. 8.

⁵⁰ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 353 n. 24 summarizes the various views on the location of *Merdan* and *Quisser*.

⁵¹ Abbé Adolphe Mondon, "Notes historiques sur la baronnie de Marthon en Angoumois," *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (Angoulême, 1895, 1896, and 1897), for a compilation of the archival records for Marthon.

quantities of fish at *Merdan*. Five miles north of Nontron is an artificial lake belonging to the Grandmontain abbey of Badeix in Saint Estephe. There is another lake of similar size, Grolhier, a further five miles to the north. Such lakes were originally constructed for the production of fish, possibly in the case of the Grandmontains, as a result of a dispensation by Pope John XXII in 1317 relaxing their earlier vegetarian regime and authorizing them to follow the conventional Benedictine code.⁵² The account of the supply of fish in the Eulogium is unusual, and would be consistent with either Nontron or Saint-Martin-le-Pin, both close to the lakes, being *Merdan*.

In the fourteenth century Saint-Martin-le-Pin, 3 miles north-west of Nontron, had only 102 inhabitants in 17 households. Nevertheless, *Merdan* could feasibly be a corruption of its name.⁵³ Nontron, on the other hand, is not an obvious candidate on the basis of toponymy. However, it is, and was, a good-sized town on a more-or-less direct line of march north from Périgueux, through Brantôme, to Rochechouart. The approach to Nontron from the south would have confronted the prince's army with a formidable obstacle if it were in enemy hands, with a steep descent into the valley of the Bandiat running across the line of approach. Behind the river is an escarpment rising 200 feet above the valley floor. The town is on a steep rocky spur jutting out from the escarpment like an upturned boat before broadening out to the north. With the road north running through the town Nontron would have presented a significant obstacle. However, in a letter dated 29 May 1357 one Ietier de Maignac forfeits "all his goods, either in the manor of Nontron or elsewhere, since the said de Maignac is accused of having delivered the castle of Nontron into the hands of the enemies of the Viscount de Limoges."⁵⁴ It is possible that this refers to some later action after the Battle of Poitiers, but most military action before a truce was agreed in Bordeaux on 23 March 1357 was in Brittany and Normandy and not in the Dordogne. If this surrender was related to the passage of the prince, then the army could have passed through the town unmolested. Casualties which would have resulted from an assault to the detriment of fighting strength could have been avoided. Nontron seems the most plausible location for *Merdan*.

Further circumstantial evidence on the tactic of avoiding unnecessary combat

⁵² The ruins of the twelfth-century Abbey at Saint Estephe are listed as a historic monument. Details of the origins and purpose of the lakes are given in *Visite commentée de la communauté de communes du Périgord Vert Granitique*, published by the Office de Tourisme Intercommunal du Périgord Vert Granitique, Piégut-Pluviers. *Sites Naturels en Périgord* (Périgueux, 1993), Section 13 for construction and purpose of lakes. Information on Grandmontain order from the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Grandmontains. One source, "Essais topographiques, historiques et bibliographiques sur l'arrondissement de Nontron," *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 14 (1887), p. 325, surmises that the lakes were much older than the monasteries.

⁵³ R. Laugardière, "Essais topographiques, historiques et bibliographiques sur l'arrondissement de Nontron," *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 16 (1888), p. 65.

⁵⁴ R. Laugardière, "Essais topographiques, historiques et bibliographiques sur l'arrondissement de Nontron," *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 12 (1885), p. 431.

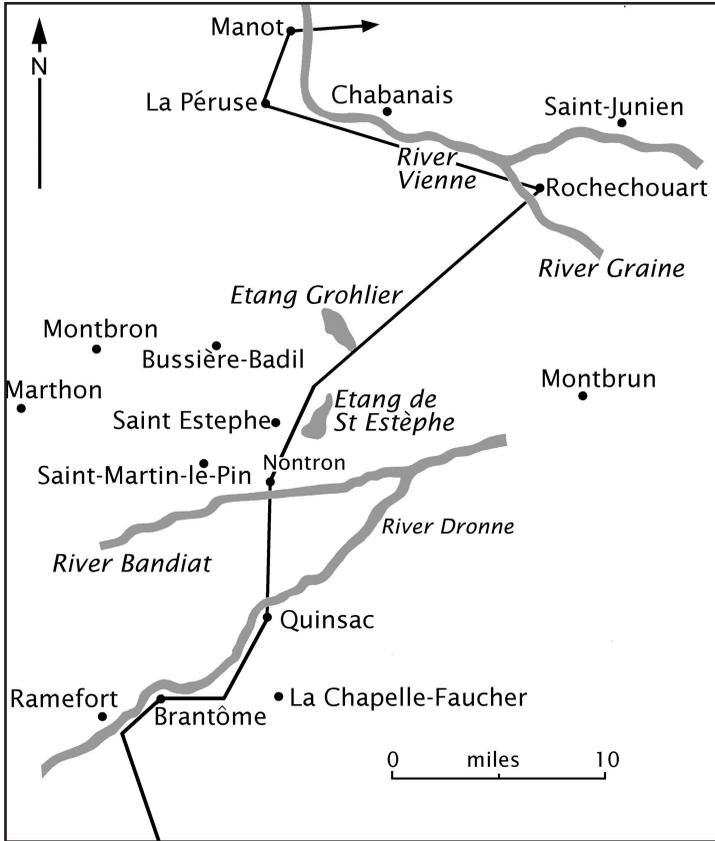


Figure 5 Crossing the Vienne

during this stage of the *chevauchée* relates to the crossing of the Vienne. From Rochechouart the prince turned to the west, staying at the priory of La Péruse on Saturday 13 August. From La Péruse the army probably forded the Vienne approximately 500 yards north of the modern road bridge at Manot. This ford had been in use at least since Roman times, and would have been a well-known crossing point.⁵⁵ But why cross here? The prince had been progressing in a more-or-less direct route from Périgueux towards Bourges. In view of the known points on his itinerary for the next few days, it would have been more logical to have crossed the Vienne at either Chabanais or Saint-Junien, respectively about 6 miles north-west and north-east of Rochechouart. Both towns had had bridges over the river since at least the thirteenth century, and routing via Saint-Junien

⁵⁵ Pierre Boulanger, *Manot, quelques pages de notre histoire* (Manot, 1992), p. 5; Nicole Raynaud, "La Chevauchée du Prince Noir en 1356: recherche de son itinéraire entre La Péruse et Le Dorat," in *Travaux d'archéologie limousine*, 18 (1998), pp. 86 and 88.

would have saved more than 30 miles, well over a day's marching, compared with the route via La Peruse. The drawback with these routes was that both bridges were in the vicinity of fortified towns. Chabanais was on both banks of the river, with the stone bridge linking the two parts leading directly into the gates of the castle on the north bank, which was surrounded by a ditch on the other sides. A crossing at Chabanais would have required the reduction of the castle to secure the crossing. This would have entailed an assault through the town and across the bridge, since fording the river, although it is quite shallow here in dry weather, would have been impractical in the wet summer of 1356.⁵⁶ At Saint-Junien the medieval town stood a few hundred yards back from the river and the Pont Notre Dame, but those crossing the bridge would inevitably move within bow-shot range of the town's ramparts.⁵⁷

In comparison to towns assaulted on the *chevauchée* of the previous autumn, the reduction of Chabanais or Saint-Junien should have been within the capacity of the prince's army, but in both cases casualties would have been incurred and the losses to fighting strength would have been irreplaceable. If the priority was to maintain maximum fighting strength for the anticipated battle with the count of Poitiers at Bourges, or with greater French forces subsequently, then an uncontested crossing would be preferred. The use of the ford at Manot met this tactical preference.

Once across the Vienne banners were unfurled and the character of the campaign changed. Bourges was about 125 miles away in a direct line, and the prince could be there within a week. If the count of Poitiers were still there then a campaign of destruction might draw him out or perhaps King Jean could be drawn south. The cautious approach to date was now set aside, and the itinerary becomes a catalogue of towns and castles taken and destroyed. About 10 miles beyond the river the prince came to Lesterps, a town defended by walls and ditches with a fortified Augustinian abbey. Here we have the first specific reference to hostile action since Burghersh's capture of two towns at the outset of the expedition, with the abbey surrendering after resisting the assault of the prince's troops for a great part of 14 August. From Lesterps the prince moved on to Bellac on 16 August. The route was marked by a number of castles close to or on the road: Le Dognon, Mons, Richelidoux and Le Fraisse.⁵⁸ Of these Le Fraisse is said to have been destroyed by the Black Prince.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Baker, p. 142, relates how heavy rains had made the Loire impassable.

⁵⁷ The Pont Notre Dame over the River Vienne at Saint-Junien, recorded as a Historic Monument, dates from the thirteenth century. For the castle and bridge at Chabanais, see José Délias, *Chabanais* (Paris, 1997), pp. 69, 70, and 85.

⁵⁸ Raynaud, "La Chevauchée du Prince Noir en 1356," pp. 77–90.

⁵⁹ The marquis du Fraisse, whose family has held the property since 1220, asserts that the destruction of the castle by the Black Prince's troops is recorded in the family archives as having occurred on or about 20 August, four days after the Eulogium records the army having been in the vicinity. Nicole Raynaud (see notes 46 and 48) has had extensive access to the archives and has not found the supporting evidence. However, the building of a new castle in the fifteenth century to replace a thirteenth-century building provides some circumstantial evidence in support of the claim.

One local historian has remarked that “The oral sources in the Limousin are unreliable. The Black Prince has become a person of legend: not a castle, not a village would have been spared!”⁶⁰ Thus perhaps we should be wary of the oral tradition that the castle in the village of Mortemart was destroyed around 14 August. However, we are on firm ground with Bellac which, since it was in the possession of the Countess of Pembroke, was spared from the flames. It is indicative of the nature of the campaign at this stage that the fact that the town was spared was worthy of comment.⁶¹

On Wednesday the prince’s division arrived at Le Dorat, which had both a castle and a fortified church.⁶² The town, defended by wooden walls, appears to have fallen easily, but the occupants of the fortified church resisted for the greater part of the day and then surrendered.⁶³ Another source, albeit not contemporary and with some confusion over the date of events, recounts that the castle was assaulted and held out, but that the town was destroyed.⁶⁴

On the same day two unidentified strong castles were taken by assault by the vanguard. The prince stayed in one of them on the night of Thursday 18 August, before moving on to Lussac-les-Eglises. The prince’s next destination, having burnt Lussac before departure, was Saint-Benoît-du-Sault 16 miles to the north-east. Local tradition has it that the town was taken by assault, with the prince’s forces gaining access by scaling the unfortified escarpment to the south. On Sunday 21 August the prince advanced a further 14 miles to Argenton-sur-Creuse.⁶⁵ We do not know if the town was destroyed, but on the same day a further strong castle, which has not been identified, was captured.

Meanwhile events were taking shape elsewhere which would have a significant impact over the coming month. It is believed that the original plan for the campaigns of the summer of 1356 had been for a three-pronged attack towards the center of France: King Edward from the Channel, the duke of Lancaster from Normandy, and the prince from the south. However, on 10 August Aragonese

⁶⁰ Nicole Raynaud, “La Chevauchée du Prince Noir en 1356,” p. 77.

⁶¹ R. Delachanel, *Histoire de Charles V*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1909), p. 198 n. 1. Eulogium, p. 217.

⁶² The town is not named in the Eulogium, but we are told that the town and its strong castle belonged to Jacques de Bourbon and that his wife was residing there. In fact, Le Dorat was a possession of Pierre I de Bourbon in 1356, although it was held on his behalf by his brother Jacques de Bourbon as Count de la Marche et Ponthieu. He was absent with the army of King Jean II, but his wife, Jeanne de Châtillon, was present in the town. Michel Courivaud, *Le Dorat en Basse-Marche* (Autremencourt, 2004), p. 58. See also Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hôpitaux*, p. 118.

⁶³ J. Nouaillac, *Le Dorat à travers son passé* (Le Dorat, 1932), pp. 19–21, for defenses of Le Dorat, its castle, and the Bourbon ownership.

⁶⁴ Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hôpitaux*, p. 118 and p. 118 n. 2.

⁶⁵ The town does not seem to have been fortified before the fifteenth century, when the town started to expand across the river and this new part was fortified around 1420. However, although lacking town walls, Argenton was protected by a formidable fortress, the strong fortress of the Eulogium, with ten stone towers and 600 meters of ramparts. *Argenton-sur-Creuse en Berry, au fil des rues*, ed. Laurence Lechaux (Argenton-sur-Creuse, 2002), pp. 12, 35–37, and 39.

galleys in the service of the French were sighted off the Kent coast.⁶⁶ This posed a serious threat to English shipping and the planned expedition by the king was abandoned. But Lancaster, who since 13 July had been at his headquarters at the abbey of Montebourg about 20 miles south-east of Cherbourg, could still join with the prince. On the French side the count of Poitiers had withdrawn from Bourges on 18 August while the prince was in the vicinity of Le Dorat and Lussac-les-Eglises. The count was instructed to hold the line of the Loire to the east of Bourges until reinforced by the king and the dauphin, Charles. By 20 August he was at Decize, more than 50 miles south-east of Bourges.⁶⁷ King Jean, having concluded that the progress of the Black Prince presented the greater threat, lifted the siege of the castle at Bretueil where his Navarrese enemies had been keeping him at bay, and moved to Chartres. The marshal, Jean of Clermont, was sent to organize the defense of Touraine, and two detachments, one under the leadership of Grismouton and the other led by Jean de Bouccicaut and Amaury de Craon, were sent south as advanced parties as the king set about gathering his army.⁶⁸

How aware the prince was of these events we do not know, but the army rested at Argenton before arriving at Châteauroux on Tuesday 23 August. The town's defenses were in a poor state of repair and the prince's troops were able to enter the town without difficulty. Consideration now turned to an assessment of the strength of the castle, and the prince held a council. The chronicler here is quite explicit: the consensus was that the defenders were determined and valiant, it was judged that an attack would cost many men, that success was not certain, and that since the English wanted to do battle with the king of France they had no need to make the assault.⁶⁹ Thus, we have further evidence that the primary aim of the *chevauchée* was to close and do battle with Jean II, and also of the importance attached to conserving fighting strength. Destruction of towns and fortifications continued, but not when the cost was likely to be high.

Unusually on 23 and 24 August we are told where all three divisions lodged. The prince was at Châteauroux, while the vanguard was at *Burgo Dei*, and the rearguard at *Seynt Yman*. *Burgo Dei* has been variously interpreted as Villedieu-

⁶⁶ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, p. 226 n. 53, referring to Public Record Office (London) C76/34, m. 8 and *Foedara, conventiones, literae et acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer, 7 vols. (1816–69), 3:377–78.

⁶⁷ Delachanel, *Histoire de Charles V*, 1:199 and n. 4.

⁶⁸ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, pp. 222, 226, and 227.

⁶⁹ "... que si ledict prince faisoit faire l'assault, qu'ill perdroit moult de ses gens, et toutefois n'estoit-il pas seur de gagner la place. Ceux qui avoient parlé à monseigneur André confirmerent le dict d'icelluy chevalier, et pour ce fust visé que veu que les Anglois devoient avoir la bataille contre le roy de France, qu'ills n'avoient encore nul mestier de faire l'assault," M. Grillon des Chapelles, *Esquisses biographiques du département de l'Indre* (Paris, 1864), containing *Historique des princes de Déols*, written by Frère Jean de la Gogue, a Benedictine monk at the Priory of Saint Gildas in Châteauroux in the fifteenth century, pp. 394–97, and *Histoire du chronique des princes de Déols et barons de Châteauroux*, believed to be written by Père Péan, Superior of the Convent of Cordeliers in Châteauroux in the seventeenth century, pp. 450–51.

sur-Indre, about eight miles to the west of Châteauroux, or Déols, now contiguous with Châteauroux but just across the river Indre. At first sight Villedieu-sur-Indre seems an obvious translation of *Burgo Dei*, but in earlier times Déols was known as Bourg Dieu. The Eulogium tells us that *Burgo Dei* had a fortified abbey. Déols had the fortified Benedictine Abbey of Notre Dame protected by walls and five large towers, while Villedieu did not.⁷⁰ It seems most likely that the vanguard was at Déols, a little over a mile from the prince's middle guard. *Seynt Yman* is generally taken to be Saint-Amand-Montrond, 20 miles to the east of Châteauroux, although one historian believes this to be Saint-Maur, 3 miles to the west of the middle guard.⁷¹ These differences of interpretation are important because the locations of the three divisions on 23 August give an indication of the conduct of operations. At one extreme we have the three divisions concentrated within 3 miles of each other at Saint-Maur, Déols, and Châteauroux. At the other extreme, the army is spread out across 48 miles between Villedieu-sur-Indre and Saint-Amand-Montrond. An examination of the activity on the right flank helps to resolve the location of the rearguard.

The route in the Eulogium at first sight seems to be in conflict with other sources which describe a more easterly route through the Rouergue, Agenais, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berry.⁷² However, the likely explanation is not that we have a difference to resolve. It is most probably simply that the prince was following the route in the Eulogium and that one of the other divisions was following a more easterly route than that of the prince for the initial part of the *chevauchée*. We also have accounts of some of the army, but not the prince, spending time near Bourges engaged in skirmishing with French forces and destroying suburbs of the city, again leading to the conclusion that the army was widely dispersed at this stage.⁷³

By Sunday 28 August the rearguard was at Aubigny-sur-Nère, 30 miles further north from Bourges. It is likely, therefore, that it was this division in action at Bourges. According to Bartholomew Burghersh's letter the army also visited Nevers, 40 miles east of Bourges. This can only have been the rearguard, and yet four days later the rearguard was at Aubigny-sur-Nère. There are also accounts of visitations on Dun-sur-Auron and Blet close to the route from Saint-Amand-Montrond to Bourges.⁷⁴ We do not have dates for the army at Nevers,

⁷⁰ Hilaire de Vesvre, *Déols et Châteauroux des origines à nos jours* (Verneuil-sur-Igneraie, 1951), pp. 20 and 30. Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hôpitaux*, p. 118.

⁷¹ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp* pp. 354–55, and Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, p. 104, prefer Villedieu for *Burgo Dei*. Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hôpitaux*, p. 118, and Delachanel, *Histoire de Charles V*, 1:198, opt for Déols. Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, A Biography of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1978), p. 134, also prefers Déols but considers that *Seynt Yman* was Saint Maur.

⁷² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 18, pp. 385–86, for Bartholomew Burghersh's letter of September 1356 for the route through the Agenais, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berry. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, pp. 377–380 for a route through the Rouergue, Auvergne, Limousin, and Berry.

⁷³ Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, 18:385–86 for Burghersh's letter; 5:384–86 for Berry and Bourges.

⁷⁴ Guy Gross, *Le Prince Noir en Berry* (Bourges, 2004), p. 46 for Blet and p. 49 for Dun-sur-Auron.

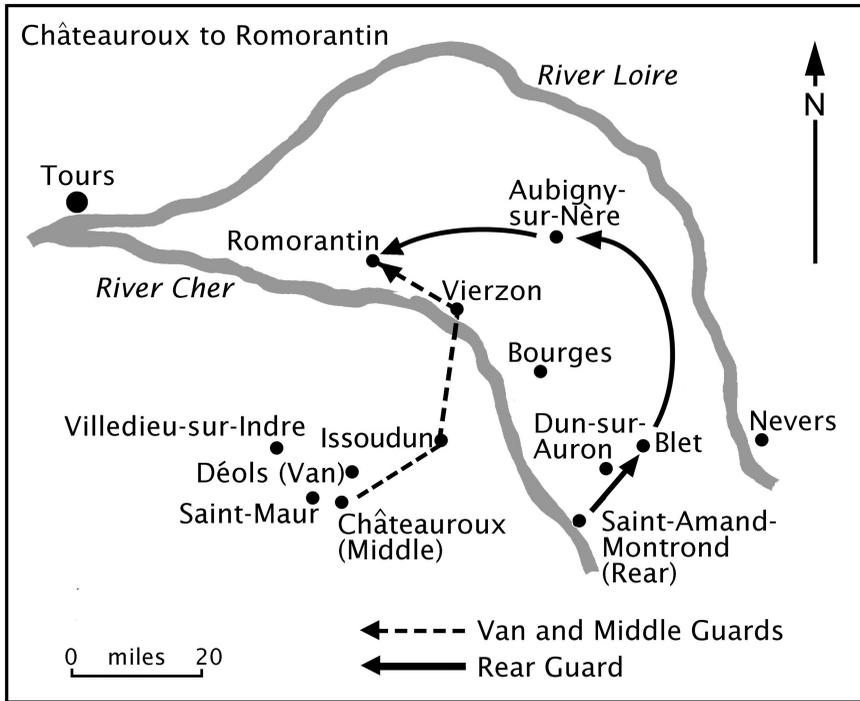


Figure 6 Dispositions near Chateauroux

but a logical course of events would have been for the main body of the rear-guard to have gone to Bourges with a detachment going further out to the right to Nevers. The troops of this detachment would have covered 110 miles from Saint-Amand-Montrond before reaching Aubigny-Sur-Nère four days later, 24 August having been a day of rest. All this would have been demanding enough, but to have made the same journey from Saint-Maur would have added 40 miles to the itinerary making the overall march 150 miles. Even if the rearguard had foregone the rest day, this would have been a very tall order. Saint-Maur is not a plausible location for the rearguard.

It is probable that the van and middle guards were in close proximity at Déols and Châteauroux, with the rearguard to the east at Saint-Amand-Montrond. The rearguard, having taken a more easterly route than the other divisions, had very likely been converging to concentrate the army's strength in anticipation of an encounter with the count of Poitiers in the vicinity of Bourges. With news of the count having withdrawn some days previously this convergence would no longer have the same urgency, but it would have been prudent to verify that the count had indeed withdrawn and to know what was happening on the Loire.

At Saint-Amand-Montrond, the rearguard would have been best placed of all the divisions for this mission, and it is probable that they moved out north-east to Nevers and Bourges, then north towards Aubigny-sur-Nère and the Loire, fifteen miles beyond the town, before turning south-west to rejoin the prince at Romorantin at the end of the month.

Meanwhile the prince with the middle guard and the vanguard continued to the north, wreaking widespread destruction to the town of Issoudun and its abbey of Saint-Paterne, to the extent that the abbey was never rebuilt.⁷⁵ On crossing the Cher, the ancient boundary between Aquitaine and France, the destruction continued with widespread spoliation by the captal de Buch and the burning of the abbey of Saint-Pierre at Vierzon.⁷⁶ However, now the third phase of operations started with both armies seeming intent on battle. On 29 August Chandos and Audley routed a French force under Grismouton. Later that day there was a further skirmish which, although events initially went in favor of the French, resulted in the lords Craon and Boucicaud holing up in the castle at Romorantin. The following day the prince's army gathered outside the town. In a departure from previous operations the prince elected to lay siege to the castle. The castle was taken after five days. The march then continued to the west, with a pause between 7 and 10 September at Montlouis to the east of Tours. From here the Anglo-Gascon army, unable to cross the Loire and wishing to avoid being trapped against the river, turned in a southerly direction, playing a game of cat and mouse with the French army. There was a skirmish on 17 September which resulted in substantial French casualties, and the prince turned to seek out the French army the following day. Battle followed on Monday 19 September at Nouaillé-Maupertuis in the vicinity of Poitiers.

It is not my purpose to deal here with the period following the crossing of the Cher until the battle in any detail. Rogers has set out the course of events clearly elsewhere and evaluated the arguments for the prince having been either seeking or attempting to avoid battle. His contention is that the prince was seeking battle.⁷⁷ The examination of the two earlier phases of the *chevauchée* support his thesis. First, until the crossing of the Vienne the emphasis was on deploying the force intact. In the second phase the focus was on destruction of towns and castles, but in a measured fashion with resources being conserved with the aim of combat with the French. The wide sweep to the east of the rearguard and its convergence with the main force in the vicinity of Châteauroux also points to a coherent plan to concentrate force for battle with the French.

⁷⁵ Armand Pérémé, *Recherches historiques sur la ville d'Issoudun* (Paris, 1847), pp. 131–32; Romain Guignard, *Issoudun des origines à 1850. Aperçu des chroniques locales* (Issoudun, 1943), p. 44.

⁷⁶ Denifle, *La Désolation des monastères, églises, et hôpitaux*, p. 119.

⁷⁷ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 357–72.

Conclusion

Those who view the prince's activities of 1355 and 1356 as little more than brigandage dismiss any concept of a coherent strategic approach to the conduct of operations between the prince's arrival in Bordeaux and the battle of Poitiers almost exactly one year later. H. J. Hewitt wrote of the 1355 *chevauchée*: "That this campaign lacked a strategic plan is largely true, but it is also a truism of all warfare in the fourteenth century."⁷⁸ J. M. Tourneur-Aumont's judgment on events in 1356 was "... let us not talk of forces serving the English crown. It was just a matter of brigandage."⁷⁹ Rogers summarizes the conventional wisdom as follows: "When his attempts to escape a pursuing French army and avoid battle failed, the argument runs, the prince was forced to fight, and once again the tactical prowess of the English soldiers rescued their leaders from a disaster nearly brought on by incompetent generalship. Prince Edward's words to the contrary, stating that during the campaign he had been seeking rather than avoiding battle, have been dismissed as the 'official version,' designed to sway public opinion in England after the fact, and rather different from reality."⁸⁰

Rogers goes on to argue for a strategic plan, and the examples in this article support this thesis. First, the return route taken past Carcassonne between 13 and 15 November 1355 favors the interpretation of a southerly route with the prince in pursuit of the French and intent on battle. Similarly, the tactics at the crossing of the Garonne at Noé and Carbonne show the prince prudently protecting his crossing when in the proximity of the French army in preparation for an anticipated engagement with the French. In 1356 there was a tactical pattern in the phased conduct of operations up to the battle of Poitiers in support of the strategic goal of bringing the French to battle.

⁷⁸ Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition*, p. 71.

⁷⁹ Tourneur-Aumont, *La Bataille de Poitiers (1356)*, p. 97.

⁸⁰ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 348–50.

The *Chevauchée* of John Chandos and Robert Knolles: Early March to Early June 1369

Nicolas Savy

(Translated by Clifford J. Rogers)

The *chevauchée* conducted by John Chandos and Robert Knolles in the spring of 1369 is known to us, in its broad outlines, through the account of it presented by Jean Froissart in his chronicles.¹ The details, the military objectives, and the tactics of this operation, however, remain less than clear. Historians have shown little interest in it. Guillaume Lacoste, in the brief narrative contained within his monumental *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*,² often contradicts both Froissart and the archival documents regarding the chronology of the operation, which proves that he did not devote sustained attention to the campaign. A closer look makes it clear that although the objectives assigned to John Chandos and Robert Knolles were of very great importance, the results did not match the expectations, so that their expedition fell into the obscurity reserved for grand enterprises concluded without success.

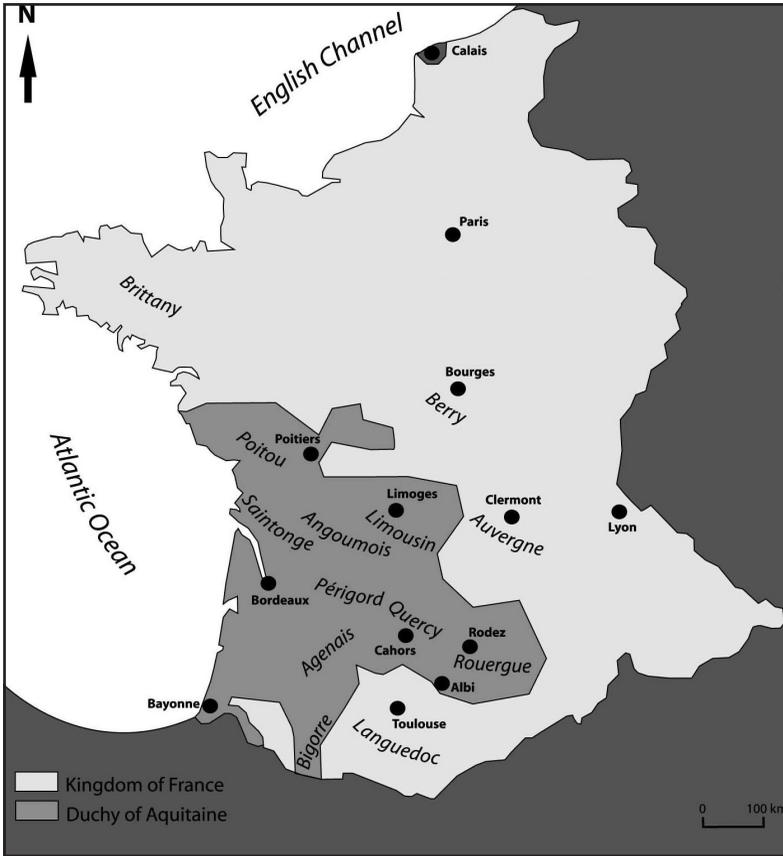
In order to define properly the goals of this *chevauchée*, it is necessary to situate it correctly in the general context of the troubled events of the years 1368–69. This done, it will be possible to take into account its strategic objectives and the role that was expected for it, and thereby to observe the mismatch between the operation and the mission it was intended to fulfill. Finally, the study of the actions taken by the French in opposition to it will show that they possessed a clear awareness of the Anglo-Aquitainian objectives, and that they had taken them fully into account as they launched their riposte. This first major military action of the resumption of Anglo-French conflict bore within itself the factors which explain the future successes of the armies of Charles V.

General Political Context

Since the conclusion of the treaty of Brétigny in 1360, Quercy, like Poitou, Saintonge, the Agenais, Périgord, the Limousin, Bigorre, the Angoumois and

¹ Jehan Froissart, *Chroniques*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 2nd edn, 25 vols. (Osnabrück, 1967), 7:361–76.

² Guillaume Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, 2nd edn, 4 vols. (Marseille, 1982), 3:207–09.



Map 3 The Principality of Aquitaine (1362–69)

Rouergue, had been living under English domination, and had been integrated into the principality of Aquitaine, under the rule of the prince of Wales. The people of Quercy endured this subjugation with resignation. It was not that they felt any more-or-less “nationalistic” aversion to Plantagenet power, but the Treaty of Brétigny, which had separated them from the authority of the king of France, had not brought with it the peace and the return to prosperity they so longed for: mercenary companies continued to live off the land, and the economic situation remained abysmal. Despite all his own political errors, in this difficult climate the prince of Wales was less the cause of the discontentment of his subjects than the focus of them: the hearth-tax which he pushed through the assembly of nobles and townsmen gathered at Angoûlême in January 1368 was, more than a fundamental element of the revolt, a precipitating factor which Charles V and his officers exploited skillfully.

As was his custom, Charles V advanced his pawns rapidly but prudently:

in the following May, he espoused his sister-in-law to a powerful baron of the Principality, Amanieu d'Albret, and received the latter's liege homage, to the detriment of Prince Edward.³ On 30 June 1368, he received the appeals of numerous lords of the south-western provinces subjected to the English by the Treaty of Brétigny,⁴ who were asking him for justice with respect to their grievances against their prince, who burdened them with taxes and respected neither their franchises nor their customs.⁵ A secret accord was then concluded between the king and the leaders of these "appelants," among the foremost of whom was the count of Armagnac: this convention was clearly offensive in nature and directed against the prince of Aquitaine and his father, the king of England.⁶ Externally, Charles V continued to hold to a temporizing attitude, and even affirmed to the inhabitants of Montauban, on 3 December, that he had no intention of breaking the Treaty of Brétigny.⁷ Nonetheless, he launched an unremitting⁸ campaign of propaganda, for the communes were, in contrast to the nobles, hesitant to throw off the authority of the Prince of Aquitaine.⁹ At the same time, he made certain of the Castilian alliance.¹⁰

On 25 January 1369 he summoned Edward, Prince of Aquitaine and Wales, to appear before his court to answer the appeals: this signaled the rupture of the treaty of Brétigny and the resumption of the war. The troops of the duke of Berry did not await the response of the prince of Wales to the royal summons: at the start of the month of January, when the inhabitants of Najac saw the first of Louis of Anjou's men approaching their town, they attacked the English garrison and killed seventeen men.¹¹ In Rouergue, the young Jean d'Armagnac attacked and captured Roquevalzergue around 9 January 1369; he then proceeded to threaten Millau, which however refused to submit.¹² The seventeenth of the same month, the French crushed an English detachment at Mont Alzac.¹³ On 25 January, Roquecézière was taken after a siege of five or six days by the men of Perrot de Savoy, Arnaud Solier and the count of Vendôme and Castres.¹⁴ Fortified by their successes in the north of Rouergue the French, at the start of February, continued

³ Joseph Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais* (Millau, 1887), p. 140.

⁴ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:533.

⁵ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, p. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 140–41.

⁷ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:535.

⁸ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 142–45.

⁹ Abbot Joseph Rouquette makes clear mention of this in *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 166–68. This prudence is also found in the attitude of the consuls of Cajarc, who in March 1369 still did not know what attitude to adopt towards the officers of the king of France. (Cahors, Archives Départementales du Lot, Archives Municipales de Cajarc, CC10, fol. 69r).

¹⁰ Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, Vol. II, *Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 576.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

¹² Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 172–74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 176–77.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 178–79.

to press their advantage by laying siege to Castelmarty.¹⁵ In Quercy, once Cahors aligned itself with the French, the town served as a base of operation for the companies stationed there by Raymond de Rabastens, sénéchal of Toulouse:¹⁶ from there, they rode throughout the province, and into the Limousin, Rouergue, and the Agenais.

The political consequences were not long in coming: many of the towns began to rally to Charles V. The town of Cahors, which formally submitted on 3 February,¹⁷ was soon followed by Figeac in March. In Rouergue, Rodez surrendered on 27 February.¹⁸ In total, across the extent of the provinces subjected to the English by the treaty of Brétigny, more than nine hundred localities pronounced themselves in favor of the king of France,¹⁹ including some 60 in Quercy alone.²⁰ Strengthened by these transfers of allegiance, the French coursed through the countryside in order to demonstrate their power, and succeeded in taking Mirabel and Réalville²¹ in Lower Quercy, as well as Fumel and Villeneuve in the valley of the Lot.²²

Not all the communities followed Cahors' example: some remained loyal to the prince of Aquitaine, while many others assumed a prudent, wait-and-see posture. In Quercy, the most important of these places were Montauban, Castelnaud-Montratrier, Lauzerte and Montcuq;²³ in Rouergue, they were Villefranche,²⁴ Millau, Saint-Généziès, Saint-Affrique et Compeyre.²⁵ The example of Cajarc shows clearly that the situation differed from place to place, and that the rejection of English authority was neither general nor absolute. Although threatened by the French from 17 January,²⁶ the consuls of Cajarc declined to make any hasty decision; only on 22 February, taking note of the action of the consuls of Cahors, who had recognized the sovereignty of the king of France, did they send a delegation to take counsel on that matter with Marquès de Cardaillac, a powerful noble of that region.²⁷ They did the same with the bishop of Cahors,²⁸ and participated in an assembly which gathered the Three Estates at Figeac to discuss the same subject. It appears that on that occasion the people of Cajarc were in the midst of certain business with the princely authority which they desired to carry

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁶ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, p. 583.

¹⁷ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:540.

¹⁸ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, p. 154.

¹⁹ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, p. 172.

²⁰ Lacoste, *Histoire Générale de la province de Quercy*, 3:203.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:337–338.

²³ Lacoste, *Histoire Générale de la province de Quercy*, 3:203.

²⁴ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, p. 583.

²⁵ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, p. 178.

²⁶ Cahors, Archives Départementales du Lot, Archives Municipales de Cajarc (AM Cajarc), CC10, fols. 54r–55r.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 54v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 54r.

through to completion.²⁹ At the time of this assembly, it became clear that the consuls of Figeac wanted to submit to Charles V, but those of Cajarc persisted in their wait-and-see stance, doing nothing more than sending on 3 March to ask the people of Figeac if they had yet made their submission.³⁰

The situation on the ground remained somewhat confused. In neighboring Rouergue, Millau,³¹ Compeyre and certain other localities refused to back down in the face of French threats, hoping to be succored by the reinforcements that the prince of Wales and John Chandos were continually promising them.³² It was expected that the Anglo-Aquitainian party would produce a reaction before the French could extend their military advantages to the point of overcoming the residual hesitations of those who remained undecided. The prince of Aquitaine urgently needed to stop the momentum of the shift of loyalties to Charles V, to support and reassure those who had remained loyal to him, and if possible, to restore to his obedience the declared rebels against his authority.

An Ill-conducted Affair: The Siege of Duravel

Robert Knolles came to Angoulême in order to put himself at the service of the prince of Aquitaine.³³ Now forty-four years old, Sir Robert had begun his military career during the War of Succession in Brittany, where, notably, he had participated in 1351 in the famous Combat of the Thirty. Then, from 1356–59, he had gone back and forth between the service of the Plantagenets and of Charles of Navarre, before returning to fight in Brittany for another four years. In 1367, he had followed the prince of Wales into Castile, where he took part in the battle of Najéra.³⁴ Thus, with broad experience and the confidence of his lord, he received command of 500 men-at-arms and 1,000 footmen³⁵ for an expedition into Quercy.³⁶

He began with an advance towards Agen,³⁷ where a show of force sufficed to snuff out the willingness to rally to the King of France which had begun to appear there.³⁸ In that town, he entered into a contract with his old companion Bertucat d' Albret, who had joined the French king's party after having served

²⁹ Ibid., fol. 49r.

³⁰ Ibid., fol. 50r.

³¹ Concerning the fidelity of Millau, see Guilhem Pépin, "The Relationship between the Kings of England in their Role as Dukes of Aquitaine and their Gascon Subjects: Forms, Processes and Substance of a Dialogue (1275–1453)" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 147–53.

³² Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 187–202.

³³ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:357.

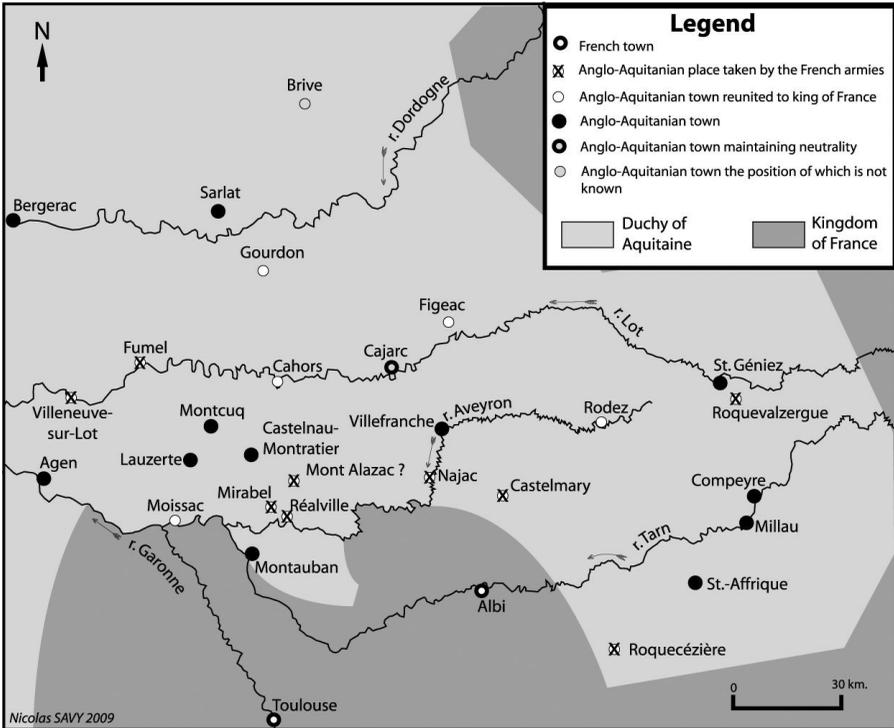
³⁴ Michael Jones, « Sir Robert Knolles », *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 31 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 952–57.

³⁵ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:359.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Pépin, *The Relationship*, p. 151.



Map 2 The state of the conflict in Guienne at the end of February 1369

the English for several years. Robert succeeded in convincing him to abandon the Valois party and to rejoin the prince of Wales who, he said, would certainly pardon him for having given his allegiance to the king of France during the peace. By this action the Anglo-Aquitainians gained the services of the 300 men of Bertucat’s own company, along with another 200 Gascon companions who joined him in switching sides.³⁹

It appears that Robert Knolles’s principal objective was Cahors: on a map of the theater, this town, one of the most important of the region after Toulouse,⁴⁰ was a bolted gate closing the valley of the Lot, a river which (in combination with the Garonne) made it possible to traverse the principality of Aquitaine from Bordeaux to the borders of Rouergue. Considered from a psychological standpoint, it would be highly suitable for making an example of its population, which had been the first to rally to Charles V, thus giving the signal for the rebellion in

³⁹ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:360.

⁴⁰ Maurice Scellès, *Cahors, ville et architecture civile au Moyen Age (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1999), p. 41.

the region.

Opposing him, the duke of Anjou was ready for a fight. In December 1368 and January 1369, he had begun to recruit and organize his forces; he had at his disposal a force of cavalry certainly in excess of 1,000 men-at-arms,⁴¹ and had been able to gather a total force of over 10,000 men for the siege of Réalville.⁴² On the other hand, it is likely that he did not have enough troops to reinforce the defenses of all the towns and castles that had fallen under his control.⁴³ One of his largest garrisons was stationed at Cahors, under the command of thoroughly experienced mercenary captains. Aymenion de l'Artigue had served on the Spanish campaign, and participated in the battle of Najéra in 1367.⁴⁴ Petit Meschin, too, had fought there; already in 1361, this proven warrior had taken part in the battle of Brignais, in the region of Lyon, then captured Pont-Saint-Esprit, in Provence, before heading off to ravage Burgundy.⁴⁵ Perrot de Savoy, likewise, had been on the Castilian expedition and fought at Najéra,⁴⁶ as had the Bourg de Breteuil, who, with Petit Meschin,⁴⁷ had previously fought at Brignais in 1361 and participated in the attack on Pont-Saint-Esprit.⁴⁸ From Cahors, these captains made important sorties throughout Quercy, and even beyond its borders.⁴⁹

All the Anglo-Aquitainian troops of the region, including Knolles' men, were under the orders of John Chandos, constable of Aquitaine. He was at Montauban with an army of around 1,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. About 49 years of age, he had the full confidence of the prince of Aquitaine, whose tutor in military affairs he had been. From 1339 to 1360, he had taken part in all the expeditions led by the Plantagenets against the king of France. After Brétigny, he had fought in Brittany in 1364 and in Spain in 1366–67.⁵⁰ Like Robert Knolles, he had fought at Najéra in 1367. He was the prince's most capable general and, certainly, his most prudent counselor.⁵¹

The plans of the Anglo-Aquitainians seem to have been rather simple: the disposition of the troops indicates Chandos had placed two armies so that they would converge on Rouergue, one from the north and the other from the south, in order to hunt down the French; at the same time, he would come to the rescue of Millau and the other places which had retained their fidelity towards the

⁴¹ Dom Joseph Vaissette, Dom Claude de Vic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1844), 7:260–61.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7:263.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, and Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:367.

⁴⁴ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 20:143.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 22:199.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 23:127.

⁴⁷ Concerning these captains, see Kenneth A. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries. Vol. 1: The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 1–23.

⁴⁸ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 20:457.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7:358.

⁵⁰ Richard Barber, "Sir John Chandos," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 11 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 9–11.

⁵¹ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, II:580.

prince of Aquitaine, as he had promised them he would do.⁵² The first army, his own, would depart from Montauban, then follow the Tarn valley and come to the support of Millau, while the second, Knolles', would leave from Agen, come up the valley of the Lot, and subdue Cahors, before continuing towards the north of Rouergue.⁵³

Reflecting on the defense that he would have to mount, the duke of Anjou seems to have taken into account two factors. The first was that the Anglo-Aquitainian armies were no longer able to conduct the same sort of *chevauchées* they had undertaken in the 1340s and 1350s, when they had ravaged the territory of the Valois in order to ruin the economy and shake the confidence of the population;⁵⁴ henceforth, the men of the prince of Aquitaine would have to fight in order to maintain the territorial integrity of their principality. The second was that a *chevauchée* would only succeed by virtue of its mobility and its lack of a precise military objective: its exact course could not be foreseen, which rendered very difficult the task of armies of pursuit⁵⁵ and forestalled the use of a scorched-earth policy, unless the latter were extended to encompass half the realm, which of course was inconceivable.

The duke of Anjou had no interest in awaiting Knolles at Cahors. In Quercy, he would control the entire Lot valley, from Villeneuve-sur-Lot to Capdenac, for over a hundred kilometers, more than fifty of which he would lose if he allowed the Anglo-Aquitainians to advance up to Cahors. So he had to position an advanced bulwark well in front of Cahors. It had to be placed at the edge of the territories he had surely under his control, that is to say just west of the temporal possessions of the bishop of Cahors. The choice fell on Duravel, simply because – although among the worst situated – it was the first of the eight places which controlled the valley in the direction of Cahors, one after another every three to six kilometers: Puy-l'Évêque, Bélaye, Castelfranc, Albas, Luzech, Cessac, and Mercuès.

The advantages which the duke of Anjou could draw from a prolonged resistance at Duravel were clear. On the one hand, this would fix the army of Robert Knolles inside a zone prepared in advance. And, on the other hand, if that army was sufficiently worn down by a siege, it would no longer be strong enough to press on towards Cahors, taking place after place.

Robert Knolles did decide to lay siege to Duravel. The place was not impressive and, according to Froissart's report of what was said at the time, its garrison was composed only of companies suffering from low morale, which had taken

⁵² Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 187–202.

⁵³ Pépin, *The Relationship*, p. 148. On 14 March, John Chandos sent a letter to the inhabitants of Millau in which he promised them that he would send Robert Knolles and his army, then engaged in the Lot valley, to Rouergue.

⁵⁴ On this subject, see Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp, English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 217–384, and Jean Favier, *La Guerre de Cent Ans*, 2nd edn (Paris, 2001), pp. 106–09 and 188–91.

⁵⁵ Christopher T. Allmand, "New Weapons, New Tactics," *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare*, ed. Geoffrey Parker, 2nd edn (Cambridge, NY, 2005), pp. 88–89.

refuge there after having deserted Cahors, fearful of affronting Bertucat d'Albret after his return to the Anglo-Aquitainian camp. It seems evident that, in reporting this detail obtained from contemporary witnesses, Froissart is giving an echo of the measures of deception carried out by the duke of Anjou: if the experienced captains who composed the garrison of Cahors had really been fear-filled, as the historian affirms, they would presumably have taken refuge somewhere easier to defend than Duravel, and, moreover, more distant from the object of their fears. Thus, everything seems to show that this "fearfulness" of the defenders of Cahors was invented from whole cloth, to encourage Knolles in his choice of attacking Duravel.⁵⁶ Should one be surprised by this? Defensive fighting was the preference of the military leaders of that era, and each used all the means at his disposal to lead his adversary to engage in offensive operations despite the disadvantages of the latter.⁵⁷

For the Anglo-Aquitainians, the advantages flowing from the capture of Duravel, if it could be taken, would be many: they would thus be able to isolate Villeneuve-sur-Lot and Fumel from the rest of the territory held by the French, with a view to recapturing them from the French, to the benefit of the places that they still held in the Agenais and in Périgord, on land near their historic base in old Aquitaine. Perhaps they had it in mind to massacre the garrison if they took the place, paying the French back for what they had done at Réalville, from which not one Englishman emerged alive;⁵⁸ by doing so, they would perhaps terrify the inhabitants of the fortified places which, after Duravel, still remained to bar the route to Cahors sufficiently to enable them to obtain their submissions rapidly and without fighting.

In early March, Knolles arrived before Duravel only to realize that the site was very well fortified and well provisioned, and provided with a garrison possessing sufficient numbers and resolve to defend the place.⁵⁹ The English captain assessed the situation and ordered the construction of "large and fine shelters made of trees and wood,"⁶⁰ in anticipation of a difficult siege, but then was confronted by an insoluble problem: the regular resupply of his forces, which it was virtually impossible to assure, because the French king's *routiers*, as Froissart tells us, had so devastated the countryside that it was impossible to find anything to eat any closer than two days' ride.⁶¹ Nonetheless, Knolles did not abandon his

⁵⁶ Is there any need to repeat that the works of Vegetius and Frontinus were known and read in this period? These two theorists affirmed the importance of intelligence and of disinformation operations. On this subject, see Christopher T. Allmand, "Les Espions au Moyen Age," *L'Histoire*, 55 (April 1983), 35–41; Philippe Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1998) and Clifford J. Rogers, "The Vegetian 'Science of Warfare' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2003), 1–19.

⁵⁷ Clifford J. Rogers, "The Offensive/defensive in Medieval Strategy," in *From Crécy to Mohacs, Warfare in the Late Middle Ages (1346–1526) XXIIInd Colloquium of the International Commission of Military History* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 158–62.

