

OXFORDSHIRE'S PART IN THE ENGLISH MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE OF 1415

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1. INTRODUCTION

An unguarded curiosity about whether the men of Oxfordshire went to war with Henry V in 1415 and the chance finding of the medieval soldier database (www.medievalsoldier.org), led to this investigation of the known community in the county at the time and the gradual listing of possible participants¹. In so doing, some local evidence has been found which may throw light on issues of wider interest to military and social historians. This includes some possible indicators for the motivations behind individuals' involvement in military service, some comments on the family traditions of such participation and the degree to which local networks operated in the formation of retinues.

This study is a work still in progress designed to test the usefulness of the database as a tool for prosopographical investigation of this area of English military history. Not all areas discussed are fully developed yet but it is hoped they are of sufficient interest to be worth sharing at this stage. Comments and responses are welcomed.

2. METHODOLOGY

Collecting evidence for identification of county participants in the campaign : Who was who?

While it is comparatively easy to find men with surnames active in the county that match those of men on the campaign muster and pay lists of 1415, it is very difficult to confirm conclusively that the man concerned was a member of these families. Exact name matches give more confidence but even within this group, both first and second names may be common with men not connected to the county. Nor in view of the limited sources of information on a population living six hundred years ago, would it be sensible to restrict the evidence being collected to exact name matches. The soldiers concerned were more than likely to be younger sons and brothers or other relatives of the men who are found in civil documentation and indeed quite frequently the civilian mentioned may be a wife or a mother. So, to make the most of the information that is still available, it is useful to monitor the presence of all those with interesting surnames and see whether their activities correlate with any other indications of military activity.

This study has then, mapped both those with exact name matches (ENM) and those with a simple surname match and pointed up associations in both cases that may be indicative of a man being a part of the local contemporary military community. Even so data that indicates the directness of that relationship with the county is useful.

Unfortunately it is often not possible to confirm whether a local property owner lived at a particular venue or indeed within the county at all. Men of wealth and property in Oxfordshire, living at some distance from the county, may well have fulfilled their military responsibilities by calling on their servants, neighbours and friends there. However the

¹ Information on soldiers has been taken from the AHRC-funded 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Online Database', www.medievalsoldier.org, 30/6/2015.

indigenous population may have been more closely connected to each other in these responsibilities and this might have had some impact on recruitment patterns.

So besides generally including men active in Oxfordshire, the following groups have been identified to highlight those men who were apparently resident there at the time :

- Men on military lists with local topographical names
- Men on the lists with an ENM who are mentioned in some way as being “of Oxfordshire” or somewhere specifically within it
- Men with an ENM who took peace-keeping oaths to the crown within the county
- Men with ENM on pardon rolls from the county
- Men with a memorial brass found in the county’s churches.

In this way some comparison can be made of the characteristics of the wider group with that thought to be most likely to be residents. In order to further ensure relevance to the geographical area of study, two additional methods have been employed.

Firstly a measure of the rarity of the names found in the county within military circles at the time has been developed using the medieval soldier database for the entire period of its coverage (1369-1453). The rare surnames found in muster and exchequer accounts lists have been analysed against other supporting indicators (see below) to form a comparison with the lists of likely men in general.

Secondly some work has been done on whether the surname concerned is found anywhere outside the county in the poll tax lists of the late Fourteenth Century. Where this is not the case, the probability of the man concerned being a locally based soldier is increased.

To date checks have been made on the returns for the five ancient counties surrounding Oxfordshire and a large number of other counties to represent different regions. Those surnames only appearing in the returns for Oxfordshire or at most, also one of the surrounding counties, have been taken as relevant to the study.

These two approaches have been used to provide further samples of approximately 200 and 160 men (to date) respectively with names most likely to have come from/been connected to the county.

The above lists and checks while not mutually exclusive, do give some encouragement that a substantial number of men with Oxfordshire connections were involved with the 1415 campaign. However to move towards something more conclusive, supporting evidence is essential. The approach taken to help find some, has been to look for more circumstantial details that might indicate the individual concerned was part of a contemporary military culture.

The following additional key indicators of such an involvement have been collected for each man concerned :

- How near to the campaign date does the man appear in civil documentation? A finding within +/- 20 years has been taken as sufficiently close for an ENM to be relevant.
- Does the man serve in the retinue of a man whose family is known to have interests in the county?
- Is the locality he comes from or has a connection with, known to have been subject to a service (particularly military) fee?
- Is the manor/parish that he is connected to itself linked with the Crown (eg the Honours of Ewelme, St Valery and Wallingford, The Duchy of Cornwall, The Duchy of Lancaster, a royal demesne or tenancy)?
- Is there any evidence of a family tradition of military service?
- Is there any other evidence which indicates military activity eg a military property in the parish of origin, pardons for rebellion etc?
- Where is the man concerned found in the muster list and is he grouped with other likely men from the county?

By charting the number of these supporting indicators found, it is possible to summarise the amount of circumstantial evidence for each individual's or family's likely involvement in a military campaign.

A group of approximately 1000 individuals whose surnames are found on the muster lists and have been identified as having one or more of the above key indicators, has been developed as a subset of the wider county population examined. This provided a sample of the whole which represents the strongest possible candidates for initial analysis and is normally the group investigated under each of the following areas.

3. PICTURE OF THE COUNTY IN 1415

Who were the major families likely to undertake military service?

Oxfordshire in the late Middle Ages was still one of the most affluent counties in England². Saltzman in the Victoria County History's examination of the county's political history describes it as "a county comprising so many royal and episcopal manors and so few great families"³. King Stephen had