⁵⁸ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:347.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 7:361.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7:360.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7:362.

efforts and continued to launch assault after assault. The defenders, however, held their own.⁶²

Knolles persevered, for he had no other alternative: if he returned to Agen after suffering from an initial check of this magnitude, his military failure would give birth to a political disaster. The French had, from mid-March, been masters of Rouergue and most of Quercy, where fewer than a dozen places continued to hold out for the prince of Aquitaine. The Valois forces were also continuing their progress in the neighboring provinces.⁶³

While Robert Knolles marked time outside Duravel, John Chandos got wind of a possible attack by a French relief army charged with rescuing the garrison. He therefore set off to bring help to his endangered companion. En route, he was able to seize Moissac in order to assure his communications; this town, which controlled the confluence of the Tarn and the Garonne, had not received any royal garrison to strengthen it, and was defended only by its own inhabitants.⁶⁴ Chandos still believed that the capture of Duravel was imminent, and that he would be opening for his troops the route to Rouergue along the Lot valley; on 14 March, he promised the townsfolk of Millau that he would send Knolles' army into Rouergue.⁶⁵

Chandos's army added substantially to Knolles' strength, but that only complicated the logistical problems which had tormented him since his arrival there: they had plenty of wine, but it was impossible to assure a regular supply of food for the men and forage for the horses, and all suffered from hunger. They also had to endure the elements, for rain fell continuously, to the point where fabric rotted and armor became severely rusted.⁶⁶ But things had gone too far to reverse course: Duravel had to be taken. Chandos and Knolles ordered three or four assaults each day, but the garrison refused to yield. They held out thus for five weeks,⁶⁷ and declined to surrender until brought to the last extremity.⁶⁸

The Siege of Domme and the *Chevauchée* in Quercy

Checked before Duravel, their army considerably weakened, Chandos, Knolles, and their officers again found themselves faced with a dilemma: either to retreat and allow their troops to recover their fighting trim (as prudence demanded), or else to try again to gain a military success which would permit them to regain ground from the French and to halt the shift of allegiances towards the Valois. But there was really no question, under the circumstances, of retiring without having made every possible effort. The names of the principal captains

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, p. 583.

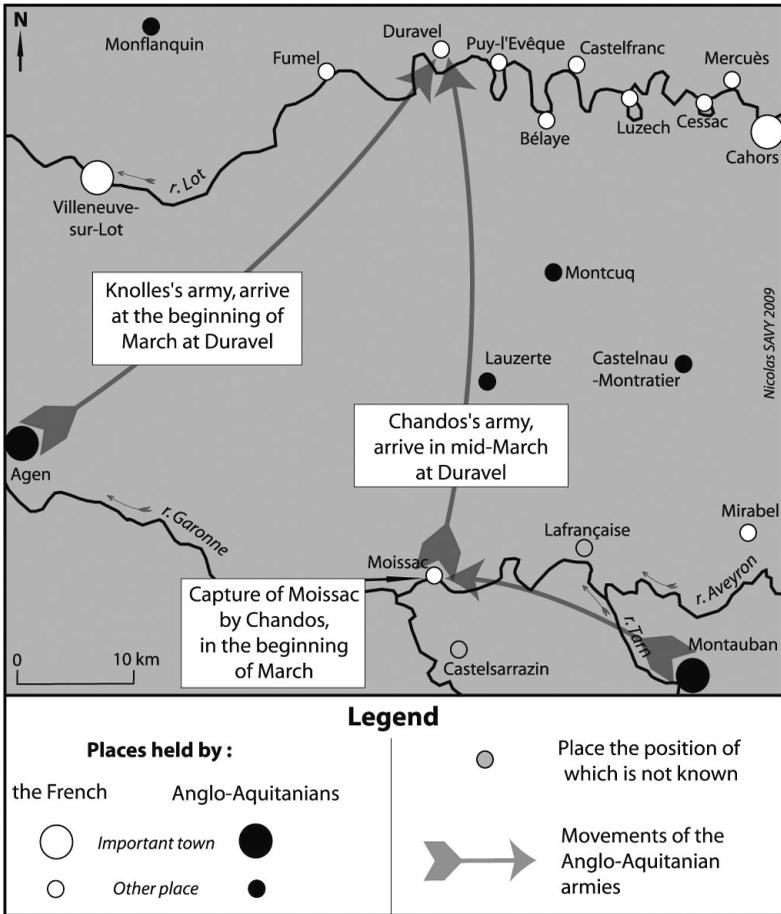
⁶⁴ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:363.

⁶⁵ Pépin, *The Relationship*, p. 148.

⁶⁶ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:365.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 7:365.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 7:368.



Map 3 The Movements of the Anglo-Aquitaine Armies in March 1369

who took part in this *chevauchée* demonstrate sufficiently that the prince of Aquitaine expected more from it than a military promenade without concrete successes: in addition to John Chandos and Robert Knolles, there were the capital de Buch and Thomas Felton as main leaders, as well as Louis de Harcourt, Thomas Percy, Thomas Wetenhale, Thomas Despenser, and numerous other men of high rank.⁶⁹ John Chandos and his council chose Domme as the new objective: this bastide controlled the course of the Dordogne and its garrison menaced Sarlat, which had remained ever faithful to the prince of Aquitaine.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 7:369.

⁷⁰ Gaston Marmier, "Gilbert de Domme, sénéchal de Périgord," *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord* (1878), 5:247–72. As late as February 1370, Sarlat signed a treaty to preserve itself from the French.

The army, which had vainly exhausted its strength against Duravel, a town whose defenses were not at all strengthened by its position, had no way to capture Domme, a fortified city benefitting from an exceptionally advantageous natural site. After two weeks of fruitless assaults, the leaders of the *chevauchée* informed the prince of Wales that they judged Domme to be impregnable, and that they were facing serious difficulties, particularly with regard to resupply.⁷¹ The state of their troops, who had been on the edge of famine when they left Duravel, must have been particularly worrisome. They were already unable to accomplish the important but over-reaching objectives they had begun with, but it was now necessary to push their 3,000 to 4,000 exhausted men to their limits in an effort to check (or at least to rein in) the wave of voluntary submissions to the king of France.

After taking counsel together, Chandos and his seconds decided to continue into Quercy, where the situation remained uncertain despite some early transfers of allegiance; they expected thereby to resolve their supply problems, in finding there “a greater plenty on which to live.”⁷² The Anglo-Aquitainian army left Domme towards mid-April, for the communes of Quercy were warned on the seventeenth that they were advancing towards the lands of the bishop of Cahors.⁷³ Ten days later, the French placed the company of Perrot de Savoy⁷⁴ at Saint-Cirq-Lapopie,⁷⁵ doubtless with the intention of being ready to come to the aid of threatened places in the middle Lot valley.

The Anglo-Aquitainian army advanced to Gramat, which surrendered without a fight, then, having taken four days⁷⁶ for recuperation, most likely separated into two corps: the first, led by Chandos, moved on Fons, which promptly surrendered, then on Cardaillac, where he is mentioned on 3 May.⁷⁷ The French – as it happened, a troop of Bretons – always concerned to protect the Lot valley, moved up to post itself at Camboulan.⁷⁸ The second corps of the army, led by Bertucat d’Albret and the captal de Buch, took Montfaucon on 6 May.⁷⁹ It was probably this division which had taken Rocamadour: Froissart indicates that the latter was captured after Gramat,⁸⁰ and it is on the road from that town to Montfaucon through the valleys of the Alzou and the Dame, the latter of which was a particularly important route on the itinerary joining the valley of the

⁷¹ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:370–71.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 7:371.

⁷³ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 136v.

⁷⁴ It should be noted that Perrot de Vaoie was not long thereafter convicted of treason against the duke of Anjou and executed. On this subject, see Vaissette and de Vic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 7:262.

⁷⁵ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 137r.

⁷⁶ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:372.

⁷⁷ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 137r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:372.

Dordogne to the region of Gourdon and to Cahors.⁸¹

The Anglo-Aquitaniens, being covered from the east, directed their efforts towards the Gourdonnais: leaving Montfaucon, they ensured their control of the valley of the Céou by capturing successively the castles of Vaillac and Salviac on 8 May,⁸² and Concorès on the tenth.⁸³ Chandos came to take command of the operations and reached Vaillac, certainly at the head of his division of the army, on 8 May in the evening.⁸⁴ On the twelfth, all the companies regrouped at Salviac,⁸⁵ and were ready to return to the field two days later.⁸⁶ The goal of these maneuvers was certainly to push Gourdon into surrendering without a fight, but, despite riding all around the town over the following days,⁸⁷ the Anglo-Aquitaniens failed to make the Gourdonnais yield.

Forced to keep his army moving to avoid running out of supplies, Chandos decided to return east and to base himself on the places that he had captured a dozen days earlier, in order to support his effort against Figeac. Leaving the environs of Gourdon and probably passing back through Montfaucon, he moved down towards Saint-Martin-de-Vers on 18 May; the same day, he turned off to Saint-Cernin and Caniac;⁸⁸ at the end of the day, his troops were lodged at Gramat, Fons, and Cardaillac.⁸⁹

It is around this time that the episode called the “siege of Cahors” took place. It should be noted that neither Froissart nor Dom Vaissette makes any mention of this event. But according to a document from the archives of Cahors, John Chandos came on 19 May with 4,000 men before Cahors, where his army launched multiple assaults against the northern walls, then finally departed after nine days.⁹⁰ Guillaume Lacoste informs us that the town was defended by Gui d’Asay, the count of Vendôme and Lille, as well as Marquès de Cardaillac and the vicomte of Caraman, and that they were provided with supplies and artillery.⁹¹ In fact, if one relies on the other documents from Quercy concerning this period of 19 to 28 May, John Chandos was present with his army in front of

⁸¹ In order to reach Cahors, the Martelais used this valley (Cahors, Archives Départementales du Lot, Archives Municipales de Martel, BB5, fol. 57v). When some Anglo-Gascons installed themselves there, the consuls of Gourdon immediately organized an expedition to drive them out (Gourdon, Archives Municipales de Gourdon, CC17, fol. 4v), which shows the importance they attached to keeping this route open. Indeed, offensive operations led by the consuls were exceptional in this era: see Nicolas Savy, ‘La Défense des villes et des bourgs du haut Quercy’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Franche-Comté, 2007), pp. 237, 245, 249, 271.

⁸² AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 137v.

⁸³ Ibid., fol. 138r.

⁸⁴ Ibid., fol. 137v.

⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 138r.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

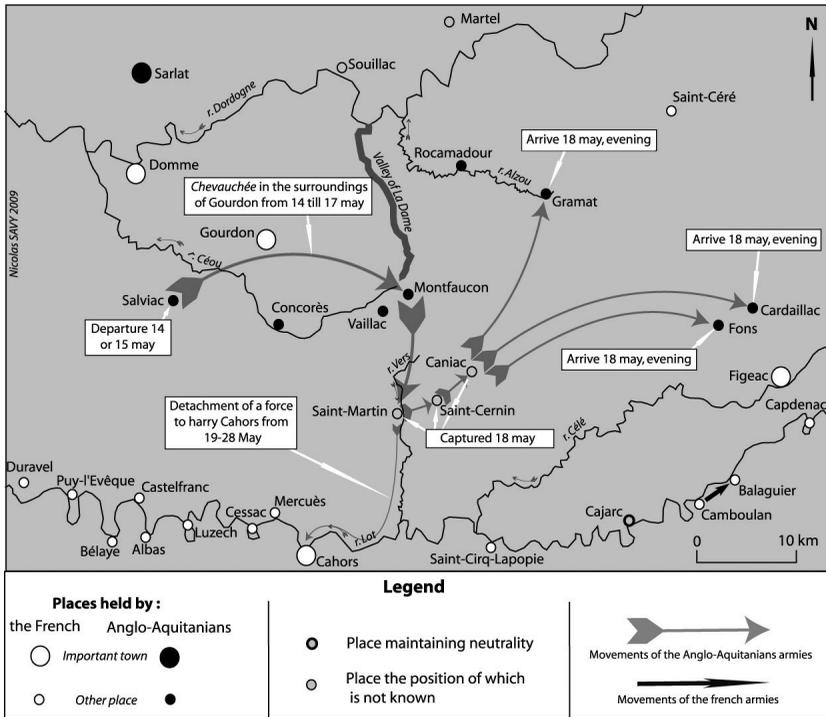
⁸⁷ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 138r.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., fol. 138v.

⁹⁰ Cahors, Archives Municipales de Cahors (AM Cahors), *Livre Tanné*, fol. 79r.

⁹¹ Lacoste, *Histoire Générale de la province de Quercy*, 3:206.



Map 5 The Military Situation in Quercy, 14–18 May

4,000 men,⁹⁶ were surely doing nothing but restating the total number of effectives of the Anglo-Aquitainian army, as they had been enumerated at the siege of Domme,⁹⁷ thus maximizing the worthiness of their town's resistance; in reality, the attackers were certainly far less numerous, the main body of Chandos' army being in the region of Figeac.

Like Gourdon, Figeac did not yield to panic, and Chandos continued to experience the greatest difficulties in resupplying his army. The duke of Anjou had ordered the harvests to be brought within the shelter of the fortresses, and whatever remained in the countryside had been pillaged by the French companies. The Anglo-Aquitainians were not able to obtain supplies for themselves except in the small forts and the villages which they either captured or ransomed under threat.⁹⁸ Froissart tells us that the army was thus in "*grant tribulation*";⁹⁹ it was certainly operating in dispersed order, to facilitate supply, since on 1 June the consuls of Cajarc were, quite unusually, unable to identify its precise

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:370. Froissart indicates that this army included 1,500 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 7:373.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 7:377.

position.¹⁰⁰

From 24 May, the French worried that Chandos would continue in the direction of Rouergue.¹⁰¹ That is in fact just what he did. He led his army before Villefranche-de-Rouergue, which not long before had come into the hands of the French.¹⁰² The town surrendered after four days of siege,¹⁰³ thus returning control of the course of the river Aveyron to the Anglo-Aquitainians. Limited as it was, this was the only real success gained by this *chevauchée*.

At around this time, Chandos Herald returned to the Anglo-Aquitainian army, bearing a message from the Prince of Wales that ordered John Chandos, Thomas Felton and the Captal de Buch to rejoin him at Angoulême. Robert Knolles was to lead the remainder of the expedition on his own. Knolles vigorously refused to accept this order, and threatened to depart the army. Finally, the four principal captains took counsel together and decided to halt the *chevauchée* into Rouergue, and to dispatch troops to hold the places already captured in order to continue with a war of posts, while they themselves returned to the Prince of Wales to give an account of their action.¹⁰⁴

Some Tactical Success, but Strategic Failure

The *chevauchée* led by Robert Knolles and John Chandos between March and June 1369 enabled the English to recapture eleven places (some more notable than others) from the French, of which only Villefranche-de-Rouergue really merits being called a town. The Anglo-Aquitainians thereby acquired more than negligible opportunities to annoy their enemies, since they had seized control of the axes of circulation which, though they were only secondary, were nonetheless important at the local level, such as the valley of the Céou or the entrances to the Dame valley. Likewise, they were well positioned to harass Figeac and its environs from Fons and Cardaillac and, in capturing Villefranche-de-Rouergue, they cut in half the French-controlled section of the Aveyron. But these few tactical successes could not mask the fact that the region, with its principal towns and its major valleys, remained in French hands. Viewed on a strategic map with respect to the objectives which had been assigned to it, namely to regain control of the region, the expedition was really a failure.

The situation on the ground remained confused, due to the presence of Anglo-Aquitainian garrisons and the continuation of some operations in the east of the province, which explains why the political consequences of the Anglo-Aquitainian military failure did not appear as promptly as the French would have wished. At about the same time as the *chevauchée* of Chandos and Knolles was halted, on 2

¹⁰⁰ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 139r.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., fol. 138v.

¹⁰² Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, p. 583. In the middle of March, Villefranche was still in the hands of Anglo-Aquitainians.

¹⁰³ Froissart, *Chroniques*, 7:376.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 7:377–78.

June, the vicomte of Villemur arrived at Cajarc with a detachment of 40 horsemen in order to negotiate the return of the town to the side of Charles V; he was well received and the consuls willingly provided supplies for his troops,¹⁰⁵ but, five days later, they still had not yet announced their decision.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, they would not do so, it seems, until around a month later,¹⁰⁷ certainly after having negotiated certain advantages for themselves, and above all having waited out the end of the last pushes of the prince of Wales's riposte against the defections to the French: on 20 June, the Anglo-Aquitainian companies, with an effective strength of around 400 men, crossed the Dordogne at Beaulieu and, passing by Saint-Céré, came two days later to lodge at Maurs and Livinhac-le-Bas.¹⁰⁸ They entered Rouergue on 29 June,¹⁰⁹ but were contained by the French who, from 23 June, were positioned in strength in the region of Saint-Cirq-Lapopie and Cajarc.¹¹⁰

Finally in control of the region, the duke of Anjou knew how to grant privileges and advantages to the still-wavering towns in order to convince them to tilt to his side.¹¹¹ Montauban turned French in August¹¹² and was followed by a large segment of the communes still hesitating to make a choice: by the end of 1369, nearly all of Quercy and the other provinces which had been transferred to Edward III by the Treaty of Brétigny had accepted the French king's authority,¹¹³ with the exception of Millau and a few other places in Rouergue which did not return to his obedience until the start of 1370.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

The operations conducted by John Chandos and Robert Knolles in 1369 gave clear evidence of the fact that an army of *chevauchée*, intended to move rapidly while living off the land, was totally unsuited for a war of reconquest, where one siege followed another. Indeed, that was easy enough to recognize, but did the Anglo-Aquitainians really expect to meet as much resistance as they did? No, doubtless they did not, and the examples of the earlier campaigns of 1345–59 had led them to expect that the French towns would offer little resistance, or be easy to take; however, that was to forget that their predecessors had declined to attack places that were too well fortified. As to the places which had been taken by assault, that had been more or less by chance, the result of momentary

¹⁰⁵ AM Cajarc, CC6, fol. 139v.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., fol. 139v.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. 140v.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., fols. 139r–40r.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., fol. 140v.

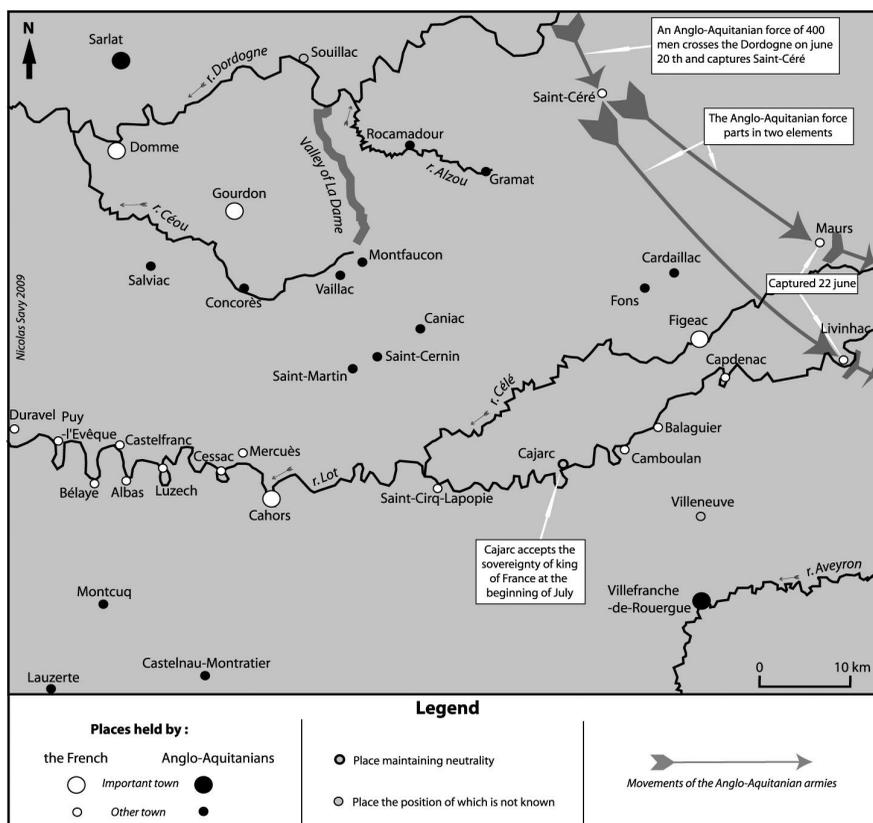
¹¹⁰ Ibid., fol. 140r.

¹¹¹ Vaissette and de Vic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 7:263 ; Savy, 'La Défense des villes et des bourgs du haut Quercy', pp. 313, 315.

¹¹² Vaissette and de Vic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 7:264.

¹¹³ Ibid., 7:265.

¹¹⁴ Rouquette, *Le Rouergue sous les Anglais*, pp. 223–26.



Map 6 The Military Situation in Quercy, from the start of June to the start of July

opportunities and not of predetermined objectives. To proceed in the opposite manner, with one or several towns specifically chosen as targets for recapture, meant the greatest difficulties if even one among them decided to resist to the end, for that decision would bring with it logistical imperatives that were of no concern for an army of *chevauchée*.

As the affair of Duravel demonstrated, the duke of Anjou had made the most detailed preparations for defense, and spread a number of false reports which led initially Robert Knolles, then also John Chandos, to believe that the place would fall as soon as the first enemy bascinet appeared on the horizon, whereas in fact it had been prepared to resist for long months. The successive setbacks suffered by the Anglo-Aquitainian army at Domme, Gourdon and Figeac certainly shook its confidence very greatly, so much so that even the capture of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, at the very end of the operation (an event which was totally unexpected) did not suffice to restore the force to any semblance of cohesion: the refusal of Robert Knolles to accept sole responsibility for the remainder of an

expedition which seemed headed for disaster shows that clearly enough.

The first campaign of the second part of the Hundred Years War, this *chevauchée* announced the new turn taken by French strategy, pushed by Charles V: it was the end of grand pursuits which succeeded in making contact with the English armies only for the purpose of fighting, as at Crécy or Poitiers, without having been able to impede the devastation of the countryside they passed through. It was finally understood that the tactics and logistics of the Anglo-Gascon *chevauchée* were only effective if they proceeded according to one particular mode of action: movement, on and on, for only thus could they ravage entire regions while finding resupply as they went. The condition they had to respect in order to succeed was to avoid getting bogged down in over-long sieges; that meant simply passing by any place that was too well fortified. But in 1369, Prince Edward's objective was not to weaken his enemy by ruining his lands, but rather to maintain the territorial integrity of his own principality by retaking control of rebel communities: to accomplish that goal required siege operations. The duke of Anjou and his officers knew how to exploit this gap between the objectives of the prince and the capabilities of his armies, by skillfully entangling his forces in operations for which they were not suited. This recalls the teaching of Vegetius, who insists that it is necessary to ensure "that food should be sufficient for you while dearth should break the enemy."¹¹⁵ This lesson was exploited by the French all the more effectively because their opponents, accustomed to and confident of relatively easy success, had forgotten the equally important Vegetian maxim: "hunger is more savage than the sword."¹¹⁶

Conducted in the same spirit and for similar reasons, the later campaigns of the reign of Charles V would, as is well known, enjoy complete success, over several years, in reducing the territory principality of Aquitaine to a very restricted compass.

¹¹⁵ Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool, 1995), 3.3.

¹¹⁶ Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, 3.3.

“A Voyage, or Rather an Expedition, to Portugal:”
Edmund of Langley’s Journey to Iberia, June/July 1381

*Douglas Biggs*¹

With the words printed in the quotation above, the English chronicler Thomas Walsingham began his brief description of the journey of Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, to Portugal.² The earl, at the head of a polyglot expeditionary force that included English, Castilian, Gascon, and Portuguese elements, set sail from the Devonian ports of Plymouth and Dartmouth on 22 June 1381, bound for Lisbon and eventually the Portuguese frontier with Castile. This force was sent to Iberia as part of John of Gaunt’s grand strategy to make good his claim to the Castilian throne. The vessels that carried Edmund of Langley’s army were, like the men they carried, from a mix of English, Gascon and Portuguese origins. They had been arrested by royal clerks and then modified as men-of-war for the purpose of carrying the troops to Portugal before their eventual march to the Castilian frontier.

Contemporary English chroniclers found little to report with regard to the earl of Cambridge’s expedition to Iberia.³ This lack of commentary by contemporaries stands in stark contrast to their lengthy discussions of other naval expeditions of the Hundred Years War, such as the disaster that befell Thomas of Woodstock’s fleet in its movement from Plymouth and Dartmouth to Brittany at

¹ I wish to thank Dr. Malcolm Mercer, formerly of the National Archives and now of the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, who kindly took a number of digital photographs of TNA/PRO E 101/39/17 for me that enabled me to do my research at my computer rather than face the expense of traveling to London to work through the document. A version concentrating on the naval aspects of this paper was given at a *De Re Militari* session at the 43rd International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, Michigan in May 2007. I am grateful to the members of the audience for their comments. I am also grateful to Tim Runyan who corresponded with me at length on topics herein.

² Thomas Walsingham, *The St. Alban’s Chronicle Volume I, 1376–1394*, ed. John Taylor, Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), pp. 408–09.

³ Neither the *Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394*, ed. L. C. Hector and Barbara Havery (Oxford, 1982), nor *Knighton’s Chronicle, 1337–1396*, ed. and trans. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), even makes mention of the Portuguese expedition. Adam of Usk’s *Chronicle, 1377–1421*, ed. and trans. Chris Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), also fails to mention Earl Edmund’s expedition, and Thomas Walsingham himself devotes only one brief paragraph to the entire episode. Walsingham, *St. Alban’s Chronicle*, pp. 408–10.

the end of 1380 when the wretched weather in the Channel wrecked horse and troop transports alike.⁴ Like contemporaries, modern historians have said much about aspects of naval warfare in the middle stages of the Hundred Years War, but Earl Edmund's Portuguese expedition has not attracted broad attention.

Michael Postan remarked nearly half a century ago in his article, "The Costs of the Hundred Years War," that although the numbers of Englishmen drawn into the army were substantial, "in sheer numbers even more important were the naval forces" that disrupted the normal routine of trade and commerce and occupied large numbers of sailors and masters of ships.⁵ Even if we do not accept Professor Postan's sweeping assertions as fact, his emphasis on the importance of mariners and ships during the Hundred Years War was appreciated by James Sherborne, who demonstrated that for the period from 1369–89 English seamen made "very considerable contributions" to the war effort.⁶ One can forgive Professor Sherborne's hyperbole that the 20-year period of his study had received "no attention" since Sir N. H. Nicholas in 1847,⁷ but in fact the Anglo-Iberian naval aspects of these twenty years, at least, had been carefully considered by Peter E. Russell in his seminal work: *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II*.⁸ Russell relied mostly on Portuguese chronicle accounts to inform his interpretation of events, and chief among these chronicle sources was the work of Fernao Lopes.⁹ Even though Lopes did not write his chronicle until the 1430s, Russell concluded that his place as a royal clerk gave him access to the king's archives which he "must have" used to write his history. As such, Lopes was what Russell called an "archivist historian" and thus Russell accepted his version of events even when he possessed solid

⁴ Walsingham, *St. Alban's Chronicle*, pp. 212–15; Sir John Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France and Spain*, trans. Thomas Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1868), 2:471–74.

⁵ Even though Professor Postan perceived the significance of naval forces as a drain on English manpower reserves in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he only mentioned two naval expeditions to the Continent over the broad sweep of the 120 years of the wars: Sir Walter Manny's 76-ship fleet of 1337 and the "armada" of some 1,500 vessels that carried Henry V to France in 1415. Michael Postan, "The Costs of the Hundred Years War," *Past and Present*, 27 (1964), 35.

⁶ James Sherborne, "The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower, 1369–89," in A. Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England* (London, 1994), p. 39.

⁷ Sherborne, "The English Navy," p. 29 n. 2. Nicolas gave scant attention to the entire expedition in his great work; in fact, he only noted that it occurred. N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, 2 vols. (London, 1847), 2:287.

⁸ Peter E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955). Russell found that Edmund of Langley not only possessed "monumental stupidity," but also displayed "an almost incredible lack of intelligence," in Iberia (pp. 313, 339–40). For his commentary on Froissart's interpretation of events in Iberia see his article, "The War in Spain and Portugal," in J. J. N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 83–101, especially pp. 94–95. Iberian historians generally follow Russell's line of argument, e.g. J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976), pp. 392–94; H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 90–91, 94–95.

⁹ Fernao Lopes, *The English in Portugal, 1367–87*, ed. and trans. Derek Lomax and R. J. Oakley (Warminster, 1988).

documentary evidence that contradicted the fifteenth-century chronicler.

With great force Russell argued that Earl Edmund's campaign was a complete fiasco from the outset, and that every aspect of the expedition was lacking in proper guidance, effective organization and competent leadership.¹⁰ Russell concluded that the English defeats at La Rochelle in 1372 and Bourgneuf Bay in 1375, coupled with the defeat of the Portuguese galley fleet at the mouth of the Guadiana River in June 1381, clearly demonstrated that the oared Castilian galley was the ultimate weapon of late fourteenth-century naval warfare. As Russell saw it, these oared galleys of the Castilian navy were divided into "squadrons" that "operated together,"¹¹ and throughout the spring and summer of 1381 the king of Castile's fleet of only twenty-one galleys prowled the Atlantic seaboard of Europe and preyed on English shipping at will. Russell further perceived Edmund of Langley's fleet as "transports," and he left his reader with the clear impression that the fact that the English arrived at Lisbon at all was little short of miraculous.¹²

What this article seeks to do is to reassess the naval aspects of Edmund of Langley's Iberian campaign, testing Peter Russell's interpretation of this event. The analysis will focus on four main topics: first, on a brief discussion of the naval situation in the western seaboard of the Atlantic in the 1370s and early 1380s; second, on the size and composition of the Anglo-Portuguese fleet that carried Langley's 3,000-man Anglo-Castilian expeditionary force to Lisbon; third, how the fleet was outfitted for war, especially in terms of naval artillery; and fourth, a brief discussion of the voyage itself, the amount of time it took for the fleet to travel from England to Lisbon.

The naval aspects of Langley's campaign took place within the context of the naval war on the western Atlantic seaboard of Europe in the late 1370s and early 1380s. Although the English kings since the time of Edward III claimed to be the "sovereigns of the seas,"¹³ and even though these claims were affirmed by Parliament, military reality was different. As Colin Richmond noted, superiority on the sea was not "fought for but rather fell to the first comer."¹⁴ Rather than "fleets in being," armed and ready for war, medieval fleets were organized for specific purposes, and the suggestion that armed battle squadrons patrolled the sea to protect helpless merchantmen is as anachronistic as it is romantic. The simple fact that that commerce was not effectively disrupted by Franco-Castilian

¹⁰ The most recent commentary on the expedition from the English perspective is Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (Yale, 1997), pp. 95–99. Saul makes no value judgments in regards to Langley's leadership but generally adopts Russell's version of events.

¹¹ Russell liked to put medieval naval units into modern military terms. Hence there were "squadrons" of galleys that were highly organized and maintained by the Castilian king: Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 230–37.

¹² Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 313–15.

¹³ Timothy Runyan, "Naval Logistics in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Hundred Years' War," in John Lynn (ed.), *Feeding Mars: Logistics in Western Warfare from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Boulder, CA, 1993), pp. 81–82, n. 10.

¹⁴ Colin Richmond, "English Naval Power in the Fifteenth Century," *Past and Present* (1964), pp. 1, 4.

naval squadrons in the last quarter of the fourteenth century strongly supports Professor Richmond's suggestion that the application of naval power in the later Middle Ages was both specific to a limited series of geographical points and also limited in duration. To be sure, piratical activity in the Channel and the Atlantic seaboard was a continual problem for merchants from any point of origin who sailed these waters, but the "prospect of profits" was too great for piracy to discourage merchantmen from plying their trade in these waters for long.¹⁵ The cost of building and maintaining a "battle fleet" meant that English kings rarely embarked on such an enterprise. The Crown had access to a large and powerful merchant fleet and often used it for military purposes in the fourteenth century. As Tim Runyan suggests, mobilizing a portion of the merchant fleet for war was an easy and effective solution to the king's naval needs.¹⁶ The king had only to pay wages, the cost of food, and the occasional (if unfortunate) "compensation to the shipowners for damage to vessels."¹⁷

This naval warfare of finding opponents more often by accident than by design not only resulted in notable English victories, like Sluys in 1340, but also in several often-cited defeats at the hands of Castilian naval power. The chronicler Thomas Walsingham described how a fleet of fourteen Castilian galleys destroyed the Earl of Pembroke's relief force off La Rochelle in the summer of 1372,¹⁸ and another Castilian fleet caught and destroyed a gaggle of unarmed English merchantmen at Bourgneuf Bay on 10 August 1375.¹⁹ Sir James Henry Ramsay thought that the disaster at La Rochelle was "the greatest defeat probably ever sustained by the English navy."²⁰ Although many historians have agreed with Ramsay's assessment, more recent work suggests that the defeat of Pembroke's relief force was not all that devastating. Albert Prince demonstrated that large fleets carried expeditionary forces to Calais, Brittany and Gascony in 1372 and 1373 in the wake of the La Rochelle defeat, which strongly suggests that the loss of Pembroke's navy off La Rochelle could hardly be categorized as a disaster.²¹ James Sherborne further argued that the earl of Pembroke's relieving force was made up of a bare twenty vessels with only three being of over

¹⁵ Runyan, "Naval Logistics," p. 93. Throughout the fourteenth century merchants formed themselves into convoys for protection. Sometimes, such as in 1344 when a "wine fleet" sailed from Bordeaux, the Crown provided armed escorts.

¹⁶ Tim Runyan, "Merchantman to Man-of-War in Medieval England," in Craig Symonds, et al. (eds), *New Aspects of Naval History* (Annapolis, 1979), pp. 33–40.

¹⁷ Runyan, "Naval Logistics," p. 83.

¹⁸ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1863–64), 1:314.

¹⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, 2:346; N. H. Nicholas, *History of the Royal Navy*, 2 vols. (London, 1847), 2:510–13.

²⁰ James H. Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913), 2:22.

²¹ Albert Prince, "The Payment of Wages in the Reign of Edward III," *Speculum*, 19 (1944) 159.

50 tons lading, which had towers built on them and acted as escorts.²² Thus, the loss of so few ships of such insubstantial tonnage had no appreciable effect on English shipping as a whole.

More recent scholarship has also made clear that too much should not be made of the marauding Castilian galley. A substantial amount of Castilian naval power in the fourteenth century depended on Italian shipwrights, commanders, and even Italian or Aragonese ships for major operations.²³ This recent research has also demonstrated that the sea state in the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay meant that the Castilian fleets that operated in these waters in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were usually made up of cogs and nefs, rather than galleys, since the Castilians generally reserved the latter for use in the relatively sheltered waters of the Mediterranean basin.²⁴ Therefore, any claims of Castilian naval dominance in the Bay of Biscay in the last half of the fourteenth century are difficult to support. Anglo-Portuguese trade in the period from 1379 to 1381 was certainly robust, if not substantial, and shows no signs of being disrupted by Castilian naval power. Last, it seems that in 1381 the Castilian navy was more concerned with King Ferdinand's Portuguese galleys than the English fleet and the Castilian admirals spent their time in home waters rather than out in the Atlantic, where they lacked bases and supplies. Although the Castilian navy defeated the Portuguese fleet at the entrance to the Guadiana River on 17 June 1381 this victory meant little if any shift in the balance of naval power in the Atlantic and had little effect on Earl Edmund's preparations or voyage.²⁵

Against this backdrop of naval warfare along the western coast of Europe, Edmund of Langley and the clerks under his command began to assemble their fleet for the voyage to Lisbon.²⁶ The size and composition of the fleet that carried the army to Portugal in 1381 is relatively easy to discern. The key source for this article's analysis of the naval campaign of 1381 is an Exchequer account of Edmund of Langley's army and navy that is preserved in The National Archives/Public Record Office in London (TNA/PRO E 101/39/17). Russell

²² James Sherborne, "The Battle of *La Rochelle* and the War at Sea, 1372–75," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 42 (1969), 17–29. p. 42. See also, Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000–1500* (London, 2002), pp. 67–68.

²³ Lawrence Mott, "Iberian Naval Power, 1000–1650," in John Hattendorf and Richard Unger (eds), *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 108–09.

²⁴ Mott, "Iberian Naval Power," p. 109. See also Archibald Lewis, "Northern European Sea Power and the Straits of Gibraltar, 1031–1350," in W. C. Jordan, Bruce McNab and Teofilo Ruiz (eds), *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 157–60; and Archibald Lewis and Tim Runyan, *European Naval and Maritime History, 300–1500* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), pp. 144–63.

²⁵ There seems little doubt that the Castilians emerged in need of repairs from their victory at Guadiana River. The Castilians would need time to recover from their victory: ships needed to be repaired, dead crew replaced, wounded crew would need tending and the fleet of galleys would need to spend time refitting in port. Thus, in a sense, the Castilian victory at Guadiana River on 17 June, right before the English put to sea on 22 June, was fortunate more for the English than for the Castilians as they could not now employ their fleet against Edmund's navy.

²⁶ See Appendix I.

did have access to this document and made passing use of it in his great work. Unfortunately, he did not make full use the document he was using. Russell did not take note of the size of the vessels in the Anglo-Portuguese fleet, but he also did not take note of the fact that a number of the English vessels carried “masters of naval artillery,” which clearly denoted that they were converted in some way as men-of-war rather than transports.²⁷

The accounts reveal the ports of Portsmouth and Dartmouth were chosen for the points of debarkation. These two were the most obvious choices for the points of departure for Langley’s expeditionary force. Throughout the century fleets destined for the western coast of France and Iberia had congregated in these ports. Not only had Thomas of Woodstock’s ill-fated voyage to Brittany begun from Plymouth and Dartmouth in 1380, Edmund of Langley had concentrated his forces with those of Duke John of Brittany in these Devonian ports before making passage to Brittany in 1375.²⁸ They were large enough towns to house and profit from the nearly 3,000 men in the army together with the nearly 1,200 sailors on the vessels;²⁹ both ports offered sheltered estuaries to protect the ships from weather; they were part of the well-developed trade network between England and Iberia,³⁰ and the townspeople and merchants there were experienced in dealing with both large numbers of soldiers and ships.³¹

The composition of Edmund’s fleet was, as Russell noted, a mix of vessels, captains and mariners from England, Gascony, and Portugal. The presence of Portuguese and Gascon vessels in the fleet is hardly surprising. Both Portuguese and Gascon ships were often found in abundance in western English ports in the late fourteenth century and were often taken into royal service to move men, horses and material.³² As early as January 1381 two royal clerks, Robert Crulle and William Lockington, were working to arrest vessels on the south coast for inclusion in the fleet.³³ Russell noted, and with good reason, that it took a fair amount of time and effort to collect the vessels at Portsmouth and Dartmouth for the expedition which, he observed, was a common problem.³⁴

Several factors seem to have been responsible for this delay. One was the fact

²⁷ Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 314 n. 1. TNA/PRO E 101/39/17.

²⁸ James Sherborne, “Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369–80,” in A. Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London, 1994), p. 14.

²⁹ The Receipt Roll demonstrates that Lokington accounted at the Exchequer for £1,770 on 2 August 1381 for a portion of the sailors’ wages. Anthony Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 44–45.

³⁰ Wendy Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade* (Manchester, 1989); Wendy Childs, “Anglo-Portuguese Trade in the Fifteenth Century,” *TRHS*, 6th Series, 2 (1992), 195–219.

³¹ Tim Runyan, “Fleets in Medieval England,” in Tim Runyan (ed.), *Ships, Seafaring and Society: Essays in Maritime History* (Detroit, 1987), p. 43.

³² Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 156. Foreign vessels had long been pressed into service by the Crown: Prince, “Army and Navy,” p. 380.

³³ The first ship arrested was *La John of Bayonne*, an 80-ton ship of Gascon origin, which was paid from 6 January to 12 August, TNA/PRO E 101/39/17 m. 2.

³⁴ “[A]s usual,” he wrote, “considerable difficulty was experienced” in gathering vessels in a timely manner. Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 304.

that nearly £8,000 had been paid out of the Exchequer on 20 December 1380 for the reinforcement of Thomas of Woodstock's army in Brittany; hence, a large number of the hulls available to be used as transport in the eastern part of the country were already committed to that expedition.³⁵ A second factor helping to delay the sailing rests in the fact that some of the vessels arrested by Crulle, Lokyngton, and their subordinates were taken into the king's service in ports other than Plymouth and Dartmouth. The clerks' commissions covered the entire south-west coast and it would have taken time not only to identify potential vessels but to move them from, say, Bristol to Plymouth once they had been arrested, and then to undertake whatever conversion was deemed necessary.³⁶ A third factor causing the delay rests in the number and size of the vessels that Earl Edmund wanted in his fleet. Crulle and Lokyngton arrested a total of 99 ships of various types and sizes for the voyage. The size of vessels in the fourteenth century was not determined by displacement but by lading and even this was only an estimate of capacity. Thus, the ship's size rating could be modified depending on what the ship was to carry and on the experience of the estimator. English and Iberian vessels rated their tonnage on wine. The English tonne was 2240 pounds/252 gallons including the weight of the cask; this translated into 40 cubic feet per tonne if dry goods were the cargo.³⁷ Vessels of 50 tons lading and smaller were commonly used as transports in the mid- and late fourteenth century.³⁸

Of the 99 vessels Crulle and Lokyngton arrested between January and June 1381, a majority, 58 to be exact, were only held for one month between 22 February and 21 March before they were released to resume their normal mercantile routine.³⁹ Six of these were 100 tons or larger, but by far the majority were of 60 tons lading or smaller. Twenty of these fifty-eight ships were identified as "craiers" while three were called "barges," and one was unclassified. The remainder were all referred to by Crulle and Lokyngton simply as "ships." The total number of crew on these vessels amounted to 929 men: 871 sailors and 58 masters. Exactly why these ships were held for such a brief period is unknown. From previous expeditions it seems that many transports were relatively small, about 50 tons. Yet, Edmund's fleet did not need to carry the usual items an English army needed on campaign, particularly horses, since by treaty these were to be supplied by the Portuguese government, and so there was no

³⁵ TNA/PRO E 403/483, mm. 10–11, 20 Dec. 1380.

³⁶ H. J. Hewitt suggests a similar set of problems delayed the departure of the Black Prince's 1355 expedition to Bordeaux: *The Black Prince's Expedition* (Barnsley, 2004), pp. 34–42.

³⁷ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 159–60.

³⁸ 40 and 50 tons were the usual size for ships arrested in the early and mid-fourteenth century. Prince, "Army and Navy," p. 380.

³⁹ See Appendix II. Holding a group of ships for a period and not utilizing them for transport was hardly unusual. This practice was common in the fourteenth century and dated back until at least 1230 when Henry III arrested an armada of 449 ships but released 161 of them before his expedition sailed. F. W. Brooks, *The English Naval Forces, 1199–1272* (Manchester, 1932), pp. 187–88; Tim Runyan, "Ships and Mariners in Later Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies*, 16 (1977), 3–4.

need to employ vessels dedicated to equine transport.⁴⁰ It seems that the earl considered these 58 vessels to be of insufficient size or in too poor a condition to make the journey. The reduced size of the fleet from 99 to 41 vessels seems to confirm Professor Sherborne's assertion that 1380 marked a watershed in the size of fourteenth-century English fleets. The last major fleets to move men in the 1370s consisted of anywhere from 100 to 200 vessels, while after 1380 the numbers were reduced to fewer than 100 ships.⁴¹ Of the 41 ships that made the voyage, seven were classified as "barges" while the rest were described as either "cogs" or "ships."⁴² Only one ship in his fleet was rated at 50 tons,⁴³ one at 60 tons, four at 80 tons and one at 90 tons. No fewer than 35 of the 41 vessels in the fleet were over 100 tons displacement, with 15 being 160 tons or over.

These last 15 ships are perhaps the most significant aspect of the Anglo-Portuguese fleet. Since 1350, English ships over 150 tons lading had been extremely rare, perhaps owing in part to the fact that the overall devastation of the Great Plagues had reduced the need for large ships.⁴⁴ A more practical reason for the decline of the big ship, however, centered on the fact that large vessels were expensive to build and maintain and represented a substantial risk in terms of capital and cargo for the owner.⁴⁵ Thus, large ships remained in short supply until the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Of the 15 ships in Langley's fleet over 150 tons lading, 12 were English in origin and because of their rarity represent a significant application of English naval power. To bring so many large vessels together was difficult and suggests that Crulle and Lokington had to expend a significant amount of time and energy to arrest such scarce shipping. Thus, Cambridge's fleet not only vastly outnumbered the Castilian galley fleet of some twenty vessels, but his ships also out-weighted the galleys on an individual basis.⁴⁶

The geographical origin of the English vessels was eclectic. Most of the

⁴⁰ On the issue of moving horses see John Pryor, "The Transportation of Horses by Sea During the Era of the Crusades: The Eighth Century to 1285," *Mariner's Mirror*, 69 (1982), 103–25.

⁴¹ Sherborne demonstrated that Edward III's fleet of 1372 was between 175 to 200 ships, a fleet of 1377 contained about 100 ships and a fleet of 1378 contained about 150 vessels. By contrast, the fleet of 1385 contained only 43 ships while the fleets of 1387 and 1388 contained only 51 and 62 ships respectively. "The English Navy," pp. 31, 36–37, 38.

⁴² James Sherborne, "English Barges and Balingers in the Late Fourteenth Century," in Tuck (ed.), *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England* (London, 1994), pp. 71–76; J. T. Tinniswood, "English Galleys, 1272–1377," *Mariner's Mirror*, 33 (1949), 276–315.

⁴³ This ship, the *La Stephen of Lisbon*, was only paid for fourteen days, TNA/PRO E 101/39/17 m. 2.

⁴⁴ Ian Friel, "The English and the War at Sea, c. 1200-c. 1500," in Hattendorf and Unger (eds), *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 76.

⁴⁵ Ian Friel, "Winds of Change?" in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 190.

⁴⁶ Exactly how disruptive the temporary loss of these large vessels was to England's trade and commerce in 1381 is an interesting question. Certainly, the requisitioning of erstwhile merchant vessels for war was disruptive. For example, wine from the Bordelais cost 8s. per tun in 1300 and had risen to 12s. or 13s. per tun by 1350: Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War, England and France at War, c. 1350-c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 123.

smaller or unfit vessels that were paid off on 21 March were from western ports such as Plymouth, Teignmouth and Foey, with one, the 80 ton *La Katherine*, coming from as far away as Jersey. Most of the twenty-one larger English ships that made the crossing from the Devon ports to Lisbon also came from the western ports such as Bristol, Plymouth and Dartmouth, with the 120 ton *La Michael* coming from as far east as Lynne. Although a number of factors made it difficult to collect vessels quickly, one fact of life in 1381 may have aided Crulle and Lokyngton in their work – that mercantile relations between England and Portugal were particularly cordial,⁴⁷ and lucrative.⁴⁸ Thus it is not overly surprising to find that no fewer than sixteen vessels in Langley's navy, or 41% of the total, were either from Oporto or Lisbon.⁴⁹

Yet, it seems that some of these Portuguese vessels did not serve willingly. Throughout the fourteenth century royal clerks had arrested foreign vessels for English service and complaints had been made to the Crown,⁵⁰ and the assemblage of Earl Edmund's fleet was no exception. On 16 March the earl received a letter patent ordering him to enquire if any Portuguese vessels had been arrested contrary to the alliance with Ferdinand I.⁵¹ It does not seem that too many Portuguese vessels were seized contrary to treaty as only two or perhaps three Portuguese vessels were released by Crulle and Lokyngton on 21 March.⁵²

Although the military capabilities of each of these vessels cannot be determined from the accounts, a number of specific comments about Earl Edmund's fleet may be made. Even though the sources do not mention that any of the vessels underwent modifications for war, common practice for larger vessels arrested for military service included undergoing some modification for war – at the very least by the addition of towers.⁵³ The high-freeboard English cogs

⁴⁷ In 1379 a Bristol inquest found that English merchants had been well treated by the Portuguese in Lisbon over the previous two years: *CCR, 1377–81*, p. 268.

⁴⁸ Wendy Childs, "Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Fourteenth Century," in James Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard III* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 38–40.

⁴⁹ Although, as Russell notes, the largest Portuguese vessel was of 150 tons while many of the others were "very much smaller" (*English Intervention*, p. 305), the English vessels were of substantial size. See Appendix I, below, for details.

⁵⁰ Sherborne, "The English Navy," p. 31.

⁵¹ *CPR, 1377–81*, p. 631.

⁵² The two listed on the document as being Portuguese were the *Lantene* of 50 tons under the command of Gonfalo Alfonso, and the *St. James* of 60 tons under the command of Anton Rodregos. The third possible Portuguese vessel in this portion of the fleet was the *St. James of Serend* (?) of 40 tons under the command of Alfonse Albyn, TNA/PRO E 101/39/17 m. 3.

⁵³ Friel, "English and the War at Sea," p. 71. For a survey of warships in the medieval period and the transition of ship-board torsion artillery to gunpowder weapons see, Kelly DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (London, 1992), pp. 283–312. Strangely, Russell noted this fact as well, but then largely ignored his own admission. *English Intervention*, p. 235. See also, Peter Marsden, "The Medieval Ships of London," in Sean McGrail (ed.), *The Archaeology of Medieval Ships and Harbours in Northern Europe*, (Greenwich, 1979), pp. 83–93; Detlev Elmers, "The Cog as Cargo Carrier," in R. Unger (ed.), *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons* (London, 1994), pp. 29–46; Tim Runyan, "The Cog as Warship," in Unger, *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons*, pp. 57–76.

had been instrumental in Edward III's victory at Sluys in 1340, and it was well known that high-freeboard vessels usually fared well in contests against galleys, which possessed much less manpower and which were often at a great tactical disadvantage due to the difference in height between the two vessels because the men on these erstwhile merchant vessels could shoot down on the soldiers and oarsmen on the open-decked galleys-- a disadvantage that became almost insurmountable if the men aboard the taller cogs were English longbowmen.⁵⁴

Perhaps more importantly, in addition to these more traditional methods of preparing merchant vessels for war, Earl Edmund hired no fewer than thirteen "masters of naval artillery" to serve on his larger cogs and barges. The thirteen ships mentioned as having artillerists on board were some of larger English vessels, ranging from 180 to 240 tons.⁵⁵ Although the amount, size, and type, of the ordinance that Langley's fleet carried is not recorded, whatever the nature of the artillery carried, at least 34% of the ships in his fleet had masters of naval artillery and by implication had some type of artillery on board. Exactly who and what these masters were is a matter of some debate and interest. Tout thought these "Masters of Naval Artillery" were engineers and craftsmen in addition to being soldiers,⁵⁶ and Tim Runyan argues that they certainly looked after cannon and guns. In any event, these "masters of naval artillery" were very well paid for their expertise at the rate of 3s. 4d. per day – nearly as much as Earl Edmund himself, who drew 4s. per day.⁵⁷

At least one of the men paid as a master of naval artillery, John Haule, was also a ship's captain. Haule was from Dartmouth and had served the Crown on naval expeditions and aided the king in naval affairs since the mid-1370s.⁵⁸ In fact, as recently as December 1380 he had accepted a royal commission with two other Dartmouth captains, Benedict Bottessanna and Thomas Ashendon, to "destroy enemy shipping." It is unknown whether the seven vessels named in this early letter of marque operated as a squadron, in smaller components or individually and no evidence seems to exist recording their relative success or failure, but all three masters mentioned in the 1380 commission served with Earl Edmund's expedition in June and July of 1381.⁵⁹

A number of fourteenth-century accounts demonstrate that carrying cannon was not unusual.⁶⁰ Moreover, if royal interest in artillery may be gauged by the size and number of guns the king personally owned, it reached its medieval peak

⁵⁴ Friel, *The Good Ship*, p. 146–50. O. Crumlin Pedersen, "The Vikings and the Hanseatic Merchants," in G. F. Bass (ed.), *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology* (London, 1972), 181–204.

⁵⁵ See Appendix I.

⁵⁶ T. F. Tout, "Firearms in England in the Fourteenth Century," *EHR* 26 (1911), p. 679.

⁵⁷ TNA/PRO E 101/39/17 m. 3.

⁵⁸ John Haule, Benedict Bottessanna, and Thomas Ashendon can be found in various capacities on naval expeditions from the early 1370s to the late 1380s. See www.medievalsoldier.org.

⁵⁹ *CPR, 1377–81*, p. 405. See Appendix I.

⁶⁰ Robert Smith, "Artillery and the Hundred Years War: Myth and Interpretation," in Curry and Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 153–56.

during Richard II's reign.⁶¹ Ammunition as often as not included crossbow quarrels as well as cannon balls, but it seems that the number and size of gunpowder pieces tended to be rather small. In 1337 one of Edward III's cogs had several small cannon "for the defence of the ship,"⁶² the Castilian galleys at La Rochelle in 1372 were equipped with cannon,⁶³ many of the king's ships had cannon on them by the reign of Henry IV,⁶⁴ and by 1420 one of Henry V's ships at Harfleur carried seven large guns.⁶⁵ It seems, as Kelly DeVries notes,⁶⁶ that Ian Friel's assertion that shipboard artillery was not effective until the late fifteenth century is unfounded. Whether or not cannon sank fourteenth-century vessels obscures the issue; artillery was clearly effective and it was placed on ships in increasing size and number throughout the period.

The last topic this article will consider is the voyage from Plymouth and Dartmouth to Lisbon itself, the duration of the crossing and how the fleet broke up at the end of the voyage to Lisbon. Much has been made of Langley's odyssey to Portugal and historians have made a number of references to the journey including the assemblage of the troops, the journey itself, and the break-up of his fleet. The date of the assemblage of the army in the Devon ports is difficult to pin down with any accuracy. The indentures of receipt for partial funds were made from late February to early April, but these do not necessarily indicate that the troops were already assembled and awaiting payment. It seems that the troops were not organized until the middle of May. Clearly, Earl Edmund himself was occupied with other business in April, because on 29 March he received royal letters giving him power to treat with the ambassadors of Wenceslas, King of the Romans.⁶⁷ On 12 May Richard II ordered John Kentwood, John de la Haye, and Martin Ferrers, along with the clerks Robert Crulle and John Lokyngton, to muster the troops in the Devon ports of Plymouth and Dartmouth.⁶⁸ Richard Newhall argued that both the assemblages of troops and the payments to them dated from the moment of the muster,⁶⁹ but it also may have been that soldiers began drawing payment, as they had earlier in the century, "from the day they reached the sea."⁷⁰ In either event, in this case it is probable that the men's wages

⁶¹ Tout, "Firearms," pp. 675–77.

⁶² Philippe Contamine, *Warfare in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 138–41. See also John F. Guilmartin, Jr., "Guns and Gunnery," in Unger, *Cogs, Caravels and Galleons*, pp. 139–50.

⁶³ Froissart, *Chronicles*, 2:471–74.

⁶⁴ Alan Moore, "Accounts and Inventories of John Starlyng, Clerk of the King's Ships to Henry IV," *Mariner's Mirror*, 4 (1914), 20–26, 167–73.

⁶⁵ Friel, *The Good Ship*, p. 153.

⁶⁶ Kelly DeVries, "The Effectiveness of Fifteenth Century Shipboard Artillery," *Mariner's Mirror*, 84 (1998), p. 391. See also DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, pp. 143–68.

⁶⁷ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera Conventiones, Litterae, etc.*, 8 vols. (London, 1727–35), 4:108.

⁶⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:119. At the same time John Cokefield was given orders to billet these men in the said ports. TNA/PRO C 47/2/49/2.

⁶⁹ R. A. Newhall, *Muster and Review* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), pp. 4–6.

⁷⁰ H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition* (Barnsley, 2004), p. 82; *The Register of Edward, The Black Prince Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1930–33), 4:144.

dated from the middle of May.⁷¹

Froissart claimed that the vessels were loaded little by little and that they were forced to stay in port for three weeks because of unfavorable winds. Inclement weather may have been only part of the reason for the delay in departure. Even though the order to muster the army received the great seal on 12 May it would have taken a number of days for the orders to reach Plymouth and Dartmouth and then more time to organize the troops, most of whom were presumably in or near the towns, and undertake the final arresting of ships. In fact, eighteen of the forty-one vessels that carried Edmund of Langley's army to Lisbon were not even formally taken into the king's service until either 16 or 21 May. It is not known whether, as Froissart claimed, bad weather caused delay, but certainly the Peasants' Revolt in the south-east retarded Earl Edmund's sailing in early June.

Froissart wrote that when Earl Edmund and his captains heard of the Peasants' Revolt in the south-east they were afraid to confront the rebels. Thus, Langley and his men, fearing for their lives, took to their ships and made ready to sail away. Yet, the wind was sore against them and they spent some time anchored in the roadstead before fair winds finally allowed them to depart for Portugal.⁷² Colorful though Froissart's account is, it has less to commend it than at first appears. Not only were Dartmouth and Plymouth heavily fortified in the late fourteenth century,⁷³ the documents clearly demonstrate that Edmund of Langley was in contact with the government in London and that the fleet did not leave until 22 June, well after Wat Tyler's peasant army had been dispersed.

Russell argued that the Anglo-Portuguese fleet sailed from Dartmouth and Plymouth in several sailings.⁷⁴ It does seem that at least one ship, perhaps more, did not leave until 23 June since the Gascon captain Bermond Arnaud de Preissac, the Soudan de la Trau, received an indenture of receipt for £384 4s. for wages for his company on that date.⁷⁵ Froissart reported that this shipload of Gascons was tossed about by a great storm that carried them all the way to the coast of North Africa, where they spent forty days in terror of the Moors before they made their way to Lisbon.

Entertaining though this account might be, it is almost certain, as Russell thought, that this was an example of one of Froissart's sources "pulling his leg."⁷⁶ To be sure, the most important factor in any movement of ships before the advent of steam was the weather, since contrary winds combined with clumsy vessels could make travel difficult and tedious. The other chief obstacle to the

⁷¹ For example, Earl Edmund himself received a prest of £1721 12s. 10d. for his contingent of himself, 4 bannerets, 16 knights, 479 men-at-arms and 490 archers from May. TNA/PRO E 43/609.

⁷² Froissart, *Chronicles*, 2:651.

⁷³ John Kenyon, "Coastal Artillery Fortification in England in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," in Curry and Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 145–49.

⁷⁴ Russell argued that the dates which the vessels were paid off suggests when they left England. See *English Intervention*, p. 306 n. 2.

⁷⁵ TNA/PRO E 42/261.

⁷⁶ Russell, "The War in Spain and Portugal," p. 95.

unhindered movement of ships in the seaway was interdiction by foreign belligerent powers. The French would have posed no threat to the earl's fleet. Peace talks between England and France had gone on without significant interruption since 1375, but the death of Charles V "the wise" in 1380 and the political upheavals in France throughout the first two years of Charles VI's minority meant that a concerted attempt on the part of the French to intercept Earl Edmund was unlikely.⁷⁷ Although there was much piracy in the English Channel in the two years prior to Earl Edmund's voyage, as the number of safe conducts from Bristol suggest, this piratical activity was confined to assaults on individual merchant vessels, not on fleets of ships converted for war.⁷⁸

The exact track that Langley's fleet took is unknown, but some idea of its route may be gleaned from near-contemporary sources. The fifteenth-century *Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England* demonstrates that merchant traffic routinely followed the path down the Cornish coast to the Isles of Scilly, past Ushant and Belle Isle to Cape Ortegal and Cape Finisterre.⁷⁹ The duration of Earl Edmund's voyage is also not precisely known, but like the path of his journey, some idea may be gleaned from the records of other sailings from England's western ports in the mid- and late fourteenth century.⁸⁰ Record sources demonstrate that mercantile traffic typically moved from the western English ports to the north coast of Iberia in about one week. Lisbon and the Tagus estuary lay probably only two or three more days in the distance. As we have seen, the fleet was paid from 21 May, but the problem of the Peasants' Revolt kept the fleet at anchor until 22 June.⁸¹ Assuming good weather, Earl Edmund's fleet would have arrived in the Tagus basin by late June or the first week of July at the latest,⁸² about ten days earlier than Lopes claimed. Dirty weather could have kept the Anglo-Portuguese fleet of merchants and warships at sea until as late as 19 July when Lopes claimed they reached the Tagus basin.⁸³

This large and well-armed fleet of forty-one vessels had little to fear from the Castilian navy that was no doubt in need of refit and repair after its victory at the Gadiana River, and the Anglo/Gascon/Portuguese fleet easily made its way unhindered to Lisbon in perhaps ten to fourteen days. Once there, rather than be

⁷⁷ J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377–99* (London, 1972), pp. 11–12, 44–46.

⁷⁸ E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, repr. 1967), nos. 16–19.

⁷⁹ *Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England and for a Voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar*, ed. J. Gairdner (Hakluyt Society, 1889), repr. D. Waters, *The Rutters of the Sea* (New Haven, 1967) pp. 181–95.

⁸⁰ Wendy Childs thought that normal merchant traffic from the western English ports would make a round-trip journey to Lisbon in under three months, providing four or five weeks for turn-around to secure new cargo, repair damages, etc. Childs, "Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Fourteenth Century," pp. 27–50.

⁸¹ R. B. Dobson, *The Peasant's Revolt of 1381* (London, 1970), p. 143. Froissart, *Chronicles*, 2:669.

⁸² Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 170.

⁸³ Russell argued for Lopes's date of 19 July, *English Intervention*, p. 311 n. 3.

tied up behind chain booms for nearly six months, the fleet broke up over a series of weeks in July and August as the ships returned to their normal mercantile activities. In the end what we are left with is a naval expedition that was well conceived, well funded, and well led. Earl Edmund's Portuguese expeditionary force demonstrates that in 1381 as they had in the past and would do in the future the English encountered no difficulties in assembling, protecting and moving a substantial number of troops from the western English ports down the western coast of France and finally to Lisbon. Thus, we may end as we began with Thomas Walsingham who concluded his brief description of Langley's journey in his chronicle with the claim that the expeditionary force reached Lisbon after a "successful voyage."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Walsingham, *St. Alban's Chronicle*, 1:408–09.

Appendix I: E 101/39/17 m. 2

The Forty-one Vessels in Edmund of Langley's Navy for his Portuguese Expedition, 1381

January (8 vessels paid from this month)

6 Jan–12 Aug	John of Bayonne	80 tons	39 crew	£144 18s 6d
6 Jan–13 Aug	St. Mary of Bayonne	No tonnage given	35 crew	£125 2s
7 Jan–27 August	La Michael of Lynne	120 tons	28 crew	£112 2s 3d
24 Jan–29 July	<i>St. Luke of Lisbon</i> *	150 tons	28 crew	£90 5s
24 Jan–16 July	<i>Le John of Lisbon</i>	148 tons	21 crew	£84 6s 9d
24 Jan–29 July	<i>St. Marycog of Lisbon</i>	140 tons	29 crew	£94 16s
	<i>St. Mary of Lisbon</i>	60 tons	15 crew	£46 11s
24 Jan–24 July	<i>St. Katherine</i>	110 tons	23 crew	£74 6s

February (2 vessels paid from this month)

6 Feb–28 July	<i>St. Mary</i>	115 tons	29 crew	£81 18s
15 Feb–1 Aug	<i>St. Clement</i>	80 tons	31 crew	£ 74 6s

March (4 vessels paid from this month)

6 March–28 July	St Mary	120 tons	29 crew	£73 2s
7 March–31 July	<i>La George of Lisbon</i>	148 tons	31 crew	£77 9s 6d
8 March–28 July	(barge) St. Mary	125 tons	30 crew	£70 6s 9d
16 March–29 July	<i>Le St. John</i>	150 tons	29 crew	£57 16s

April (1 vessel paid from this month)

18 April–29 July	(barge) St. George	120 tons	30 crew	£50 6s
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May (23 vessels paid from this month)

6 May–4 August	<i>St John of Lisbon</i>	140 tons	35 crew	£86 6s 8d
	(barge) Le Southampton	80 tons	20 crew	£47 13s 6d
6 May–29 August 10b	St. Marycog of Dartmouth ⁸⁵	180 tons	33 crew	£57 19s 10d
10 May–27 August	James of Plymouth ⁸⁶	80 tons	38 crew	£70 2s 9d

* Portuguese ships are in *italics*.

⁸⁵ William Webber was paid as a Master of Naval Artillery.

⁸⁶ Stephen Dernford was paid as a Master of Naval Artillery

	(barge) La Michael ⁸⁷	100 tons	43 crew	£79 9s
	La Christopher of Plymouth ⁸⁸	240 tons	46 crew	£85 6d
16 May–26 August	La Marie of Bristol	180 tons	51 crew	£104 4s
	La George	180 tons	44 crew	£68 12s 6d
	La Cog John	180 tons	41 crew	£71 18d 3d
	La Maudelyn	160 tons	37 crew	£64 12s
	(barge) La George	110 tons	45 crew	£77 16s
	La Mary	100 tons	42 crew	£77 7s
21 May–27 August	St. Mary Cog	80 tons	23 crew	£38 18s
	La Margaret ⁸⁹	160 tons	27 crew	£46
	La Maduleyn ⁹⁰	160 tons	27 crew	£46 4s 6d
	La Christopher	160 tons	31 crew	£52 2s 6d
21 May–29 August	La Katherine ⁹¹	160 tons	31 crew	£53 18s
21 May–27 August	St. Marycog ⁹²	160 tons	26 crew	£44 5s 9d
21 May–29 August	Le Cog Thomas ⁹³	160 tons	31 crew	£52 18s
21 May–27 August	(barge) La Jonet ⁹⁴	90 tons	22 crew	£37 9s 9d
	(barge) La Marie ⁹⁵	110 tons	23 crew	£40 13s 3d
	(barge) La Trinity ⁹⁶	100 tons	24 crew	£40 2s 3d
21 May–20 August	St Marycog ⁹⁷	100 tons	20 crew	£32 12s 10d
No Dates Given				
Paid for 14 days	<i>Le Stephan of Lisbon</i>	50 tons	14 crew	£57 16s

Totals:

1,135 captains and sailors served on these ships

The Masters of Naval Artillery received a total payment of £136 13s 4d for their expertise.

Twelve of these vessels were classified as “barges”

⁸⁷ Stephen Dernford was also the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁸⁸ Stephen Dernford was also the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁸⁹ William Knolles was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹⁰ John Baker was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹¹ Thomas Ashendon was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹² William Baste was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹³ John Breton was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹⁴ John Haule was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹⁵ John Haule was also the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹⁶ William Knolles was the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

⁹⁷ William Knolles was also the Master of Naval Artillery for this vessel.

Appendix II: E 101/39/17 m. 4

Ships Held from 22 February to 21 March 1381 and then Released by Crulle and Lokyngton with Rates of Pay

<i>Lantene</i>	50 tons	16 sailors	£6 13s 4d
<i>St. Jacob</i>	60 tons	13 sailors	100s
La Margaret of Tynby	80 tons	18 sailors	100s
La Margaret	60 tons	16 sailors	£4
La Cog John of Milford	24 tons	12 sailors	60s
La George of S'hampton	40 tons	11 sailors	60s
La Redcog of Hoke	100 tons	24 sailors	100s
La Welsfare	120 tons	28 sailors	£6
La Katherine	60 tons	15 sailors	60s
La St. Mary	80 tons	19 sailors	£4
La St. Mary of S'hampton	34 tons	12 sailors	60s
La Katherine	30 tons	10 sailors	60s
La Trinity	40 tons	11 sailors	60s
La Trinity	100 tons	20 sailors	£4
La Margaret of Warham	60 tons	16 sailors	60s
La Marie	60 tons	16 sailors	£4
La Peter of Weymouth	80 tons	22 sailors	£4
La Edward	32 tons	12 sailors	53s 4d
La Katherine of Bridgewater	24 tons	13 sailors	33s 4d
La Mary of Tynby	30 tons	12 sailors	30s
La Martyn of Dunsthe	70 tons	16 sailors	46s 8d
La Marie of Barnstaple	34 tons	10 sailors	34s 4d
La Nicholas	20 tons	11 sailors	30s
La Trinity of Brideford	24 tons	9 sailors	32s 4d
La Marie of Teignmouth of Portage	80 tons	18 sailors	£4
La Parlebren	25 tons	10 sailors	40s
La Peter of Peynton	26 tons	11 sailors	60s
La Nicholas	24 tons	10 sailors	40s
La Gracedieu of Seaton	26 tons	14 sailors	40s
La St. Marie Cog of Portelmouth	70 tons	18 sailors	60s
La St Marieboat	30 tons	12 sailors	40s
La Lirfete	30 tons	12 sailors	40s
La Margaret	35 tons	12 sailors	40s
La James	30 tons	10 sailors	40s
La Christopher of Farham	100 tons	20 sailors	100s
La Barry of Fowy	100 tons	22 sailors	56s 8d

La St. George	40 tons	11 sailors	40s
La James	60 tons	15 sailors	40s
La Nightengale	35 tons	8 sailors	56s 8d
La Katherine	64 tons	18 sailors	40s
La Gracedieu of Plymouth	50 tons	16 sailors	54s 4d
La Gracedieu	26 tons	11 sailors	40s
La Katherine	20 tons	10 sailors	26s 4d
La Caberett	90 tons	22 sailors	60s
La Julian	60 tons	15 sailors	60s
La Cog John	80 tons	20 sailors	60s
La Cog John	60 tons	15 sailors	40s
La Katherine	66 tons	18 sailors	60s
La Michael	36 tons	12 sailors	40s
Laundren	50 tons	24 sailors	66s 8d
La Trinity	80 tons	18 sailors	60s
La Katherine of Jersey	80 tons	23 sailors	60s
La Katherine of Shoreham	36 tons	9 sailors	£4
La Margaret of Seaton	26 tons	8 sailors	26s 8d
La Gadyrer (?) of Plymouth	60 tons	17 sailors	40s
La St. James	40 tons	11 sailors	40s
La Archangel of Hammel	100 tons	25 sailors	60s
La Julian of Hok	80 tons	23 sailors	100s

Totals:

871 sailors and 58 masters/captains = 929 men total.

20 of these 58 vessels are classified as "greyers" [i.e. "craiers"]

3 were barges

1 unknown/not named.

The Battle of Aljubarrota (1385): A Reassessment*

João Gouveia Monteiro

The Battle of Aljubarrota, which took place on 14 August 1385 near the village of São Jorge in central Portugal, some 100 km north of Lisbon, was one of the most important events in Portuguese history. It also played a significant role in the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, because it brought the kings of Portugal and Castile (both called John I) face to face, ultimately guaranteeing the independence of the small kingdom of Portugal. Furthermore, less than 30 years after the Battle of Poitiers (1356), Aljubarrota became another example of the ingenious use of the English tactical style that had been developed in the Anglo-Scottish wars of the early fourteenth century and was successfully tested by the armies of Edward III and the Black Prince in the first battles of the Hundred Years War.¹

Nevertheless, Aljubarrota has attracted relatively little attention from scholars. Sir Peter Russell devoted a chapter to it in a book which remains the most stimulating work on the political and diplomatic history of the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the fourteenth century.² But Russell was not a military historian, and despite his familiarity with Iberian archives and the visit he made to the battlefield, he did not have at his disposal all the relevant information about the combat. For example, an archaeological intervention that took place at the site between 1958 and 1960 (after the publication of Russell's book) uncovered a remarkable defensive system of ditches and pits (built by the Portuguese army with the help of their English allies) and a common grave containing human bones, which recent research has proved to be related to the 1385 battle. This has opened up new lines of inquiry.

* My thanks are due to Clifford Rogers, John France and Kelly DeVries, who read my first version of this article and made a number of very useful suggestions.

¹ See Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996). This excellent work provides detailed information about the European battles of the first half of the fourteenth century, mentioned in this article. See also, Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp. English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), which deals with the Anglo-Scots battles and Edward III's war.

² P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III & Richard II* (Oxford, 1955).

For this reason, I believe that it is time to return to the Battle of Aljubarrota and reassess it in the light of this new evidence. For not only do we know the exact spot where the battle took place, but we also have a series of first-rate sources (both literary and non-literary) that converge with an accuracy rarely found in medieval military history.

The Political-Military Context³

When King Ferdinand I of Portugal died in Lisbon in October 1383, John I of Castile believed that the time had come to assert his claim to the Portuguese crown. He had recently married Beatrice, the only daughter of King Ferdinand and Leonor Teles, and in accordance with a treaty signed in April in Salvaterra de Magos, the Portuguese crown would pass to his son upon the death of Ferdinand, as soon as that child reached the age of 14; until then, Leonor would act as regent. However, the Castilian king was reluctant to wait so long.

In order to reconstruct the process that led up to this situation that posed such a threat to Portuguese independence, we need to recall the three wars that Ferdinand waged against Castile between 1369 and 1382. As the legitimate grandson of Sancho IV of Castile, Ferdinand sought to take advantage of the civil war between Peter I and his half-brother Henry, the count of Trastámara, that had wracked the neighbouring kingdom since the middle of the century. The war had brought to the Iberian Peninsula in 1367 both the Anglo-Gascon armies of the Black Prince (an ally of Peter) and the French troops of Constable Du Guesclin (who supported Henry). King Peter I won the resultant battle of Nájera, but two years later died at Montiel at the hands of his rival, who thereby became King Henry II of Castile. Thus, Ferdinand believed that the time was ripe to take advantage of the large number of exiled Castilians and Galicians who, since the 1350s, had sought refuge in Portugal.

After signing agreements with the kings of Aragon and Granada against Castile, he invaded Galicia. The first two wars took place between 1369 and 1373, but Henry II, supported by Du Guesclin, retained the advantage. In 1381–82, with John I now in power in Castile, Ferdinand once again reopened hostilities. This time he had paved the way by forging an alliance with the Duke of Lancaster (John of Gaunt), who also had claims to the throne of Castile and who, on behalf of the English, was interested in removing a friend of France from the Castilian throne. But he was once more unsuccessful. The nobility of Portugal were disappointed, dominated as they were by exiled Castilians and Galicians, and by Queen Leonor Teles, herself from one of those families. The

³ For Portugal, see Luís Miguel Duarte, *Guerra pela Independência, 1383–1389* (Lisbon, 2006), and João Gouveia Monteiro, *Aljubarrota, 1385. A Batalha Real* (Lisbon, 2003). For Castile, see Julio Valdeon Baruque, *Enrique II, 1369–1379* (Palencia, 1996), and Luis Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1977–82). I would like to thank my dear colleague, Francisco García Fitz (University of Extremadura, Cáceres) for providing me with a wealth of information that has greatly enriched my text.

most noteworthy of those exiles, Juan Fernández de Andeiro, then did an about-turn with regards to the pro-English strategy of the group, and attempted to draw closer to the king of Castile. This was what led to the Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos, which Ferdinand, by then very ill, was unable to avoid. When he died, riddled with tuberculosis, all the internal fractures in the Portuguese court rose to the surface. Many second-rank nobles, feeling slighted by Ferdinand and Leonor's protection of foreign exiles and Portuguese families that had become their allies through marriage, revolted and sought a banner around which to rally. They found one in Pedro I's illegitimate son John, half-brother of Ferdinand and Master of the Military Order of Avis (the Portuguese branch of Calatrava).

In December 1383, Andeiro was assassinated by the Master of Avis and, consequently, the revolution spread across the whole kingdom. This was the cue for John I of Castile to enter the scene. In 1384, he invaded Portugal, forcing his mother-in-law Leonor to abdicate as regent, and between May and September, Lisbon was surrounded by land and sea. However, when plague broke out in the Castilian camp and decimated its ranks, he was forced to leave. The war continued and, in April 1385, the Master of Avis felt that he had sufficient support to summon the *Cortes* of the kingdom, which, in Coimbra, declared him King of Portugal under the title John I. At his side, he had a young military talent, Nuno Álvares Pereira, from a family connected to the Order of the Hospital, who was appointed Constable of the Realm (*Condestável do Reino*). But his party was still too weak to confront Castile in a war. So King John, as his half-brother had done, sought an alliance with England. As a result, two English ships arrived at Lisbon on Easter Sunday 1385, bringing 200 men-at-arms and 200 archers. On the same day, a third vessel, with 45 men-at-arms and 45 archers, docked at Setubal (50 km to the south), while a fourth, bearing at least 150 men-at-arms and archers, anchored at Oporto. There were, then, a total of 640 English mercenaries from the kingdom of Richard II, who landed on Portuguese soil at just the right moment to support the cause of John I. Their military commanders were Thomas Dale, Peter Cressingham, Reginald Cobham, Robert Grantham and Elie de Blyth, all of whom except possibly the last were veterans of the Hundred Years War. According to Peter Russell, a small Anglo-Gascon contingent headed by a knight from Gascony, William de Montferrand, may also have arrived in Portugal some months later.⁴

John of Castile then planned a three-pronged attack on Portugal. In April, the

⁴ Peter Russell, "Os Ingleses em Aljubarrota: um problema resolvido através de documentos do Public Record Office, Londres," *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 10 (1962), 419–33. The Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes says that "Monferrara" spoke at the Anglo-Portuguese council of war that took place the day of the battle, mentioning that he had already been in seven pitched battles. See Fernão Lopes, *Crónica del Rei dom João I da boa memória. Parte Segunda*, ed. William J. Entwistle (Lisbon, 1977), 38:86. (Note that citations to Lopes in this paper, and also to Froissart and some other texts (below) are given by Chapter, Page or Paragraph; the number before the colon is not the published volume.) Lopes also says that the Gascon knight "Monferrara" joined the Portuguese king at Tomar, in the beginning of June (22:46). As we will see later on, Montferrand was killed at Aljubarrota.

Castilians' fleet resumed its blockade of Lisbon by sea, while, at the same time, their king entered the southern Alentejo and surrounded Elvas. Finally, a group of Castilian captains, headed by Rodríguez de Castañeda, led an incursion into Beira (in east-central Portugal) as far as Viseu. However, only the first of these operations was successful. Elvas managed to hold out during the month of June, while in Beira, the outcome was even worse. Laden down with spoils, Castañeda and his men were returning to Ciudad Rodrigo, when, on 29 May, as they passed through Trancoso, they were massacred by a local army that had been organized by Portuguese noblemen. As a result, John of Castile decided to abandon the siege of Elvas and left for Ciudad Rodrigo. Having called a council of war and mobilized a large number of troops, he organized a new attack in July 1385, which would lead to the battlefield of São Jorge, Aljubarrota. Before advancing, he asked the French monarch for help and Charles VI, anxious to preserve the alliance between France and Castile (consolidated since the 1360s in the context of the Hundred Years War), contributed between 800 and 1,200 experienced and well-equipped men-at-arms. The young Castilian king had every reason to believe that the outcome would now be more satisfactory than it had been in 1384. However, as the chancellor López de Ayala reminded him before they set out, the Castilian army had been severely weakened, having lost over 2,000 of its best fighting men in Lisbon, the previous year, and at the Battle of Trancoso.⁵

In the second week of July, a large army commanded by John of Castile entered Portugal through Beira, passing through Almeida, Pinhel and Trancoso. It then turned off to Celorico da Beira, where, on 21 July, the king drew up his will, taking advantage of the stop to bring in more troops. He then advanced to Coimbra and Soure (arriving probably on 9 August), burning and pillaging as he went.

John of Portugal was keeping a close eye on his enemy's movements. Learning of the concentration in Ciudad Rodrigo, he had left the Alentejo, crossed the River Tejo and set up a base in Abrantes, a central position that would allow him to respond swiftly to his enemy's next moves. By then, the strategic objectives of the two forces were clear. The Castilians, who had the support of many garrisons that were on Beatrice's side (the most powerful of which was in Santarém, 80 km north-east of Lisbon), were marching towards the capital, the military key to the kingdom. Their intention was to besiege Lisbon once more, since the city would no longer be able to resist (due to the hunger that was already rife among the population, and also because some of the citizens seemed inclined to betray John of Portugal).⁶ The king had a lot of men, and could count on getting reinforcements and supplies in Santarém. John of Portugal, for his part, was aware of the risk of allowing his adversary to besiege Lisbon again. He also knew that, if Lisbon were lost, his own cause would be doomed. So he called a council

⁵ Pero López de Ayala, *Crónica Del Rey Don Juan Primero*, in *Crónicas*, ed. José-Luis Martín (Barcelona, 1991), Año VII, 11:591.

⁶ Lopes, *Crónica*, 30:92: "... moomente cidade esfaymada e sem capitam, e ajnda maa semente nella."

of war in Abrantes. Many argued that they should attack Andalusia, as a way of diverting the Castilian king's attention from Lisbon, until more help could arrive from England or until an agreement could be negotiated. Nuno Álvares Pereira, however, believed such a maneuver useless and thought it unlikely that they would get further English assistance. We know from the chronicles of the Portuguese Fernão Lopes, who wrote a monumental biography of John I between 1418 and 1450, that the idea that ultimately prevailed was to intercept the Castilian army on its march and risk everything in a decisive battle.⁷ To do so, the Portuguese would have to choose a point well inside the kingdom, where they would be able to break the Castilian marching column and interrupt its lines of communication. It would also be better to be far from Lisbon, to allow the possibility of recovery, should the plan fail. Thus, the Portuguese army advanced to Tomar, where it camped on the night of 8 August. On 11 August, it decided to go on to Ourém, to seek out the adversary.

The Castilians, for their part, avoided the Soure–Tomar road and instead chose to go via Pombal to Leiria, which they reached on 12 August. The Castilian king appeared to be hesitating, trying to avoid a direct confrontation. The Portuguese army advanced to Porto de Mós, where it spent the night of the twelfth. By Sunday 13 August, with the two armies now less than 20 km apart, combat had become inevitable.⁸ On 14 August, the Castilians headed south from Leiria, intending to take the road to Alcobaça or, also crossing the São Jorge plateau, swerve off to Porto de Mós to arrive at Santarém by the shortest route. It was at a point along this route that the Portuguese king, prepared to win or die, forced them off track.

Preliminaries of Combat

What sources are available for the reconstruction of the Battle of Aljubarrota? In addition to the extensive account given by the greatest Portuguese chronicler, Fernão Lopes, we can also draw upon the work of two other important chroniclers, Pero López de Ayala, chancellor of the Castilian king, an eyewitness to the battle (where he was taken prisoner, just as he had been at Nájera), and Jean Froissart, the French chronicler, who was very familiar with English military culture and who wrote two accounts of the battle,⁹ based upon interviews conducted at the

⁷ Lopes, *Crónica*, 30–31:60–66.

⁸ The best reconstruction of the movements of the two armies continues to be in Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, “De Estremoz a Aljubarrota. Quinze dias de operações militares de Nun’Álvares (31 de Julho a 15 de Agosto de 1385),” *O Instituto*, 80–82 (1930).

⁹ This is the structure of the Froissart account published by the Société de l’Histoire de France, by Léon Mirot (Tome Douzième, 1356–1388, Livre Troisième) (Paris, 1931). Lettres Gothiques have recently launched a new edition of Froissart’s chronicles, with the volume containing *Livres III et IV* edited by Peter Ainsworth and Alberto Varvaro (Paris, 2004). Despite the quality of this new edition, I have chosen to use here the Mirot edition, as the description of the battle is more detailed, and includes aspects (such as the presence of a ditch and a stream)

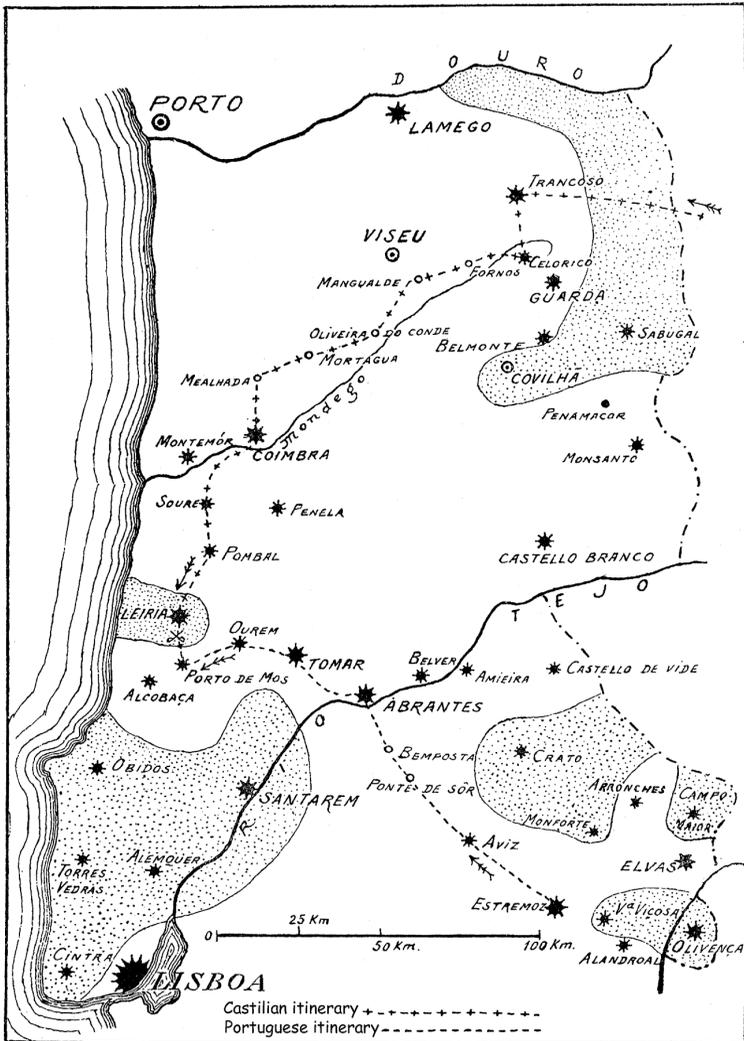


Figure 1 The Theatre of the Portuguese–Castilian War, 1385

end of 1388 and beginning of 1389 (in Orthez, in southern France) and at the end of 1389 or beginning of 1390 (in Middelburg, Zeeland), with, respectively, a knight from the county of Foix (Espan de Lion) and a Portuguese nobleman

which are crucial for the reconstruction of the battle and have been confirmed by other sources and by the study of the battlefield.

(João Fernandes Pacheco).¹⁰ There is also a later description of the battle in the anonymous *Crónica do Condestabre*, an hagiography of Nuno Álvares Pereira written between 1431 and 1440, while the *Sumario de los Reyes de España*, prepared by the head purveyor of John of Castile's first wife, includes a short reference to the battle, added during the reign of King Henry IV of Castile (1454–74) by an anonymous hand.¹¹ Finally, there is an important letter written by the Castilian king himself in Seville on 29 August 1385, addressed to the city of Murcia, in which he recounts what happened in the battle.

But that is not all. On the battlefield itself, there is a chapel which Nuno Álvares Pereira ordered to be built in 1393. This bears a genuine engraved stone¹² which announces that, on the day of the battle, the Constable's flag (i.e. the vanguard of the army) was positioned at that very spot. Neither should we overlook the archaeological work carried out at São Jorge between 1958 and 1960 by Afonso do Paço, reassessed in 1985 by Severino Lourenço, and continued in 1999 by Helena Catarino at a different part of the battlefield. And finally, there are the bone remains found by Paço in a common grave located near to the chapel, which have been analyzed recently by Eugénia Cunha with very interesting results.

As we have seen, the exact point on the Leiria–Alcobaça road (or Porto de Mós) where John of Portugal barred the Castilians' path was not chosen at random. When the Portuguese forces were stationed in Porto de Mós on 13 August, they took the opportunity to do a reconnaissance of the region, a mission that was accomplished by the Constable in the company of 100 knights. This led to the selection of a position to be occupied the following morning, in order to intercept the adversary's march. Known as the "first Portuguese position," it was located between Porto de Mós and Leiria at the northern end of a small flat hill a few kilometers long (the São Jorge plateau) near the junction of two watercourses (the River Lena and the Calvaria stream). The position was unassailable, as it was high up (at an altitude of 110–115 m), and could only be accessed by way

¹⁰ Froissart travelled to the court of Gaston Phébus, Count of Foix-Béarn, at the end of 1388, at the expense of his patron, Guy de Blois. He would have arrived at Orthez at the end of November, after meeting up with the knight Espan de Lion, who accompanied him there, in Pamiers. On the journey, the latter told the chronicler about the Iberian battles in which many Gascon knights had taken part on the side of the king of Castile. The accounts given by Espan de Lion were probably complemented by other knights or squires from the county, as Froissart remained there for several weeks. See Irene Teixeira Crespo, *Froissart e os acontecimentos portugueses dos finais do séc. XIV* (Coimbra, 1966); and Peter Ainsworth, "Introduction générale" to the *Chroniques de Jean Froissart, Livres III et IV* (Paris, 2004), pp. 13 and 17. As Salvador Dias Arnaut has shown in "Froissart e João Fernandes Pacheco," *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 3 (Coimbra, 1947), 129–59, João Fernandes Pacheco (member of King John I's Council and one of the heroes of the Battles of Trancoso and Aljubarrota) was in Middelburg in 1389, on a diplomatic mission to seek the release of two illustrious Portuguese prisoners, and not en route to Prussia (as Froissart alleges) or in contact with the Infante Dinis, half-brother of John I (as Mirot suggests).

¹¹ Salvador Dias Arnaut, *A Batalha de Trancoso* (Coimbra, 1947), p. 74.

¹² Mário Jorge Barroca, *Epigrafiã Medieval Portuguesa (862–1422)* (Oporto, 2000), pp. 1936–44.

of a steep slope with a gradient of 10% in the last 400 meters. With the front and flanks protected by watercourses, this position, which faced north, would also mean that the enemy would be facing the sun (frontal at about 2:15p.m.).¹³

In the early hours of 14 August, the Portuguese army left Porto de Mós and travelled about 8 km to the chosen site. By 9.30 a.m., they were already installed in their first position.¹⁴ The men were arranged in battle formation (vanguard, rearguard and wings, with the archers and crossbowmen taking advantage of the excellent shooting conditions), adapted to the irregularity of the terrain. They then waited for their enemies to appear. The head of the Castilian column, coming from Leiria, arrived at the village of Jardoeira in late morning. They had marched about 10 km to arrive there, and were some 1,500 m from the ridge where the Portuguese were waiting. Seeing them, they halted to assess the situation. In his letter to Murcia, John of Castile says:

On that day, they had placed themselves since morning in a strong position between two arroyos each of which was some twenty to twenty-four yards deep. **When our men** arrived there and saw that we could not attack them from that side, we had to go around them to get to another site, that seemed to be flatter.¹⁵

The Castilians therefore refused to attack their adversary's strong position, and so, when it was already after midday, they turned south-west, along the old road towards Casal do Relvas. That is to say, they went around the Portuguese position by the easiest route until they were able to rejoin the road. At Calvaria, they stopped to regroup, then proceeded on their march until they stopped on a broad esplanade near the village of Chão da Feira. As the Castilian king explains, "when we arrived at that site, the hour of vespers was already upon us and our people were very tired."¹⁶

The Portuguese army reacted, not losing sight of their objective of forcing combat: "The king and the constable were obliged to move from their earlier position facing Leiria, turning towards to where their enemies now were."¹⁷

¹³ Frederico Alcide de Oliveira, *Aljubarrota Dissecada*, 2nd edn, revised and extended (Lisbon, 1998), p. 82.

¹⁴ On 14 August 1385, the sun rose in the Porto de Mós region at around 5.15 a.m. and went down at 6.45 p.m. (true solar time). The day would certainly have been hot and dry with a maximum temperature in the shade of 25°C. The wind, probably a north-northwesterly, would have been weak (the average in the region is around 4 m/second). See Alcide de Oliveira, *Aljubarrota Dissecada*, p. 125.

¹⁵ "Carta dirigida por Juan I à la ciudad de Murcia" (Letter from John of Castile to the city of Murcia) in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Don Cayetano Rossell (Madrid, 1953), "Adiciones à las Notas de la Crónica del Rey Don Juan I," 14:152: "Ellos se pusieron aquel dia desde la mañana en una plaza fuerte entre dos arroyos de fondo cada uno diez ó doce brazas: é quando nuestra gente ahí llegó, é vieron que non les podian acometer por allí, ovimos todos de rodear para venir á ellos por otra parte que nos pareció ser mas llano."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: "É quando llegamos á aquel lugar era ya hora de vísperas, é nuestra gente estaba muy cansada."

¹⁷ Lopes, *Crónica*, 38:86: "Foy forçado a el-Rey e ao Comde mudarem suas batalhas de como as tinham hordenadas com os rostros pera Leirea, e as tornarem comtra homde estauom seus emmigos."

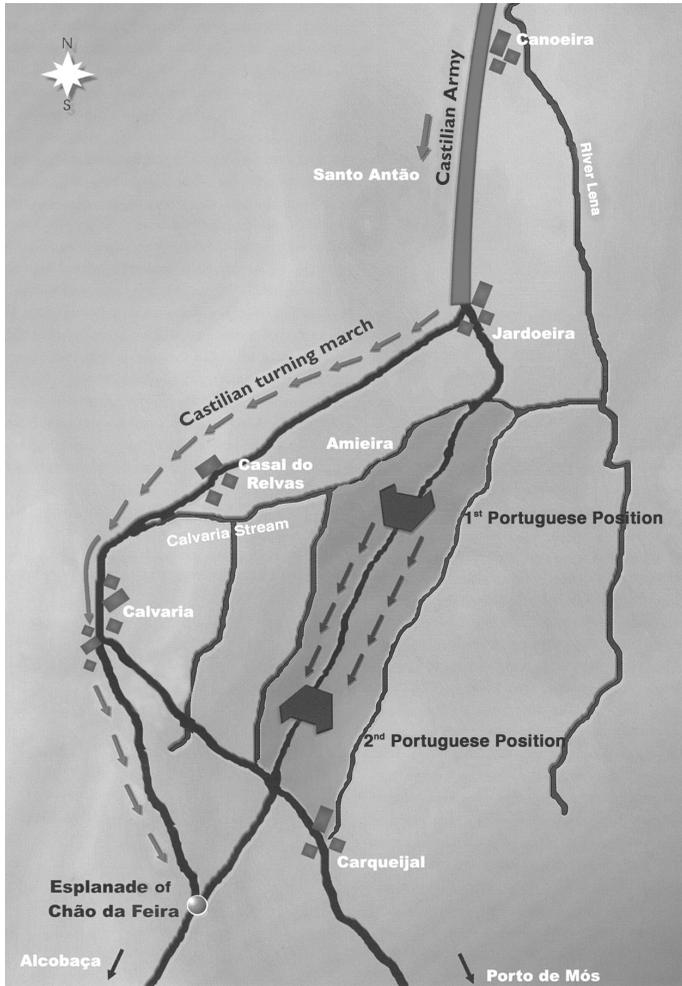


Figure 2 Preparatory maneuvers on the battlefield

That is to say, they inverted their array and moved 2 km south, to occupy what has come to be known as the “second Portuguese position.”¹⁸ The maneuver would have taken some two or three hours, so it must have been around 3.00 p.m. before Nuno Álvares’s army was installed in its final position. They had lost several advantages with this move: they were now facing the sun and at a

¹⁸ See Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 392: “The Portuguese army must have received orders to change direction as soon as the Castilian army had begun its flanking manoeuvre. After the van had passed through the main body and the baggage train, the Portuguese king turned about and brought it, too, into position behind the redeployed van.”

slightly lower point than their adversaries (the São Jorge plateau drops by about 2% from south to north). Despite this, though, the second position was also a good one. It was located at a spot where the plateau narrowed and was protected by watercourses – to the west, the streams of São Jorge and Vale Madeiros (which flow to the Amieira mill) and to the east, the stream of Carqueijal or Vale da Mata (a tributary of the Calvaria, which in turn flows into the River Lena). These watercourses had carved out gullies in the terrain, a factor which proved decisive in the battle. At the center of this narrowest part of the plateau, we can today find the chapel, replacing a small knoll that has since been flattened where the Constable based his position. The chapel is between the two valleys, in the middle of a strip a few hundred meters wide and, from the perspective of the attacking Castilian army (coming south to north), there were few natural obstacles (merely a few trees).

Thus, the second Portuguese position, though less formidable than the first, was strong enough. Though there were no natural obstacles before them, their flanks were well protected, which would oblige the Castilians to approach head-on in a small space. In his letter to Murcia, John of Castile says:

As soon as our men came face to face with them, they found three things: ... the third was that the front of their formation was so surrounded by the arroyos that it was no more than about three hundred and forty to four hundred spearmen wide.¹⁹

The *Crónica do Condestabre* recounts that the Castilian command sent three emissaries to the Portuguese camp, including López de Ayala, certainly with the intention of spying. However, Nuno Álvares promptly sent them back.²⁰ Ayala also mentions the interview and explains that, upon the return of the Castilian emissaries, he himself warned John I of Castile about the layout of the land: “there are two valleys in front of your wings that cannot be crossed to attack your enemies and support your vanguard.”²¹ Thus, the natural obstacles ultimately prevented the Castilian wings from participating in the battle. It is of course possible that, given the likely reluctance of the Castilian leaders to fight in the first position that had been suggested to them, the Portuguese army had already considered the day before the possibility of moving to another position with these characteristics.

As they had at least a three-hour wait after setting up their definitive position and before the battle started, the Portuguese army was able to perfect its tactics. First, the soldiers proceeded to cut down trees to create an obstacle in order to

¹⁹ Letter from John of Castile to Murcia: “Después que los nuestros se vieron frente á frente con ellos, fallaron tres cosas: ... é la tercera, que la frente de su escuadron estaba tan cercada por los arroyos que la tenían alrededor, que non avia de frente de trescientas é cuarenta á cuatrocientas lanzas.”

²⁰ *Crónica do Condestabre de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1969), 51:39.

²¹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:599: “ca las dos alas de los vuestros tienen delante dos valles que non pueden pasar para acometer a vuestros enemigos e acorrer a los de vuestra avanguardia.” The warning was seconded by the French knight Jean de Rye, chamberlain of the French king and a veteran of Crécy and Poitiers.

protect the archers and crossbowmen and to prevent a cavalry charge. In the Orthez account, Froissart says that the knight Espan de Lion explained to him that the Portuguese king chose for his combat position “a knoll surrounded by large trees and hedges and thickets,” and that he had ordered his men to “cut down the trees and lay them crosswise” in such a way that the enemy “could not charge at them across flat ground.”²² The Castilian king says in his letter that the first thing his men encountered when they attacked was “an obstacle made of felled trees, waist high.”²³ The *Sumario de los Reyes de España* also confirms this use of abattis, mentioning that, upon arrival at the combat zone, John of Castile found that the Portuguese monarch had prepared “a strong palisado around his position.”²⁴

The Portuguese army also dug ditches. This fact is not related by the Iberian chroniclers, but the Castilian king’s letter to Murcia announces that the second surprise to face his men was to encounter “in front of them a trench so deep that it would cover a man up to his throat.”²⁵ Froissart (in the account by the Portuguese João Pacheco) also says that “between them and us there was a small ditch, not so big that a horse could not cross it, which gave us a certain advantage.”²⁶ So, before the battle, the Portuguese army must have dug out a transversal ditch, not a very deep or wide one, but sufficiently deep to help them at the start of the battle (as occurred at Courtrai and Bannockburn), and to be useful when the foot combat got under way.²⁷ As it happens, during the archaeological excavations of 1958–60, Afonso do Paço discovered several different trenches including a large ditch some 180 m in length, which began a little north of the chapel and curved down the eastern side, ending some 85 m south-east of the hermitage.²⁸ This large ditch was divided into four sections (A, B, C and D), as shown in Figure 3. As we only have the lower part of this ditch, we do not know how deep it really was. A little lower down (some 100 m south-east of the chapel), Paço also found other transversal trenches amongst an area of pits, at least one of which (Figure 3: L) was over 50 m long. These findings confirm the references in John of Castile and Froissart, showing that, after building the abattis, the Portuguese army also fortified its position by digging out long ditches, at least in

²² Froissart, 37:147–148: “... en une mote environnée de grans arbres et de hayes et buissons ... Lors firent-il au lez devers les champs abatre les arbres et couchier de travers, afin que de plain on ne peust chevauchier sur eulx.”

²³ Letter from John of Castile to Murcia: “... la una, un monte cortado que les daba fasta la cinta.”

²⁴ Addendum to the *Sumario de los Reyes de España*, published by Salvador Dias Arnaut, *A Batalha de Trancoso* (Coimbra, 1947), pp. 74–75: “... é fecho un muy fuerte palenque al deredor de su real.”

²⁵ Letter from John of Castile to Murcia: “... é la segunda, en la frente de su batalla una caba tan alta como um ome fasta la garganta.”

²⁶ Froissart, 93:286: “entre eulz et nous avoit ung petit fossé, et non pas grant, que ung cheval ne peust bien saillir outre; ce nous fist ung petit d’avantage.”

²⁷ In this case, they could also have taken advantage of the previous existence of a creek-bed.

²⁸ Afonso do Paço, “Escavações de carácter histórico no campo de batalha,” *Aljubarrota – Trabalhos em execução de arqueologia militar* (Lisbon, 1959), pp. 41–45.

extraction of clay or argil. However, all these hypotheses have proved unfounded,³³ and so it is plausible that these pits (that Russell couldn't have known about in 1955) were related to the battle – a kind of Portuguese version of those used at Bannockburn or Crécy. None of the chroniclers refer to them, but the *Sumario de los Reyes de España* is very valuable on this point, mentioning that, in addition to the barricades, “many pits were made and covered with branches.”³⁴

The whole system seems remarkably coherent, so much so in fact, that the 1999 archaeological campaign suggested that there may have been another system on the western side, more or less symmetrical to the one Paço found in 1958–60.³⁵ In my opinion, we must begin with two presuppositions. Firstly, that for John of Portugal to be successful, he had to achieve a clear victory over his rival. Froissart explains, in his second account, that in the Portuguese council of war the prevailing idea was that John I could never “wear the crown of Portugal with tranquility” without first beating his rival once or twice in battle, in such a way as to break his power, and to do that, he would have to take the initiative and choose the battlefield.³⁶ Secondly, in the situation that was set up, John of Castile could scarcely avoid fighting his rival, because he ran the risk of having his marching column broken and rearguard decimated by an experienced army if he tried to bypass the Portuguese.

The army of Nuno Álvares therefore forced combat, while letting the enemy believe that it had obliged them to move into a weaker position. We know from the Castilian king's letter that the battle did not start until 6.00 p.m., and so the Constable and his English allies would have had time enough to reinforce their position with artificial obstacles. The aim was to hinder the enemy's progress with a continuous set of obstacles running transversally to the Chão da Feira esplanade. The combined effect of the *arroyos* (which would prevent the use of

³³ Alcide de Oliveira (*Aljubarrota Disecada*, pp. 113–15) suggested that the pits might be related to the extraction of clay or argil. Nuno Valdez dos Santos, on his side, claimed that the pits could be Muslim silos (*atamorras*) for the storing of cereals: “Certezas e incertezas da Batalha de Aljubarrota,” *Revista Militar*, 31/8 (1979), 461–545. Helena Catarino, a specialist on Islamic culture, refuted the idea of the Muslim silos, while the geologist António Freitas Tavares razed easily the theory of the extraction of clay or argil. For both, see Monteiro (ed.), *Aljubarrota Revisitada*, pp. 13 and 130–31.

³⁴ *Sumario de los Reyes de España*, 74–75: “... fechas muchas fosas cubiertas con ramas.”

³⁵ Research into the western flank of the Portuguese position has been limited since 1961, when the Portuguese state authorized the construction of a main road running through that spot.

³⁶ Froissart, 91:280: “Bien savons, sire roy, que vous ne pavez paisiblement goir de la couronne de Portingal, dont nous vous avons couronné, fors que par bataille, et que du moins une fois ou deux vous ayez rué jus votre adversaire le roy de Castille et sa puissance. Se nous desconfissions, nous sommes seigneurs; se nous sommes desconfis, il yra à l'aventure, mais trop mieulx nous vault à requerre que à estre requis, et plus honnorable et prouffitabile nous sera. Et on a veu avenir par trop de fois que les requerans ont eu l'avantage sur les deffendans. Si vous conseillons que vous faciez vostre mandement à ceulx dont vous pensez à estre aidié et servy, et prendrez les champs.” At Crécy, Edward III also appears to have followed a deliberate plan, seeking to confront the enemy on terrain that gave the English the advantage: Andrew Ayton, “The Crécy Campaign,” in Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston, *The Battle of Crécy*, 1346 (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 37.

envelopment maneuvers), the palisado, and the rows of pits and ditches, would be to create a bottleneck, funneling the attack through a kind of corridor of death. Even Fernão Lopes (who is silent on the artificial obstacles) mentions that the Castilian forces, “as they advanced, began to find that they were being held up, one behind the other.”³⁷ Froissart is equally expressive, saying (in the Orthez account) that, after felling and piling up the trees, the Portuguese arranged them in such a way as to leave “a path open through the middle, which could be reached through a narrow entrance; they then positioned their archers and cross-bowmen in two wings alongside the path.”³⁸ Like the French at Courtrai, the Castilians at São Jorge were “like a ‘hare’ caught in a ‘trap.’”³⁹

The construction of the abattis and ditches (which were excavated directly, and without any need to move earth) would have been simple; all that was required was three dozen trees and some 500 men (half of them would have been sentries). As for the pits, calculations done at the battlefield show that 350 men with spades and picks would be able to dig 1,000 large pits in three hours, particularly as the earth would have been soft and damp at the time of the battle and therefore easy to dig. The shrubs and plants covering the land could then have been used for camouflaging the traps.⁴⁰

In my opinion, part of this work could have been done the day before the battle, when the Anglo-Portuguese army probably selected this second position, as it was predictable that the Castilians wouldn’t accept to fight in the first position that had been proposed to them. The day of the battle, they developed the system. As already stated, Nuno Álvares’s army must have been completely installed in his final position around 3:00 pm. But they could have started working there as soon as they realized that the Castilians would not fight in the first position (i.e. around midday). For that, all they needed was to send enough men to begin the task, while the Castilian column was doing its turning march through Casal do Relvas and Calvaria, before reaching Chão da Feira. As already noted, the battle did not begin before 6.00 p.m.

We shall also see that the armies had formed a few hundred meters from one another, with visibility limited by the trees. Understandably, part of the system seems to have been completed in haste, as there are isolated stretches that are poorly interconnected (see Figure 3: connection of stretches A and B). This would explain Nuno Álvares’s haste (according to the *Crónica do Condestabre*) in expelling López de Ayala and the other emissaries, in order to make sure that they would not catch a glimpse of the improvised obstacles.

It seems also possible that the system was somewhat reinforced after the combat. The chroniclers refer to the care of the Portuguese Constable in order to

³⁷ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:97: “E em passeando começaram de sse fazer ficadiços huuns tras outros.”

³⁸ Froissart, 37:148 : “... ung chemin ouvert, qui d’entrée n’estoit pas trop large, et mistrent ce qu’ilz avoient d’archiers et d’arabalestriers sur les deux heles de ce chemin.”

³⁹ A medieval English poem written to celebrate the Flemish victory at Courtrai, quoted by Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 17–18.

⁴⁰ See Lourenço, “O sistema defensivo da batalha de Aljubarrota,” p. 12.

strengthen the Portuguese position during the night. As we will see, no one could assure him that the Franco-Castilian army was not trying to regroup nearby in order to do another assault the next day.

As for the size of the two armies, neither the Castilian king's letter nor the *Sumario de los Reyes de España* mentions the matter. López de Ayala does not speak of the Castilian troops (which in itself is suggestive), but says that the "Master of Avis" had on his side 2,200 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot soldiers, lancers and crossbowmen. Fernão Lopes says that the Portuguese army consisted of 6,500 men (1,700 men-at-arms, 800 crossbowmen and 4,000 footsoldiers), while the enemy had 31,000 men (6,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 light cavalrymen or *jinetes*, 8,000 crossbowmen and 15,000 footsoldiers). Froissart, in the Orthez version, mentions 2,000 French men-at-arms in the vanguard of the Castilian army, followed by 20,000 mounted men-at-arms in the royal battalion; while in the Middelburg version, he claims there were 7,000 *lances armez de pié en cap* in the vanguard and 30,000 well-mounted men in the king's battalion. As for the Portuguese, Froissart says only that they were far less numerous, and outnumbered by four to one.⁴¹ If we compare the information given by these different sources (including what has been left out) with what we know of the levying potential of each kingdom and the support that they could expect from allies, it would seem reasonable to suppose that John of Castile would have had an army of around 20,000–25,000 men, while the Portuguese could not have had more than 10,000.⁴² However, it should be pointed out that only part of the Castilian army had actually arrived at Chão da Feira when the battle began. The marching column was too long for everyone to have had time to get to the esplanade before 6:00 pm!

Let us look now at the tactics used by both sides. Amongst the Castilians, the vanguard (mostly made up of French soldiers, according to Froissart) would have formed up some 500–600 meters south of the Portuguese vanguard stationed in the area of the chapel. Fernão Lopes (the chronicler who goes into most detail on this subject) explains that the Castilian lines "were positioned at a

⁴¹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 13:596; Lopes, *Crónica*, 37:81–84; and Froissart, 39, 41, 89 and 93.

⁴² Between 1350 and 1450, the Portuguese crown was never able to gather more than 10,000 warriors (with a single exception: Ceuta–1415, where King John I may have had at his disposal 15,000 men, or even a little bit more): see João Gouveia Monteiro, *A Guerra em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média* (Lisbon, 1998), pp. 90–98. The Castilian king, under normal conditions, was able to assemble a bigger army. During the siege of Lisbon in 1384, the Castilian camp is estimated to have had between 15,000 and 20,000 men: see Miguel Gomes Martins, *A vitória do quarto cavaleiro. O cerco de Lisboa de 1384* (Lisbon, 2005), pp. 52–53. In 1385, when he decided to invade Portugal again, John I of Castile made a great effort to gather a better army, but he was limited: as I said before (see n. 5), López de Ayala tells us that the Castilian army had been severely weakened, having lost over 2,000 of its best fighting men in Lisbon, during the siege of the previous year, and at the Battle of Trancoso (May 1385). So, admitting that the French king contributed between 800 and 1,200 men-at-arms and that John I of Castile was able to persuade some Castilian and Portuguese soldiers that were in the Portuguese castles to join his column, it seems reasonable to estimate a Franco-Castilian army of c.20,000 to 25,000 men.

range of two long crossbow shots from the Portuguese.⁴³ The vanguard would have had 1,600 men-at-arms, arrayed in two or three rows. Further back (100 to 200 m behind) would have been the royal battle, which was not completely formed when the battle began; several thousand men-at-arms would have gathered by that time, and would have been distributed into several lines – perhaps three, as Lopes speaks of “three thousand spears altogether, doubled up, that is, a thousand spears in each line.”⁴⁴ The two wings covered the flanks, each with 700 men-at-arms; the right wing was commanded by the Master of Alcântara (and included many Gascons and other foreigners) and the other by the Master of Calatrava (curiously, the eldest brother of Nuno Álvares Pereira). Finally, “crossbowmen and footsoldiers and other kinds of fighters were placed where they could be most useful.”⁴⁵ As for the baggage (carts, packhorses, pages, etc.), this was placed behind. Most of the Castilian army was on horseback, at least at the outset.

The Portuguese were probably all dismounted (in the English style). According to Lopes, Nuno Álvares had formed a vanguard of two or three ranks, with some 600 men-at-arms. At their side, probably a little forward, were the two wings, made up of crossbowmen and English archers (as at Halidon Hill and Crécy), certainly accompanied by men-at-arms (perhaps 200 on either side).⁴⁶ López de Ayala (who scarcely touches upon the tactics) claims to have warned the king that “the enemies have their vanguard and two wings together in a single unit, and there are a great many footsoldiers and crossbowmen.”⁴⁷ Behind, some 150 or 200 meters north of the chapel, the rearguard was positioned under the leadership of the king, accompanied by his personal guard and some 700 lancers.⁴⁸

The Portuguese army was, therefore, concentrated in two lines: one, further forward, that included the vanguard and wings; and the other further back (though not far away) under the command of the king. Further north, the baggage was stationed, protected by footsoldiers and crossbowmen. John of Portugal wanted to take full benefit of the potential offered by the crossbowmen and archers

⁴³ Lopes, *Crónica*, 38:87: “hordenarom suas aazes dous grandes tiros de beesta amtre ssey e os portugueses.”

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: “três mjll lanças dobradas, saber, mil em cada huuma aaz.”

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: “Beesteiros e peoões e toda outra gente eram postos e hordenados hu bem podessem aproueitar.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 38:84–85. Fernão Lopes also says that, in theory, the two Portuguese wings should have had together the same number of men as the vanguard (i.e. 600 “lanças”). But they didn’t manage to do it, because they were too few. Each Portuguese wing had only 200 men, he says, so two hundred men-at-arms were missing. He states as well that missile troops were accompanied by men-at-arms, namely on the left wing, where most of the English mercenaries seem to have been placed.

⁴⁷ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:596: “e los enemigos tienen su avanguardia e dos alas juntas en uno, en que han grand gente de peones e ballesteros.”

⁴⁸ Lopes, *Crónica*, 38:85: “Desta auanguardia aa outra aaz detras, que chamam reguarda, auya huum razoado espaço, segundo se fazer podia com pouca companhia, de geito que aa desauentura, se mester fizesse, trygosamente podessem socorrer. E em esta aaz, cujas pontas çarrauom com a auanguardia, forrada com homens de pee e beesteiros, em que auya setecentas lanças, estaua el-Rey com sua bandeira ...”

(aspects that his rival appears to have overlooked), and so they were ordered to fire intensely from behind the abattis whenever the enemy came into range. Presumably, given the obstacles and the narrowness of the battlefield, their targets would be advancing in a slow disorganized fashion. Then, it would be up to the vanguard to sustain the clash with the enemy. As for the Castilians and their allies, they trusted above all in their offensive capacity.

Both armies were equipped in a predictable manner for a battle of this period. Their protective armor included mail caps and shirts, or brigandines, camails, helms and (for the wealthier) visored bascinets, gorgets, pauldrons, rerebraces and vambraces, gauntlets, breastplates, paunces and cuisses. Among the offensive weapons used in the battle, the most important (in addition to crossbows, bows and slings) were spears and, for the face-to-face phase, collision weapons (pole-axes, maces, war hammers) and white arms (swords, poniards, and daggers). On average, the Castilian army was better equipped than most of the Portuguese, which was largely made up of levied troops from the countryside. On the other hand, the Portuguese king's leadership was firmer, not only as a result of the strategy adopted but also because, as Ayala explains, John of Castile "was lying down on the ground, leaning against a knight and very sick, hardly able to speak."⁴⁹ The Castilian king confirms this himself in his letter, when he describes the council of war that had been held prior the attack:

And we spoke to them, even though we were very weak, as we had been travelling for the last fourteen days in a litter, which was why we were unable to understand anything about the battlefield, as would have been desired.⁵⁰

When the attack began, the Castilian king's intervention was also limited. Ayala says that "at the start of battle, the king was so weak, the knights and squires that were guarding him carried him in a litter."⁵¹ Thus, the Castilian council of war was dominated by the headstrong young knights, who, as the king explains, "were so eager to fight that they attacked without our permission."⁵² Afraid of being thought cowards for failing to attack an enemy that was smaller in numbers and in a position the strength of which they underestimated, many Castilians advocated an immediate offensive. In doing so, they ignored the prudent advice offered by more experienced men, such as Ayala and Jean de Rye, who would have preferred to wait for the rest of the column to arrive, tiring the enemy in the process and forcing them to abandon their position. This

⁴⁹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:598: "El rey don Juan estaba en el campo echado, e acostado a un caballero, e muy doliente, que apenas podía hablar."

⁵⁰ Letter from John of Castile to Murcia: "é nos fallamos con ellos, aunque con mucha flaqueza, que avia catorce dias que ibamos camino en litera, é por esta causa non podiamos entender ninguna cosa del campo como complia á nuestro servicio." John of Castile suffered from intermittent malaria-type fevers.

⁵¹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:601: "E al rey, al comienzo de la batalla, como estaba flaco, leváronle en una andas caballeros e escuderos que eran ordenados para la guarda de su cuerpo."

⁵² Letter from John of Castile to Murcia: "... con la voluntad que avian de pelear, fueron sin nuestro acuerdo allá."

precipitation (which may have been exacerbated by rivalry between the French and Castilians that Froissart does not take pains to hide) proved tragic.

The Battle

It was undoubtedly the Castilian army that took the initiative in the battle.⁵³ The Portuguese tactical attitude, the way in which they had organized the terrain and the reports from the Castilian council of war all point to this. Froissart's accounts (which describe the battle in far more detail than any of the other chronicles) also suggest that there were two distinct phases in the Franco-Castilian attack, the first involving the French vanguard and the second the king's royal battalion. What we do not know is whether the initial attack was on horseback or on foot.

We do know, though, that the Castilian right wing launched a cavalry attack against the Portuguese baggage quite late on in the proceedings. Moreover, Fernão Lopes tells us that, at a particular moment, the Castilians "cut their spears to make them shorter . . . , because many who had thought they would be fighting from horseback, when they realised that the battle was turning to foot-combat, found they could wield them better if they were short."⁵⁴ Froissart, in the Orthez account, describes the Castilian vanguard (with 2,000 Frenchmen) attacking on horseback, as also happened with the royal battalion; but in João Pacheco's version, the French in the vanguard "got down onto the ground"⁵⁵ when they got close to the enemy and saw how well-organized they were; only later did the royal battle, which was in fact mounted, come to their aid.

So we cannot deny that there were Castilian troops advancing on horseback. Indeed, the French and Castilians had been hoping for mounted combat. However, there are strong indications that the fight ultimately took place on foot. This reference to the spear-shortening, and the instructions that Nuno Álvares gave the men of his vanguard attest that the Portuguese army, fighting on foot, was determined to neutralize the charge of the Franco-Castilian cavalry and to oblige them to dismount and face the combat on foot.

Everyone should advance very slowly when the Castilians begin to move, and when

⁵³ F. Lopes (*Crónica*, 42:96–97) says that the Castilians, before the attack of their vanguard, shot some stones from a line of canons ("bombardas") that they had installed before the front line. The result of this was almost nil: two Portuguese squires and a foreign mercenary were killed. Although technically possible, I don't think this is true. No other chronicler refers to it, and the canons were never found.

⁵⁴ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:98: "cortaram as lanças e as fezerom mais curtas do que tragiam . . . , porque muytos, cuidando de pellejar a cauallo, quando virom a batalha pee terra, por se dese-muoluer e ajudar melhor dellas as talhauom." This was common French practice: according to Froissart, the French cut their lances down to 5 ft at Poitiers, Calais, and Auray, as did the Navarrais at Thoirny, and (exceptionally) the English at Nogent-sur-Seine. This was also done at Agincourt. I am grateful to Clifford Rogers for providing me with this information.

⁵⁵ Froissart, 93:286: "mirent tous pié à terre."

you come together, stand firm and calm, with your feet planted on the ground and your spears straight, clamped tightly under your armpits and thrust out as far as possible; and when the enemy arrives, drive your spears into them and then push as hard as you can.⁵⁶

Later, Lopes (who knew many of the participants in the battle personally) describes the Portuguese king fighting on foot, pole-axe in hand.⁵⁷ In fact, the characteristics of the terrain and the way it was organized would not have permitted anything else. Moreover, it is significant that, as we have seen, in the letter to Murcia the obstacles were described using the body of a foot-fighter as term of comparison: “an obstacle made of felled trees, waist high” and “a trench so deep that it would cover a man right up to his throat.”

If the right wing of the Castilian army had remained mounted, they, like the left wing, would not have been able to intervene in the central combat because of the obstacles in their path. In his somewhat laconic account, Ayala repeats this idea, saying:

Thus, the battle began, and the Portuguese vanguard had the great advantage, because they were all, with the help of the footsoldiers in their wings, fighting against the Castilian vanguard that was alone; the two wings of the Castilian army could not fight because they could not cross the valleys that were before them.⁵⁸

Thus, there appear to have been two stages to the Franco-Castilian offensive (first the vanguard, then the royal battalion), each of which planned to approach on horseback, then dismount to fight on foot. Therefore, foot combat predominated, as a result of the bottleneck created by the layout of the terrain. The first phase of the battle (as described by Froissart alone) may thus be reconstructed as follows (see Figure 4):

- i) John of Castile’s impetuous vanguard (French troops) launch the attack on horseback, but are taken aback by the enemy’s fortifications and dismount;
- ii) After dismounting, the French are largely routed, thanks to the archers and crossbowmen. As Espan de Lion recounts: “there was great distress and hardship amongst the attackers, because the English archers were firing so intensely that the horses were all wounded and mutilated, and fell to the ground, one on top of the other”;⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:94: “que todos andassem muyto passo quando os castellaãos mouessem, e ao juntar esteuessem quedos e firmassem bem os pees, teendo as lanças dereitas, apertadas so o braço, o majs perlongadas que podessem; e quando os emijgos chegassem, que posessem as lanças em elles de guysa que prendessem, e entom botassem quanto podessem.”

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 42:99.

⁵⁸ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:601: “E la batalla así comenzada, los de la avanguardia de Portugal tenían grand ventaja, ca todos, con ayuda de los peones que tenían en las sus alas peleaban con la avanguardia de Castilla sola, e los de las dos alas de Castilla non peleaban, ca non pudieron pasar los valles que tenían delante.”

⁵⁹ Froissart, 39:157: “ot grant presse et grant meschief pour les assailans, car ce que il y avoit d’archiers d’Engleterre traioient si onniement que chevaux estoient tous encousus et me-shaigniez, et cheoient l’un sus l’autre.”

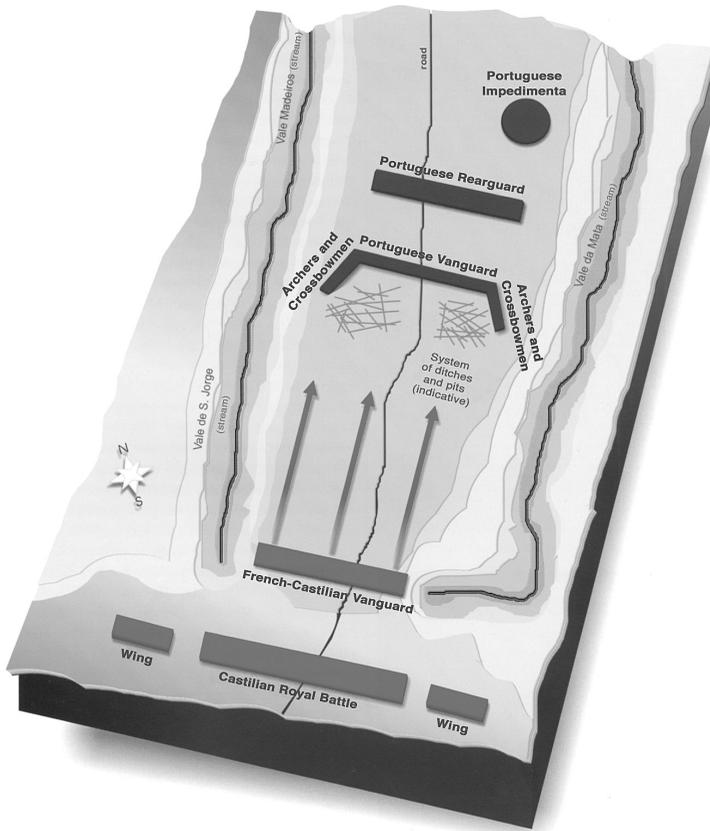


Figure 4 First Phase of Battle

- iii) The French attack was obstructed by the ditches, as Pacheco explains: “and there was great distress amongst them when they went over a little stream and the ditch, and many were trampled on”,⁶⁰
- iv) Thrown to the ground, unable to move and without sufficient room for foot combat (“since, when they got back up, they could not help each other, and could not spread out to defend themselves or to fight more easily”),⁶¹ many French perished with the violent blows, and were pushed back into the ditch that they had crossed. As Pacheco recounts: “They were surrounded and enclosed amongst us by those that we call the commoners of our country, in such a way that they could be mercilessly beaten and wounded with pole-

⁶⁰ Ibid., 93:286 : “et là ot d’eulz au passer ce tantet d’aigue et le fossé moult grant presse et des plusieurs moult foulez.”

⁶¹ Ibid., 39:157 : “car au relever ilz ne pouvoient aidier l’un l’autre, et si ne se pouvoient eslargir pour eulz deffendre ne combatre à leur volenté.”

axes and maces. And our men-at-arms ... appeared before them and stuck them with their spears, forcing them backwards until they fell into the ditch that they had crossed”,⁶²

- v) Without any support from the royal battalion, the French that survived were taken prisoner: “And in that first battle, the Portuguese were stronger than their enemies, and put them at their mercy, and they were all killed or captured. Few escaped, ... a thousand knights and squires were captured.”⁶³

Learning (belatedly) of the disarray on the front line, John of Castile’s battle decided to advance, probably on horseback, and accompanied by the two wings. Lopes (who concentrates his account on this second phase of the battle) describes how splendidly the Castilians moved off.⁶⁴ But the wings quickly got left behind because their access to the plateau was impeded by the natural obstacles. As for the rest, when they drew near the Portuguese position, they realised that the fighting would have to be done on foot. So, the Castilians dismounted and covered the last few hundred meters on foot until they reached their enemy, shortening their spears as they went. As they made their way, they were bombarded by arrows from the archers sheltering behind the abattis and positioned in the forward wings. With the gradual narrowing of the battle front and the other obstacles in their path (ditches and pits), the attackers became confused and disordered, squashed into the central part of the plateau, so that their formation “was throughout densely packed with people, so much that there was a stone’s throw of depth from the front rank to the rear.”⁶⁵ John of Castile’s men thus became a magnificent target for the experienced English archers.

Lopes recounts that the Portuguese vanguard, as it saw the enemy approaching, advanced slowly as they had been ordered, shouting “Portugal!” and “St George!”⁶⁶ At that time, according to Froissart, the commander decided that they would not take prisoners, and so they killed as many enemy combatants as possible. Thus, many of the French prisoners that had been disarmed and were scattered amongst Portuguese back lines, thinking themselves safe, were apparently killed.⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid., 93:286 : “Ilz furent enclos et enserrez entre nous de ceulx que nous appellons les comunautez de nostre pays, par telle maniere que on frapoit et fieroit sur eulz de haches et de plommées sans eulx espargnier. Et nos gens d’armes ... leur vinrent au devant en poussant de lances et en eulx reculant et reversant ou fossé que ilz avoient passé.” See too Claude Gaier, “La bataille de Vottem. 19 juillet 1346,” *Grandes batailles de l’histoire liégeoise au Moyen Âge* (Liège, 1980), p. 116, which gives a beautiful description of the fighting capacity of the Liège communes, armed with pole-axes, war hammers and swords.

⁶³ Ibid., 40–160: “Là furent sur la premiere bataille les Portingalois plus fors que leurs ennemis, et les misrent à mercy et furent tous mors ou pris. Petit s’en sauverent, ... furent bien prisonniers mille chevaliers et escuiers.”

⁶⁴ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:97.

⁶⁵ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:97: “... ficou assy grossa e ancha em espessura de gemte que auya hum lança de pedra dos trasseyros aos dianteros.”

⁶⁶ Ibid., 42:97.

⁶⁷ Froissart, 41:162 : “Là furent barons, chevaliers et escuiers, qui pris estoient, en dur parti ...; ilz estoient espers en pluseurs lieux çá et là, et tous desarmez, et cuidoient estre savez, mais

Although the Castilian attack had lost much of its impetus, and its army had already sustained a great number of losses, part of it still managed to arrive with strength at the area where the French soldiers had been routed. This was where it clashed with Nuno Álvares's vanguard:

As the lines clashed, they thrust their spears into each other, wounding and driving as hard as they could, with the footsoldiers and crossbowmen hurling stones and bolts.⁶⁸

The shortened spears soon proved useless, and so the Castilians resorted to pole-axes and swords.⁶⁹ They moved into hand-to-hand combat, particularly intense in the area “near the Constable’s flag, where there is now a chapel dedicated to St George, which he later ordered to be built there.”⁷⁰

Following this titanic struggle, Nuno Álvares’s line gave way: “the vanguard was broken by force and powerfully penetrated by the enemy,” opening up “a broad large gateway.”⁷¹ The battle then entered the decisive phase. Lopes explains that the Portuguese wings, seeing what was happening, “circled around towards the enemy and positioned themselves between the vanguard and rearguard.”⁷² That is to say, as they were not facing any direct opposition, the Portuguese wings came to the aid of the vanguard, remaking the line that had been broken and surrounding the enemy (see Figure 5).

In the general *mêlée* that followed, John of Portugal ordered his rearguard to advance, a movement that was crucial, as it squeezed the Castilian wedge that had managed to break through the Constable’s vanguard.⁷³ Things probably became very bloody at this point, and the Castilian army would have found itself in a difficult situation. In the Orthez account, Espan de Lion claims that the Portuguese advantage resulted from the fact that “they could not be reached except by a single passage.”⁷⁴ That is to say, the Castilians had only a narrow channel through which to reach the enemy, and those that managed to get through were massacred by the joint pressure of Nuno Álvares’s lines (now supported by the two wings) and those of the Portuguese king. Froissart speaks of the “fort des Luscebonnois”⁷⁵ (the inhabitants of Lisbon) and insists on the crucial role played by a ditch that made it even more difficult for the Castilians to approach.⁷⁶ At this point, the Portuguese began to compress the enemy, who were

non furent.” This was also done at Agincourt, thirty years later, as is well known.

⁶⁸ Lopes, *Crónica*, 42:97: “E ao ajuntar das aazes, poseram as lamças huuns nos outros, ferimdo e puxamdo quanto podiam, e os peoões e beesteiros lamçando em tanto muytas pedras e viratoões.”

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 42:98.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: “... junto com a bamdeira do Comdestabre, homde ora estaa huuma pequena igreja de Sam Jorge, que el depois mandou fazer.”

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: “foy rota per força a ssua auuamguarda, e emtrada poderosamente dos emmjgos. E ... abryo huum gramde e largo portall.”

⁷² *Ibid.*: “... dobrarom sobrelles, e ficarom estomçe amtre a uamguarda e a reguarda.”

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 42:99.

⁷⁴ Froissart, 42:164: “on ne les pouvoit appochier, fors que par ung pas.”

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 93:287.

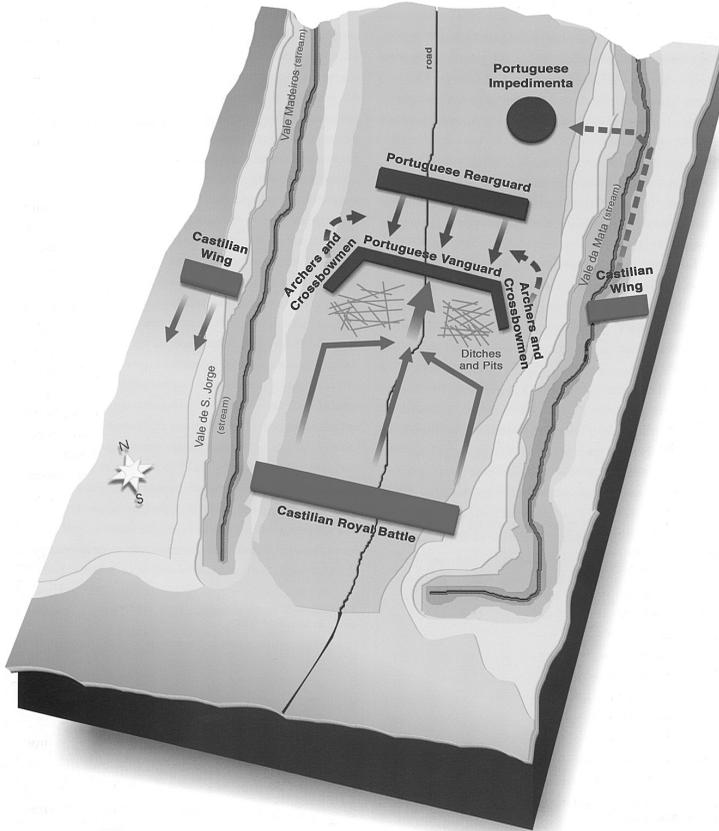


Figure 5 Second Phase of Battle

trapped in a pocket surrounded by John I's warriors. By this time, the Castilians were in disarray, trampled on and, at the same time, wounded and assailed on all sides by blows from the footsoldiers' pole-axes. The Castilian standard was overthrown and panic broke out amongst their ranks. The Portuguese then took the initiative. Froissart says:

They crossed the ditch and the stream that was there, because at more than 40 places, it was dammed up with corpses that had fallen and were lying scattered around, and they asked for their horses and mounted, and set off in hot pursuit.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Froissart, 93:287: "ilz passerent tout oultre le fossé et le tantet d'aigue que là avoit, car en plus de XL. lieux elle estoit esclusee des mors qui y estoient jonchiez et couchiez, et demanderent leurs chevaux et monterent, et puis se mirent en chace." The reference to the dammed-up water suggests that this was not stagnant water at the bottom of a ditch but rather a little stream.

The Castilian right wing (under the Master of Alcântara) still managed to mount an attack upon the Portuguese baggage some 300 m to the north. But it came late and did not cause much damage, as Nuno Álvares swiftly came to the rescue. But the episode confirms that the Castilian wings were unable to reach the heart of the battle, and proves that at least part of their men remained on horseback. It also reveals a new tactical error on the part of the Castilians. As Ayala explains, the resistance put up by the footsoldiers that were guarding the baggage had to do with the fact that they were unable to flee, as they were surrounded by the Master of Alcântara's knights; thus, "they were forced to defend themselves and fight, which went against good battle practice as recommended by the ancient authors."⁷⁸

Thus the Battle of Aljubarrota ended, after a relatively short period of combat (the Iberian chroniclers say that it lasted around half an hour, although this probably refers only to the central phase when the Castilian royal battalion was involved),⁷⁹ considering the potential of the two armies and what was at stake. Ayala recounts that those Castilian soldiers that were still standing, "when they saw the king's men withdrawing, and many rushing on horseback to get off the battlefield, they thrust their king onto a horse and took him off the field, although he was very ill."⁸⁰ That night, John of Castile travelled some 50 or 60 km to Santarém, which he reached, exhausted and desperate, predicting that the kingdom of Castile would be in mourning until Christmas 1387!

To sum up, there seem to have been six main factors that contributed to the success of the Anglo-Portuguese army:

- i) Their defensive tactics, helped by an excellent position, which would probably have been selected the day before, where the natural obstacles (the narrowness of the front, gullies and rivers) were complemented by important artificial obstacles (abattis, ditches, pits), partly camouflaged by foliage;
- ii) A formation based upon a strong vanguard, complemented by two advanced wings with powerful shooting ability (archers and crossbowmen), and further back, a solid rearguard that was ready to intervene;
- iii) The effectiveness of the various movements executed (shooting, reception of attack, wing rotation, rearguard advance) by all the lines that were well commanded, and where everyone appears to have fought on foot until the moment of final pursuit;
- iv) The impetuosity of the Castilian army, which did not properly examine the

⁷⁸ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:601: "forzadamente se avían a defender e pelear. E esto es contra buena ordenanza que los antiguos mandaron guardar en las batallas." Desperation made them determined!

⁷⁹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:602. F. Lopes, 45:106. Froissart (93:287), in his second account, also speaks of half an hour, but he is referring to the first phase of the battle (the attack by the French vanguard).

⁸⁰ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 14:602: "quando vieron que las gentes del rey se retraían, e muchos dellos cavalgaban para se ir del campo, estonce pusieron al rey en un caballo, e sacáronle del campo, magüer estaba muy doliente."

second Portuguese position, but instead rushed headlong into battle before it was completely formed, at a late hour (which limited the possibility of regrouping in the event of initial failure) and when their men-at-arms were already tired; Ayala says he warned his king that “the day is drawing to a close, and the hour of vespers is already upon us; moreover, neither you nor your men have eaten or drunk today, not even water, despite the great heat, and they are exhausted by the journey they have made”;⁸¹

- v) The lack of an able commander in the Castilian army (given the king’s state of health), a problem aggravated by the apparent rivalry between the French and the Castilians; this led to the precipitate attack, when the (French) vanguard moved off too far ahead, and did not receive any help from the Castilian royal battalion in useful time;
- vi) The inability of the Castilian army to deal with the enemy’s shooting power (especially given the presence of many English longbowmen) and their own weakness in that area.

After John of Castile had fled, his army fell apart, with each man for himself. Some threw off the clothes they were wearing as they fled, to lighten the weight. Others turned their jackets the other way round so as not to be recognised, although they were ultimately betrayed by their language. Those that had no mounts hid in the wood. But they were unable to escape the massacre, as many local people joined in the pursuit within a radius of around 15 km (as had happened at Courtrai, when many French were caught in flight). However, on São Jorge’s Plateau, the Portuguese king, as prudent as Edward III had been at Crécy, prevented his men from giving chase in an unbridled manner, forbidding them from going much beyond the edge of the battlefield. By this time it was night, and no one could guarantee that the powerful Castilian army was not managing to regroup nearby. Indeed, Castilian reinforcements were continuing to arrive in the region, as many had still been marching northward from Jardoeira when the battle began. Therefore, although this meant renouncing valuable booty (and Froissart records the annoyance of the English at this decision),⁸² most of the Portuguese army remained on the lookout, possibly also reinforcing their position to make sure that victory would not slip from their grasp.

Only at daybreak did the Portuguese army truly realize the extent of its victory. The enemy had indeed retreated, leaving behind a vast number of corpses to be buried. There followed the identification of the Castilian dead, while some Portuguese attacked the enemy’s baggage. All over the battlefield, the Portuguese went about collecting anything that interested them. Fernão Lopes says:

Some were busy turning over soulless corpses to see if there was anything that they could use. And they found that many that lay there dead had no wounds on them at all.⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid., VII, 14:598: “el día es ya muy baxo, ca es hora de visperas, e demás, vos nin vuestras gentes non han hoy comido nin bebido nin tan solamente del agua, magüer face grand calentura, e están enojados del camino que han andado.”

⁸² Froissart, 43:167.

⁸³ Lopes, *Crónica*, 45:108: “e delles se ocupauom em reuoluer corpos sem almas, se lhe

This, to my mind, is one of the keys to understanding the battle. Just as on Dupplin Moor in 1332 (and at Mons-en-Pévèle in 1304 and also at Agincourt in 1415),⁸⁴ many of the men killed at São Jorge that day did not perish from wounds caused by enemy weapons, but rather from compression, which caused them to suffocate or be crushed to death!

The Portuguese army remained three days at the battlefield. On 17 August, they headed to Alcobaça (around 15 km to the southwest). Crossing the Chiqueda bridge, they found the bodies of many more Castilians who had been trying to escape the battlefield. This slaughter had been initiated by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça and his men, who were loyal to the Portuguese king; indeed, on the day of the battle, they had sent packhorses laden with bread and wine to the Constable to help sustain the troops during their long wait in the sun.

López de Ayala confirmed that many good gentlemen and knights died at São Jorge and provides a list of 20 names, including noblemen, the *adelantado mayor*, the admiral, the two marshals and the *mayordomo mayor* of Castile, in addition to “many other knights from Castile and Leon.”⁸⁵ Ayala also mentions the death of some Portuguese that were accompanying John of Castile (such as the Master of Calatrava, Pedro Álvares Pereira), and some French allies (like Jean de Rye). The Castilian chancellor remains silent about deaths on the Portuguese side (which is suggestive) and confesses that, despite the disproportionate number of Castilian dead, the only reason more were not slaughtered was that many managed to flee with the Master of Alcântara’s column or with the king.⁸⁶

Fernão Lopes estimates the Castilian deaths at 2,500 and presents a long list of names, including some Portuguese; he was also aware of the large number of commoners that had been killed in flight. As regards the Portuguese army, Lopes only records the deaths of 30 Portuguese footsoldiers that fled before the battle began, of some men that fell during the attack on the Castilian king’s precious tableware and the particular cases of Vasco Martins de Melo (killed in pursuit of John of Castile), Martim Gil de Correixas and the Anglo-Gascon leaders “Bernaldom Solla” and “Joham de Monferrara,” in addition to “other people of little account and footsoldiers, in total up to fifty.”⁸⁷

Froissart says, in his first report, that in the initial combat, 1,000 French

acharyam alguuma cousa de que sse aproueitar podessem. E muytos dos que jaziam moortos nom tijnham ferida nehuuma.”

⁸⁴ See Clifford Rogers, “The Offensive/Defensive in Medieval Strategy,” *From Crécy to Mohacs: Warfare in the Late Middle Ages (1346–1526)*. *Acta of the XXIInd Colloquium of the International Commission of Military History (Vienna, 1996)* (Vienna: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum/Militärhistorisches Institut, 1997): 158–71.

⁸⁵ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, VII, 15:602–03: “... e otros muchos caballeros de Castilla e de Léon.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Lopes, *Crónica*, 45:109: “e doutras pessoas de pequena conta e homeens de pee, per todos ... ataa cinquenta.”

knights and squires were taken prisoner, but were later executed.⁸⁸ Afterwards, during the royal battalion's attack, he explains that of the Castilians that managed to penetrate the "fort," 60 barons and knights were killed (some named by the chronicler), which exceeds the Battle of Nájera.⁸⁹ On the Portuguese side, Espan de Lion is clearly exaggerating when he speaks of 500 knights and 500 squires dead, in addition to 6,000 to 7,000 dead amongst the other men.⁹⁰ In Pacheco's report, the destruction of the French vanguard is calculated as producing more than 4,000 deaths;⁹¹ as regards the Castilians, Froissart speaks now of over 1,200 knights and squires dead, naming 16 Portuguese (that were accompanying John of Castile) and Castilian noblemen, 5 French and 14 Gascons from Béarn,⁹² no mention is made of John of Portugal's losses, in this account.

There is no doubt that the Castilians suffered disproportionate losses, which can only be understood if we take account of the conditions under which they were fighting (the narrow front, the unexpected obstacles, compression, panic, etc). Perhaps Alcide de Oliveira⁹³ exaggerates somewhat when he suggests that there were 4,000 Castilians killed during the battle and some 5,500 in the events that followed (a very large proportion of the army – though at Courtrai, the army of Robert de Artois had also apparently lost between 40 and 50% of its men).⁹⁴ As for the Portuguese deaths, this author mentions between 600 and 650, a figure which is probably too high.

The most distinguished Portuguese who fell at São Jorge were buried in the Monastery of Alcobça. The commoners would have been buried in nearby churches or on the battlefield itself. In 1958, Afonso do Paço discovered a common grave some meters to the south of the chapel, containing 2,874 bones, which he presumed belonged to warriors who had fallen in the battle (Figure 3: E, F and G). This bone collection was recently analysed at the University of Coimbra by a specialised team led by Eugénia Cunha,⁹⁵ and we know today that it corresponds to at least 414 individuals, mostly men, aged between 18 and 65, whose stature and physique are in keeping with medieval Iberian populations. Carbon-14 dating, performed in Miami in the spring of 1999, shows that they were from people who had lived in the fourteenth century.⁹⁶ There seems no

⁸⁸ Froissart, 40:160.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 42:165: "... et bien LX. barons et chevaliers d'Espagne, ne oncques en la bataille de Nazes, où le prince de Galles desconfi le roy dan Henry, il n'y ot mors tant de nobles gens de Castilles, comme il ot là à la besongne de Juberot."

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43:167–68.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 93:287.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 94:288.

⁹³ Alcide de Oliveira, *Aljubarrota Dissecada*, pp. 100–01.

⁹⁴ See Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, p. 19 (based upon estimates by Philippe Contamine and J. F. Verbruggen, the great scholar of the Battle of Courtrai).

⁹⁵ Monteiro (ed.), *Aljubarrota Revisitada*, pp. 133–91.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 189–90. The results obtained by the laboratory Beta Analytics Inc, based upon the analysis of organic material from two tibias selected at random, clearly indicate a time frame extending from 1290 to 1425, with the most probable period being around 1350 (plus or minus 50 years).

doubt, therefore, that these were combatants who fell in battle; indeed, many of the bones show signs of violent lesions. Moreover, as the study also demonstrates that they were left unburied for some months, it can be assumed that they would have been Castilians or French.

Although this is a limited and fragmented collection (it was a common grave, containing above all long bones), it has aroused a great deal of interest. Consequently, the team of Eugénia Cunha, Carina Marques and Vítor Matos went on to examine the bones for signs of traumatic pathologies.⁹⁷ That study revealed the presence of many incisions and perforations, most of which were incurred at the time of death. This emphasizes the crucial role played by the archers and crossbowmen (one femur even revealed vestiges of the metal that had impacted at the moment of death). Many humeruses also bore signs of incision, which indicates the occurrence of close face-to-face combat. In all, this collection shows that the battle was very violent and that it took place in an atmosphere of haste and confusion, which was related to the organization of the Portuguese position. The fact that there are femurs (an extremely robust bone) that are marked by incisions and that these are on both sides (left and right), also suggests that the combat was largely unplanned and unconventional, and that the element of surprise was crucial to the Portuguese victory. This would explain the extent of the slaughter. Many lesions were also found on frontal and occipital bones, which may be a symptom of directed aggression. Lesions on the occipital (a bone which has thick muscle cover) indicate savage attacks from behind, or when the individual was already fallen. There are also bones of war veterans in this collection, since there are at least 30 examples of healed fractures, corresponding to injuries sustained some years previously.

Conclusion

The battle that we have reconstituted here is a brilliant example of fourteenth-century tactics that enabled dismounted cavalry and infantry to cause havoc amongst heavy cavalry formations and others. An uncommon wealth of detail is available about it from a number of different sources, which complement each other, shedding light on different aspects. Since Peter Russell's exemplary study, our knowledge has advanced considerably, largely through research conducted at the site and analysis of the bones found there. This has allowed us to interpret the narrative sources afresh, particularly the precious Froissart accounts, and this

⁹⁷ A preliminary assessment of the collection, still very general in nature (giving the number of individuals, stature, amputations, most relevant parts, etc), was produced by Eugénia Cunha and Ana Maria Silva prior to the carbon-dating in Miami, in "War Lesions from the Portuguese Medieval Battle of Aljubarrota," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 7 (1997), 595–99. The conclusions given in the present article result from a more in-depth study carried out by a new team between 1999 and 2001.

is of course quite interesting.⁹⁸ It is to be hoped that further explorations of the battlefield, to the extent that they are possible, may bring to light new information about this battle that is so significant in medieval military history.

Indeed, the Battle of Aljubarrota put an end to the crisis that had began in October 1383 with the death of Ferdinand I of Portugal. John I of Castile was no longer able to muster forces for another attempt on the Portuguese throne, and in 1387, even had to defend himself against a joint invasion of Castile by John of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster, following the Anglo-Portuguese alliance treaty signed at Windsor in May 1386. In 1390, at the *Cortes* of Guadalajara, he attempted to re-launch the war against Portugal, but his project was rejected, even by his own counsellors.⁹⁹ Soon afterwards, he died in Alcalá de Henares, after falling from a horse.

It became clear that Castile's bid for control of the Iberian Peninsula could not include the annexation of Portugal. After various truces, a peace treaty between the two kingdoms was signed in Ayllón in 1411, putting an end to 40 years of dispute. John I of Portugal could finally take a deep breath, before setting off in search of new adventures. In its way, the Battle of Aljubarrota also contributed to the launch of the Portuguese epic quest, known as the *Discoveries*, instigated by the Infante D. Henrique (son of John I and Philippa, one of the daughters of John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster).

⁹⁸ Peter Ainsworth's edition of *Livre III* of Froissart's *Chroniques*, published in 2004, confirms most of the military information that appeared in L. Mirot's edition (except for the references to the ditch and one of the streams, which are relevant for this study), i.e. the fortification of the terrain by the Portuguese army, with the use of abattis; the creation of a bottleneck with archers on either side; the existence of two-phased attack by the Castilian army; the size of the armies; the rivalry between the French and the Castilians; the fighting that took place first on horseback and then on foot; the execution of the prisoners; the use of pole-axes; the approach of night and panic breaking out amongst the Castilian army; the number of deaths, etc. On the use of literary sources in the reconstruction of medieval battles, see Kelly DeVries, "The Use of Chronicles in Recreating Medieval Military History," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 2 (2004), 1–15. Regarding Froissart's contribution as a historian, see *Froissart: Historian*, ed. J. J. N. Palmer (Woodbridge, 1981).

⁹⁹ López de Ayala, *Crónica*, XII, 1–3 and 5: 650–60 and 662–67.

“Military” Knighthood in the Lancastrian Era: the Case of Sir John Montgomery

*Gilbert Bogner**

In the summer of 1449, Sir John Montgomery lay dying, probably at his fortified manor house at Faulkbourne, Essex. As many people do when they near the end, he may have reflected on his life and what he had achieved. He was a knight, the pinnacle of status among those of his social stratum. He was a well-respected member of the county community in both Essex and Hertfordshire, having represented the latter in the parliament of 1426 and served later in his life as a JP in both shires. He would leave his wife and children an estate comprising landed wealth in three counties and enough social standing that his second son, Thomas, became, in the words of Philip Morant, “one of the most eminent men in his time.”¹ Above all, though, Sir John had been a military man, a dedicated soldier who had participated vigorously in virtually every phase of the English conquest, occupation, and defense of Normandy since 1415. Montgomery’s life is worth recounting in some detail for a number of reasons. First, in spite of his significant involvement in the events of his day, his career has, as far as I can determine, been dealt with only briefly in a 1921 article by J. H. Round on Faulkbourne manor.² I hope, therefore, that the present biographical account will fill a gap in our data on the members of the English gentry in this period, particularly regarding those who participated in the Hundred Years War. Second, Montgomery is an outstanding example of those fighting men whose chivalric enthusiasm and practical skills helped make possible the great success of the English in Normandy in the early part of the fifteenth century. If one is to understand fully this success and how it was sustained for so long, one must appreciate the military and administrative contributions of men like Sir John. Third, and most importantly, his life can serve as an interesting case study for

* I would like to dedicate this article to my mother, Mary Lou Bogner, who passed away last year. Her encouragement and thirst for knowledge inspired me to be the scholar I am today.

¹ Revd Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 1763–68; reprint, Ilkley, 1978), 2:116. Morant provides here a short account of Sir John Montgomery’s life as well as that of his son.

² J. H. Round, “The Descent of Faulkbourne,” *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 15 (1921), pp. 35–59.

our understanding of the institution of English knighthood in this period and the degree to which military activity was a facet of it.

In an earlier study, I collected biographical information on a sample of 160 knights active in the early to mid-fifteenth century and then used the methods of prosopography on this data to construct a composite picture of English knighthood in this era.³ The model of the knightly life that emerged, which I call the “typical” model, was a three-faceted one, reflecting a rough balance between military activity, governmental service, and personal concerns involving land, family, and patronage. This composite knight’s initial military service would have come early in his adult life, before any significant participation in government. He would have served in France and participated in at least one siege, either as an attacker or a defender, and would have been knighted during this early phase of his career, perhaps in connection with his participation in war.⁴ The bulk of his political activity would have come after his first taste of war and his entry into the order of knighthood. While he might have taken part in subsequent military ventures, a greater proportion of his active life would have been devoted to local government. Regularly commissioned to perform a variety of tasks, such as arraying soldiers, inquiring into illegal activity, or assessing taxes, he would also have been appointed at some time to maintain law and order as a justice of the peace. This service might have been supplemented by a term or two as sheriff or election as an MP.⁵ Enjoying an annual income of between £40 and £200 from lands in several counties, he would have devoted a large part of his time to the maintenance and protection of his estate, and could have tried to increase it through a lucrative marriage, going to law, or criminal activity.⁶

³ Gilbert M. Bogner, “The English Knights of 1434: A Prosopographical Approach,” *Medieval Prosopography*, 25 (2004), 178–215. The 160 knights used in the study, including Montgomery, are those who in 1434 were listed among the more than four thousand members of the gentry and urban classes required to swear a comprehensive oath against illegal activity and the maintenance of peace-breakers. The lists of those who were to swear the oath were recorded in London, The National Archives: Public Record Office [hereafter TNA: PRO] C 66/436/15–29, and are printed in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* [hereafter CPR] (1429–1436), pp. 370–414. To the 156 knights listed on the rolls were added 4 additional knights required to swear the oath from L. Storey (ed.), “The Register of Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham 1406–1437,” *Publications of the Surtees Society*, 170 (1955), pp. 141–43. Given the low estimated number of English knights by this time, this list of 160 would probably have been the majority of them. Statistics based on the data collected are included in the above article.

⁴ As I did in my study, several scholars have noted the still-strong connection between knighthood and war in the fifteenth century. See, for example, Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society 1401–1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 59–61, 65, and 82–7; Susan Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield, 1983), pp. 8 and 10; and Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 100–28.

⁵ The vast majority of knights in my sample held at least one office or commission. Numerous gentry studies discuss office-holding and commissions; see, for example, Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), pp. 69–83; and Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, pp. 263–77.

⁶ Income from land may have been supplemented by grants, annuities, or retaining fees from the king or a noble patron. For the link between knighthood and wealth, see for example Peter

Thus the “typical” knight’s status in society was built upon the three interrelated pursuits of war, politics, and lordship, and was signified by the distinction of his knighthood.

Since the aim of my prosopographical study was to help refine our view of knighthood in the Lancastrian era, the model outlined above was naturally built on statistical commonalities. However, the data also showed a great deal of variation, particularly in how much emphasis an individual knight placed on each of the three elements, military, political, and private, in his career. Based on this variation, in fact, I suggested that some knights could reasonably be grouped under alternate models. Some knights, for example, could be classified under what I call the “military” model.⁷ The “military” knight would have spent much more time engaged in war and defense than his more typical fellows. He would have served on more than one campaign, adding up to a significant proportion of his active life.⁸ He would have demonstrated marked skill in military leadership, likely indenting to lead sizable contingents of soldiers and holding a command at one or more fortifications.⁹ Advancement primarily through warfare was the hallmark of the “military” knight and although he possessed substantial influence from land and wealth, much of his personal status probably resulted from a reputation gained in war. A smaller proportion of his career than was typical would have been devoted to governmental service, any of which would have

Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 1000–1400* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 50–53, 62, and 67; Christine Carpenter, “The Fifteenth-Century English Gentry and their Estates,” in Michael Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 1986), p. 38; and Eric Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422–c.1485* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 46. For lawless behavior among the upper classes, see for example R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, 2nd edn (Stroud, 1998), pp. 128–53 and 562–609; Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995), pp. 110–36; and Alisa Herbert, “Herefordshire, 1413–61: Some Aspects of Society and Public Order,” in Ralph A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1981), pp. 103–22.

⁷ The two other alternate models resulting from the study are: the “political” knight, whose career was primarily focused on governmental service; and the “private” knight, who devoted most of his energies to personal concerns. See Bogner, “The English Knights of 1434,” for a more complete treatment of these models.

⁸ Sir John Baskervyle, for example, served Prince Henry in Wales in the early 1400s and fought in Normandy in several campaigns between 1415 and 1422: Michael Jones and Simon Walker (eds), “Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War 1278–1476,” *Camden Miscellany XXXII*, Camden 5th ser., 3 (1994), p. 106; TNA: PRO E 101/69/7/481, E 101/70/2/606, E 101/70/6/717; Alex. Charles Ewald, “Calendar of the Norman Rolls – Henry V. (First Part),” [hereafter “Norman Rolls I”], *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* [hereafter *DKR*], 41 (1880), pp. 685, 711, and 715; Alex. Charles Ewald, “Calendar of the Norman Rolls – Henry V. (Second Part and Glossary),” [hereafter “Norman Rolls II”], *DKR*, 42 (1881), p. 433; Alex. Charles Ewald, “Calendar of French Rolls, 1–10 Henry V” [hereafter “French Rolls I”], *DKR*, 44 (1883), p. 622.

⁹ Sir John Kighele was captain of Lisieux, Louviers, and Pont de l’Arche, and in 1429 indented to lead an unusually large retinue of 29 men-at-arms and 500 archers: Benjamin Williams, *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta* (London, 1850; repr., Vaduz, 1964), p. 276; “Norman Rolls II,” pp. 410 and 436; TNA: PRO E 404/46/149.

been interspersed between campaigns or would have come late in life, after his military adventures had ended.¹⁰ Through the evidence presented in the biographical account that follows, I will argue that while the career of Sir John Montgomery is in some ways representative of the “typical” English knight, the degree of his participation in and the depth of his devotion to the French war make him an outstanding example of “military” knighthood in the Lancastrian era.

While he would become a well-known soldier in his time, Montgomery’s ancestry and early life are a something of a mystery. He referred to himself as a Welshman when he petitioned parliament in 1414 that he be allowed to retain his English lands, contrary to a statute of 1401 that prevented full-blooded Welshmen from purchasing lands in England.¹¹ Of course, our first instinct is to associate him with the Welsh town of Montgomery on the River Severn. Although no direct link could be found, he is later referred to as “Johannem de Montegomerico, id est Mountgumry.”¹² Since Montgomery’s rise to prominence seems to coincide with the accession of Henry V, it is possible he fought in the prince’s Welsh campaigns early in the century, perhaps then purchasing lands in the south-east of England. While there was an esquire named “John de Mountgomery” serving as a man-at-arms in Wales under Thomas Neville, lord Furnival, in 1404–06, he cannot be firmly identified as our subject.¹³ Whatever the case, Montgomery had already become acquainted with English interests in France the year before the 1414 parliament. On 16 June 1413, he was appointed to the offices of bailiff of

¹⁰ Following his long career as a soldier, Sir John Baskervyle held only two commissions in Herefordshire: *CPR (1441–46)*, pp. 245 and 466. Sir Hugh Annesley served in France under both Henry V and the duke of Bedford, but held no offices or commissions at home in Nottinghamshire: TNA: PRO E 101/51/2; E 101/71/1/757; Alex. Charles Ewald, “Calendar of French Rolls, Henry VI,” [hereafter “French Rolls II”], pp. 247–48.

¹¹ Lewis John and John Stiward, also Welshmen, made identical petitions; all three were granted: C. Given-Wilson, et al. (eds), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, CD-ROM: Scholarly Digital Editions (Leicester, 2005), “Henry V, 1414 November,” iv, pp. 44–45. Anti-Welsh legislation: Given-Wilson, *Parliament Rolls*, “Introduction 1401.” Morant surmised that Montgomery was probably of Scottish origin, which he “inferred from the small distinction between his Arms and those of Montgomery Earl of Eglington” and this is echoed by Thomas Wright in *The History and Topography of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), 1:228. However, his continuing connection with Lewis John confirms that the later Sir John Montgomery of Faulkebourne was indeed the Welsh petitioner of 1414 (see also Round, “Descent of Faulkebourne,” p. 35). For a biography of Lewis John, see J. S. Roskell, Linda Clark, and Carole Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons (1386–1421)*, 4 vols. (Stroud, 1993), 3: 494–98. Further, no specific connections with the Scottish Montgomeries could be found anywhere in the records. For an account of the Montgomery family of Scotland, see H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*], 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 38:823–24. For Sir John’s arms and a comparison with those of Montgomery of Scotland, see note 87 below.

¹² V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406–1420* (Oxford, 1937), p. 118.

¹³ TNA: PRO E 101/44/6. If this is our Montgomery, it is strange that there are no other references to him for the next seven years.

Calais and bailiff of the eskenage of Calais (the assize of wine, ale, and bread).¹⁴ Thus, interestingly, this warrior's first experience in English occupied territory on the Continent was administrative rather than military.

Undoubtedly, Montgomery welcomed the invasion of Normandy in August of 1415 as an opportunity. Still an esquire, he indented to lead three foot archers on this expedition and shortly after arriving he and his men settled in with the royal army to besiege the strategically vital port of Harfleur.¹⁵ Since his early life is obscure, we are unsure whether this investment was Montgomery's first taste of real war or whether he stood before the walls as a veteran, perhaps seasoned as a young man in the rugged country of Wales. At any rate, Harfleur would be his residence for some time, for once it succumbed six weeks later, Montgomery would become one of the garrison under its captain, Thomas, earl of Dorset.¹⁶ Montgomery would thus watch the king and his army depart for Calais on 6 October and would not be present with them on the field of Agincourt. Beginning in March 1416, however, he and his companions at Harfleur would withstand a French blockade until relieved by the duke of Bedford's naval force on 15 August.¹⁷ We do not know if Montgomery returned to England at any time following the blockade or if he remained in the town, from where he would likely have witnessed the king's second invasion, which landed at Touques, just across the Seine estuary, on 1 August 1417.

One of the most important decisions a young esquire had to make was if, how, and when to seek knighthood. Unfortunately, the particular circumstances of most dubbings and the reasons behind them are lost to us. The sources indicate that Montgomery was knighted some time between September 1415, when Harfleur capitulated and he became part of its garrison, and March 1416, when in an account he rendered along with Lewis John he is referred to as "John Mountgomery, formerly esquire, now knight."¹⁸ Beyond that bare timeline we can only speculate, but since his knighthood came during a military campaign,

¹⁴ "French Rolls I," pp. 546, 552, and 555; "French Rolls II", *DKR*, 48 (1887), pp. 231 and 341; *CPR (1441-46)*, pp. 361 and 398.

¹⁵ TNA: PRO E 404/31/331; Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, 2nd edn (London, 1832), p. 382. For an exciting description of the siege, see Christopher Hibbert, *Agincourt* (London, 1964), pp. 55-71.

¹⁶ TNA: PRO E 101/47/39. For an overview of the importance of Harfleur and its garrison to the English, see Anne Curry, "Harfleur et les Anglais, 1415-1422," in Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (eds), *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge* (Caen, 2003), pp. 249-63.

¹⁷ Maurice Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History* (London, 1973), pp. 362-63

¹⁸ TNA: PRO E 101/47/30. On an undated but presumably earlier muster roll of the earl of Dorset as captain of Harfleur, John Montgomery is listed not under the "milites" but under the mere men-at-arms: TNA: PRO E 101/47/39. See also TNA: PRO E 358/6, a second account he rendered alone from around the same time that also uses the language, "formerly esquire, now knight." Given this, it is doubtful that the "John Moungomery" serving as a man-at-arms under the duke of Gloucester in the invasion of 1417 was our subject because he was not listed as a knight: TNA: PRO E 101/51/2. For the same reason, it is unclear whether the "John Mongomery" listed on an imperfect muster roll of the Harfleur garrison dated 5 Henry V was our knight: TNA: PRO E 101/48/17.

and given his lack of prominent lineage or extensive lands, it was almost certainly given as a reward for the way he conducted himself as a soldier. While we do not know if the newly knighted Sir John joined the royal army in its journey to and successful siege of Caen, his presence there may be indicated by the fact that Henry would appoint him captain of the castle of Mayenne-la-jolie before the end of the year.¹⁹ This appointment, the first of several to come, may have been given in recognition of Sir John’s good service at Caen; it certainly indicates that he was quickly gaining the king’s confidence.

Following the long but successful winter investment of Falaise, King Henry returned to Caen, where he observed Easter on 27 March. Entrusting the further prosecution of the war to other commanders, the king spent much of the spring of 1418 at Caen, where he worked to establish good and efficient government in those parts of Normandy he had brought under his control.²⁰ It was during this time that Montgomery would be summoned into Henry’s presence and would be highly honored by him. On 23 April, in a solemn celebration of the feast of St George in the castle at Caen, the king made Sir John and four others Knights of the Bath.²¹ While the Bath was not an institutionalized “order,” this form of knighting involved a particularly elaborate ceremony that presumably gave the knighted man a special chivalric distinction.²² Montgomery would have served the king at dinner, had his head shaved, and taken a ritual bath, while knights spoke to him about the duties of knighthood. Dressed as a hermit, he would have kept vigil in a chapel during the night. In the morning, he would have confessed his sins and heard mass, and would then have been richly dressed, outfitted with spurs and sword, and dubbed and kissed by the king himself. This elaborate and expensive ceremony signified that the king and Sir John had entered into a close relationship.²³ While this ritual clearly indicates Montgomery’s immersion in the military and ceremonial culture of chivalry, his participation in it at this time is rather odd, since the documents show he had already been knighted a year earlier at Harfleur. Perhaps this unusual “re-dubbing” is further evidence of Sir John’s growing favor with the king.²⁴

¹⁹ Williams, *Henrici Quinti*, p. 279. Caen fell on 4 September: C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 10–11. For an excellent outline of English military organization in this period, see Anne Curry, “English Armies in the Fifteenth Century,” in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994), pp. 39–68.

²⁰ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (Berkeley, CA, 1992), pp. 119–20.

²¹ Galbraith, *St. Albans Chronicle*, p. 118; William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Time to the Present Day of the Knights of All the Orders of Chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors*, 2 vols. in 3 parts (London, 1906), 1, pt. 1, p. 130.

²² Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984), p. 78.

²³ For the ceremony and significance of the Knights of the Bath, see Fionn Pilbrow, “The Knights of the Bath: Dubbing to Knighthood in Lancastrian and Yorkist England,” in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2002), pp. 196–218.

²⁴ While I suppose there is a slight possibility that there were two knights named John Montgomery serving in France, there is no other evidence for it in the documents and no

When the king moved eastward in May to take personal command of the army again, Montgomery may have accompanied him with a retinue of his own. A commission was appointed on 18 June, during the siege of Louviers, to array the men of Sir John and other commanders.²⁵ That he is not referred to in this commission as captain of Mayenne-la-jolie may indicate that he and his retinue were instead present with the king at Louviers.²⁶ Henry's force moved north and began the investment of Rouen on 29 July, a difficult siege that would last until 19 January 1419. During this long investment, commissions were issued, on 6 November and 7 December, to array the men of Montgomery and others, again possibly suggesting his presence with the king.²⁷ Following the surrender of Rouen, other parts of Normandy capitulated, so that by mid-spring, most of the duchy was in English hands.²⁸ While we do not know specifically what Montgomery's role was during most of this conquest, he was rewarded on 25 July 1419 with the grant of the guardianship of the castle and lordship of Maulévrier, due to the failure of its owner, the duke of Savoy, to do homage to King Henry.²⁹ On 27 September, the king officially appointed Montgomery governor of the castle.³⁰

While the profound political events that led to the Treaty of Troyes in May 1420 were taking place, Montgomery was presumably busy administering Maulévrier in his new capacity as its governor. We know he was in Normandy early in 1420, for on 6 February letters of attorney were issued to him there.³¹ On 20 October, his responsibilities were increased when he was appointed captain of the important castle and town of Domfront.³² While it is unclear how long Montgomery remained captain of Mayenne-la-jolie or governor of Maulévrier, he is styled captain of Domfront in a number of documents over the next six years.³³ Sir John also began his important service to the king as a commissioner of array: on 12 February he and John Marshall were commissioned to array the men of Sir Roger Fenys, another prominent military man serving in France, and

speculation about it in secondary works. I have been made aware of only one other instance in which a man seems to have been dubbed twice. According to Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), p. 143, William Douglas was knighted a second time by the French king: "Illum coronatus denuo dotavit cingulo militari ..."

²⁵ "Norman Rolls I," p. 713.

²⁶ In fact, Sir John is not styled captain of Mayenne-la-jolie in any subsequent documents. Perhaps the king had relieved him of this post or perhaps Montgomery had entrusted the command to a lieutenant while he accompanied the king.

²⁷ "Norman Rolls I," pp. 718 and 719.

²⁸ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, p. 17.

²⁹ On the same day, a writ was issued to the former captain to deliver the castle and all its equipment to Sir John: "Norman Rolls I," p. 790.

³⁰ "Norman Rolls I," p. 803.

³¹ "Norman Rolls II," p. 347.

³² A commission was assigned seven days after his appointment to array the men under his command: "Norman Rolls II," pp. 380 and 391.

³³ "Norman Rolls II," pp. 386, 391, 398, 423, and 447; "French Rolls II," pp. 225, 241, and 242.

on 3 November, he and Thomas Lodyngton were ordered to inspect the retinues of no fewer than nine commanders.³⁴ It is clear that Sir John’s contribution to the occupation and administration of Normandy would be as significant as, if not more so than, his participation in its conquest.

Letters of protection and attorney issued to Montgomery in January 1421 tell us that he remained to defend and administer Domfront while the king traveled home to have his new queen crowned, and more importantly to seek the money and men he needed to continue the war.³⁵ When Montgomery heard the news that in the king’s absence an English force had been defeated at Baugé on 22 March and its commander, the king’s brother and his lieutenant in France, Thomas of Clarence, had been killed, he must have felt some trepidation. Domfront, after all, is comparatively close to Baugé. He and his fellow captains were fortunate, however, that in the coming weeks the French did not take full advantage of this unexpected English reversal.³⁶ Maintaining the loyalty of the king’s Norman subjects was especially crucial in uncertain times, like those following Baugé. On 25 April, instructions were sent to the captains of several places, including Montgomery at Domfront, to assure better governance of their garrisons. Apparently some captains had been abusing their positions by instituting “unjust taxes” and “robbing the inhabitants,” although there is no indication of whether Montgomery or his garrison were guilty of such offenses.³⁷ News of the king’s arrival at Calais on 10 June at the head of a new army must have been welcome indeed to Sir John and the other English captains.³⁸

Henry soon led his new force toward Chartres, which the French were besieging. As part of this relief effort, Montgomery and other captains were ordered on 13 August to send men from their garrisons to resist the French at Chartres.³⁹ From there, the king swept southward to the Loire and then back toward Paris, settling in to invest Meaux in October, a siege that would last until May 1422.⁴⁰ While the king conducted this operation during the hard winter, captains like

³⁴ “Norman Rolls II,” pp. 357 and 392. For commissions of array, see Michael Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 213–23; and Richard Ager Newhall, *Muster and Review: A Problem of English Military Administration 1420–1440* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), passim.

³⁵ “Norman Rolls II,” p. 386; Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 155–6.

³⁶ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 24–25. It must have been some comfort that Thomas, earl of Salisbury, now in charge of Norman affairs for the absent king, was an experienced and highly competent man: Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 160.

³⁷ “Norman Rolls II,” p. 428. For the issue of the personal control of garrisons by individual captains vs. central control, see Anne Curry, “The First English Standing Army? – Military Organization in Lancastrian Normandy, 1420–1450,” in Charles Ross (ed.), *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 193–214; and Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 187–89.

³⁸ Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 162.

³⁹ “Norman Rolls II,” p. 431. For the use of garrison detachments as field forces, see Anne Curry, “The Organization of Field Armies in Lancastrian Normandy,” in Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, Lincolnshire, 1998), p. 207–33.

⁴⁰ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, p. 25.

Montgomery were carrying out their more mundane, yet much needed, efforts in other areas of Normandy. On 19 January 1422, for example, a mandate was issued to Sir John as captain of Domfront, as well as captains elsewhere, to record and provide a list of nearby villages and the number of men in each who were required to stand guard at night. Montgomery's importance and experience was recognized on 6 March when he was ordered to array the men of Thomas, earl of Salisbury, lieutenant of Normandy and captain of Alençon. His work as a valued arrayer of soldiers continued throughout the spring and summer: he was commissioned to array the men of Sir Henry Fitz-Hugh, captain of Falaise, on 14 April; those of William Hudleston, bailiff of Alençon, on 20 April; and those of John Harpeley, lieutenant to Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter and captain of Rouen, on 15 June. On 9 August, a mandate was issued to the captains of several towns, including Sir John, to send men-at-arms and archers to Sir Ralph Boteler, Montgomery's future brother-in-law and another prominent soldier in the wars.⁴¹ It would be just a few weeks later, on 31 August, that King Henry would succumb to the illness he likely contracted during the long siege of Meaux. Word of the king's death must have come as a tremendous blow to Sir John, and he no doubt wondered about the future of the English war effort as well as his own position in France.

His military and administrative career in occupied Normandy would continue to flourish, however, under John, duke of Bedford. During this new phase of the occupation, Montgomery is first mentioned in a confirmation of his office of bailiff of the eskenage of Calais.⁴² On 30 April 1424, he was named as one of three special commissioners who were to take monthly musters of the garrisons in the bailliage of Alençon, in which Domfront was located, certifying in writing as to the condition of men and equipment. These musters were undoubtedly designed to keep Bedford apprised of the available troops and their accoutrements and to ensure their military readiness.⁴³ Not surprisingly, though, it is as a soldier in the field that Sir John would truly distinguish himself under the duke. Although the French had seized the initiative in Normandy, capturing several strongholds and putting others at risk, Bedford and his commanders would strike back beginning in 1423. In August of the following year, Sir John accompanied Bedford in a force with which the duke intended to invade Maine. When they met a Franco-Scottish army advancing toward the castle of Ivry, the result was the battle of Verneuil on 17 August. Since he had not been at Agincourt, this was probably Montgomery's first major field battle, and it would prove to be one of the bloodiest and hardest-fought of the war.⁴⁴ The decisive English

⁴¹ "Norman Rolls II," pp. 386, 437, 438, 447, 450, and 452. A commission was sent on 16 April to array Montgomery's own garrison at Domfront: "Norman Rolls II," p. 447.

⁴² Issued on 11 July 1423 or 1424: "French Rolls II," p. 231.

⁴³ Newhall, *Muster and Review*, pp. 27–30.

⁴⁴ Waurin, having witnessed Agincourt and Cravant, called Verneuil "of all the most formidable and the best fought": John de Waurin, *A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, Now Called England*, vol. 3: 1422–1431, trans. Edward L. C. P. Hardy (London, 1891), p. 73. For a good description of the battle, see Alfred H. Burne, *The Agincourt War: A*

victory devastated much of the Dauphin’s army and turned the tide in favor of the English again, opening up Maine and Anjou to the south.⁴⁵ Montgomery must have acquitted himself well in the battle because in September he, along with Sir John Fastolf and Lord Scales, was selected to lead a newly assembled force into Maine.⁴⁶ In 1425, he was part of an army of some 2,000, led by Lord Scales and the earl of Salisbury, that advanced into Anjou.⁴⁷ By conquering new territory and moving the war front out of Normandy, these campaigns would provide better security for its towns, including nearby Domfront.

With some of the military pressure taken off Normandy, more emphasis could be placed on strengthening and stabilizing civil administration.⁴⁸ Montgomery’s administrative style must have helped these efforts; the facts that he was kept on as captain of Domfront until at least July 1426 and that Bedford would make him one of his privy councilors indicate strongly that his work was appreciated.⁴⁹ When Bedford returned to England in December 1425 in search of more troops,⁵⁰ Sir John accompanied him, further evidence that the regent held him in high favor.

This was probably the first time in ten years Montgomery had spent on the home front. While he was in England, the activities that occupied him tell us something about our knight’s prominence at home and his relations with others. On 7 January 1426, writs of summons were issued for a parliament to be held at Leicester on 18 February. It is surely a mark of the respect in which they held Montgomery that the gentry of Hertfordshire elected him, along with Sir Philip Thornbery, to represent them in the Commons.⁵¹ That Montgomery had had no experience in English local government may indicate that the electors wanted to return someone with real military experience and first-hand knowledge of the situation in France. It is also possible that Bedford used his influence to get one of his supporters elected. Whatever the case, the two Hertford MPs rode north

Military History of the Latter Part of the Hundred Years War from 1369 to 1453 (Fair Lawn, NJ, 1956), pp. 202–10. See also Michael K. Jones, “The Battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424): Towards a History of Courage,” *War in History*, 9:4 (2002), 375–411.

⁴⁵ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 26–30. For Montgomery’s presence, see Revd Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, 2 vols. in 3 parts (London, 1861–64), 2, pt. 2, p. 394.

⁴⁶ Curry, “Organization of Field Armies,” p. 221. In December 1424, following the Maine campaign, Montgomery brought a suit against the Grand Chamberlain of France before the Parlement of Paris concerning some furs that the Chamberlain had confiscated from him: C. T. Allmand and C. A. J. Armstrong (eds), *English Suits Before the Parlement of Paris 1420–1436* Camden 4th Series, 26 (London, 1982), p. 281.

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, 2, pt. 2, pp. 411–12.

⁴⁸ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 26–30.

⁴⁹ “French Rolls II,” p. 242. Wright, *History and Topography*, 1:228, states that he was one of Bedford’s privy councilors, but I have found no confirmation of this.

⁵⁰ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 30–31; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 187.

⁵¹ *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of the Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland ... 1213–1874*, Parliamentary Papers, 62, pt. 1 [England 1213–1702] (1878, repr. Munich, 1980), p. 310.

toward Leicester that February for the opening of the parliament.

Once the ongoing dispute between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort was resolved, at least officially, the parliament could deal with the business put before it.⁵² As a military man and a supporter of Bedford, it is safe to assume that Montgomery viewed any matters dealt with by the Commons from the perspective of what would best contribute to the war effort. Thus it was in his interest that the specifics of the grants of the wool subsidy and tunnage and poundage made in the 1425 parliament be worked out satisfactorily. Of the common petitions presented, one that would have been of personal interest to our knight was that which requested confirmation of a decision from the May 1421 parliament granting additional protection under the law for those going to France on military expeditions. On 1 June, just before the parliament was dissolved, the Commons granted a new subsidy on wool, hides, and woolfells, and on tunnage and poundage, strongly insisting that all subsidies should go toward defense. While Montgomery was almost certainly in favor of this grant, the fact that the Commons approved it reluctantly, and only after a careful account of expenditures was given by the treasurer, perhaps indicates early cracks forming in the willingness of Englishmen to support the war effort financially. Earlier in the parliament, on 19 May, Montgomery would have been privileged to witness Bedford's knighting of the four-year-old King Henry VI. The newly knighted monarch then proceeded to dub more than thirty esquires, many of whom were war veterans. These dubbings were likely intended to emphasize the royal authority of the young monarch as well as celebrate the military efforts in France fought on his behalf as chivalric and just.⁵³

It is from his time in England in 1426 that we also begin to learn something about Montgomery's marriage and wealth. While the parliament was still in session, on 4 May, the executors of the late Sir Gilbert le Strange (d.1418) granted the manor of Chalton, Hampshire, to Sir John and his wife Elizabeth, indicating that by this time he had become the third husband of Elizabeth Boteler, by courtesy "lady of Say" (d.1465), the sister of fellow soldier Sir Ralph Boteler.⁵⁴ This was an extremely advantageous marriage for Montgomery, prob-

⁵² Indeed, this disruptive quarrel was the main reason for the calling of the parliament and Bedford's return to England.

⁵³ Given-Wilson, *Parliament Rolls*, "Introduction 1426." Montgomery doubtless understood that the loans sought by the government in this parliament of about £40,000 would also have aided the situation in France.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth had first been married to William Heron, Lord Say in right of his wife (d.1404) and then to John Norbury (d.1414); Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, *History of Parliament*, 3:844–46; Round, "Descent of Faulkbourne," pp. 35 and 40; Josiah C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439–1509* (London, 1936), pp. 604–5; TNA: PRO SC 8/95/4743A; CPR (1429–36), p. 296. Chalton grant: William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* [hereafter *VCH Hampshire*], 3 (London, 1908), p. 105; Round, "Descent of Faulkbourne," pp. 36–7. He is referred to as "of Faulkbourne," indicating his possession of that Essex manor. Sir John was lord of the manor of Chalton in 1442; Catherington manor, which was seen as dependent on Chalton, was held of him: *VCH Hampshire*, 3:94–95.

ably bringing to him the Hertfordshire manors of Essendon, Bishop’s Hatfield, and Cheshunt.⁵⁵ In addition, his ongoing connection, which this marriage no doubt solidified, with Sir Ralph, who would be made a Knight of the Garter in 1440, be created Lord Sudeley in 1441, and hold a number of important offices, such as treasurer of the Exchequer and steward of the household, could not but have aided Sir John’s career.⁵⁶ In addition to his seat at Faulkbourne, Essex, some Feudal Aids of 1428 show that he held Blunts Hall, and Great Tey in that county as well.⁵⁷ If Montgomery purchased these Essex manors, it may indicate that he was profiting from the war in France, where, as a captain and leader of a retinue, he was entitled to thirds of his men’s spoils of war as well as his own winnings.⁵⁸ If, however, like the Hertfordshire manors, they too came to him through his marriage to Elizabeth, it should be remembered that it was probably his social and financial advance through military service and the resulting association with Sir Ralph Boteler that led to that lucrative marriage in the first place. On 16 February 1429, a commitment was made to Montgomery, Boteler, and Joan, late the wife of Hamon Belknap, to keep Belknap’s lands during the minority of his son, presumably providing our knight with further financial benefits.⁵⁹ From the assessment conducted seven years later, for the income tax of 1436, we learn that Sir John possessed an income from lands, rents, and annuities of £310 per annum. Considering that the average annual income from lands, rents, and annuities among the greater non-baronial gentry, those knights and potential knights with incomes between £101 and £399, has been estimated at £208, this assessment reveals what a wealthy landholder Montgomery had by that time become.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Essenden and Bishop’s Hatfield had been purchased by Norbury in the 1380s: Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, *History of Parliament*, 3:845. They were held by Montgomery at his death: TNA: PRO C 139/135/36; John Caley, *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem Sive Escaetorum*, 4 [Henry V–Richard III] (London, 1828), p. 239. Cheshunt had been granted to Elizabeth by Henry IV and was held jointly by her and Montgomery in 1441, with remainder to her sons by Norbury: *CPR* (1436–41), pp. 510–11.

⁵⁶ For Boteler, see *ODNB*, 6:750–51; and George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 12 vols. (London, 1919–59), 12, pt. 1, pp. 419–21. In a deed of 15 May 1441, a group of trustees including John, earl of Oxford, Sir Ralph Boteler, and Sir John Montgomery, were granted seizin of the manor of Sandon Hall, Essex: Essex Record Office D/DAy T1/23.

⁵⁷ *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, with other analogous documents, A.D. 1284–1431*, 6 vols. (London, 1899–1920), 2:213, 214, 219, and 358.

⁵⁸ Philippe Contamine, “Rançons et butins dans la Normandie anglaise (1424–1444),” in *La Guerre et la paix. frontières et violences au moyen âge*. Actes du 101e Congrès national des sociétés savants, Lille, 1976, Section de philologie et d’histoire jusqu’à 1610 (Paris, 1978), p. 252. The rest of this article contains much general information on ransoms, booty, and their division in Lancastrian Normandy. See also Denys Hay, “The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth-Century England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 4 (1954), p. 96.

⁵⁹ *Calendar of Fine Rolls* [hereafter *CFR*] (1422–30), p. 258.

⁶⁰ According to the schedule, Montgomery would have paid £9 10s. in tax on this income: H. L. Gray, “Incomes from Land in England in 1436,” *English Historical Review*, 49 (1934): pp. 608–10, 622–23, 630 and 633. See also Kenneth Fowler, *The Age of Plantagenet and Valois: the Struggle for Supremacy 1328–1498* (New York, 1967), p. 38.

Following the dissolution of the 1426 parliament, we see the first indication in the records of a dispute between Robert Louthe (d.c.1434) of Hertfordshire and a group that included Sir John Montgomery and Lewis John. In June 1426, four men stood surety for Sir John's promise under pain of £40 "that he shall do or procure no hurt or harm to Robert Louthe of Hertfordshire, esquire."⁶¹ While we know nothing of the nature of this quarrel, the amounts promised by the protagonists may indicate that there had already been armed violence between them. Although this probably ended any physical conflict, the dispute continued for many years, with Louthe making a recognizance of 100s. on 21 November 1429 to Montgomery and Nicolas Dixon, clerk. Louthe was pardoned for failing to appear to answer his opponents concerning a £20-plea of debt on 12 June 1434, shortly after which he presumably died.⁶²

Since the records are patchy, it is often unclear how or where Sir John spent his time over the next several years.⁶³ While he continued to be involved in the war, he seems to have begun a pattern of dividing his time between England and France. Letters of protection issued to him on 8 July 1426 indicate that Sir John was then preparing to return to Normandy in Bedford's retinue.⁶⁴ He may have been back in England on 11 December 1427, when John Selman made a quitclaim of the manor of Bishop's Wokendon, Essex, to a distinguished group that included Montgomery, the duke of Bedford, the earl of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Boteler, the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Ely and Norwich.⁶⁵ Clearly, Sir John was developing some powerful connections.⁶⁶ On 5 March 1428, letters of attorney were issued to him, indicating that he was preparing to go again to France.⁶⁷ It is possible that he was part of the massive force being assembled for the campaign to besiege the key city of Orléans, an expedition that sailed in June of that year.

The disastrous failure to take Orléans, along with the death of Salisbury, represented a real turning point in the war. From now on, the initiative would lie with the French, while the English would be on the defensive. When the suc-

⁶¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls* [hereafter CCR] (1422–29), p. 277

⁶² CCR (1429–35), pp. 27 and 318. See the biography of Louthe in Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, *History of Parliament*, 3:631–32.

⁶³ If one assumes that Montgomery was of age by the time of his appointment to the Calais offices in 1413, he must have been in his thirties by 1426. If he was serving in Wales in 1404–06, however, he would probably have been in his forties. See notes 13 and 14 above.

⁶⁴ "French Rolls II," p. 242. If Montgomery accompanied this expedition, though, it would not be under Bedford, who would remain in England, sending the earl of Warwick and other senior commanders in his place. The letters of attorney issued to Montgomery on 19 July do not refer to him as captain of Domfront, nor is he referred to as such in any subsequent documents: "French Rolls II," p. 241. It is possible that his command was placed under civilian control around this time, since this phenomenon was happening in general in Normandy from 1426: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 186.

⁶⁵ CCR (1422–29), p. 383; P.H. Reaney and M. Fitch Kirk (eds), *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 4 [1423–1547] (Colchester, 1964), pp. 9–10.

⁶⁶ His name appears in a transaction involving a recognizance made on 16 March 1428 by Sir Ralph Boteler: CCR (1422–29), pp. 399–400.

⁶⁷ "French Rolls II," p. 256

cesses of Joan of Arc allowed the Dauphin to be crowned as Charles VII at Reims, Bedford responded by preparing a major expedition to have Henry VI crowned in France, intended to boost the morale of the English in Normandy and provide them with much needed practical relief.⁶⁸ By this time a knight of some prominence, Sir John was an active part of this campaign and its preparations. In February, he indented to lead four men-at-arms and twelve archers on the expedition.⁶⁹ Before the massive royal force crossed to Calais in the last week of April, he used his expertise to assist in the final preparations by serving as an arrayer of the men about to set out.⁷⁰

As part of the renewed English military activity designed to make Paris secure enough for the royal visit,⁷¹ Bedford sent Sir John and a force of men as a detachment to serve under Duke Philip of Burgundy, who was then campaigning in the Oise valley.⁷² This move would eventually lead to one of Montgomery’s most distinguished actions of the war: participation in the capture of Joan of Arc herself. By 14 May, Joan had entered the town of Compiègne, the taking of which was one of Burgundy’s primary objectives. Shortly thereafter, Sir John got his initial taste of the Maid’s military abilities. Montgomery and his retinue, quartered at Pont l’Evêque, were assigned, along with other English and Burgundian captains, to guard the suburbs of Noyon in order to prevent the French from cutting off supplies to the duke’s main army as it approached Compiègne. In one of a number of sorties she led out of the town, Joan and other French captains made an early morning strike on the English quarters at Pont l’Evêque. After a sharp skirmish, however, Montgomery and the English, with Burgundian support, were able to force Joan and the French to retreat.⁷³

In preparation for the siege of Compiègne, Burgundy posted Montgomery “and his engines,” guns borrowed from the duke’s vast artillery train, on the meadows of Venette, just west of the town; Sir John would thus join in the furious bombardment that soon began.⁷⁴ On 23 May, Joan led a small force out

⁶⁸ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 188–90.

⁶⁹ TNA: PRO E404/46/248; UK, PRO, *Supplementary List of Exchequer Accounts, Various, and List and Index of Warrants for Issues 1399–1485, with an Appendix: Indentures of War 1297–1527* [hereafter *Warrants for Issues*], Lists and Indexes Supplementary Series, no. 9, 2 vols. (reprint New York, 1969), 2:409. Letters of protection were granted to him on 14 March and 16 April, the latter indicating that he and his men would serve in the retinue of Sir John Cobham: “French Rolls II,” pp. 273 and 275.

⁷⁰ “French Rolls II,” p. 273. While Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 35–36, states that the crossing took place on St. George’s Day (23 April), this commission of array was made on 24 April. Montgomery took out additional letters of protection on 5, 14, and 22 May: “French Rolls II,” pp. 273 and 275.

⁷¹ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 191.

⁷² Burne, *Agincourt War*, p. 264.

⁷³ Enguerrand Monstrelet, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand Monstrelet*, 13 vols., trans. Thomas Johnes (London, 1810), 6:339–40. Monstrelet tells us that about thirty men were lost on each side.

⁷⁴ Waurin, *Chronicles*, p. 216; Monstrelet, *Chronicles* 6:341. For Burgundy’s remarkable artillery train, see Kelly DeVries, “Calculating Profits and Losses during the Hundred Years War: What Really Forced Philip the Good from the War?,” in Lawin Armstrong, Ivana Elbl,

of Compiègne in a sudden attack on a group of Burgundians encamped to the north, surprising and dispersing them. Montgomery acted quickly, however, and while Burgundian reinforcements engaged the French, he led his men in a rear assault that cut off Joan's escape into the town, effectively driving her into Burgundian hands.⁷⁵ Thus Sir John played a vital part in handing the French a serious setback and giving the English a much-needed morale booster, while helping to set in motion the series of events that would lead to one of the most infamous executions in history. Following Joan's capture, the siege of Compiègne went on, but before the end of the year Montgomery was replaced there by the earl of Huntingdon and returned to Normandy with his men.⁷⁶ That he had been trusted to cooperate with Burgundy, a vital ally of the English effort in France, clearly reflects Sir John's growing prominence, while his participation in the defense of Pont l'Évêque, the bombardment of the town, and the capture of Joan demonstrates his by now highly developed skill as a soldier and commander.⁷⁷ As it turned out, Sir John's timely replacement at Compiègne following the Maid's capture was fortunate for his career, since the siege itself was to be a dismal failure.⁷⁸

Montgomery must have returned to England at some point after leaving Compiègne, for he took out letters of attorney on 17 April 1431 stating that he was again preparing to go to France, probably as part of the massive reinforcements sent that spring and summer with the continued intention of wresting Champagne and the Oise valley from French control.⁷⁹ The accompanying letters of protection were issued jointly to Sir John and his brother-in-law, Sir Ralph Boteler, who had just been made a Knight of the Body in February.⁸⁰ Since Bedford used the new army to drive the French out of the Seine valley so that King Henry

and Martin M. Elbl (eds), *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H. A. Munro* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 193–94. For a more extensive discussion of Burgundian artillery, see Robert D. Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363–1477* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005).

⁷⁵ Burne, *Agincourt War*, p. 264; E. Carleton Williams, *My Lord of Bedford 1389–1435* (London, 1963), p. 197. For a discussion of the various accounts of Joan's capture, see Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 172–76.

⁷⁶ Waurin, *Chronicles*, p. 221; Burne, *Agincourt War*, p. 272. An order was issued on 2 December for the payment of Montgomery, "who was appointed to proceed from Calais to the Duke of Burgundy," and a retinue of 17 men-at-arms and 207 archers: Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* [hereafter POPC], 6 vols. (London, 1834–37), 4:xi-xii; TNA: PRO E 404/47/155.

⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that among the armorial tiles in the church of Witham, Essex, are those of the duke of Burgundy. Given Montgomery's landed interests in and near Witham, it is conceivable that he commissioned the tiles there to commemorate his service under the duke in 1430. Further, since Montgomery's patron, Duke John of Bedford, was married to a sister of Burgundy, he may also have intended the tiles to compliment her: *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2 (1849–1853), pp. 231–32.

⁷⁸ In fact, Duke Philip's financial losses in the siege, including his valuable guns, and his subsequent blaming of the government of Henry VI, would contribute to his eventual abandonment of the English cause: DeVries, "Calculating Profits and Losses," pp. 195–98.

⁷⁹ "French Rolls II," p. 283; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 191.

⁸⁰ "French Rolls II," p. 282. *ODNB*, 6:750.

could finally travel from Rouen to Paris, Montgomery and Boteler no doubt played a role in that campaign.⁸¹ Whether Montgomery was present at the king’s coronation in Notre Dame de Paris on 16 December, as was Boteler as one of the royal bodyguard, we do not know.⁸² By the end of September 1433, Bedford had given Montgomery increased responsibility by appointing him captain of the castle of Arques and captain and bailiff of Caux: he is listed as such in an enumeration of the men in English garrisons issued on Michaelmas 1434, and in a list of Bedford’s retainers in France made in 1435.⁸³ In both of these documents, Sir John is described as a knight banneret, a special knightly rank given to exceptional knights of great military skill and experience; it would have entitled him to lead men in war under his own square banner, a sign of his enhanced military leadership.⁸⁴ The documents also indicate that his sphere of activity had now shifted from Alençon in the west to Caux, north of the Seine.

In spite of his new duties in France, there are several indications that Montgomery may have been in England for at least part of 1433, and perhaps part of 1434 as well. On 8 July 1433, a license was issued to him and his wife Elizabeth to grant the advowson of the church of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, held by Elizabeth for her life, to the duke of Bedford, who had just returned home, another indication of our knight’s close connection to the duke.⁸⁵ Montgomery did his religious duty in 1433 when he, along with Sir John Tyrell and Lewis John, presented to the rectory of Faulkbourne.⁸⁶ On 20 October of that year, Montgomery, who must have been at least forty years old at the time, made his will, from which we learn that he had three sons and a brother. He stipulated that all his lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, and possessions were to go to his wife Elizabeth to hold until her death, at which point all was to go to their eldest son John and his heirs, with successive remainders to younger sons Thomas and Philip and their heirs. If his wife and all their sons and heirs had died, Montgomery’s wealth was to go to his brother Thomas and his heirs.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 193.

⁸² *ODNB*, 6:750–51.

⁸³ At Arques, he commanded a garrison of “x. lanceas equestres, x. lanceas pedestres, et lx archiers.” By this time, Thomas Lord Scales had been made captain of Domfront: Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, pp. 435 and 544–45. See also Wright, *History and Topography*, 1:228.

⁸⁴ The promotion indicated “that the knight in question could muster a force of fifty lances to serve with him”: Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 168; see also Keen, *England*, p. 328. The new rank also meant that Montgomery would now receive double the pay of a knight bachelor: N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254–1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1965), p. 23.

⁸⁵ *CPR* (1429–36), p. 296. Sir John was a recipient of another grant of lands in Essex on 27 July: *CCR* (1435–41), p. 67.

⁸⁶ Round, “Descent of Faulkbourne,” p. 37.

⁸⁷ TNA: PRO E 329/13. Since Sir John mentioned no other siblings, it is likely that this Thomas was the only one. Special provision was made for the disposition of Chalton, Hampshire, and its appurtenances in Essex. If all Montgomery’s sons and their heirs had died, Chalton was to remain to Sir Henry Norbury, the son of Elizabeth’s second husband, and his heirs, then to Montgomery’s brother Thomas and his heirs, and then to John Norbury, Sir Henry’s younger brother, and his heirs. In each case, the holder was to provide a chapel in which masses were

Finally, in the parliament of 1433, it was determined that, in order to curtail the growing disturbances of the peace in England, prominent persons throughout the realm should be made to swear an oath against disturbing the king's peace and maintaining or supporting those who did.⁸⁸ Montgomery's ongoing quarrel with Louthe was perhaps one of the many such disturbances that prompted this action. The MPs were ordered to submit lists of those in their counties whom they deemed significant enough to swear the oath. Since the names on most of these, issued on 1 May 1434, are listed in order of importance, it is a testament to Sir John's wealth, reputation, and influence that his name heads all the rest on the Essex list.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, English fortunes in France were declining greatly. In 1431, Philip of Burgundy had negotiated a truce with Charles VII; in 1432, French forces had successfully attacked several English positions; and in mid-summer 1433, Bedford returned to England to justify his handling of the war before parliament. The duke was back in France in July 1434, however, at the head of a considerable army of reinforcements.⁹⁰ Montgomery returned to France as well, but rather than departing with Bedford, he re-joined the increasingly hard-pressed war effort a bit later: letters of attorney were issued to him on 21 November 1434 and on 24 January 1435.⁹¹ In spite of the renewed efforts, however, the English agreed to negotiations. If he was still one of Bedford's privy councilors, perhaps Sir John was present with him at the fateful Congress of Arras, from 12 August to 4 September 1435, shortly after which Philip of Burgundy made his abandonment of the English cause official. Perhaps Montgomery comforted Bedford as

to be said for the souls of Sir John and Elizabeth. An excellent round seal is attached to Montgomery's will. Roger Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office. Personal Seals*, 1 (London, 1978), p. 46, describes it as: "A shield of arms: a chevron ermine between three fleur-de-lys, with a small indistinct charge (perhaps a mark of cadency) in chief. Helm above with crest: a bush of feathers within a crown. The background is diapered with flowers." Morant supposed that Sir John was likely of Scottish origin due to the similarity of his arms with those of the Montgomery earl of Eglinton, the Montgomery portion of which is "azure, three fleur-de-lys or": see, for example, Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *Armorial Families: A Directory of Gentlemen of Coat-Armour*, 2 vols. (London, 1930), 2: 1381. Since the only real similarity is the presence of three fleur-de-lys, a common heraldic device, this cannot be taken as firm evidence for a Scottish descent. The evidence for Montgomery's Welsh background, on the other hand, is clear: see note 11, above.

⁸⁸ A detailed description of the oath can be found in: Given-Wilson, *Parliament Rolls*, "Henry VI, 1433 July," iv, pp. 421–22. In petitions made by Bedford in the same parliament concerning the grant to the duke of the honor of Richmond, Montgomery and his wife are listed as the holders of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, with successive remainders to Sir Henry Norbury, his brother John Norbury, and Bedford: TNA: PRO SC 8/95/4742B; TNA: PRO SC 8/95/4743A; William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Hertford* [hereafter *VCH Hertford*], 3 (London, 1912), pp. 446–47; Given-Wilson, *Parliament Rolls*, "Appendix 1433," nos. 14 and 15. On 12 June of 1433, Montgomery's name is mentioned in a pardon: *CPR* (1429–36), p. 318.

⁸⁹ *CPR* (1429–36), pp. 370 and 400.

⁹⁰ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 194–98.

⁹¹ "French Rolls II," pp. 294 and 301. It is unclear whether these represent two separate trips to France, or if his original departure date was delayed for some reason.

the duke died ten days later.⁹²

While it has been argued that the ultimate loss of the war was a result of waning enthusiasm among much of the English landholding classes, Montgomery certainly cannot be numbered among that group.⁹³ Despite all the military, diplomatic, and personal reversals for the English, our knight continued to participate in the defense and governance of Lancastrian lands in France over the course of the next decade. Early in 1436, he was serving as captain of the town of Eu.⁹⁴ Perhaps as a part of the renewed importance given to Calais by the duke of Gloucester, Montgomery was appointed to the office of gaoler of the town on 15 January 1438.⁹⁵ He was still commanding a retinue in France in March 1438, possibly serving in the marches of Calais.⁹⁶ On 27 June 1439, he was commissioned to take the musters of a group of captains and their retinues “whom the king is sending over sea for the defence of his realm of France and duchy of Normandy, as soon as they land.”⁹⁷ He may have been back in England later that year, however, since on 11 October a license was granted to Sir John to “fortify, crenellate and embattle” his manor of Faulkbourne, Essex, “with walls of stone or ‘bryke’.”⁹⁸ Petitioning for such licenses to crenellate had become a fashion of the day among wealthy and prominent members of the gentry to demonstrate their social status; Montgomery must also have regarded his newly fortified home as a fitting symbol of his military success in France.⁹⁹ He crossed

⁹² Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 199–200; Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 39–40.

⁹³ M. A. Powicke, “Lancastrian Captains,” in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (eds), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 371–82. See also Curry, “English Armies,” pp. 46–47, for a partial refutation of Powicke’s argument. Maurice Keen contends that the war eventually created two groups of gentlemen, those who stayed home and dominated their county communities and those who, like Montgomery, invested themselves in the continuing occupation. The latter became rarer in the later stages of the war: Keen, “The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England,” in Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (eds), *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London, 1989), pp. 297–311.

⁹⁴ He left this position on 31 January 1436: Newhall, *Muster and Review*, p. 73

⁹⁵ The lieutenant of the town, Sir Thomas Rempston, was given a mandate to that effect on 16 February: “French Rolls, II,” p. 321. For the importance of Calais, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 469–70, as well as David Grummitt, ““One of the mooste pryncipall treasours belonging to his Realme of Englande”: Calais and the Crown, c. 1450–1558,” in David Grummitt (ed.), *The English Experience in France c. 1450–1558: War, Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2002), pp. 46–62. Harfleur and Dieppe had been lost in 1435, Paris in 1436: Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 200–01.

⁹⁶ “French Rolls, II,” pp. 326 and 358.

⁹⁷ *CPR (1436–41)*, p. 314

⁹⁸ *CPR (1436–41)*, p. 320. For a description of Faulkbourne manor, see Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, 4 vols. (London, 1916–23), 2:69–71.

⁹⁹ While there is no real evidence, it is possible that this symbolic fortification was paid for with the “profits of war” that Montgomery won in France. For the beginnings of the long debate on this subject, see K. B. McFarlane, “War, the Economy and Social Change, England and the Hundred Years War,” *Past & Present*, 22 (1962), 3–13; and M. M. Postan, “The Costs of the Hundred Years War,” *Past & Present*, 27 (1964), 34–53. See also Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 69–77.

the Channel again later that year, for on 24 October a license was issued to arrest ships and mariners to transport the bishop of Lisieux, Montgomery, and the king's clerk, John Rynell, and their companies to Normandy.¹⁰⁰ Since the English were for the most part on the defensive and could not obtain enough money or field enough soldiers, an experienced captain like Montgomery must have been sorely needed, although we do not know what specific role he and his retinue played.¹⁰¹ Whatever the case, Sir John's valuable military services in general were acknowledged on 8 January 1440, when he was rewarded with a grant of the custom of "Sandgelt," a tax upon carts coming through Merk and Oye, near Calais.¹⁰² On 14 December, his connection with the affairs of that port deepened when he was appointed bailiff of Calais and receiver of the scivinage of Calais and of "Ilond de Colne," administrative posts he would hold until his death.¹⁰³

In July 1440, Richard, duke of York, was appointed (for the second time) as lieutenant-general in France and there is evidence that Montgomery had a close connection with him. Although York's appointment at first seemed to promise a more vigorous English defense, the situation continued to decay. While reinforcements were raised and sent, there took place a series of failed attempts at peace negotiations. When in the fall of 1442 the council ordered the hard-pressed York to open new talks with the French, Montgomery was called upon to play a role in the hoped-for diplomatic effort.¹⁰⁴ On 9 September, Sir John was given full power to select a place for negotiations to be held with the French, and on 9 October, he was included in a group of commissioners appointed to treat for a peace.¹⁰⁵ As an English envoy at this point, he would have been negotiating from a position of great weakness due to the lack of sufficient resources and recent French military successes.¹⁰⁶ It is doubtful, however, that the talks ever took place. Another indication that Montgomery may have been serving closely with York is that in April 1443, he and others coming from the duke reported to the king concerning the French invasion of Guyenne, informing him of French plans to invade Normandy as well.¹⁰⁷

This distasteful mission would be Montgomery's last recorded action in connection with the Hundred Years War. Although he would retain his Calais offices, he would now shift his focus to domestic concerns. While this choice perhaps reflected his advancing age, it probably also represents a reluctant acceptance

¹⁰⁰ *CPR (1436–41)*, p. 340

¹⁰¹ Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 42–43.

¹⁰² "French Rolls II," p. 332. A re-grant of this toll in 1 April 1443 indicates that he was being rewarded for his past service specifically in the marches of Calais as well as being paid monies owed to him: "French Rolls II," p. 358. See also *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 238.

¹⁰³ "French Rolls II," p. 341. With the latter office came fees of 12d. per day and 4d. per cart coming into the town: *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 361. On 5 February 1446, these offices would be granted jointly to him and his son, John: *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 398.

¹⁰⁴ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 459–62.

¹⁰⁵ John Ferguson, *English Diplomacy 1422–1461* (Oxford, 1972), p. 182; *POPC*, 5:xliii.

¹⁰⁶ Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 462–63.

¹⁰⁷ *POPC*, 5:259–263.

that the cause in France was lost.¹⁰⁸ In 1443, Sir John would for the first time serve the crown in local government at home when he was appointed a justice of the peace for Hertfordshire on 18 May of that year; he would be reappointed on 4 December of that year and on 9 June and 12 July 1445.¹⁰⁹ Due to the JPs’ important functions as judges, law enforcers and administrators, the smooth turning of the wheels of local government depended on the efficiency and trustworthiness of these men and the respect others had for them.¹¹⁰ Since he had no previous experience in county administration, Montgomery’s appointment to the Hertfordshire bench is perhaps indicative of the high esteem in which the crown held him due to his record of war and administration in Normandy. At the same time, the military and administrative experience he gained in Normandy would have helped prepare him for this new role as a peace keeper at home. That the government thought highly of his military service and felt a great debt of gratitude to Montgomery is also demonstrated by several grants made to him in 1445: on 8 January, he was granted £100 as a reward for his good service; on 14 January, he and his wife, Elizabeth, were granted annually a tun of Gascon wine, to be collected each Christmas in London; and on 13 December, he and his son Thomas were granted the lordship of Werspesdon, Surrey.¹¹¹ In the letters patent by which the last two grants were made, Montgomery is referred to as a king’s knight, indicating that he was now formally retained by the crown.

Our knight was appointed a justice of the peace for Essex on 26 February 1446 and would serve on his home county’s bench until his death three years later, the last service he would render to the Lancastrian crown in a distinguished, 33-year career.¹¹² Sir John Montgomery died on 27 June 1449 and his writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued on 5 July.¹¹³ His inquisition *post mortem*, taken on 20 October, reveals that at his death he held manors, lands, tenements, and advowsons in Essex, Hertfordshire, and Hampshire, including his seat of Faulkbourne, Essex, which he held jointly with Elizabeth, his wife.¹¹⁴ She would

¹⁰⁸ If we assume that Montgomery was at least twenty years old in 1413 when he received his first official appointment, he must have been in his early fifties by 1443. If he fought in Wales earlier in the century, however, he would have been about ten years older than this. See notes 13 and 14, above.

¹⁰⁹ *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 471

¹¹⁰ See Helen Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, Devonshire, 1972), pp. 145–47; and J. G. Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (Portland, 1989), pp. 17–19.

¹¹¹ TNA: PRO E 404/62/105; *CPR (1441–46)*, pp. 318 and 395. This and the joint grant of 13 December 1445 are evidence that his sons, John and Thomas, were now coming of age. Letters patent of 15 June 1446 call Thomas a king’s esquire: *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 436. In 1447, John the younger was granted the marriage of Margaret, widow of Edmund Lenthale, and given license to marry her: *CPR (1446–52)*, p. 37.

¹¹² *CPR (1441–46)*, p. 470. He would be appointed three more times in 1448, on 28 March, 8 November, and 8 December: *CPR (1446–52)*, p. 589.

¹¹³ Round, “Descent of Faulkbourne,” p. 37; *CFR (1445–52)*, p. 97. He would likely have been in his late fifties or sixties at his death. See notes 13 and 14 above.

¹¹⁴ TNA: PRO C 139/135/36; Caley, *Calendarium*, 4:239; Round, “Descent of Faulkbourne,” p. 37. Another inquisition *post mortem*, same date: TNA: PRO E 314/83.

enjoy Faulkbourne, and presumably his other properties for the rest of her life.¹¹⁵ When she died in 1465, their eldest son, John, was already dead, so the vast Montgomery estate went to their second son, Sir Thomas, a future Knight of the Garter.¹¹⁶

While Montgomery's eventful life is interesting in itself, what conclusions can we draw from it regarding the conquest and occupation of Normandy and the state of English knighthood in the Lancastrian era? In reviewing his biography, we are first struck by his near total immersion in every phase of the war. By helping to capture and then defend Harfleur in 1415–16, he was one of those who made possible Henry V's first victory in a campaign upon which the king had staked so much. In the even more important campaign of 1417–20, at sieges like Caen, and possibly Louviers and Rouen, and as captain of Mayenne-la-Jolie, Maulévrier, and Domfront, he helped turn the king's strategy of taking Normandy by systematically capturing and holding its fortified places into results on the ground. His unglamorous but necessary administrative work as a garrison commander and commissioner of array and muster helped secure the occupation and allow Henry to continue the war. Following the untimely death of the soldier-king, Montgomery did not miss a beat as he provided Bedford with valuable support at Verneuil and in the subsequent campaigns into Maine and Anjou, helping to push the frontiers southward. In the midst of unsettling reversals in the wake of Joan of Arc's appearance and the failure at Orléans, Sir John's enthusiasm did not wane. Indeed, his cooperation with the duke of Burgundy and his contribution to the capture of Joan in 1430 might have helped to shift the momentum back to the English had support from home not been wanting. His support for Bedford and dedication to defending the reduced occupation were not shaken by the ensuing reversals, however, as his positions of captain of Arques and bailiff of Caux testify. Remarkably, even after the crumbling of

¹¹⁵ That Elizabeth held Faulkbourne, Essex, Cheshunt, Herts, and Chalton, Hants, is indicated by Round, "Descent of Faulkbourne," pp. 37–38; *VCH Hertford*, 3:446–47; *VCH Hampshire*, 3:14; TNA: PRO E 326/7731–7739 and E 327/620.

¹¹⁶ John Montgomery (d.1463), our knight's eldest son and heir, a king's sergeant by the time of the 1446 appointment, would continue in his Calais offices following his father's death and serve as an MP for Lyme in the parliament of November 1449, but would be accused of treason and beheaded in 1463. Sir Thomas Montgomery, KG (d.1495), on the other hand, would become a favorite of Edward IV and would have a long and prosperous career that included court appointments, and service as a sheriff, JP, MP, and diplomat. See Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, pp. 604–6; and Round, "Descent of Faulkbourne," pp. 37–38 and 40. Sir John also had a daughter named Alice, who would be the eventual heir of her brother, Sir Thomas, indicating that our knight's other son, Philip, must have been dead by that time: TNA: PRO E 329/13. Note that there is some confusion regarding this Alice. *VCH Hampshire*, 3:14 and 54, indicates that Sir John may have had two separate daughters named Alice: Alice 1 was the wife first of John Fortescue and then Robert Langley; Alice 2 married first Clement Spice and second Edmund Wiseman. While this source tells us that Sir Thomas's heir was Alice 2, Wedgwood suggests that it was Alice 1. Round, on the other hand, believed there was only one Alice, who was married to Spice, Langley, and then Wiseman (see the genealogical chart included in that article).

the Burgundian alliance and the death of Bedford in 1435–36, Montgomery did not give up on the cause, serving as captain of Eu and in and around Calais in subsequent years. The continuing service of this mature soldier under the duke of York in the 1440s demonstrates a stubborn dedication to duty in a time when most had lost hope. Even when Montgomery’s practicality finally outweighed his chivalric enthusiasm and he sensibly retired from active soldiering, he continued to hold offices in Calais, symbolically maintaining a connection with this last English outpost until his death. While Henry V had a vision of what he wanted to achieve in France, it was the efforts of men like Montgomery who responded to that vision, for good or ill, that allowed him to turn vision into reality and allowed his successor’s representatives to stubbornly hold onto it, dragging out the war for years to come.

In very general terms, Montgomery’s career accords with the model of the “typical” knight of the Lancastrian period, outlined above, in several regards. He served his king in both war and government, and built and maintained a suitably rich personal estate, albeit an exceptionally impressive one. His military service began early in his career, took place in France, and included participation in siege warfare. He was knighted during his first campaign, following his participation in the capture of Harfleur. Montgomery held a number of commissions during his career, represented Hertfordshire in the 1426 parliament, served as a JP in two counties, and held administrative offices in Calais, most of this activity coming after his first experience in war and his knighthood. He possessed a landed estate composed of manors in several counties, although his income of £310 *per annum* was higher than that of most knights. Much of the time he did spend in England he presumably devoted to the preservation, defense, and increase of his landed wealth. His advantageous marriage to the lady of Say and his quarrel with Robert Louthe should be seen as part of these efforts.

While Montgomery is “typical” in many ways, it is the sheer length and intensity of his military activity – how much of himself and his resources he invested in war – that demands he be classified under the “military” model, lest his career be misrepresented by generalities. While most knights rendered some military service, they devoted a relatively small proportion of their active adult lives to it, usually a few actions over a period of less than five years. Contrast this with Sir John’s many military voyages abroad, the five commands he held at fortified towns, and his successful involvement in siege, battle, and skirmish over a nearly 30-year span. Related to this is the relatively small proportion of his total career he devoted to governmental matters. His one parliamentary election and his appointments as a JP in Hertfordshire and Essex in the last few years of his life are both below the knightly averages of four times in the Commons and twelve years on the bench.¹¹⁷ While he certainly received many commissions, nearly all involved the prosecution of the war in France.¹¹⁸ When put in the context of his

¹¹⁷ These statistics for length of military and governmental service are from Bogner, “English Knights of 1434.” See note 3, above.

¹¹⁸ I do not include in governmental service Sir John’s commands at fortified towns in France.

total career, then, Montgomery's participation in government pales in comparison to his military adventures. Ironically, given the military origins and chivalric culture of knighthood, Sir John Montgomery's level of involvement in war was rare in this period, even for a "military" knight.¹¹⁹

While they involved his acting in an administrative capacity, I regard them as primarily military positions. Although the Calais appointments he held for much of his life were certainly administrative posts, it is doubtful that Montgomery spent much time exercising these offices in person given his military responsibilities in Normandy and his service as a JP at home in his autumn years.

¹¹⁹ For a glimpse into knightly rarities in this period, see Gilbert Bogner, "Alchemists, Pirates, and Pilgrims: Towards a Revised Model of English Knighthood in the Lancastrian Era," *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society*, 16 (2006), 100–12.

Medieval Romances and Military History:
 Marching Orders in Jean de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel*
introduit aux armes.

Matthieu Chan Tsin

The Hundred Years War opposed England and France for over a century and produced some of the most dramatic military changes of the time. Such great changes did not go unnoticed and an abundant literature, dealing directly or indirectly with warfare, was produced in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus, there is much original material to be read about warfare in that period of history. In exploring the field of medieval military history, it would be a great mistake to exclude from research-efforts romances written by men such as Jean de Bueil which can at times contain quite a significant amount of information useful to historians and thus support Richard Kaeuper's views on the legitimacy of reading chivalric literature as historical evidence.¹ Jean de Bueil was one of the great French knights of the end of the Hundred Years War. While in retirement, he wrote *Le Jouvencel*,² a treatise written in the form of a *roman à clé* and as a teaching tool for future knights. This article will suggest that although *Le Jouvencel* has been used by many medieval military historians and certain passages are widely quoted, the work contains many details of great practical value which have not yet been explored by modern writers. For example, Jean de Bueil includes in his hero's adventures many details which can allow us to reconstitute military marching orders as understood in the later stages of the Hundred Years War.

Jean de Bueil's work is very different from many other manuscripts of the time because he was neither a scholar nor a cleric. As a knight, and eventually as one of the most senior military commanders of France, he lived through the events he reports and he was able to paint a vivid image of fifteenth-century warfare. *Le Jouvencel* is not precisely a memoir, a fact which has contributed to the text being under-used. Jean de Bueil "wished to give heart and determination to all men, especially those men who engage in the marvelous adventures

¹ Richard W. Kaeuper, "Literature as Essential Evidence for Understanding Chivalry," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, V (2007), 1–15.

² Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, ed. C. Favre and L. Lecestre, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887; repr., Geneva, 1996).

of war,³ rather than aiming to draw attention to his own deeds of arms.⁴ This didactic aspect of *Le Jouvencel* makes the work more valuable rather than less to historians, as Jean de Bueil wanted to expose the generalities of late-medieval warfare rather than specific details pertaining to a particular siege or battle. Jean de Bueil's work is thus an open door for military historians as the descriptions must be as accurate as possible in order to also play a strong prescriptive role.

Jean de Bueil himself was an expert in the art of war. He came from a family which was well established in the career of arms. No fewer than sixteen men bearing the name of Bueil were killed at the battle of Agincourt. When he was only eighteen years old, Jean de Bueil followed his master the *vicomte* of Narbonne to the hard-fought battle of Verneuil. After Verneuil, Etienne de Vignolles – La Hire – became the young man's mentor. La Hire and Jean de Bueil led many operations in Maine before joining the relief force led by Joan of Arc at Orléans. Jean de Bueil led an illustrious military career which saw him fight at Rouvray and Patay, and lead campaigns in Maine, Normandy, Switzerland, the Bordelais, and Brittany. His successes propelled him to the highest levels of military command and earned him many titles: advisor to the dauphin (1444), captain of Cherbourg (1450), and admiral of France (1450). He was the fifth knight to be inducted in the Order of Saint Michel by 1469.⁵

In *Le Jouvencel*, Jean de Bueil addresses a tremendous number of topics. This article will focus on marching orders and discipline not only because this topic serves as a good example of the wealth of material available in the work on the under-studied questions of the details of soldiering and soldiers' experiences in war, but also because the specific subject of marching orders has been recently discussed. In his book *Soldiers' Lives Through History: The Middle Ages*, Clifford Rogers addresses the topic of marching order both on general terms and in the context of a "small war." Rogers gives extended quotations from *Le Jouvencel* in two sections, one about raids and the other about ambushes.⁶ But much more on this subject remains to be explored in the pages of *Le Jouvencel*. In *Le Jouvencel*, Jean de Bueil tackles the subject of marching orders under

³ "... donner cœur et volenté à tous hommes, especialement à ceulx qui sieuvent les adventures merueilleuses de la guerre" (de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 1:15).

⁴ In the words of Guillaume Tringant, "... mes maistres ... ne voloient pas declarer les noms ne les lieux où les chouses ont esté faictes, ou de ceulx qui les ont faictes, il leur a convenu querir noms estranges, qui les a faict troubles; car quant de tous points ilz eussent escript les noms et les lieux, ilz l'eussent faict plus legièrement et myeux à leur plaisir; mais le sire de Bueil ... ne vouloit jamaiz qu'ils le fissent pour ce qu'il ne voloit estre loué ne magnifié devant lui-même". (... my masters did not want to tell the names nor the places where deeds were done or who did them, and had to look for strange names, which gave them trouble for it would have been easier for them and would have pleased them to tell the names and the places. But lord de Bueil did not want them to do so because he did not want to be praised or celebrated by himself) (de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 2:267).

⁵ For more biographic information, refer to the *Introduction biographique* in the first volume of *Le Jouvencel* (de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 1:i-cclxxxvii).

⁶ Clifford Rogers, *Soldiers' Lives Through History: The Middle Ages* (Westport, CT, 2007), pp. 239–41; see also pp. 5, 65, 162–63, 170–71, 178.

the umbrella of the importance of maintaining field discipline in general. In a speech, an envoy of the king instructs the Jouvencel on what is expected of him as a military commander:

... il vault que vous chevauchez tousjours en ordonnance, quelque part que vous allies, soit en paix, soit en guerre, pour duire voz gens à estre tousjours prestz. Car, quant ils l'auront de coustume, quant le besoing y viendra, ne vous ne eulx, ne travaillerez point à le faire. Car coustume rent maistre et devient nature.

(... Wherever you travel, in time of peace or in time of war, you must always ride in good order to teach your men to always be ready. That way, once they have become accustomed to this, they will do so at need without any special effort either on your part or theirs. For practice makes perfect and what we do habitually becomes second nature.)⁷

This emphasis on field discipline while traveling is not surprising if one considers that the knights and lords who led medieval armies were professional soldiers who began training in the art of war early in life. They were students of military science as well as warriors. They understood warfare as fought in their time, and more importantly, they understood questions of tactics, logistics, and field discipline. Pero López de Ayala, a fourteenth-century soldier-statesman and chronicler, wrote that good order was “the most important thing in the world for gaining an advantage over one’s enemy,” and Christine de Pisan added: “two great evils can follow from a disordered formation: one is that the enemies can more easily break into it; the other is that the formation may be so compressed that they cannot fight. Thus it is necessary to keep a formation in ranks, and tight and joined together like a wall.”⁸ Although both these admonitions were aimed at battlefield formations, the necessity for organization was also understood in terms of traveling formations.

In *Le Jouvencel* the author does not address readers directly as Christine de Pisan or Honoré Bonet do in their presentations of Vegetius’ wisdom. Rather, he uses the third person in order to divulge his knowledge. Details useful to future knights and historians alike are hidden in the narrative, where they are presented in an order pertinent to the hero’s rise to power from being a young and inexperienced *bachelier* to a shrewd commander. As an author, Jean de Bueil plays several roles within the text of *Le Jouvencel*. Although Jean de Bueil starts the storyline of *Le Jouvencel* as the narrator, he leaves this role at the beginning of the fifth chapter with one last reference to himself: “j’ay voulu prendre ...” (I had wanted to take).⁹ But Jean de Bueil continues to be present in the romance as he takes on several extra-diegetic roles. Jean uses the character of the Jouvencel (“the Youth,” the protagonist who is being, in the words of the title, “introduced to war”) to address and teach the reader in two distinct ways. Firstly, the Jouvencel delivers several speeches throughout the text. Secondly, with the

⁷ de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 2:32.

⁸ Both quoted in Clifford Rogers, “The Age of the Hundred Years War,” in Maurice Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare A History* (Oxford, 1999), p. 146.

⁹ de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 1:41.

young man Jean breaks away from the purely didactic aspects of other works of his time and provides a hero who is likeable and human, for he is not immune to making mistakes. These mistakes made by the Jouvencel are not purposeless and do indicate that the young man might not have a life of his own, as a character. When they happen, mistakes and misjudgments by the Jouvencel seem to be staged and produce intense didactic discourse as a response. They allow Jean to demonstrate what is right and what is wrong, what is to be done and what is to be avoided. Moreover, Jean de Bueil also adopts a multi-faceted persona. We are not here dealing with one particular individual character, but rather with a group of characters, whose interventions are constant throughout the text. All these characters share a common characteristic within the storyline: they all assume a didactic role. In fact, all these characters are created to fulfil a specific function in the work. This function is to help, give advice, and guide the young hero toward his goal and destiny, towards an exemplary state of knighthood, and to prevent him from making mistakes. These characters only come into the storyline as if drawn by the need for a didactic point to be made. While Jean de Bueil uses his younger self to give his public a hero to follow and emulate, the older, battle-hardened and experienced Jean, the one behind the creation of the work, also has a voice, or rather many distinct voices all defending similar ideals, in the storyline. It is in the discourse of these voices that we find the following passages, which describe in details military traveling formations.

Before studying military traveling formations found in *Le Jouvencel*, we will first focus on general rules for travel. The passages translated below are found in different parts of the work and are given here in the order in which they appear:

Use of Unarmed Scouts

Et est vray que le Jouvencel ne meltoit jamaiz nulz coureurs devant, sinon gens desarmez, qui alloient en tappinaige et en façon qu'on ne les appercevoit point à leur pover. Et se on les véoit, ilz alloient par telle manière que leurs ennemiz ne se effraioient point.

(It is true that the Jouvencel never sent scouts ahead unless they were unarmed. They would travel stealthily so that nobody would see them, if they could help it. And they went in such a way that if they were seen, they would not cause alarm among their enemies.)¹⁰

Careful Reconnaissance of Lands to be Traveled

Mais touteffoiz on doit penser, quant on chevauche une grant compagnie, qu'il en demeure tousjours derrière, et doit l'en tousjours descouvrir tout le paiz couvert avant que on passe passage, ne gué, ne boys, ne chemin creux, ne riens là où gens se puissent musser.

(When riding with a great force, one must always bear in mind the need to always hold it back [behind the scouts]. The whole country ahead must be scouted before troops go through passes, over fords, through woods, sunken lanes, and anywhere soldiers could hide.)¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid., 1:147.

¹¹ Ibid., 1:214–15.

A final general rule found in *Le Jouvencel* concerns travels in enemy territory. Jean de Bueil advises that a marching army should not leave behind any structure in the hands of enemies:

Car c'est une trop grant folie que une armée entre en ung pays pour faire guerre, et qu'il demeure derrière un passage, place ne aultre chose en la main des ennemys, de quoy ils puissent faire guerre. Pas seulement une place ne devés assiéger qu'il n'y ait au derrière riens qui vous guerroye ne qui vous puisse garder d'avoir vivres, secours et nouvelles de vos amys et que vous leur puissiez faire sçavoir des vostres.

(It is a very great folly for an army marching into a country to wage war to leave a defile, a fortress, or anything else behind in the hands of the enemies. They could use them to launch attacks. You must never besiege a city as long as there are behind you troops that could attack you, prevent you from getting supplies, help, and communicating with your allies.)¹²

After having studied general travel rules, we can now focus on military traveling formations as described by Jean de Bueil. These formations will not be presented here in the order in which they appear in the work, but in order of size, from raiding parties to marching armies. In *Soldiers' Lives Through History: The Middle Ages*, Clifford Rogers notes that "surprise was crucial to [raids] and indeed to most aspects of little war. This meant keeping secrecy as much as possible."¹³ In *Le Jouvencel* Jean de Bueil illustrates this crucial need to keep raiding parties "under the medieval radar" with many examples. When leading a raiding party, the Jouvencel makes sure that the men travel under the cover of night,¹⁴ use only rarely frequented roads or trails,¹⁵ avoid soft ground where hoof tracks could be left,¹⁶ replace hedges trampled under horses and close open gates,¹⁷ and even use a tree branch to sweep the ground and eliminate tracks.¹⁸ Moreover, these efforts to keep raiding activities secret are also reflected in the marching order adopted by raiding parties. They include an almost disproportionate percentage of men in both the vanguard and the rearguard, since they aimed to ensure the secrecy of the operation as a whole rather than the safety of the men in the main force.

1 Raiding Party Leaving

... ordonna le Jouvencel qu'il en yroit quatre devant, Gervaise Narderau et trois autres, pour ouyr et escouter s'il y avoit aucune embuche sur le pays et ces quatre seroient

¹² Ibid., 2:216–17.

Rogers, *Soldiers' Lives*, p. 238.

¹⁴ "... à celle heure l'obscurité de la nuyt nous prinst tellement que à peine voyons l'un l'autre" (de Bueil, *Jouvencel*, 1:33).

¹⁵ "Nous n'entrasmes oncques grant chemin; mais allasmes par sentiers non hantez et pou battus de marchier de gens" (ibid., 1:34).

¹⁶ "... oncques ne voullut traverse le guerret ne païs mol, de paour que on trovast nostre trace" (ibid., 1:34).

¹⁷ "... ne passasmes oncques haye, qu'il ne demourast derrière pour la relever, s'elle estoit foulée ... Et se nous ouvrions aucune heze, il la refermoit" (ibid., 1:34).

¹⁸ "il print une espine et ung grant raymeau et la traigna par dessus nostre trace, si que oncques n'y parut" (ibid., 1:34).

divisez. Car Gervaise et son compaignon iroient devant et les deux autres après environ la longueur d'un ject de pierre. Et pour estre derrière il en ordonna deux et le surplus ou mylieu, qui estoient XIX chevaux. Et fut ordonné le mareschal à être tout derrière. Et encores, pour adviser qu'il ne saillist gens entre eulx et ceulx de derrière, le mareschal fist son coustillier tenir environ deux lances derrière lui pour mieulx ouyr s'il lui venoit bruit.

(The Jouvencel commanded that four men should go in front; Gervaise Nardereau and three others. They were to listen and make sure that no ambush had been laid for them in the country. Gervaise and another man would travel a stone's throw ahead of the other two men in the vanguard. And he ordered two men to stay back as a rearguard, which left nineteen men in the middle. He ordered the Marshal to ride all the way behind the rest of them. Moreover, to ensure that no one would come between the main body and the rearguard, the Marshal had his *coustillier* [light-armed cavalryman] travel the length of two lances behind him so he could hear better if there were any sounds.)¹⁹

2 Raiding Party Returning

... en venant firent leur avant-garde de cinq homes, desquelz l'un estoit ung petit plus loin devant les autres pour escouter. Ainsi ne demourerent que dix en la principalle route, et encores de ces dix les deux furent mys derrière, pour guetter que on ne les sieuvyst.

(In front was their five-man vanguard. One man was a bit farther than the others so he could hear everything. So there were only ten men left in the main body, and of these ten, two were put behind, to make sure that they were not followed.)²⁰

3 Column of Troops

Ainsi s'acheminèrent les ennemys et emmenerent le Jouvencel et Jehannin l'archier, prisonnyers et firent leur ordonnance en ceste manière. Ils povoient bien estre cent lances et trois cens archiers avec deux cens hommes de pié ou environ. S'y mirent XX lances devant et puis tous les archiers et les gens de pié après et les prisonnyers ; et demourerent quatre vingtz lances pour faire l'arrière-garde. Et c'est une des principales subtilitez de la guerre. Quant l'en est au retour d'aucune entreprinse, on doit tousjours lessier le plus fort derrière pour resister aux survenans et aux empechemens soudains.

(Thus, the enemies left, taking the Jouvencel and Jehannin the archer as prisoners. They organized themselves in this manner. They had about one hundred lances and three hundred archers and two hundred footsoldiers. They placed twenty lances up front, followed by all the archers, and then the footsoldiers, and the prisoners. The remaining eighty lances were used to form the rearguard. This constitutes one of the finer points of war. When one comes back from an operation, one must always leave the strongest of his troops in the rear in case of any attacks or unexpected trouble.)²¹

4 Column Returning from Battle with Injured and Sick

... ils ordonnèrent leur retour en telle manière, c'est assavoir que on bailla à Gervaise quarante hommes d'armes et tous les archiers; après, le mareschal et tous les autres mallades et blechiés ou milieu, et puis les prisonnyers; et le Jouvencel estoit derrière

¹⁹ Ibid., 1:65–66.

²⁰ Ibid., 1:37–38.

²¹ Ibid., 1:73.

atout la grant bataille des lances.

(They returned thus organized: Gervaise received command of forty men-at-arms and all the archers. Then came the Marshal and all the sick and injured men in the middle. Then came the prisoners. The Jouvencel traveled behind with the main force of lances.)²²

5 Army Marching to Battle

Je suis d'oppinion que Conin s'en aille devant atout ses XXX chevaux ... et après le Mareschal de Crathor atout quarante lances ... et aprez messeigneurs les Mareschaux avec leur avant-garde; vous et vostre bataille aprez; monseigneur le Maistre des arballestriers a tout son traict en une bataille à part ... Et meisseigneurs, qui ont la charge de l'arrière-garde chevaucheront après vostre traict.

(I think that Conin should go up front with all his thirty horses, and then should come the Marshal of Crathor [Guy de Fromentières] with forty lances, and then the Marshals with their vanguard, then you [Count of Parvanchières – a character inspired by Dunois, among others] and your division, then the Master of Crossbowmen and all his missile troops should advance in a corps of their own. And the gentlemen who are in charge of the rearguard will come after the missile troops.)²³

6 Army Marching Back from Enemy Territory

... il fist monter à cheval cinquante lances que le Mareschal de Crathor mena quelque ung quart de lieue hors le logeiz, et envoya gens de toutes pars descouvrir le payz. Puis monta à cheval, luy et tous ses gens, et envoya le cappitaine de Crathor, a tout autres cinquante, droit à Crathor et, devant, grant foyson de coustilleurs et gens desarmez pour descouvrir le pays, car il ne se doubtoit plus qu'il n'avoit fait tout le voyage, et aprez le cappitaine de Crathor [Guillaume de Bressay], tous ses prisonniers et son bagaige; et puis quelque vingt-et-cinq lances que mena le cappitaine de Sardine; et puis le sire de Roqueton avecques tous les archiers; puis aprez le Jouvencel a toute ses enseignes et une bonne grosse tourbe de gens le plus serré qu'il povoit, car à l'arrivée de la place sont les grans perilz et les dangiers.

(He ordered fifty lances on horseback to follow the Marshal about a quarter of a league away from their lodgings, and he sent men in all directions to scout out the country. Then he and all his men got onto their horses. He sent the captain of Crathor with fifty other men straight to Crathor. Out in front, he set many *coustilleurs* and unarmored men to reconnoiter the land for he did not think he was safe. Behind the captain of Crathor, he put the baggage train, the prisoners, and twenty-five lances led by the captain of Sardine. Then came the lord of Roqueton [André d'Averton] with all the archers. Finally, the Jouvencel was at the end of the column, with all his flags and banners, and a great number of men, who had formed up in the closest order possible, because great dangers and perils await at the end of a journey.)²⁴

7 Army Leaving Without Having Fought Battle

Premierement, ilz mirent une avant-garde, en laquelle fut messire Ralph Bizet et messire Hemon de Rivières. Après ceste avant-garde mirent tous leurs gens de pié et leur artillerie. Apres leurs gens de pié fut le duc Baudouin et toute sa bataille. En

²² Ibid., 1:110–11.

²³ Ibid., 1:185–86.

²⁴ Ibid., 2:91–92.

l'arrière-garde fut le conte d'Orte et Guillaume Bouqueton. Ilz avoient leurs archiers et tout leur traict meslé parmy eulx; car ilz estoient deliberez de combatre à pié pour ce qu'ilz avoient peu de chevaux avecques eulx. (Car communément, en ung siège, on envoie tous les chevaux.)

(First, they formed a vanguard in which were my Lord Ralk Bizet and my Lord Hemon de Rivières. After this vanguard, they placed all their infantry and their artillery. After the infantry came Duke Baudouin and the main body of troops. The rearguard was composed of the Count of Orte and Guillaume Bouqueton. They had archers and missile troops mixed with them, for they had decided to fight on foot since they had so few horses with them since normally, when conducting a siege, one sends off all the horses.)²⁵

The study of medieval military traveling formations in *Le Jouvencel* unveils quite a sophisticated approach to marching order on the part of commanders. Traveling formations were organized according to three major factors: the number and type of troops, territories (friendly or enemy) where armies were traveling, and whether troops were leaving on or returning from an operation. We will also note that troops were primarily organized by types (infantry, men-at-arms, missile troops ...), sometimes mixed for tactical purposes, as opposed to being organized by affiliation or allegiance to certain lords. Then, within those functional subdivisions, there seems to have been further division into lordship-based or retinue-based units, at least for the men-at-arms.²⁶ Traveling troops were organized according to their effectiveness and ability to answer different threats.

One last question needs to be tackled: that of accuracy. As we have previously written, Jean de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel* was different from other military treatises because of the career of the author and its format. Although G.W. Coopland has pointed out that many passages of *Le Jouvencel* were similar to passages from *Le Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*, we must note that the descriptions of traveling forces are original to Jean de Bueil. Jean de Bueil led a successful career in the profession of arms, serving as admiral of France and advisor to the dauphin. His experience was earned first-hand, in the battlefields, ambushes, raids, and sieges of the Hundred Years War. As Coopland wrote "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is far beyond the reach of the student of any past age, but close study of *Le Jouvencel* can take us a few paces in the right direction."²⁷ These vivid descriptions of traveling troops are just one of the many details one will find in *Le Jouvencel*. Jean de Bueil covers a wide variety of topics such as education, training, knightly duties, the court, fighting techniques and strategies, politics, etc. ... Considering the author's motives for writing and his military experience, we must consider these descriptions to be some of the few and most detailed to be made available to modern historians, and a prime example of the historical value of romances.

²⁵ Ibid., 1:211–12.

²⁶ Ibid., 2:194.

²⁷ G.W. Coopland, "Le Jouvencel Revisited," *Symposium*, 5:2 (1951), p. 186.

Arms and the Art of War: The Ghentenaar and Brugeois Militia in 1477–79

J. F. Verbruggen

(Original: “Bewapening en krijgkunst: het Gentse en het Brugse gemeenteleger in 1477–1479,” *Militaria Belgica* (1984), 15–23)

(translated by Kelly DeVries)

During his reign as Duke of Burgundy, from 1467 to 1477, Charles the Bold raised a standing army that consisted of Companies of Ordinance in which the nobles as heavy cavalry formed the primary arm and were supported by infantry and artillery. Charles the Bold and his standing army were defeated twice by the Swiss in 1476, in Grandson and Murten. On 5 January 1477 at Nancy a powerful force of Swiss played a significant role in the third defeat of the duke. Charles the Bold was killed there. As at Grandson and Murten the army of the duke was not deployed for a battle, and the Swiss were able to attack them by surprise. The Burgundian heavy cavalry and their powerful artillery did not react quickly enough and the infantry was too weak. The Swiss citizen army¹ was better than the standing army of Charles the Bold, which was also much less numerous. They attacked the small vanguard with deep columns. Pikemen marched on the flanks of these columns, with pikes five meters long, followed by halbardiers and men with swords and other short weapons for hand-to-hand fighting. The long pikes served to withstand the charge of the cavalry or to kill them. Afterwards the halbardiers came forward to take the nobles out of the fight.

The attack of the deep formations was preceded by missile troops, who had bows and gunpowder weapons, and who sought protection within the columns during the melee. The attack was made at a run with three columns, which protected each others' flanks, and with one serving as a reserve. The deep column meant that it was likely to withstand an attack on its flank by a part of the heavy cavalry. In each of the three battles the Swiss attacked with superior forces on a small front. Charles the Bold's heavy cavalry were too slow to attack and were received by the large pikes. The famous artillery of the duke shot too slowly.

¹ [Translator's note]: “Volksleger” is the word used by Prof. Verbruggen here. The technical translation of this is “citizen army” rather than, as others have translated it, “militia.” However, “citizen army” has taken on a different, more political definition from the work of Victor Davis Hanson (i.e. *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* [New York, 2001]). Clearly it is not Hanson's definition that Verbruggen wishes for his “volksleger,” but it does have a different meaning from “gemeenteleger,” the word Verbruggen uses for “militia.”

They could only take out about one-tenth of the Swiss, but the rest of the thousands of Swiss made a powerful and quick charge and drove the Burgundian units apart or caused panic. The Swiss cities and villages sent an army that was twice as strong in number as that of Charles the Bold and was also far more homogenous and showed more unity than did the professional soldiers and mercenaries of the duke: Burgundians, Italians, English, Portugese and Spaniards. The Burgundians spoke Old French, Picard, and Middle Dutch, and the foreign mercenaries their own languages.

Moreover, the duke's army took too much costly baggage with them: jewels, silver, tents, diverse riches, besides the chests of gold to pay the soldiers. In the wake of defeat the financial losses were especially heavy, while the artillery was also lost.² The Swiss sought a quick end to the war. They went to meet the enemy with a large army, fought a battle and defeated their opponent. If needed, a new army was raised and a second battle followed until the defeat was decisive.

After the death of Charles the Bold, the king of France, Louis XI immediately sent his forces against the Burgundian realm. One army was sent into Burgundy, another into Picardy, Artois, Hainault and Boulogne. The daughter of Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, had insufficient numbers of soldiers to hold back the powerful army of Louis XI. Before 16 February 1477 her States General³ decided to raise a large army. The soldiers had to prepare themselves by 1 March to bring the Companies of Ordinance up to size or to form new ones. Afterwards a militia would be raised, especially in the beleaguered lands, such as Artois, Boulogne, Hainault and Flanders. Each land was to provide artillery and other guns, lead hammers and staff weapons, in particular pikes,⁴ for their defense.

Gunpowder Artillery⁵

After the death of Charles the Bold the *schepenen* of the city of Ghent⁶ suggested to Duchess Mary of Burgundy that the banners, which had been removed by Philip the Good and Charles the Bold and stored in the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe

² Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973), pp. 197–229; Vaughan, “Quelques observations sur la bataille de Nancy,” in *Cinq-centième anniversaire de la bataille de Nancy (1477): Actes du Colloque organisé par l’institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l’Université de Nancy II (Nancy, 22–24 septembre 1977)* (Nancy, 1979), p. 32; and “500 Years after the Great Battles,” *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlande*, 95 (1980), 386.

³ [Translator’s note]: This was Mary’s advisory group that largely consisted of representatives of her larger towns and cities. The Dutch of Verbruggen is “Staten Generaal,” but I have chosen to use the English equivalent rather than keeping it in the original language or using the French “Estates General.”

⁴ J. Cuvelier, J. Dhondt and R. Doehaerd, *Actes des Etats Généraux des anciens Pays-Bas*, vol. I (Acts of 1427–1477), Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, Verzameling der Handelingen van de Staten Generaal (Brussels, 1948), pp. 303–04.

⁵ Subheading added by translator.

⁶ [Translator’s note]: *Schepenen* were town councilmen.

(Notre Dame) churches in Boulogne, Halle, Alseberg and Brussels, must be returned to the service of the new militias.⁷ Willem de Necker, Master of the Ghentenaar artillery, was commanded by the *schepenen* to bring the artillery from the town of Middelburg into Flanders.⁸ Cannon, which had been lost by the Ghentenaars during their revolt against Duke Philip the Good in 1452, were also obtained from Oudenaarde.⁹ In 1477 the city of Ghent bought from Pieter Cambier, a merchant from Mons in Hainault, 11 *serpentine*s or cannon and 324 *haakbussen*, of which some weighed less than 16 kg and others only 11 kg; 4 pairs of wheels with undercarriages and trestles for the *serpentine*s; and 2,726 stones for the handguns.¹⁰ From other merchants 7 *haakbussen* and 1,692 stones for the guns were bought. In addition 615 bows and 2,694 arrows were made. For the crossbows 6,386 bolts with iron points were purchased.¹¹ In total in 1477 and the early part of 1478, sixteen *serpentine*s were bought. Some of these had lengths of between 8.5 and 12 feet, that is between 2.52 and 3.56 meters. They weighed between 518 and 1,389 pounds, or between 224 and 601 kg. Also 331 *haakbussen* were purchased. For the cannon and *haakbussen* lead balls were acquired.

In 1477 the city of Bruges obtained 10 metal¹² *serpentine*n¹³ in Middelburg. There were 65 iron handguns in the *engienhuis* of the city; 65 iron *ribauden* were stored in the gates; and 25 others equipped with roofs in the arsenal. There were 13 metal *engien*en at the gates. Elsewhere Bruges also had 3 large iron *serpentine*n and 2 *engien*en. All of these weapons were put in order and painted, and possibly the arms of the city were placed on them. There were also 220 bows bought and 1,500 arrows.¹⁴ Bruges did not have to spend a large amount on guns in 1477. But the city did spend nearly half of its annual income on the war.¹⁵

The following year the Brugeois bought many more gunpowder weapons: 129 *couleuvers*, at a price between 2 schillings 8 pennies and 4 schillings apiece for those in iron, while two bronze ones cost 7 schillings 6 pennies each; 36 *haakbussen* at a price between 4 and 10 schillings apiece, some of which were iron and some bronze. The city bought 69 iron and bronze *serpentine*n. The weight of these cannon ranged between 78 and 1,438 pounds. For the iron *serpentine*n they paid 2 groats per pound. The city delivered a number of older cannon to

⁷ Stadsarchief Gent [hereafter S.G.], *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 255v.

⁸ S.G., f. 218; and for the transportation of the pieces, f. 255v (10 April 1477).

⁹ A. Van Werveke, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis en de oudheidkunde van Vlaanderen* (Ghent, 1927), p. 59.

¹⁰ S.G., *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 284, 284v, 285v; *1477–78*, f. 145, 145v, 146.

¹¹ S.G., *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 145v–146v.

¹² [Translator's note]: When indicated as "metal," these guns were likely bronze. See Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363–1477* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 239–40.

¹³ [Translator's note]: On the types of gunpowder weapons found in the Burgundian arsenals of the time, including those mentioned here – *serpentine*n, *couleuvers*, *haakbussen*, *ribauden*, *engien*en – see Smith and DeVries, *Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy*.

¹⁴ Stadsarchief Brugge [hereafter S.B.], *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 149.

¹⁵ S.B. *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 153v: from 6219 lb. 12s. 7 ½d.gr. to 13180 lb. 2s. 3 ½d.gr.

Willem Gheeraerds, a bell-founder. These old *engienen* weighed 3,142 pounds and were melted down in order to make new pieces. The city paid two groats per pound for the melting down of the old pieces, while for the founding of new pieces and of the 360 pounds that the master himself had delivered, 4 groats per pound were paid. The bronze was purchased for 4 groats per pound. Master Willem Gheeraerds also had 15 bronze *serpentinaen* made, but three of these were broken when the pieces were being tested.¹⁶ In the following year ten more iron *serpentinaen* were purchased, among which a large one, the *Saint George*, was 17 feet long, fired a projectile weighing 12 pounds of lead, and had a weight of 5,787 pounds.¹⁷

The artillery and the portable firearms, such as the *coleuvers* and *haakbussen*, were the weapons of the future. But all contemporaries there were not yet convinced and for a long time there were still doubts as to their worth. They had already played an important role in the defense of the fortifications and were also important in the attack of a stronghold. At the same time, they were used more and more on the battlefield, but had made no major breakthrough. The cannon were not accurate, frequently missed their targets, and fired only a small number of cannonballs during a battle. They were dangerous for their own troops, from the bursting or exploding of the pieces during firing. The gunpowder itself was not dangerous to use; however, often it was set alight during its firing, resulting in all kinds of misadventure and panic, such as with the Ghentenaars at the battle of Gavere in 1453 which resulted from a spark flying into the sack of gunpowder.¹⁸ The placement of the pieces took a lot of time in a battle. The transportation of these across a great distance slowed the march of the army, required a large number of horses for transportation, and made the army column very long. In addition there were numerous problems with the narrow and bad roads and small and weak bridges. Heavy pieces were transported mostly by boat. They would be mounted for the siege of a city and could play an important role. Yet this was not such an overpowering role, as the fortifications were always built using old methods. New styles of construction were not introduced until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In a battle artillery could make breaches in the formation of their opponents. A phalanx of pikemen could be fired at, and the cannonballs were able to strike down entire ranks, causing immediate panic and flight among the soldiers. A unit of heavy cavalry would also take heavy casualties when they came under cannonfire. The heavy cavalry attacked the artillery preferably on the flanks or in the rear, or they encircled it. The artillery was protected by gunners with *coleuvres*, *haakbussen*, crossbows, and handbows. All depended naturally on the

¹⁶ S.B. *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 155–56v.

¹⁷ S.B. *Stadsrekening 1476–77*, f. 180v–81.

¹⁸ V. Fris, *La bataille de Gavre (23 juillet 1453)*, in *Bulletijn der maatschappij van geschied- en oudheidkunde te Gent*, 18 (1910), p. 216; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), p. 331; and J. J. De Smet (ed.), *Chronique des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai*, in *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, III, Commission Royale d'Histoire (Brussels, 1856), p. 518.

positioning. If the enemy was required to attack the front of a well positioned artillery, then a considerable number of soldiers would be lost. When there was room to maneuver one could take the artillery out by attacking the flanks or the rear.

Much progress had been made since cannon were used on the battlefield of Crécy in 1346. Artillery pieces were far more numerous in 1477. The large cities each had their own arsenal or *huus* with the *engienen*. In the southern Low Countries the city of Ypres had already defended itself successfully in 1383. The city magistrate had bought 59 cannon there.¹⁹ The correct number of pieces that were set up is not known, but the cannon of the defenders defeated the assaults of the English attackers several times.²⁰ Cannon were used on the battlefields of Nevele in 1381 and of Bevershoutsveld and of Westrozebeke in 1382.²¹ During the siege of Oudenaarde in 1382 the Ghentenaars under Philip van Artevelde set up a large piece for the attack,

a marvelous great bombard with a muzzle opening of 53 inches which shot quarrels of marvelous size, thick and heavy. When this bombard fired, one could hear it from five leagues away during the day and at night from ten leagues. It was as if a storm had broken loose and all the devils of hell were on their way.²²

This great bombard, which was transported by ship,²³ was taken on the campaign to Ham and Montdidier in 1411. Before the campaign it was tested at the Steendam in Ghent. The piece is written about in *La geste des ducs de Bourgogne*: “There was a bombard, named Griele; it had a larger mouth than a barrel of herrings. It fired a stone so thick that no tower, castle, or battlement, however good, could remain standing or protect a garrison.”²⁴ Next to Griele were two smaller bombards. Griele was fired with flint and steel. According to *La geste des ducs de Bourgogne*, told as a rhyming epic,²⁵ it sent the first shot so far over the city that it missed all of the inhabitants. Then the piece was set up better, to fire lower. The second stone did not fly far enough to hit the city gate, but bounced and penetrated the city wall and made two holes in a tower so that it almost toppled. Stones fell into the street, one also bouncing and killing eight people and another wounding one more. After the firing of this devil’s weapon a truce was arranged by the defenders and the following day the fortress fell into

¹⁹ A. Diegerick and O. de Kerchove, “Une page de l’histoire d’Ypres (1379–1384),” *Annales de la West-Flandre*, 2 (1862), pp. 102–16.

²⁰ Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Istore et Croniques de Flandres*, Commission royale d’histoire, II (Brussels, 1880), pp. 295, 298, 299, 302–05, 309, 313, 317–19.

²¹ de Lettenhove, *Istore et Croniques de Flandres*, pp. 242, 247; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. G. Raynaud, Société de l’histoire de France, 10 (Paris, 1897), pp. 224, 226, 375; 11, pp. 53–54; and Jehan Froissart’s *Cronyke van Vlaenderen*, trans. Gerijt Potter van der Loo, ed. N. de Pauw (Ghent, 1898), I:174, 176, 328.

²² Froissart, *Chroniques*, 10:248, and Jehan Froissart’s *Cronycke van Vlaenderen*, p. 206.

²³ Van Werveke, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, p. 57.

²⁴ *Le geste des ducs Philippe et Jehan de Bourgogne*, in *Chroniques relatives à l’histoire de ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Commission royale d’histoire, II (Brussels, 1873), p. 448, v. 6343–48. [Translator’s note: elsewhere this bombard is named “Griete.”]

²⁵ *Le geste des ducs Philippe et Jehan de Bourgogne*, p. 451, v. 454–55.

the hands of the Burgundian army.

In the history of the city of Ghent three large cannon are mentioned in the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The famous *Groot Kanon* (Great Cannon) weighed around 16,400 kg.²⁶ In 1477 and 1478 Ghent and Bruges bought cannon from Pieter Cambier from Mons in Hainault.²⁷ This city was also renowned for the cannon *Mons Meg* that can still be seen in Edinburgh. It was sent to the king of Scotland, James II, in 1457!²⁸ In Brussels between 1409 and 1411 Pasquier den Kick, the Master of Artillery of Duke Antoine of Brabant, made one of the heaviest pieces ever in the principalities of the southern Low Countries.²⁹ Jan van Mechelen worked for Philip the Good and his son. A bronze bombard made by him was captured by the Swiss at Grandson and is currently displayed in the Museum of Basel.³⁰ The new cannon were used for the defense of the fortifications and strong cities of the threatened region, and in the war fought against French troops. Cannon, handgunners and archers also played a role in the battle of Guinegate in 1479 and contributed to the victory.³¹ Yet it was another weapon that was even more important there.

Pikes and Lead Hammers

Ghentenaars purchased 300 *glavien*, each 13 feet long, the iron included, at 10 groats apiece; 300 other *glavien* had a length of 16 feet, including the iron, and cost 12 groats apiece; 12 *rijtglavien*, to be used by the cavalry, were bought for the same price. Besides these the city also bought 383 lead hammers on hafts.³² The Brugeois purchased 100 pikes of 20 feet or more in length, 200 pikes 14 feet or longer, and 300 lead hammers. The pikes measuring 20 feet cost a schilling (12 groats) apiece, those of 14 feet 10 groats apiece.³³ These were all used in 1477 by command of the States General.

During his battles against the Swiss, Charles the Bold had already seen that his infantry made the best use of the long pikes. He had archers, crossbowmen, and pikemen, but they were not numerous. The commanders of the new army in 1477, such as the count of Romont, knew from their own experience, gained in the wars against the Swiss, that the Flemish infantry could also wield long

²⁶ Van Werveke, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, pp. 57–60.

²⁷ S.G. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 284–84v; 1477–78, f. 145v–46, and S.B. *Stadsrekening, 1477–78*, f. 156.

²⁸ Claude Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes dans les anciennes principautés belges du XIII^e à la fin du XV^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, vol. 202 (Paris, 1973), p. 145.

²⁹ Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce*, p. 135.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 135–36.

³¹ [Translator's note]: Since the appearance of this article Verbruggen has published a monograph on the Battle of Guinegate, *De slag bij Guinegate, 7 augustus 1479: De verdediging van het graafschap Vlaanderen tegen de koning van Frankrijk, 1477–1480* (Brussels, 1993).

³² S.G. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 286, 287, 289.

³³ S.B. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 148.

pikes. Since 1302 Flemish burghers had always been renowned as pikemen. The pikemen stood next to other infantry armed with *goedendags* – a shorter weapon that combined both the pike and club – swords, long daggers, bills and other small hand-held weapons. They stood in the first rank and with shortened pikes faced the attacks of the cavalry. The soldiers using *goedendags* stood in the second rank and stepped into the action in order to bring the cavalry and their steeds to a standstill. The burghers with their shorter weapons, swords, long daggers, bills, and the like, stood in the latter ranks and attacked the cavalry during the hand-to-hand combat, and harassed them everywhere.³⁴ A similar tactic was used by the Swiss where the pikemen were positioned first, followed by halberdiers, and then soldiers with swords and other shorter weapons. The Scots had their pikemen and soldiers with large bills in the front, followed by men with shorter weapons for hand-to-hand combat. The infantry from these three lands therefore introduced similar arms with the same results: the attack of the cavalry had to be faced with a wall of pikes, where the fighting would take place against the cavalry and their horses; there the infantry was more numerous and each cavalry soldier could be attacked by several soldiers. From Mortgarten in 1315 to Grandson and Murten in 1476 the Swiss used tactics without any major defeats and during this time they improved them considerably. The Flemings had to fight the very powerful troops of the king of France, and the Scots against the excellent army of the king of England. It was not possible for them to always be victorious. The Swiss could count on their mountains and had to fight against enemies who were not stronger than themselves. They could follow a tactic of attack that was adapted well to a landscape that was a very difficult terrain for cavalry forces. The Flemings and the Scots remained strong with a defensive tactic, but could not develop an invincible offensive attack.³⁵ Before the beginning of the fourteenth century there is little evidence concerning the length of pikes. Perhaps they were 2 or 2.5 meters long. In the course of the fourteenth century they became longer, just as the nobles' lances did, and in the middle of the fifteenth century the lances of the cavalry and the pikes of the infantry were practically the same length. In the time of Charles the Bold the lance of a man-at-arms, the heavy cavalryman, was 12 to 14 feet long.

Flemish pikemen were famous and infamous. In March 1471 there were 4,000 to 5,000 in the army of the Duke of Burgundy at Amiens. They wore iron helmets, thick cloth-covered jacks as armor, and carried swords and pikes or lances with a thin shaft and a long and sharp iron head with sharp edges on three sides. They were named pikemen because they were able to wield a pike better than

³⁴ J. F. Verbruggen, *1302 in Vlaanderen: De guldensporenslag*, Centrum voor militaire geschiedenis, Bijdragen, 13 (Brussels, 1977), pp. 44–45.

³⁵ Verbruggen, *1302 in Vlaanderen*; J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages from the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn, trans. S. Willard and R.W. Southern (Woodbridge, 1997), [1977 edn, p. 147]; and J.F. Verbruggen, *De krijgkunst in west-Europa in de middeleeuwen (IXe tot XIVe eeuw)*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Verhandeling nr. 20 (Brussels, 1954), p. 281.

other soldiers. They were recruited from villages of the county of Flanders. The pikes were efficient staff-weapons so that pikemen could be placed in between two archers, in order to protect them from the attack of the heavy cavalry. They also knew how to maneuver with them, in order to hit the enemy soldiers in the flank and to stick their pikes in their sides. Moreover, no armor they faced was strong enough to resist the pike; one could penetrate or dent it.³⁶ The tactic, where a pikeman was placed in between two archers, was a means of protecting the archers, and – in making a unit stronger and safer – encouraging them. They served in the core of Charles the Bold's army, in which the heavy noble cavalry were the chief arm and were supported by archers and artillery.

The pikemen could be placed tightly next to each other in the formation, with the archers placed in front of them and on the flanks. One solution might be better than the other depending on the number of archers and pikemen one had and on what general formation they were accustomed to. The nobles commanded that the archers and pikemen in their service must stand, as secondary arms to the rest of the army, and not operate independently. It was more efficient to form a strong unit of pikemen than to place them among the archers.

To provide the Flemish infantry with a better weapon in 1477, the States General gave orders to make longer pikes. The city of Ghent had 600 new pikes made, Bruges 300, in addition to 300 or more lead hammers that could be wielded by hand. At Ghent a small unit of pikemen marched first to the threatened border on 4 April.³⁷ On 9 May the militia marched to Spiere in order to protect the border of Flanders from the French garrison at Tournai. The Ghentenaar militia numbered 1,587 soldiers, the *schepenen*, their retinues and handgunners, included.³⁸ The first Brugeois contingent consisted of 101 *Rode Kaproenen*, 1,158 to 1,186 artisans, 93 *schepenen*, counselors, artillery personnel, and handgunners. The march of 17 May was also to Spiere.³⁹ Certainly the other cities of Flanders also followed the orders of the States General and provided themselves with new staff weapons, especially pikes, lead hammers and artillery.

The old weapon, the pike, had again become important through the tactics of the Swiss and their victories, in which the pikemen played an important role. The 16 to 20 foot length of the pike always followed the example of the Swiss, and because of this pikemen could offer better resistance to the heavy cavalry of Louis XI. The French soldiers faced greater danger from these long weapons. While some ranks of pikemen were placed in the vanguard, others were taken

³⁶ Jean de Waurin, *Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, ed. W. Hardy, E.L.C.P. Hardy, 5 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1864–91), I:625–26.

³⁷ S.G. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 289v–290. [Translator's note]: In the original articles this was S.B. but in a communication with J. F. Verbruggen he changed this reference to S.G.

³⁸ S.B. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 283, 283v, 291, 291v, 297, and Jean de Dadizeele, *Mémoires*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Société d'Emulation (Bruges, 1850), p. 8.

³⁹ S.B. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 144v and ff. The calculation is made on the basis of pay: S.B. *Stadsrekening, 1476–77*, f. 150–150v. [Translator's note]: The *Rode Kaproenen* were Bruges' policing force, similar to the *Witte Kaproenen* which had distinguished themselves in fourteenth-century wars.

out of the battle formation to keep the cavalry from penetrating the line. The archers, who fought in the vanguard, could also take refuge under the long pikes. A large number of pikemen could take part in the combat.

The 5 to 6 meter-long pike with a steel head on an ash pole also had some disadvantages. In man-to-man combat the pike was very difficult to wield. The long pole shook terribly, and there was no perfect way of holding it. It had to be used in a thick formation, where the close mass of infantry held the enemy cavalry out, or to make an attack on an opponent's infantry and cavalry. The formation of the pikemen came after the archers and the artillery, in order to assist and relieve them. The long pikes brought new problems with them. The carrying, raising and lowering of these weapons had to be performed by everyone at the same time and in the same direction, once two or more ranks of pikemen stood behind each other in the formation. If the pikes crossed and became entangled with each other, the situation became very dangerous for the unit when the enemy was nearby and made use of this disorder. The confusion led to demoralization. During the march and especially in a disciplined retreat, they must know how to form a front quickly and lower their pikes. Regular drill did not exist in 1477. The soldiers had to learn during a campaign, on the march and on the battlefield.

Mary of Burgundy and her advisors had a responsibility to protect her people, because the standing army was too small. Many fortifications and cities needed to be protected, so that the soldiers of the standing army were spread throughout a number of fortresses, and there were insufficient troops left over to form an army that could fight against the French army, or to prevent raids. One can determine the numbers. In November 1477 inside the borders there were 800 lances and archers of the new Ordinances⁴⁰ of Archduke Maximilian.⁴¹ At Guinegate in 1479 there were 825 lances, thus 825 nobles who fought as men-at-arms or heavy cavalry in the army and 825 *costellieren*, who formed the light cavalry, as well as 11,000 pikemen and infantry with other weapons, and 3,300 archers, crossbowmen, arquebusiers, and *coulevriniers*.⁴² The number of pikemen and common infantry was much larger, the number of archers and cavalry much smaller than in the army of Charles the Bold. In the latter's standing army of 1471 there were 1,250 pikemen, 1,250 men-at-arms, 1,250 *costellieren*, 3,750 mounted

⁴⁰ [Translator's note]: This refers to Ordinances determining recruitment and organization instituted by Maximilian of Austria. They were based on several similar Ordinances made by Mary's father, Charles the Bold, between 1468 and 1473 which formed what became known as "companies of ordinance." See Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973), pp. 205–20.

⁴¹ Louis Quarré, purchaser of artillery, paid 19,840 pounds per month for the 800 lances and the archers of the new Ordinances on the borders, 26 November 1477: Lille, Archives du département, B 2114/68273.

⁴² J. F. Verbruggen, "Vlaamse gemeentelegers tegen Franse ridderlegers in de 14de en 15de eeuw," *Revue Belge d'histoire militaire*, 24 (1981), 370. (This article has been translated by Kelly DeVries as "Flemish Urban Militias Against the French Cavalry Armies in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, I (2003), 145–69.)

archers, 1,250 *coulevriniers* and 1,250 crossbowmen on foot.⁴³ In an army of 10,000 soldiers there were thus 1,250 pikemen. Following the Ordinances of 13 November 1472 there were to be 2,000 in an army of 9,600 soldiers.⁴⁴ In 1473 there were expected to be 2,200 pikemen in an army of 17,000 combatants.⁴⁵ In May 1476 Charles the Bold had more than 12 companies of ordinance, with 1,212 men-at-arms and 2,704 mounted archers. He had 4 companies of infantry with 3,709 men, and his bodyguard consisted of 490 men-at-arms, 790 mounted archers and 736 infantry.⁴⁶ In total there were 4,445 infantry, among which there were maybe 1,481 pikemen. After his two defeats against the Swiss, Charles the Bold made certain concessions to Panigarola, the ambassador of the duke of Milan. He hoped to put an army of 2,000 lances together. Of the 1,600 lances that fought at Murten on 22 June there were 1,000 saved, including 200 nobles. They were to bring in as many as 2,000 during the following weeks and months. Of this number half would fight on foot when the army again faced the Swiss. Each lance was formed by a man-at-arms, three archers, three pikemen with long pikes, and three *coulevriniers* and crossbowmen. This formed a large infantry corps of 10,000 men, the same as the Swiss. The remaining 1,000 lances were to be on horseback, with 5,000 mounted archers and the rest of the army and the camp. With this army, also counting the artillery and the camp-followers, 30,000 men in total, the duke wished to remain in the field and to show that he could still put up a fight.⁴⁷ One half of the army was thus on foot, and the other half on horse. But normally the mounted archers would dismount before a battle. If this happened the Duke had only 1,000 men-at-arms on horseback and 15,000 men on foot. Among these were 3,000 pikemen, with perhaps a couple of hundred pikemen in the bodyguard. However, the duke there did not achieve his wishes. Nobles around him, among them the count of Romont, reckoned that the number of pikemen had to be increased, and that they, following the example of the Swiss, had to use long pikes. The militia of Ghent, Bruges, the Brugse Vrije, Courtrai, and Wervik were prematurely raised for a campaign against Tournai. The duke of Guelders commanded the troops but he suffered a terrible defeat

⁴³ Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen-âge en Europe et dans le proche orient*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), II:115; Charles Brustén, "La fin des compagnies d'ordonnance de Charles le Téméraire," in *Cinq-centième anniversaire de la bataille de Nancy (1477): Actes du Colloque organisé par l'institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy II (Nancy, 22–24 septembre 1977)* (Nancy, 1979), pp. 363–64; and Charles Brustén, "L'armée Bourguignonne de 1465 à 1477," *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, 20 (1959), 458–59, 462–64.

⁴⁴ Lot, 2:115.

⁴⁵ Brustén, "La fin des compagnies d'ordonnance de Charles le Téméraire," p. 363 and Charles Brustén, *L'armée bouguignonne de 1465 à 1468* (Brussels, 1954), pp. 459–62.

⁴⁶ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 221, 385, and Vaughan, "500 Years after the Great Battles," pp. 379–80.

⁴⁷ F. de Gingins la Sarraz, *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais sur les campagnes de Charles le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, de 1474 à 1477* (Paris, 1858), 2:360; Lot, *L'art militaire*, 2:125; and E. von Frauenholz, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des freien Söldnertums*, I: *Das Heerwesen der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft, in Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Heerwesens*, vol. 2, part 1 (Munich, 1936), p. 75 n. 4.

and was killed. The burghers still had no experience in warfare. Their shameful flight at Tournai and later in the camp of Spiere led to their replacement by mercenaries, cavalry and infantry.⁴⁸

But in other campaigns during the years of 1477, 1478 and 1479 the burghers gained the necessary experience in war. This was clear on 7 August 1479 at Guinegate. The French army was formed from 2,000 complete lances, or 2,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 *costellieren*, 4,000 mounted crossbowmen of the Ordinance, and 8,000 handgunners or infantry. In total there were 2,000 heavy cavalry, 2,000 light cavalry, 12,000 infantry and a number of cannon. Maximilian of Austria's army consisted of 825 heavy cavalry, 825 light cavalry, 300 English longbowmen, 3,000 archers, crossbowmen, arquebusiers and *coulevriniers*, and 11,000 Flemish pikemen sent from the County, supported by a number of cannon. Both armies were evenly numbered, around 16,000 men.⁴⁹ The battle took place at Bomy, to the south of today's Einguinegate and Th erouanne. In both armies archers were placed in the vanguard, together with the artillery. Two units, formed by the 11,000 Flemish pikemen, stood somewhat behind the archers and cannon. On the wings were positioned the 825 lances with the heavy and light cavalry. The commander of the French army, Philippe de Cr ev ec eur, attacked these with two strong flanks of heavy cavalry, more numerous than the Burgundians, who were very quickly driven to flight. Cr ev ec eur made a very tough pursuit of these with a part of his cavalry. The rest of the French cavalry, 4,000 archers, 8,000 infantry and artillery fought against the archers, cannon, and infantry of Maximilian. The French cavalry attempted to scatter the two units of Flemish pikemen, but their attacks were stopped by the long pikes of the Flemings, who fought particularly bravely, while their own standing army was being driven to flight. After an hour-long fight the French were on the verge of success in capturing the artillery of Maximilian. Then the count of Romont gave his pikemen the command to charge. He marched at the head of the Flemings, first encountering the pikemen under the count of Nassau, and afterwards driving the French troops, cavalry and infantry, backwards, he overran their cannon and took the French baggage left in the camp of his opponent. While he was scattering the enemy, his own cavalry returned to the battlefield and went in pursuit of the French army. It was a splendid triumph, in which credit for victory belonged to the 11,000 pikemen and the gunners who stood by them. The Flemish pikemen had with their long pikes followed the example of the Swiss and shown that they could also change their tactics. Early on they fought on the defensive, but afterwards they changed over to the offensive.⁵⁰ Maximilian would use this experience to set up his unit of landsknechts, which also adopted the Swiss technique and formed a standing army made up of infantry. The Swiss and the landsknechts made certain that the pikemen were the foremost arm of the military next to the heavy cavalry. Gradually the infantry became the most powerful part

⁴⁸ Verbruggen, "Vlaamse gemeentelegers tegen Franse ridderlegers," p. 367.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁵⁰ Verbruggen, "Vlaamse gemeentelegers tegen Franse ridderlegers," pp. 372–74.

of the army in place of the cavalry. The pike as a weapon played an important role in the sixteenth century and was also in use until 1705. Then the pike was replaced by the flintlock gun with a bayonet. The crossbow had in the meantime disappeared from the French army in 1567, while the English used their famous great bow or longbow until 1595.

Accounting for Service at war: the case of Sir James Audley of Heighley

Nicholas Gribit

The military retinues that formed the Plantagenet armies during the first phase of the Hundred Years War (1337–60) were raised during a period of transition in terms of the methods of recruitment used and the means by which they were administered.¹ The focus of this article is a document that illustrates the difficulties of determining the payment due to soldiers of various ranks in the earlier part of the war and other variants of military organization such as duration of service, shipping and travel to points of muster, amongst other things, for service on an expedition not led by the king in person and more specifically, when the royal wardrobe was not present. The logistics involved in raising a force of any size brought about the system of indentures of service which had fully matured by the middle of the century; the extent of its advantages is reflected by the success of the English government in sending multiple armies simultaneously to the Continent to wage the extraordinarily effective multi-front warfare that compelled the French to accept the crippling Treaty of Brétigny in 1360.

The document that will be transcribed, translated, and analyzed below is a set of particulars of account produced in connection with the service of Sir James Audley of Heighley's contingent in the army Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, led to Gascony in 1345. This document shows the advantages of a fully contract army, and also illustrates a stage in the profound changes in the recruitment, structure, and general character of Edwardian armies.² There are problems with the distinguishing of James Audley from his homonyms, and in particular from his relative Sir James Audley, KG, hero of Poitiers.³ Lord Audley can be clearly

¹ I am grateful to Andrew Ayton, Philip Morgan and P. H. W. Booth, Adrian Bell and Clifford J. Rogers in particular, whose many useful comments and suggestions have helped me find the right path. Any errors are entirely my own responsibility.

² The National Archives (London), E 101/24/20. The document defines itself as the "particulars of the account" which contains a detailed list of names, and therefore "nominal list" is a more accurate term to use.

³ See Michael Jones, "Audley, Sir James (c.1318–1369)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2005. For an example of mistaking the Staffordshire baron for his namesake who served at Poitiers, see Colin Platt, *Medieval England: a Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to A.D. 1600* (London, 1978), p. 110.

identified in the sources of this period when he is called either “banneret” or “Lord of Heighley,” otherwise some ambiguity must remain. His father’s marriage to the dowager countess of Lincoln cemented existing ties between the house of Audley and the Lancaster affinity. Sir James’s political and social influence and military standing largely derived from his inheritances, which combined the major baronies of Audley and Martin: he was a parliamentary baron as well as being a ward and son-in-law of Roger Mortimer, earl of March.⁴

In the text and translation I have endeavored to illuminate the complexities and ambiguities of the particulars of account. Without succumbing to the danger of simplifying the document, it seems to be the case that Audley did not himself go on the expedition with Grosmont in 1345. The absence of any reference to Audley in a sealed bill attached to the particulars, which state that Sir John Tromwyn “came on behalf of James Audley” indicates that the banneret did not lead his force as was intended.⁵ It seems Tromwyn was promoted to company leader and took the place of Audley, whose failure to campaign overseas may be the reason for the Staffordshire baron’s summons to the king’s council, which he failed to attend, subsequently leading to his arrest being sought in 1348.⁶

According to Kenneth Fowler, James Audley did not receive an advance of wages in 1345.⁷ The document analyzed here makes it clear, however, that the Staffordshire baron was not only in receipt of a prest, but also that almost the entire advance payment had to be repaid as a result of his failure to go on the campaign to Gascony. The repayment of prests was not unknown, of course, but the striking feature of this document is the unusual length of time needed to resolve the matter.⁸ It took no fewer than seventeen years before the exchequer

⁴ George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, 1 (London, 1887), pp. 198–99.

⁵ A king’s writ in the King’s Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls states that the prest was “de vadiis suis et hominum suorum.” Thus, Audley was expected to serve with his men: see TNA, E 159/139.

⁶ George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new rev. edn ed. V. Gibbs, 1 (London, 1910), p. 339.

⁷ Fowler gives no source reference to his claim that “Mauny, Stafford and Audley do not appear to have received any advances,” which contradicts the extant nominal list and the later enrolments. Kenneth Fowler, *The King’s Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361* (London, 1969), p. 224. The former document explicitly states the sum “received from the exchequer of the Lord King for a prest made to him [Audley] on the sixteenth day of April.” See the document, below.

⁸ In general terms a prest may be defined as a loan that enables a captain to pay his men in advance, which both facilitates recruitment and ensures they will have sufficient money to outfit themselves properly for service. The fact that prests were given to men performing feudal service during the thirteenth century suggests that the payment was indeed a loan, however, by the mid-fourteenth century and in the instance of Lord Audley, the prest is a payment in advance that has to be accounted for in the future, either by the recipient showing that it has been spent in the way approved or, if not, repaid. For examples of the function of a prest in the thirteenth century see Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, Faber, 1972), p. 73; idem, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, CT, 1996), p. 86. For the “strict usage of the king’s wardrobe” in the

finally closed Audley's account, and this reflects the level of pressure exerted on the exchequer and the difficulty of managing the finances of a campaign when the experienced officials of the royal wardrobe were not present. Such administrative pressure may have acted as a catalyst and added impetus towards the use of indentures as the normal method of recruitment from 1356. Audley's particulars of account are, therefore, important evidence produced during a period of transition in military recruitment, which acts as a signpost towards the development of English armies being fully administered through the indenture system.

As a retinue captain who belonged to the upper stratum of the landowning gentry class in Staffordshire, Cheshire, Pembroke and Devonshire, James Audley of Heighley was responsible for raising a large contingent of forty men-at-arms and forty archers to join the expedition to Gascony in the spring of 1345. He was one of several captains who provided forces to participate in the expedition led by Henry of Grosmont, in his attempt to regain control of key areas in the duchy of Aquitaine.⁹ The document lists the military personnel involved and is probably richer and more revealing than most other source types. A nominal list of this type provides us with a fuller insight into the organization of war than do limited sources such as pardons or letters of protection, or even *vadia guerre*. It is uncommon for muster rolls to survive from the first phase of the Hundred Years War but an abundance of extant nominal lists such as the particulars of Audley's account can be found in The National Archives in London.¹⁰ Such a list of troops does not limit our insight into the organization of war by focusing solely upon men-at-arms or those of higher status as horse appraisal lists do, and it is not biased towards a particular section of the military community, unlike the post-campaign pardons that tended to be sought after by the lawless elements of society, or letters of protection which almost exclusively were acquired by the landowning classes, and indeed disproportionately by those with large estates.¹¹ The document edited and translated below provides a full list of

fourteenth century, making a distinction between loans, which normally had to be repaid, and prests, which normally did not, see Thomas Frederick Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England. The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920–33), 5:346 n. 4.

⁹ For events of Henry of Grosmont's first campaign in the duchy of Aquitaine, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 53–66. For a revised and more detailed account of Grosmont's generalship during the expedition, see Clifford J. Rogers, "The Bergerac Campaign (1345) and the Generalship of Henry of Lancaster," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, II (2004), 80–110.

¹⁰ From "the early to mid fourteenth century ... there are but a handful of surviving muster records." Regarding the rarity of extant muster rolls see Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 166. A scan of The National Archives List and Index 35: List of Exchequer Accounts, Various, "Army, Navy and Ordinance" section shows that a great many particulars of account were preserved during the pre-1360 period.

¹¹ Pardons were often sought after just as insurance by men of status who were not lawless. Although Hewitt asserts that among the recipients of pardons during the first phase of the Hundred Years War, "the proportion of murderers ... is considerably above three quarters," he is presumably assuming that anyone who was pardoned for murder was a murderer, which

names of mounted archers and men-at-arms as well as the name of the knight who seems to have acted as Audley's deputy.¹²

A series of such lists from different campaigns can allow us to follow a soldier's career through his service in several retinues, or it may highlight the loyalty of a retainer to a single captain.¹³ In this way we see Thomas de Wetonhale of Dorfold who was part of Audley's retinue in 1345 later serving in Ireland under the duke of Clarence.¹⁴ Although we can see the change of company in which he served, any profits gained from war are undetectable in the particulars; nonetheless, the document can show social advancement (for example rise from archer to man-at-arms, or esquire to knight), as in the horse inventories and the related *restor equorum*. Even the richest of sources, such as a muster roll, may not reveal the names of all those who took up arms under the command of a retinue captain or reveal anything of any subsequent changes whilst on campaign – but the process of linking several items of information from sources of different origins can yield significant results. The use of multiple documents through “nominal record linkage” helps construct the careers of individual soldiers.¹⁵ It is in this way that the real benefits of sources for the organization of war come to life.

Only through appreciating the intricacies of medieval accounting methods can the difficulties caused by settling Audley's financial obligations be illuminated. What initially appears to be an accounting minefield is, in fact, a rich and enlightening source in terms of what it tells us about company composition, amongst other things. Medieval documents are often problematic and frustratingly incomplete, but the particulars of Audley's wages have been preserved in their entirety. The document was probably produced by one of Audley's household clerks and the version that we see is likely to have been presented to the upper exchequer for auditing. The numerous changes and inaccurate calculations evident throughout the document indicate that it has been extensively amended during the course of the audit process, and they are probably the result of dis-

seems very unlikely. See Herbert James Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338–62* (Manchester, 1966), p. 30.

¹² A. E. Prince regards John Trumwyn as being Audley's “deputy” and he does seem to fulfil the role of a company leader, taking the retinue to the point of embarkation and returning with the troops to Heighley castle. Prince makes an error in transcribing Trumwyn's name as “John Crumwayn.” See A. E. Prince, “The Payment of Army Wages in Edward III's reign,” *Speculum*, 19:2 (1944), 153 n. 5.

¹³ The surnames of 40% of men-at-arms and 40% of archers listed in the particulars of account are referenced in “The Soldier in Later Medieval England” online database which holds service records taken from muster rolls for the years 1369–1453. See www.medievalsoldier.org.

¹⁴ Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277–1403* (Manchester, 1987), p. 134.

¹⁵ Andrew Ayton, “Edward III and the English Aristocracy at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War,” in M. Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), p. 205. For discussion on “military service prosopography” see Andrew Ayton, “The English Army at Crécy,” in A. Ayton and P. Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005).

cussions between the exchequer officials and Audley's staff, or perhaps Audley himself.¹⁶ The subsequent enrolments in the pipe roll of figures relating to the payment for Audley's force in 1345 prove that the account underwent further amendments before it was officially accepted in 1361.¹⁷ The nature of such changes highlights the workings of the administrative machinery, but does little to explain the ten years it took for the document to reach the audit proper after Audley undertook to participate in the expedition to Gascony.¹⁸ A firm grasp of wardrobe and exchequer accounting practices and a careful understanding of the roles fulfilled by different departments may reveal the level of efficiency obtained by the auditing process.

Despite the auditors' augmented staff in its foreign accounts department,¹⁹ the exchequer's problems with arrears of accounting at the beginning of Edward III's reign do not appear to have improved by the time of the 1345 Gascon expedition. The strain on the exchequer was compounded by the voluminous and regular financial statements rendered by the wardrobe ready for audit. The long delays and complications that seem to be characteristic of the administrative system are still evinced in the accounts of the king's last expedition in 1359–60.²⁰ The flexibility between departments that seemed particularly evident during wartime is reflected by their attempt to make "strenuous and on the whole successful efforts to keep the armies in the field efficient and contented."²¹ Such harmonious practice had earlier been demonstrated during Edward III's Scottish wars when the exchequer moved northwards to York, forming the base of the king's operations, while the wardrobe followed the court and army, acting as an executive agent in the field.

The accounting process during the period in which Audley's payment of wages was waiting to be audited may have been hindered further by the financial problems faced by the crown. A strain on the country's and Edward III's financial resources may have been precipitated by the extravagant rates of pay, at double the usual wages, offered to encourage recruitment for the Cambrésis-Thiérache campaign, and a much greater problem of the crippling sums due for subsidies to Edward's allies in 1338–40.²² The extent to which the crown's finances became

¹⁶ See notes on text below.

¹⁷ See TNA, E 372/206 rot. 34 m. 2. The sum of £12 remains in Audley's debt, no further enrolments of his account can be found in the Pipe Rolls after 1361.

¹⁸ See TNA, E 372/201 rot. 31 m. 2. The payment of wages is first enrolled in the pipe rolls dated Michaelmas 1355–Michaelmas 1356.

¹⁹ See Tout, *Chapters*, 4:93.

²⁰ For accounting complexities that arose from the dual wardrobe established during the Reims campaign see, Tout, *Chapters*, 4:140–44; Nicholas Gribit, "Sources for the Organization of War: The Gascon Expedition, 1345 and the Reims Campaign, 1359" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 2006), pp. 5–16; for a full account of *vadia guerre* see; TNA, E 101/393/11, 79r.–116v.

²¹ For the government departments' collaboration in raising a contractual field army, see M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 168–69.

²² See A. E. Prince, "The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III," *English*

increasingly stretched during wartime is demonstrated, for example, by the growing arrears of pay due to William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, in 1347.²³ This suggests it may have been a combination of an overloaded administrative machine, inundated with accounts waiting to be audited, and a lack of financial resources, as well as disputes over figures, which delayed reimbursement to captains.

The surviving records of the royal household administration from 1337 onwards are more detailed and rich in comparison with those produced during the first ten years of Edward III's reign.²⁴ The wardrobe derived its income from the exchequer but, when wardrobe expenses exceeded the sum received by the exchequer of receipt and accounts, the difference was largely covered by loans and funds from the sale of royal lands. When the army was not led in the field by the king in person, expenses for campaigns rarely enter into the wardrobe accounts. Therefore, it is the household and other accounts of the magnates, such as the earl of Derby and Sir James Audley, that, where they have survived, help us interpret and appreciate the limits of what the royal documents reveal in terms of war costs.²⁵ Household accounts of the nobility also reveal what participation in warfare cost *them* and why they might have more, or less, inclination to serve during different periods, and why monarchs needed their active cooperation in order to be successful.²⁶

The account begins with Audley's acknowledgement of the receipt from the exchequer of a prest, or advance payment for the wages of his soldiers. This was initially given in the document as amounting to £576 19s. but for some reason not given explicitly, this was reduced to £443 12s. 6d. The initial reduction of the prest charged to Audley in the particulars of account is an advantage to the captain, as he no longer has to answer for a sum of £133 6s. 6d. This sum probably represents a quarter year *regard*, calculated at the quarterly rate of £100 for thirty men-at-arms, which Audley would have received had he gone on the Gascony expedition. Thus, Audley would have been entitled to a *regard* worth £133 6s. 8d., which would explain the prest differential of £133 6s. 6d. with the 2d. difference probably being the result of an accounting error.²⁷

Historical Review, 46 (1931), 362. See also Clifford J. Rogers, *War, Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 133 n. 33.

²³ James Ross, "Never Mind Agincourt – The Battles of Crecy and Poitiers," *The National Archives, Memris Update*, 1:9 (London, 2006), 4. In 1347 financial strain resulted from the expenses and administrative workload generated by the extraordinarily extended effort of the Crécy–Calais campaigns and the simultaneous operations in northern England, in Brittany, in Flanders, and in Aquitaine.

²⁴ The outbreak of war placed new demands on Wardrobe staff and thus "more detailed records are accessible." See Tout, *Chapters*, 4:83.

²⁵ Henry of Grosmont was created earl of Derby in 1337, earl of Lancaster in 1345, and duke of Lancaster in 1351. See Tout, *Chapters*, 4:82–112.

²⁶ The creation of Grosmont as the first earl of Derby in the same year as the outbreak of the Hundred Years War is more than a coincidence.

²⁷ In 1345 Lancaster received a *regard* of £3333 6s. 8d. for five hundred men-at-arms for two quarter-year's service (Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 230), which is an exact proportional match

In the next section, Audley lists the sums he is due in wages for men-at-arms and archers, and for passage and re-passage of his retinue's horses, to offset his debt. However, the document shows that he was not allowed to claim the full sums that he originally wished to be discharged for. The costs which the exchequer refused to accept were his men's wages on their journeys from Heighley to the muster-point, and from Gascony home, and the expenses for shipping the retinue's horses to Gascony and back. Moreover, the exchequer allowed only 3d. per day for his archers' wages, rather than the 6d. he claimed. These reductions were a serious disadvantage to him as they represented money that he claimed he had spent on expenses authorized by the exchequer.²⁸ It was perhaps this dispute that led to the ten years' delay in rendering the account at the exchequer, prior to the continuous view of accounts from 1355 onwards. It seems the officials of the upper exchequer rejected Audley's claim to discharge the entire prest, and thus the remainder of £253 10s. was entered in the pipe roll in 1360.²⁹ This remaining balance of the enrolled account is close to the sum that Audley's discharge was reduced by in the *particuli compoti*.³⁰ The reduction of costs for the retinue's travel to the assembly point at Southampton, as well as the return leg, the passage costs and the archers' wages total £256, which is close to the remaining debt that Audley owes to the Crown, and suggests the auditors rejected part of the discharge. The evidence in the *particuli* and the pipe rolls is not conclusive regarding the amount that was finally discharged from Audley's account as a *quietus* is never recorded in the pipe roll. This implies that the enrolled account was fudged to reflect the desired outcome by arbitrarily reducing the amount of his initial prest. These particulars of account therefore suggest that the enrolled records we usually rely on must be used with somewhat more caution than is generally realized, since they may incorporate a layer of distortion or filtering that we cannot see.³¹ On the premise that the amended prest is accepted, the final records suggest that Audley had recruited forty foot archers, but the *particuli* indicates that he actually provided mounted archers. The pipe roll and other

for the £166 13s. 4d. received for one quarter term of service for fifty men-at-arms in John Beauchamp's terms for the garrison of Calais in 1356 (TNA, C 76/34, m. 18 d.) This same quarterly rate of £100 for thirty men-at-arms was used by the exchequer in this instance of James Audley. This rate of regard is contrary to the "standard quarterly rate ... 100 marks for the service of thirty men-at-arms," Ayton, *Knights*, p. 110, also see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 86.

²⁸ For accounting methods, see P. H. W. Booth and A. D. Carr eds., *Account of Master John de Burnham the Younger, Chamberlain of Chester, for the Revenues of the Counties of Chester and Flint, 1361–62* (Stroud, 1991), ch. 2; P. H. W. Booth, *The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272–1377*, Chetham Society, 3rd ser., 28 (Manchester, 1981); Mabel Mills, *The Pipe Roll for 1295, Surrey Membrane, Pipe Roll 140* (London, 1924); G. L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975); J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris (eds), *The English Government at Work* (Massachusetts, 1947–50).

²⁹ See TNA, E 372/205 rot. 24 m. 2.

³⁰ Particulars of account are the draft details of a document waiting for submission to audit.

³¹ The difference in pay between forty mounted archers and forty foot archers for the duration of their service is similar to the reduction of the original prest.

enrolments of accounts show how much was paid back into the treasury and a balance was struck, but the records shed little light on the intricate alterations and deletions which resulted from claims by agents in both camps at royal and magnate level. Thus, by the time the accounts are finally entered on the pipe roll a whole process of negotiation, claim and counter-claim may have taken place that normally would not leave any evidence behind.

James Audley's account is first enrolled in the pipe roll sometime during the financial year Michaelmas 1355–Michaelmas 1356. The receipt of £591 10s. represents the revenue that Audley is charged to answer for, as the system operated on the charge/discharge principle, and shows an increase on the initial prest recorded in the particulars of account.³² Although £338 3s. 2d. was credited to his account for tallies (representing Crown debts) he had provided to the treasury he still had to answer for the remainder.³³ So how could Audley prove that he had provided the services for which he was claiming reimbursement? It is likely that some sort of record was made of the receipt of their wages by the soldiers – one of Audley's clerks or, perhaps, John Tromwyn may have performed this duty. The sealed bill attached to the draft payment was probably produced by Grosmont's administration and confirms the size and length of service of the force for which the prest was made, but it does not indicate the rates of pay that each soldier took. The salient feature of the payment's first enrolment in the pipe rolls is the charge made to Audley. The enrolled sum total of expenses is higher than the sum total recorded in the particulars of account, which indicates that the particulars' total of expenses was not the final figure accepted by the exchequer who must eventually have allowed the archers the higher rate of pay Audley had claimed.³⁴

The crown's military pay structure remained fairly constant throughout the fourteenth century, although the soldiers' rates of pay fluctuated occasionally, depending upon the theatre of war and the relative appeal of active service.³⁵ Unusually high rates of pay were offered for the king's expedition in 1338, at a time when parts of the military community, according to Ayton, were yet to be "remilitarized."³⁶ The standard pay structure was employed during the 1345 ex-

³² See TNA, E 372/201 rot. 31 m. 2.

³³ See TNA, E 372/205 rot. 24 m. 2. "In thesauro CCCxxxviii li. iiii. iid. tallii Et debet CClviii li. x s." Audley has discharged the majority of the prest, having repaid £338 3s. 2d. in the treasury, either in money, or in tallies.

³⁴ See trans. below n. 3; the particulars' sum of expenses was based on the archers taking 3d. per day, but the final charge of £591 10s. in the enrolled accounts suggests the archers were allowed the original fee of 6d. per day. The laborious effort of having to discharge a sum piecemeal, up to ten years after it was made, highlights the financial predicament of retinue captains.

³⁵ A higher wage rate was offered to John of Gaunt in 1369 if his "army became besieged or reduced to straitened circumstances"; for standard rates of pay see A. E. Prince, "The Indenture System under Edward III," in J. G. Edwards et al. (eds), *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 291–92.

³⁶ The term "re-militarization," used by Andrew Ayton, concerns the new attitudes of the traditional military class towards warfare during the Hundred Years War. On the historiographical

pedition to Gascony, but there are a few anomalies that offer an insight into the stability of wage rates. Despite the absence of any reference to Audley's wages in the particulars, it is likely that he would have been entitled to the daily rate of 4s. for a banneret if he had actually gone on the campaign, while the archers may have been offered either 3d. (as foot archers), or 6d. (as mounted archers) in 1345.³⁷ The standard wage rates seem to have been offered during the expedition to Gascony, although room for fluctuating and diverse rates of pay is evident in the document.³⁸

Wages were supplemented by the lump bonus payments known as *regard*,³⁹ a benefit of service that had been introduced by the time of the 1345 expedition, but there is no mention of any bonus payments in Audley's roll of particulars.⁴⁰ For most men-at-arms horse appraisal was both a benefit and a prerequisite for going to war. As the warhorse represented the most expensive item of equipment, the valuation and compensation for a soldier's horse was "a most welcome dimension of paid service."⁴¹ In the absence of an indenture, which presumably would have been cited in the debates over payment had it ever existed, and due to the nature of the particulars of account, we cannot determine whether Audley and his men-at-arms received horse compensation.⁴² But it seems almost certain he must have, since that was part of the standard package at the time.⁴³ The influence of

debate of the aristocracy's role during the fourteenth century, see Ayton, *Knights*, pp. 2–3. For a more recent view of the militarization process, see A. Ayton and P. Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005).

³⁷ The standard pay structure allowed foot archers to take 3d. per day and mounted archers 6d. per day. The captain's wages may have been stipulated in an indenture if one was made between Audley and the king – 4s. per day was the standard rate of pay for a banneret – which he had been at least since the 1334/35 campaign, when he led a retinue of 8 knights, 31 esquires, and 64 archers. British Library, MS Cotton Nero C, VIII, ff. 236v, 255v.

³⁸ The reduction of archers' wages from 6d. to 3d. may have resulted from Audley having agreed to provide forty foot archers but then without pre-approval upgraded to horse archers, leading the clerks to deny payment for those more expensive troops since they were not authorized. Or (more likely, since retinues in this phase of the war normally comprised only men-at-arms and mounted archers) the wage reduction may have resulted from Lancaster's failure, in his bill certifying Audley's men's service, to specify that the archers were mounted. See trans. below, n. 11.

³⁹ The standard quarterly rate for the service of thirty men-at-arms was 100 marks, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 86; Anne Curry, "Personal Links and the Nature of the English War Retinue: A Case Study of John Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and the Campaign of 1415," in E. Anceau, V. Gazeau and F. J. Rigglin (eds), *Liens, réseaux et solidarités* (Paris, 2006), p. 154.

⁴⁰ See n. 27 above.

⁴¹ Ayton, *English Armies*, p. 24.

⁴² Horse valuation is likely to have been recorded on a separate document and reference to payment of horse passage in the particulars indicates that appraisal must have been carried out at the port of embarkation, Lancaster's contingent, by contrast, was given the choice of having mounts appraised at Southampton or Bordeaux if purchased there. Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 223.

⁴³ Despite the absence of a recorded horse appraisal in the particulars of account the details may have been listed in a separate inventory. The fact that regard is also not specifically mentioned in the document, but was apparently offered to Audley, suggests that the baron had secured horse compensation as a term of service. It is also possible that Audley's men were part of

contemporary attitudes to war in determining the different terms offered by the crown evident in the 1370s is also accentuated during earlier campaigns and is highlighted by the favorable terms embodied in the indenture between the duke of Lancaster and the king in 1345.⁴⁴ Within the general context of standard terms of service we find that, in most campaigns, different forms of remuneration operated on various levels and the actual terms offered by the captain “arose from diversity at the level of the individual magnate household.”⁴⁵

The changes in recruitment were a consequence of developments in the conduct of war and it is necessary to determine how such changes in the conduct and preparations for war related to one another and the effect that they had on the social dynamics in the areas of recruitment. Setting these questions in the broader context of the organization of war may help break down and analyze what some scholars term “the Edwardian military revolution.”⁴⁶ A greater insight may be gained through attempts to determine what stage the “revolution” had reached by the time of the Gascon expedition in 1345. The notion that military developments were a continuum and were still at an early stage of development when Audley’s retinue was raised is reflected by the *chevauchée* that preceded the battle of Crécy in 1346, which highlighted a “military machine still in the process of transformation.”⁴⁷

The package of terms of service involved both benefits and obligations which were not limited to those embodied in an indenture. Letters of protection issued by the chancery formed another part of the recruitment machinery. This secured the recipient from legal action being taken against him during his specified term of service and proved an effective “guard against legal skullduggery.”⁴⁸ The letters only offer a partial representation of the active genteel combatants because most inexperienced soldiers and landless younger sons did not request letters.⁴⁹ Once letters were issued there was no guarantee that the recipient would be free from the problems of an increasingly lawless society in wartime. Unlike charters of pardon, letters of protection are “statements of intent, rather than firm evidence of performance” and the system was often abused by opportunists who hoped to delay their involvement in legal action or circumvent it altogether.⁵⁰ Despite their shortcomings, letters of protection were a significant incentive for knights and men-at-arms who belonged to the landowning gentry class and who

the five hundred men-at-arms that Lancaster indentured for (which was only partly “his own” retinue) and Lancaster’s call for horse appraisal implies that restor was offered as a term of service.

⁴⁴ TNA, E 159/123 m. 254.

⁴⁵ Ayton, *Knights*, p. 137.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 9 n. 2; Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London, 1980), p. 62.

⁴⁷ Andrew Ayton, “The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346,” in D. Bates and A. Curry (eds), *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), p. 268.

⁴⁸ Ayton, *Knights*, p. 158.

⁴⁹ Ayton, *English Army*, p. 258. Those seeking protections would need to hold enough land or privileges to make the fee for the issuing of the letter from the chancery worthwhile.

⁵⁰ Ayton, *Knights*, p. 157.

often engaged in legal disputes among one another.

Audley's ownership of lands based in Staffordshire and Cheshire, including the manor of Newhall and a third of the barony of Nantwich, in the latter county, of which he was sheriff, enabled him to tap into gentry-level society and forge links that were unparalleled by other members of Cheshire society. In this way, Audley could meet the recruiting demands during wartime with ease and the retaining of the archer John de Newhalle exemplifies the manner in which commitment to military service often derived from the "customary constraints of tenurial loyalty."⁵¹ The importance of family ties in cementing a broad affiliation, not only with the captain, but also the family relationships within a campaigning company, is reflected by the three instances of groups of three soldiers who share the same surname in Audley's company, and eight pairs of such soldiers.⁵² Thus almost one-third of the contingent were apparently serving in company with paternal-side relatives, which suggests that something on the order of two-thirds were linked to other company members by family ties on one side or the other of their lineages.⁵³

A comparison of Audley with Thomas Ughtred, a member of the Yorkshire gentry, highlights the similarities and subtle differences in the way captains recruited in times of war. A history of Audley's and his father's service with the earls and dukes of Lancaster demonstrates the role of service history in recruitment,⁵⁴ and the importance of martial tradition of serving with the same noble family is also evident in the close ties between the Ughtred and Latimer families.⁵⁵ Armorial dissemination from the Latimers' coat-of-arms reveals a close heraldic link between the two families. This coincided with the Ughtreds' rise to knightly status and reflects a connection between the two that was also based on shared locality as well as a tenurial connection.⁵⁶ It was probably the public responsibilities of Thomas Ughtred more so than the associations of lordship and land, as was the case with Audley, which enabled him to expand his potential recruiting ground.⁵⁷ The effectiveness of holding one or more positions of authority at a local level formed an important part of the recruiting machine. This

⁵¹ Morgan, *War*, p. 106. Newhall was Audley's principal manor in Cheshire.

⁵² Each of the surnames (Lauton', Burton' and Dampont) are shared by three soldiers with members from the latter two families listed as both horse archers and men-at-arms. See text below.

⁵³ Pairs of men-at-arms who share the same surname include Grendon', Tromyn, Massi, Vernon' and Cruwe. Pairs of such mounted archers include Norreys, Roulegh', Lauton' and Whytemor. The identity of the archers' lineage must be treated with caution as the "surname" may be more of a statement of where they reside.

⁵⁴ Morgan, *War*, p. 75; James's father, Nicholas, Lord Audley, served with Thomas of Lancaster early in the reign of Edward II.

⁵⁵ Ughtred served under Lord William Latimer at Bannockburn.

⁵⁶ See Andrew Ayton, "Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution" in J. S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001), pp. 114–18.

⁵⁷ Ughtred's extensive public duties are reflected by his position as constable of Pickering and Scarborough castle, his administrative duties as a knight of the shire and his appointment as Admiral towards the north.

is demonstrated in Ughtred's time-consuming role as an arrayer which brought him into regular contact with men of the local communities, as Audley's position as sheriff did in Cheshire. These links and positions held by lords such as Audley and Ughtred enabled them to penetrate into the heart of local communities and plug into a rich recruiting ground that became exposed once the links had been made. The abundance of Cheshire and Staffordshire names in Audley's draft payment of wages, and the dominance of Yorkshire men who served in Ughtred's retinue suggests that shared regional origins were often the mainstay of forming a company. Henry Percy was another noble who "relied upon the support of many members of the Yorkshire gentry,"⁵⁸ and must have been one of several captains who recruited the same soldier for different campaigns, from a cohesive pool of manpower within the region.⁵⁹ In these ways a level of stability was achieved, but the reliable core of a magnate's retinue consisted of life retainers who offered a permanent supply of troops by life service in peace and war. Through forms of patronage, including grants of annuities, aristocratic captains were able to build a "well-stocked pool of knights and esquires to choose from."⁶⁰ Those with extensive landed interests, ties with the royal household or a distinguished military career would be able to draw retainers from regions beyond their lordships. A wide exposure to the active military class was a privilege reserved for those of high military repute, such as the Prince of Wales – a payment to the German knight, Sir Roland Daneys, in 1355, reflects the prince's ability to attract foreign soldiers into his company.⁶¹ Grants of annuity were an effective recruiting device used by anyone with the financial resources to do so. In this way John Masey was retained by Audley in peace and war,⁶² and its widespread use and effectiveness in retaining is reflected by "evidence for the payment of over 140 annuities to military men" from the Prince of Wales.⁶³

Audley's force reflects changes in the social composition of the military community and highlights developments in the character of Edwardian armies that had begun to occur during the early stage of the military revolution. Changes in the army structure, retinue composition and the adoption of new strategies which required the use of a highly mobile force are evident in the document and representative of the entire expedition. At Bannockburn the chivalrous and non-chivalrous combatants were numerically unbalanced, as the infantry outnumbered the men-at-arms by six to one, and the distinction between the two soldier types was accentuated by the recruitment process and their conduct in the

⁵⁸ Ayton, *War and the English Gentry*, p. 38.

⁵⁹ See Ayton, "Thomas Ughtred," pp. 124–25: the "Yorkshire-based regional military community ... supplied knights and esquires to a variety of captains."

⁶⁰ Ayton, *Knights*, p. 234.

⁶¹ **Duchy of Cornwall Office**, *Journal of John Henxteworth*, fol. 7v. Although cases of foreign soldiers serving throughout English armies during this period are common, the fame of the company leader acted as an incentive for any mercenary soldier.

⁶² Morgan, *War*, p. 76; Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.*, rev. by A. Clarke, F. Holbrooke and J. Coley, 4 vols in 7 parts (London, 1816–69), III, part 1, p. 257.

⁶³ David S. Green, "The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince," *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), p. 136.

field, as they were recruited separately and fought separately.⁶⁴ The subsequent changes that resulted from the English defeat at Bannockburn, and perhaps even more from the need to respond with tactically balanced but all-mobile forces to the heavy Scottish raiding of subsequent years, are evinced in Audley's retinue which reveals a significant contrast in retinue composition and the use of a wholly mounted military contingent. This sub-section of the army is representative of the retinue contingents in 1345.⁶⁵

The emergence of mounted archers and their raised status in mixed retinues brought a significant shift in the social dynamics of the military community, as "changes in military organization were ... paralleled by changes in the pattern of recruitment."⁶⁶ Mounted archers were a heterogeneous body of men who were largely of yeoman stock.⁶⁷ As military service became the preserve of a smaller section of society, the archer's rise in status in comparison with that of the man at arms reflects "the growing prosperity of the yeoman farmer in the decades following the Black Death."⁶⁸ The social composition of men-at-arms was also undergoing change, as their ranks became augmented by mounted archers who rose to men-at-arms status, although the extent of such social advancement is largely unknown. The example of Robert de Fishlake, who after extended service as a bowman became a man-at-arms and even a deponent in a case before the Court of Chivalry, illustrates the possibility of social mobility for an archer and suggests promotion may have depended more on the soldier's willingness to serve, capably and well, than on accruing fortunes of war.⁶⁹ The profits of war accumulated by the Cheshire archer, John Jodrell, were not adequate to secure a firm landholding in his home county and suggest the room for social advancement within the county of Chester may have been limited.⁷⁰ The gentry stock were molded further in their military culture and their response to calls to arms

⁶⁴ Ayton, *English Armies*, p. 31.

⁶⁵ The 2,000 men that Grosmont undertook to take to Gascony comprised 500 men-at-arms, 500 mounted archers, 500 foot archers and 500 Welsh foot. The 1,000 foot soldiers were recruited separately by commissions of array, Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 222.

⁶⁶ Ayton, *Knights*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ Mounted archers at the beginning of Edward III's reign tended to be of yeoman stock and "men of some substance and social importance." See Willard and Morris, *The English Government*, 1:341.

⁶⁸ Ayton, *English Armies*, p. 33.

⁶⁹ For a summary of John de Fishlake's career, see "Soldier of the Month – February 2008," www.medievalsoldier.org. Perhaps the most famous soldier to rise from obscure origins and who "began his career as a bowman," whose rise to fame and fortune resulted from both serving consistently well and benefiting from the spoils of war is Robert Knolles. See J. C. Bridge, "Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune: Sir Hugh Calvely and Sir Robert Knolles," *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 14 (1908), 112–231; M. J. Bennet, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 182.

⁷⁰ The fact that it was only possible for Jodrell to establish himself as a landowner in France as "Jean Joudrell de Peytowe" and not remain in Cheshire and become "Jodrell of Bramhall," for example, offers food for thought. It is possible, however, that Jodrell may have established himself in Poitou because of his own preferences. See Morgan, *War*, p. 134.

reflects that martial traditions among gentry families were at the fore by the mid-1340s and their military ideals were achieved through a “collective experience and shared mentality.”⁷¹ The gap between chivalrous and non-chivalrous combatants narrowed as the heraldic separation of knights and esquires became blurred and was paralleled by a change in the economic and social distinctions between the archer and man-at-arms, which became less pronounced.⁷² The changes in the social composition of the army are epitomized by the instances of a single family contributing both men-at-arms and archers to service, exemplified in Audley’s retinue by two separate instances. Soldiers from the families of Burton and Davenport served as both men-at-arms and archers, as is shown by the document that follows.⁷³

We can deduce from the particulars of account that Audley did not go on the expedition in 1345. Through the calculations of the amended prest, it is clear that no allowance has been made for a banneret’s wages and there is no reference to James Audley in the sealed bill. The unfolding of events in Audley’s career during the dilatory auditing process may help explain the exchequer’s insistence on the repayment of almost the entire prest, which may not have happened had Audley not broken his agreement, so it appears, by sending Trumwyn to serve in his place.⁷⁴

Ambiguity surrounds the interpretations of events and fortunes of the Staffordshire baron in 1353, which suggests a revision of existing studies that relate to this point in Audley’s career is needed. The charges made against Audley in the summer of 1353 during the Cheshire trailbaston sessions suggest that he had a less than harmonious relationship with Edward the Black Prince, and had proved himself to be a major problem in the county of Chester. Audley had been given help, it was alleged, “in his evil deeds” by Roger Hopwell, John Burnham and Hugh Hopwas, the three principal officials of the earldom of Chester.⁷⁵ During the summer of 1352 Audley’s manor of Newhall had been seized for alienation without license.⁷⁶ Audley had the right to appoint a serjeant of the peace

⁷¹ Ayton, “Thomas Ughtred,” p. 112.

⁷² Ayton, *Knights*, p. 16.

⁷³ Although it seems that the soldiers are of the Burton and Davenport families, their listed names may derive from the locality where they reside. For an instance of the same family contributing different soldier types in Norwich, see Willard and Morris, *The English Government*, p. 341 n. 9.

⁷⁴ Despite Audley’s failure to serve himself he still provided the service of the required number and type of troops expected by the crown, and therefore should be allowed to offset his debt with the money the crown owes him for service. Perhaps Audley would have remained in better favor with the king had he recruited a banneret, as opposed to a knight, to lead the company in his stead.

⁷⁵ See P. H. W. Booth, “Calendar of the Cheshire Trailbaston Proceedings 1353,” in *Cheshire History*, 16 (Chester, 1985), p. 24.

⁷⁶ M. C. B. Dawes (ed.), *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols. (1930–33), 3:69. Hereafter cited as *BPR*. The Cheshire escheator’s account for 1352–53 contains an extent (survey) of the manor of Newhall and the other Audley estates in Cheshire which shows that Audley’s lands in the county must have been taken into the prince’s hand before Michaelmas 1353, see TNA, SC 6/784/2 m. 6.

in Cheshire through his holding of part of the Nantwich barony but, following the charges made against him in 1353, Audley and four of his fellow serjeants of the peace received a massive fine for “the extortions and outrages” that they had committed.⁷⁷ The decision to place Audley and his fellow accused in exigent in the Chester county court, the preliminary to outlawry, reflects the severity of action being taken against them.⁷⁸ The Black Prince’s stay at Heighley castle on his journey north to his palatinate in the same year may have been an attempt to sort out the dire problems that Audley’s criminality had caused. The year before the prince’s visit, Audley’s sons, Nicholas and Roger, had taken up arms against their father, and sacked Heighley castle.⁷⁹

On 20 April of the same year that the trailbaston sessions were held, Audley was given dispensation from military service and exemption from attending parliament “provided that he go with others for the defense of the realm.”⁸⁰ What has been regarded as a privilege may in fact be a punitive measure against the parliamentary baron. In light of the series of events in Cheshire, and the numerous crimes committed against the Crown which shows Audley behaving as a racketeer, the release from military service overseas, but not from the obligation to defend the country as all adult males were bound to do, seems to have been a disciplinary action and a humiliation.⁸¹ If the mentality of the aristocracy deemed their participation in warfare to be a “social responsibility” and “honorable obligation” then Audley fell far short of such expectations.⁸² An experienced captain who lived into his seventies, he was never employed on royal service of any significance again. His son Nicholas continued the family’s martial tradition, however, and served in the Reims campaign and that of 1372.⁸³

Throughout these events in Audley’s career the exchequer continued its audit procedure. As a debtor Audley had to demonstrate that he had spent his prest on approved purposes, which were wages for himself as well as forty men-at-arms and forty mounted archers, but the sealed bill indicates that the auditors refused to accept that James Audley had spent the prest as authorized by the exchequer. As a result of him not going on campaign, the exchequer decided that Audley

⁷⁷ They received a pardon in return for a fine of 700 marks.

⁷⁸ *BPR*, 3:137.

⁷⁹ See, Cockayne, *Complete Peerage*, new edn, 1:340.

⁸⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350–1354*, p. 425. Hereafter cited as *CPR*.

⁸¹ During the period between the Gascony expedition and Audley’s arrest, Sir James terrorized the king’s lands and people of Somerset and thus “no one has dared . . . to testify touching the said business of the king through fear of danger to life and limb from Sir James de Audeleye.” See *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents*, 9:112. Nor was Audley innocent of committing petty crimes against the king. Ten years later he intruded in the counties of Dorset and Somerset and felled and sold oaks to the damage of the king, see *Calendar of Inquisition Miscellaneous*, 3:125. In the year following his release from military service overseas Audley was fined £2,000 for “trespasses, extortions and excesses.” See *CPR 1350–1354*.

⁸² Ayton, *English Armies*, p. 27.

⁸³ TNA, C 76/55 m. 24; I am grateful to the “The Soldier in Later Medieval England” team for providing me with this reference. Also see Cockayne, *Complete Peerage*, new edn, 1:340.

must repay the entire prest, footing the bill for his men's wages, with the small allowance of £68 11s. 6d. made in his favor.⁸⁴ The Audley family had long established themselves as part of the Lancaster affinity,⁸⁵ and perhaps a stronger loyalty lay with the duke of Lancaster than with the king. A Staffordshire baron, who (as a ward of Roger Mortimer) had probably been a childhood companion of Edward III, pursued his own policies at the expense of both the prince's and the king's will, and it was this that resulted in his fall from grace. The deterioration of Audley's relationship with those in the highest positions of royal power, in light of the king's efforts to establish and maintain harmonious relations with the English aristocracy since his accession, certainly left the baron out of favor. So his decision to stay at home instead of serving in the campaign in Gascony in 1345 without prior authorization cost him financially. Despite Audley's unwillingness to serve, the recruitment demands were still fulfilled, which shows the efficiency of the crown's military organization, as well as the king's lack of tolerance towards magnates who acted as a law unto themselves during a critical time of war.

⁸⁴ The £68 11s. 6d. represents the correctly calculated credit Audley is owed as a result of the *particuli* (the difference between the modified prest and the sum total of expenses). The correct figure has been allowed by king's writ as part of *brevia baronibus* in the King's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls; see TNA, E 159/139.

⁸⁵ See Philip Morgan, "Audley family (*per. c.* 1130–1391)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

E 101/24/20: Text

particuli compoti domini Jacobi de Audeley domini de Helegh' de denariis receptis de scaccario domini Regis de prestito pro hominibus suis ad arma et sagittariis exeuntibus in partibus Vasconie in obsequio domini Regis in comitiva Henrici comitis Derby a xxv die Aprilis Anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu xix^{ino}⁸⁶ usque xix diem Decembris proxime sequentem Anno supradicto videlicet per CCxxxix dies

Receptio Idem respondet de ~~DLxxvi li. xix s.~~⁸⁷ CCCCLiii li. xii s. vi d. receptis de scaccario domini Regis de prestito ei facto xvi die Aprilis Anno supradicto super vadiis suis hominibus ad arma et sagittariis euntibus versus partes predictas et ibidem existentibus

Summa receptionis – ~~DLxxvi li. xix s.~~ CCCCLiii li. xii s. vi d. De quibus

Inde in vadiis Johannis Tromwyn militis, Willelmi de Rugge, Johannis del Halle, Thome de Chesewarthin, Nicholai de Harle, Johannis de Thuddeus, Roberti de Grendon', Phillipi de Grendon', Johannis de Hinkele, Johannis Dampont, Rogeri Tromyn, Thome de Wetonhale, Johannis Tromyn, Johannis de Kerdef, Hamonis le Massi, Thome le Massi, Johannis de Burton', Roberti de Dutton', Johannis de Bispeston', Johannis de Rodney, Radulfi de Marchimton', Johannis Menerel, Johannis de Coton', Willelmi de Linford', Thome de Hodenet, Galfredi de Dutton', Elye de Wovere, Johannis de Swynnerton', Oliveri del Lee, Roberti de Vernon', Nicholai de Vernon', Johannis Denys, Willelmi de Cruwe, Davit de Cruwe, Roberti Griffin, Thome Starky, Willelmi Mattele, Johannis Blag', Willelmi Wodnot, Johannis le Lassi, Willelmi de Thiknes, hominum ad arma a xxv die Aprilis quo die arripuerunt iter suum de Castello de Helegh' in comitatu Stafford' versus partes Vasconie usque xviii diem Maii proximum sequentem antequam accepti fuerunt cum domino Henrico Duce Lancastr'⁸⁸ per xxiii dies primo die computatis et ultimo et ab antedicto xviii^{ino} xviii die Maii anno xix^{ino} quo videlicet in vigiliis Trinitatis die accepti fuerunt cum dicto domino Duce Lancastr' usque ultimum diem [~~Novembris~~]⁸⁹ per Ciiii^{xx} xvii dies utroque die computato pro ut testatur per quoddam certificarium dicti Domini Ducis sub sigillo suo CCCCL ~~lxii~~⁹⁰ xiii li. xiiii s. quorum miles cepit per diem ii s. et quilibet homo ad arma cepit per diem xii d.

Summa – CCCCLxiii li. xiiii s.

Vadia Sagittariorum Item computat in vadiis Willelmi Ollurton', Johannis Harding, Henrici Moubrey, Willelmi Slegh', Jurdani Dampont, Rogeri Dampont, Rogeri Norreys, Johannis Norreys, Nicholai de Roulegh', Johannis de Roulegh', Thome de Thursefeld, Johannis de Chelle, Willelmi de Lauton', Rogeri de Lauton', Johannis de Lauton', Johannis de Prestwode, Johannis de Ovyeteshay, Ricardi de Burton', Edwardi de Burton', Ricardi le Barker, Ricardi del Wode, Johannis de Lodmor, Johannis de

⁸⁶ The ordinal number, decimo nono, suggests there is a redundant minim here. There are further instances of this error in the text.

⁸⁷ Original prest has been struck through and therefore altered the sum of the receipt.

⁸⁸ Reference to the Henry, duke of Lancaster, indicates the document was written some time after 1351.

⁸⁹ There are clear signs that the month of November has been written and then scratched out on the original document.

⁹⁰ The reduction to the total sum due for men-at-arms' wages from £462 to £413 is because only 197 days' pay has been allowed, vs. the 220 days originally claimed, which included the 23 days' transit time from Heighley to the muster-point.

Whitemor, Thome de Whytemor, Thome de Croubarwe, Thome de Weggewode, Thome de Trubbeschawe, Willelmi de Tunstal', Ade Perche, Johannis Tenche, Johannis Sondbache, Johannis de Newhalle, Johannis Grou', Thome le Walshe, Willelmi de Esdelle, Johannis de Podmor, Ricardi de Longemor, Nicholai Magot, Ricardi le Usscher, Petri filii Johannis sagittariorum exeuntium versus partes predictas per tempus predictum CCxx li. quorum quilibet cepit per diem vi~~d~~.⁹¹ iii d. sicut consueta vadia allocantur in compoto Willelmi de Retteford Custodis Garderobe Regis iii^{xx} xviii li. x s. Summa expensarum – iii^{xx} xviii li. xiiii s.⁹² x s.

Summa totalis expensarum – Dxii li. iii s. Et debet lxiiii li. xv s.⁹³ Et habet superplussagium lxxi li. xvj s.

passagium et repassagium ~~In passagio et repassagio eorundem cum C lxxiiii equis videlicet C xxiiii equis hominum ad arma cancelantur qui Dux et xl equis sagittariorum xl li.~~⁹⁴ Lancastr' habet inde allocationem in compoto suo rotulo compotorum rotulo xx^o vadiis predicti domini Johannis Tromyn cum xl hominibus ad arma ut supra et xl sagittariis redeuntibus de vasconia versus hospitium ab ultimo die Novembris Anno supradicto usque xix diem Decembris proximum sequentem per xix dies ultimo die computato lviii li. xviii s. qui ceperunt ut supra⁹⁵

Sealed Bill

nous vous tesmoignons par ceste bille que la veyle de la Trinite lan dys et noefisme monseigneur le roi qores est vient monseigneur John Tromyn depart monseigneur James Daudeley ove xl homes darmes et xl archiers et furunt en le service nostre seigneur le roi susdit en nostre compeignie en Gascoignes le primer foitz que nous y estoiemes par xviii symaignes prescheins ensuantz apres la fest de la Trinite susdit

⁹¹ The archers' wage of 6d. has been struck through and replaced by 3d.

⁹² The clerk's initial mistake, which has been struck through and corrected, highlights how simple it is to make an error when accounting. Incorrect sums followed by immediate amendments are to be expected given the alterations and variable components involved in the clerk's calculations (such as the adjustment of the archers' wages and the duration of service being accounted for).

⁹³ Alteration of the prest resulted in Audley now having a credit as opposed to a debt.

⁹⁴ Payment for sea passage has been struck through, see below, n. 108.

⁹⁵ Details of the journey have been struck through because wages for the segments of travel up to the muster and on the journey home have been disallowed. The clerk only allowed for the 197 days of service testified to in Lancaster's bill (the day of muster and the 28 weeks following).

E 101/24/20: Translation

particulars of the account of the Lord James Audley, Lord of Heighley, for the money received from the exchequer of the Lord King as a prest for his men-at-arms and archers, going into the parts of Gascony in the Lord King's obedience in the company of Henry, Earl of Derby, from the twenty-fifth day of April in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward III from the conquest until the nineteenth day of December next, following in the above-said year, namely, for 239 days.⁹⁶

Receipt. He answers for £576 19s.⁹⁷ £443 12s. 6d.⁹⁸ received from the exchequer of the Lord King for a prest made to him on the sixteenth day of April⁹⁹ in the above-said year for the above wages of his men-at-arms and archers going to the aforesaid parts and remaining there.

Sum of the receipt – £576 19s. £443 12s. 6d. From which

In the wages of John Tromwyn, knight, John Hall, William Rugge, Thomas Chesewarthin, Nicholas Harle, John Thuddeus, Robert Grendon', Phillip Grendon', John Hinkle, John Davenport, Roger Tromyn, Thomas Wetonhale, John Tromyn, John Kerdef, Hamo Massi, Thomas Massi, John Burton', Robert Dutton', John Bispeston', John Rodney, Ralph Marchimton', John Menerel, John Coton', William Linford', Thomas Hodenet, Geoffrey Dutton', Ely Wovere, John Swynnerton', Oliver Lee, Robert Vernon', Nicholas Vernon', John Denys, William Cruwe, David Cruwe, Robert Griffin, Thomas Starky, William Mattele, John Blag', William Wodnot, John Lassi, William Thiknes, men-at-arms from the twenty-fifth day of April on which day they went from the castle of Heighley in the county of Stafford to the parts of Gascony until the eighteenth day of May next following before which they were received by the Lord Henry Duke of Lancaster for 23 days including the first and the last day and from the aforesaid eighteenth¹⁰⁰ the eighteenth day of May in the nineteenth year on which, that

⁹⁶ Specification of 239 days includes the journey from Heighley to Southampton, the 197 days' service at the point of muster, in transit to Gascony, and overseas, and the return journey home.

⁹⁷ This figure would be almost exactly right for the wages of Audley as a banneret, plus 39 men-at-arms and 40 mounted archers at the standard rates of pay for a half year (£576 9s.).

⁹⁸ The £133 6s. 6d. difference between the original and amended prest resulted from the quarter year regard being calculated at £100 for the service of thirty men-at-arms.

⁹⁹ Audley received the prest nine days prior to the retinue's departure from Heighley castle. An entry in the Issue Rolls for 1345 reveals that the prest was an authorised payment assigned by a privy seal warrant on the lay and clerical subsidies of Lancashire, see TNA, E 403/336 m. 11. Audley or perhaps one of his clerks collected the sum of £591 10s. from the collectors in the said county.

¹⁰⁰ Pay has not been allowed for the journey from the point of muster to the point of embarkation. Twenty-three days seems a long time to travel to Southampton; time may have been spent arraying, equipping or even training the troops. The company of foot archers brought from Staffordshire for the same expedition were allowed fifteen days' wages: see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 222. The eight-day difference is probably a result of the arrayed troops' wages commencing at the county boundary, whereas Audley is claiming wages from the initial point of muster at Heighley. For a discussion of the movement of troops from various counties to the different ports of embarkation, see Hewitt, *Organization of War*, p. 42. Hewitt shows that archers were allowed 6 days' pay from Lichfield, county of Stafford to Southampton in 1345; TNA E 372/190 m. 6.

is to say on the vigil of Trinity day,¹⁰¹ they were received by the said Lord Duke of Lancaster until the last day [of November] for 197 days, each day reckoned as is testified by a certain certificate of the said Lord Duke under his seal – ~~£462~~¹⁰² £413 14s.¹⁰³ of which a knight took 2s. per day and each man-at-arms took 12d. per day.

Sum – £413 14s.

Wages of Archers. He reckons for the wages of William Ollurton', John Harding, Henry Moubrey, William Slegh', Jordan Davenport, Roger Davenport, Roger Norris, John Norris, Nicholas Roulegh', John Roulegh, Thomas Thursefeld, John Chelle, William Lauton', Roger Lauton', John Lauton', John Prestwode, John Ovyeteshay, Richard Burton', Edward Burton', Richard Barker, Richard Wode, John Lodmor, John Whitemor, Thomas Whytemoor, Thomas Croubarwe, Thomas Weggewode, Thomas Trubbeschawe, William Tunstal', Adam Perche, John Tenche, John Sondbache, John Newhalle, John Grou', Thomas Walshe, William Esdelle, John Podmor, Richard Longemor, Nicholas Magot, Richard Usscher, Peter, son of John, archers going to the aforesaid parts during the aforesaid time – £220¹⁰⁴ each of whom has taken 6d. 3d.¹⁰⁵ per day just as the customary wages are allowed in the account of William Retteford, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe – £98 10s.

Sum of expenses – £98 ~~14s.~~ 10s.

Sum total of expenses – £512 4s. ~~and he owes £64 15s.~~ and he has a surplus of £71 16s.

Passage and return passage in ~~passage and return passage of the same with 164 horses namely 124 horses of men-at-arms cancelled because the Duke and 40 horses of archers~~¹⁰⁶ £40.¹⁰⁷ of Lancaster has allowance for this in his account, in the roll of accounts, roll 20.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ A scribal error concerning the date that Audley's retinue were received by Lancaster. In 1345 Easter day is on 27 March, and thus the vigil of Trinity day is Saturday 21 May, and not 18 May.

¹⁰² This original sum of the men-at-arms' wages may have included the wages of Audley (although the wages of one banneret, one knight and forty men-at-arms for 197 days service, would be £8 18s. short of the original sum).

¹⁰³ This figure is calculated on the premise of one knight and forty men-at-arms serving for 197 days (at the standard rates of 2s. and 1s. per day respectively). The absence of any allowance for wages for Audley himself indicates that he did not take part in the campaign.

¹⁰⁴ The clerk preparing the particular has allowed for the archers' pay at 6d. per day for the 23 days it took to travel from Heighley castle to Southampton in addition to the 197 days service. Despite not being struck through, the £220 sum has no bearing upon other calculations in the particulars, and the retinue's journey to Southampton is omitted earlier in the document. See above, n. 6.

¹⁰⁵ This wage adjustment may be the result of Lancaster's failure to specify that the archers were mounted. It is likely Audley had this decreased allowance overruled as asinine (especially since the horse transport costs, even though not accepted here because they had been paid elsewhere, do show the archers were mounted) or requested a new bill.

¹⁰⁶ The struck-through numbers indicate 4 horses per knight, 3 per men-at-arms and 1 per archer.

¹⁰⁷ It is likely that this is a scribal or accounting error and should have been £41. For the shipment of 164 horses, the individual cost calculates at exactly 5s. per horse.

¹⁰⁸ This suggests sea passage has already been allowed in the exchequer foreign accounts for the twentieth regnal year.

wages of the aforesaid Lord John Tromwyn with 40 men-at-arms as above and 40 archers returning from Gascony to the household from the last day of November in the above said year until the nineteenth day of December next following for 19 days including the last day = £58 18s. who have taken as above.

Scaled Bill

We witness to you by this bill that on the vigil of the feast day of the Trinity of the nineteenth year of Milord the King, who now is, came Sir John Tromwyn on behalf of James Audley with 40 men-at-arms and 40 archers and they were in the service of our Lord the King, aforesaid in our company in Gascony for the first time that we were there for twenty-eight weeks next, following after the aforesaid feast of the Holy Trinity.

The Black Prince in Gascony and France (1355–57), According to MS78 of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Clifford J. Rogers

In 1928, Victor H. Galbraith noted that there is much valuable information to be gleaned from the unpublished variants and continuations of the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth, the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, and the various forms of the *Brut* chronicle (French, Latin and English), and that “it is difficult to see how it can be printed except in disjointed extracts.”¹ In support of this observation, Galbraith published several such extracts, including two taken from the first of two independent *Brut* continuations in MS78 of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Although this work continued to 1377, Galbraith considered the portion dealing with the reign of Edward II to be the only section of it with original historical value.² In fact, however, the narrative of the reign of Edward III also contains some significant passages. The valuable section of the text dealing with the Scottish invasion of 1346, for example, was published in *Northern History* in 1998, along with the closely related text of a chronicle contained in Cottonian MS Tiberius A. VI of the British Library, ascribed to William Pakington, the treasurer of the Black Prince’s household in Gascony.³ An article published in conjunction with the new texts showed how these passages could add to our understanding of important events of the Neville’s Cross campaign.⁴

Another section of MS78 that has long been recognized as significant is the narrative it provides of the Black Prince’s expedition to Aquitaine in 1355–57. This text may also ultimately be derived from Pakington; in any case, it certainly appears to be based on eyewitness accounts, particularly in the detailed description it gives of the negotiations between the prince and the French, via the mediation of Cardinal Talleyrand of Périgord, just prior to the battle of Poitiers. These

* My thanks are due to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for access to MS78, and to the Faculty Development and Research Fund of the United States Military Academy, for financial support of my research travel.

¹ V. H. Galbraith, “Extracts from the *Historia Aurea* and a French *Brut* (1317–47),” *English Historical Review*, 43 (1928), 203–17.

² *Ibid.*, 206.

³ Clifford J. Rogers and Mark C. Buck, “Three New Accounts of the Neville’s Cross Campaign,” *Northern History*, 34 (1998), 70–81.

⁴ Clifford J. Rogers, “The Scottish Invasion of 1346,” *Northern History*, 34 (1998), 51–69.

negotiations were widely reported in the contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles. The already-published texts largely agree with each other and with MS78 on the basic course of these discussions, while differing enough on the details to assure the reader that we have multiple independent testimonies to work with.⁵ The greatest discrepancies among the published chronicles relate to the question of the extent to which the Black Prince was ready to make concessions to the French in order to be allowed to return to Bordeaux without fighting. Unfortunately, MS78 makes no mention of any such offer, and so gives no specifics as to what it may have comprised. Nonetheless, the text printed below gives a clear picture, seemingly based on eyewitness observation,⁶ of the prince's outward confidence, lending support to the similar depictions in the *Anonimale Chronicle*, in Matteo Villani's chronicle, in the *Scalacronica*, and in Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*.⁷

It is particularly significant that MS78 has the prince twice making public statements *before his victory* that the outcome of the anticipated battle should be interpreted as God's judgment on the justness of the Plantagenet claim to the French throne. That would of course be the standard interpretation we would expect an English source to put on the battle after its outcome was known, just as we would then expect French sources to hold to opposite views, e.g. that the French were being punished for their sins. Indeed, considering the degree to which the English were outnumbered (so that it appeared, as MS78 has the cardinals put it, that the prince lacked the strength to withstand even half of King Jean's forces)⁸ some readers might be tempted to assume that this must be a retrospective chronicler's invention, thus casting doubt on the basic reliability of MS78's account. Surely, one might think, it would have been foolish of the prince to raise the stakes in this way prior to a battle in which, as Sir William Douglas is supposed to have said, "in the ordinary course of things, the English cannot prevail."⁹ The only way that would have been a sensible thing to do would have been if he were confident of a victory, and how could he be confident of a victory when the balance of forces was so much against him?

We should remember, however, that (as Richard Barber has emphasized)¹⁰ the

⁵ See the analysis and citations in Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), 368–72.

⁶ This is suggested not just by the level of detail but especially by the heavy use of direct quotations. By contrast, the account of the Neville's Cross campaign in MS78 does not contain any direct speech.

⁷ *Anonimale Chronicle 1333–1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), p. 133; Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, in Roberto Palmarocchi, *Cronisti del Trecento* (Milan, 1935), p. 533; Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 174; Chandos Herald, *La Vie du Prince Noir*, ed. Diana B. Tyson (Tübingen, 1975), ll. 851–52 (and note also ll. 743–34, 909–18, but also on the other hand ll. 1066–68); note also the Prince's own letter (quoted and interpreted in Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 373 and 373 n.140) and (re earlier in the campaign) Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 141–42.

⁸ Below, p. 173.

⁹ Le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 144.

¹⁰ *Supra*, pp. 6–8.

prince and his chief lieutenants in 1356 were all Knights of the Garter, enjoined by the motto of their order to believe that God would uphold the Plantagenet right to the French crown.¹¹ We can hear a clear echo of this in Chandos Herald's version of the earl of Warwick's words to the French negotiators, effectively breaking off the truce-talks prior to the battle: "God will aid the right."¹² The same chronicler reports the prince expressing much the same thought: "If they won't come to an agreement this time, I am fully ready to await the grace of God ... for our quarrel is so just that the prospect of fighting does not dismay me."¹³ Moreover, given the prince's own experience as the nominal commander of the English division which bore the brunt of the fighting at Crécy, he had secular as well as religious reasons to be confident in his army's ability to win a battle even against heavy numerical odds. Finally, we should also consider the example set by Edward III in 1340 when, prior to the naval battle of Sluys – as we know from documentary evidence, not merely retrospective narrative accounts – he sent an open letter to the towns of France encouraging the people to interpret the outcome of the expected fight as a judgment by "the King Above, who humbles the unjust for their misdeeds, and loves and exalts the just," even though the English fleet was much smaller than the French one he proposed to attack.¹⁴ With all this taken into account, we cannot dismiss the testimony of MS78 regarding the prince's words prior to Poitiers.

Of course, it is unlikely that our author could have heard both those words and also the words spoken in the French council, which are also reported in the chronicle in direct speech. This might lead us to worry that MS78's account is one of those chroniclers' reports comprising, as Richard Barber puts it, "clearly invented speeches, representing what the chroniclers thought should have been said."¹⁵ That is certainly a possibility, but on the other hand an eyewitness to the prince's speech with the cardinals would, in their transactions, doubtless have heard directly from the cardinals themselves some report of their interactions with King Jean. In any case, given the large number of high-ranking prisoners taken at Poitiers – including of course King Jean himself – it would certainly have been possible, even easy, for a member of the prince's household to have heard a report of King Jean's words directly from someone who heard them spoken.¹⁶

If the hypothesis that MS78 reflects an eyewitness account of the prince's

¹¹ It is fairly clear that the *y of honi soit qui mal y pense* is the *mon droit* of Edward III's *Dieu et mon droit*, which in turn is his right to the French throne. Hugh L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348–1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11–12; Peter J. Begent and Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years* (London, 1999), p. 17.

¹² As reported by Chandos Herald: "Dieux voille conforter le droit / Ou il semble qe meillour soit." *Vie du Prince Noir*, ll. 913–18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ll. 848–52; see also 825–34.

¹⁴ See Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 192.

¹⁵ Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine* (London, 1978), p. 138.

¹⁶ On the prisoners taken at Poitiers, see Chris Given-Wilson and Françoise Bériac, "Edward III's Prisoners of War: The Battle of Poitiers and its Context," *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 802–33.

interactions with Cardinal Talleyrand is accepted, it will give us more confidence in the other most significant element of this extract, the description of the parliament (in all but name) held by the prince prior to the start of the Poitiers campaign in 1356. Although it is briefly mentioned by the chronicle of John of Reading and the English Brut, neither those works nor any other sources give us any details of this assembly.¹⁷ Only MS78 provides us with the important information that the Gascons essentially advised Prince Edward to seek a decisive battle with Jean II. Likewise, only MS78 notes the remarkable plan to extend the English system of Lay Subsidies to Gascony, which would have been a very significant innovation had it been carried through. We can guess that in the aftermath of the hugely profitable 1356 campaign, the tax to which the assembly had agreed was dropped as unnecessary.¹⁸

These passages of MS78 have already been employed by historians of the 1355–56 expedition, and in part quoted in their works.¹⁹ Also, the portion describing the political assembly before the *chevauchée* of 1356 has been published in translation in a sourcebook on *The Wars of Edward III*.²⁰ Nonetheless, the significance and interest of the text make it worth presenting in full here.

In the following transcription, the punctuation (including apostrophes) is added, and words originally written in abbreviated form have been expanded. The letters *v* and *u*, which in the original are sometimes identical and sometimes distinct, have been transcribed in accordance with the presumed intention of the author; similarly, *j* has been given for *i* when appropriate. The character *yogh*, which the scribe usually uses at the end of a word, has been transcribed as “*z*” except in the name Soughthfolk, where it is given as “*gh*.” Footnotes in the French text relate to the text itself; those related to the content of the chronicle are given in the translation.

Text (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS78)

[fo. 178v] L'an prochein ensuant [1355], le Roy ordeigna soun fiz le prince ove les Counts de Warrewik, de Soughthfolk, Sarum, Oxenford, et altres devers gascoignie pour le prendre et tenoir come soun droit et sa heritage et pour deliverer seisine de la terre de gasconie a soun fiz en le maner susdit: le Roy avoit fait par ses lettres patents le Count de Warrewik soun attourne. Apres ce qe furent venux a Burdeux ilz assemblerent les gents de celles parties pour une counsaille faire endroit de celle matier par qi le prince commença a chivacher es armes en la terre solunc le poiar ly graunte, parount

¹⁷ *Chronica Johannis de Reading et anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346–1367*, ed. J. Tait (Manchester, 1914), p. 123; *The Brut or the Chronicle of England*, ed. F. W. Brie, 2 vols. (Early English Text Soc., Orig. Ser., 131, 136, 1906–08), 2:307. This assembly was likely a meeting of the Three Estates or *Parlament* of Aquitaine; see Guilhem Pépin, “The *Parlament* of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: the Three Estates of Aquitaine (Guyenne),” *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 52 (2008), 131–58 for context.

¹⁸ For the campaign of 1356, see Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, ch. 15.

¹⁹ Barber, *Edward*, p. 117 (the assembly); Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 350–52, 367–71 (assembly and negotiations).

²⁰ Rogers, *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 162.

plusours villes soi par lour eindrege rendirent a prince, et altres ly contresteerent; et plusours soi misterount en sa grace ly fesaunt assurance par serement q' ils ferrount devers luy come devers lour verreie seignour et puis il fist assembler les plus graunts [179] seignours de la terre et la comuniulte²¹ pour ly faire feaute et homage, lour moustrant come il fust seisi de la terre de gasconie²² come heir a soun pier par ses lettres patents les queux furent apertement leux devant celle assemble et il lour moustra outre qu'il vorreit auxi demander le Roiaume de fraunce depart soun pier pour soun droit et sa heritage et sur celles points il demanda lour counsaille et plusours de eux ly dona counsaille d'encoutrere le Roy de fraunce en force des armes. Et le prince enseignant lour dist q'il ne poiast ceo parfourmer saunz lour eide sibien as armes come es biens, adjoustaunt qe s'ils vorreient eider par le quinzime de lour biens solunc la coustume d'engleterre qe adonques il voleit voluntiers enprendre celle affaire qe meintenat sanz contredite ly fust graunte. Et le prince assigna une jour a tous qe ove ly vorrent aler et esteer de lour appariller; et ceux qi ne furent prests a celle jour de venir ove ly il ne les tiendreit mie ses leals amys. Et quelle jour les gascoines vindrent tout prests ly offerants ensuire et devant aler en tous perilles et sur ceo le prince councella avec ses barons et seignours et par lour avys il lour enmercia de lour bone et fraunc volunte et les uns il prist et mist en soun hoste et les autres reman[179v]da a lour parties et en chivachant devers fraunce ils guerriert les rebelles et gasterent plusours villes. Et Johan²³ de Fraunce le Roy, enoiaunt les mervails qe furent faits par le prince en gasconie, et de seisine de la terre, et q'il dressa soun eire vers fraunce, il commença de assembler une graunte hoste des les plus graunts seignours de fraunce et sei moevst devers le prince joust peiters, ove qi vindrent deux Cardinals et furent envoiez au prince de part le Roy de fraunce et ensi ils disoient au prince: "Chier fiz en dieux le²⁴ toutpuissant, soit a vous et a tous ceux qi sount ove vous venez en counsaille de pees. Nous vous consaillons qe vous retournez, qar le plus puissant Roy terrene ove soun poair vous approche a graunt force des armes pur vous et les voz perdre et destruire; et pour ce nous counselloms qe vous retournez et eiez pite et mercie de vous mesmes." Et le prince lour respoundi: "Jeo moy resjoie grandement qar le Roy celestre et le Roy de droiture moustra et declara huy cest jour a quelle partie le droit de l'eritage de Roiaume de fraunce appartient. Jeo ne voile retourner mes ove ferme corage poursuivre voile le droit commence par l'eide de Roy toutpuissant." Dount [180] les cardinals, vieants l'establiesse de soun corage, retourneront a Roy de fraunce, ly en cest maner aresonant: "Seignour Roy, prenez garde a seint escripture nous enseignant *pacientes vincunt*. Cesti prince d'engleterre a qi nous avoms declare tous les paroles d'amonestments et perille ove ferme corage nous dit qu'il ne voleit retourner mes q'il voet poursuivre et combatre pour le droit de sa heritage; par qi vous consaillons pour le meillour qe vous parles de treuges et la pees." As queux le Roy de fraunce nient assentant, mes il dit orguillousement: "Nous ne voloms. Nil²⁵

21 The scribe of MS78 generally makes little distinction, other than the number of minims, between i, j, u, v, n, and m; this word is written cō[= "com"] [7 minims] lte. Since his spelling is frequently idiosyncratic, there has often been an element of guesswork in transcribing these letters. Fortunately, the meaning is always clear.

22 Although the scribe's minims are generally ambiguous, in this case it does look more like "gascoine" than "gasconie;" however, I have used the latter form as more consistent with the less ambiguous "gascoignie" (which, given the position of the g, could hardly be "gascoigine"), above.

23 "Johā" which would normally be expanded Johun.

24 This word is an interlinear addition, in the same hand as the rest of the text.

25 There is a punctuation mark after *voloms* and *Nil* is capitalized. This is probably a copying

departira de nous saunz bataille. Ore nous verroms s'il poet esteer encontre nous en nostre terre et countresteer nostre poair." Et lez cardinals tournerent autre foiz en graunt hast vers le prince et le Cont de Warrewik, lour disoient: "Chiers fiz retournez chescun de sa vie malveise et amez pees pur sauver les vies de vous et de votre gents; aherdetz a nostre counsaile et tost remesnez votre pople qe vous ne perissetz veez et regardez coment un tresgraunt host sanz nombre vous approche, a le moite de quelle vous estez de nounpoiar de contresteer." Et dunc le prince lour respoundi: "seints piers, priez ententivement le toutpuissant q'il octroie la victorie a cely a qi droiture appartient; et cely nous assoille ove votre mein [180v] destre." Et dunc chescun de eux a genula et dit le confiteor et apres l'absolucioun des cardinals parfait, ils leverount tous et lour mesmes garnisserount ove signe de seinte croiz et lour dresserount a bataille et longement combateront fortment, veians les cardinals et considerants coment, le droiture et dieu entrevenant, les fraunceis furent a graunt nombre pris et occiz entre queux le Roy de fraunce ove soun fiz philipp fust pris. deux Archevesques, deux Ducs, xj Counts, xiiij peres de terre furent pris horpris chivalers et autres a tresgraunt nombre qi furent occiz. apres le bataille finie, le prince mesna le Roy de fraunce ove soun fiz et autres prisoners a Burdeux et la tient le Roy ove soun fiz une graunt piece, maugre les fraunceis, de temps qu'il fust pris, c'estassaver de le fest de seint croiz en aust l'an de nostre seignour millisme ccc lv^e [sic]²⁶ tanqz a pasche prochein ensuant. et nulle bataille ove²⁷ melle entrevenant, dunc le Roy prist ove ly une graunt navie sigleront vers engleterre mes ils eurent graunt encombre en la meer par tempestes et ce longement endura; mes au darrein en le fest de seinte croiz en Maie ils arriverount a Mousehole en Cornewale et ensi l'amesnerount al Ci[181]te de loundres, et tous les Citezeins ove graunt honur ly encoutrerount et en graunt joie et leesse precieuse douns a le prince presenterount.

Translation

The following year [1355], the king ordered his son the prince, along with the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, among others, to go to Gascony in order to seize and hold it, as his rightful heritage, and to deliver possession of the land of Gascony to his son in the following manner: the king had made the earl of Warwick his attorney, by his letters patent. After they had arrived at Bordeaux, they assembled the people of those parts in order to hold a council concerning those matters.²⁸ So the prince began to make a *chevauchée* in arms through the land, as allowed in the powers granted to him, because of which several towns, on their own initiative, surrendered to the prince; others resisted him; and several put themselves under his grace, assuring him by oath that they would bear themselves towards him as towards their true lord. And then he caused to be assembled the greatest [179] lords of the land, and the

error for "Nous ne voloms q'il ..."

²⁶ This error suggests that the text of MS78 in this section is copied from another source, as it is more likely to be a copyist's mistake than an author's.

²⁷ These three letters are usually "ove" [ové, with]; here they appear to be "oue" [or]; this may be a scribal error, again suggesting that this manuscript's text is a copy, perhaps from Pakington's chronicle, rather than an original composition.

²⁸ This initial assembly of magnates is also noted by Knighton, who adds that the Gascon lords "offered themselves to the prince as their liege lord, with their goods and chattels, to live and die with him in all his undertakings." *Chronicle*, 128–9. This would have laid the groundwork for the more concrete offers by the larger assembly held after his 1355 *grande chevauchée*.

commonalty, in order to do him fealty and homage, informing them how he had been given possession of the land of Gascony as heir to his father, by his letters patent, which were publicly read in front of the assembly. And in addition he informed them that he intended to lay claim to the realm of France, on his father's behalf, as his right and heritage; and concerning these matters he requested their counsel. And many²⁹ of them advised him to meet the king of France with armed force. And the prince spoke to them, making it clear that he could not accomplish that without their aid, both in arms and in goods, adding that if they would aid him with the fifteenth part of their goods, according to the English custom, that then he would willingly undertake the business. This was immediately and without opposition granted to him. And the prince assigned a day by which all those who were willing to go with him and to stand with him should have readied themselves; and those who were not ready on that day to go with him, he would never consider his loyal friends. And on that day the Gascons arrived, all ready, offering to follow him and to go forward into all dangers. And on this the prince took counsel with his barons and lords, and by their advice he thanked them for their goodwill and graciousness; and some he took and incorporated into his army, and the others he sent [179v] back to their home territories. And in riding towards [the Ile-de] France, they made war on the rebels and devastated many towns. And Jean of France, the king, hearing of the wonders that were being done by the prince in Gascony, and of the seizure of lands, and that he was making his way towards [the Ile-de] France, began to assemble a large army, comprising the greatest lords of France, and made his way towards the prince, near Poitiers. Two cardinals came with him, and they were sent to the prince on behalf of the king of France, and they said to the prince: "Dear son in God Almighty, may you and all who came with you accept counsel of peace. We advise you that you turn back; for the most powerful king in the world approaches you with his strength, with a great armed force, in order to obliterate and destroy you and your people: and so we advise that you turn back, and have pity and mercy on yourself." And the prince responded to them: "I rejoice greatly that the King of Heaven, the King of Justice, will this day show and declare to which party the right of inheritance to the realm of France belongs. I will not turn back, but will with firm courage pursue the just course I have begun by the aid of the Almighty King."

At this, [180] the cardinals, seeing the steadiness of his courage, returned to the king of France, and sought to persuade him in the following manner: "Lord King, take good heed of the Holy Scripture's lesson to us, that *pacientes vincunt* [the patient shall triumph]. This prince of England, to whom we have addressed so many words of admonition and of peril, tells us with firm courage that he will not turn back, but that he intends to pursue and fight for the right of his heritage; so we advise you that it would be better for you to discuss truce and peace." The king of France would not at all assent to that, but said pridefully: "We do not wish that he should depart from us without battle.³⁰ Now we will see if he can meet us in our own land and stand against our strength." And the cardinals returned again in great haste to the prince and the earl of Warwick, saying to them: "Dear sons, each of you: turn back from your unrighteousness path, and love peace, so that you may save your own lives and those of

²⁹ Or "several"; the word "plusours" can mean either, and wherever "many" or "several" appears in this translation, the other could have been intended.

³⁰ Translated in accordance with the emendation proposed in the note to the corresponding French text. As written in the manuscript, this might be rendered instead: "We do not wish it. Nor that he should depart from us without battle."

your men; take our advice and immediately lead your people back, so that you may not perish. Look and see how a very great army, without number, approaches you; you do not have the strength to stand against even half of it.” And then the prince responded to them: “Holy fathers, pray earnestly to the Almighty that he grant victory to him to whom the right belongs; and absolve us therefor with your [180v] right hand.” And then each of them knelt and said his confession; and after the full absolution of the cardinals, they all rose up and fortified themselves with the sign of the holy cross, and addressed themselves to battle. And for a long time they fought fiercely, with the cardinals looking on and considering how, with the intervention of God and justice, the French were killed and captured in great numbers, among whom the king of France was captured, along with his son Philippe. Two archbishops, two dukes, eleven counts, and thirteen peers of the land were captured, aside from the knights, and others who were killed in very great numbers. After the battle was finished, the prince led the king of France and his other prisoners to Bordeaux, and held the king and his son for a long while, despite the French, from the time when he was captured, which was the feast of the Holy Cross in August³¹ in the year of our lord 1355 [sic], up until the following Easter. And with no battle or combat taking place, the king³² took with him a great navy and sailed for England; but they were much impeded on the sea by storms, which lasted a long time; but in the end, on the feast of the Holy Cross in May [3 May] they arrived at Mousehole in Cornwall, and so they led him to the ci[181]ty of London, and all the citizens came out to meet him with great honor, and full of joy and happiness, they presented the prince with precious gifts.

³¹ There is no feast of the Holy Cross in August. The feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is 14 September; the battle was on 16 September.

³² If this means Jean the phrasing is odd; if it is an error prematurely conferring the royal title on the prince, it suggests that it was written before his death, probably not long before his death, which would fit with the fact that this segment of the *Brut* continuation ends with the end of Edward III's reign.

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Journal of Medieval Military History VII is more focused geographically and chronologically than past volumes. The eight articles and two documents published here all deal with Western Europe from the mid-fourteenth century to the late-fifteenth. Nonetheless, the breadth and diversity of approach found in the modern study of medieval military history remains evident.

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Cover: BnF Ms. Français 226 fo. 84v. This illumination, from an early fifteenth century manuscript of a translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustribus*, is intended to illustrate the galley fleet of Alcibiades in the fifth century BC, but the broad-beamed cogs with their war-ready forecastles, and the armor of the men-at-arms inside them, are similar to the ones Edmund of Langley took to Portugal in 1381.

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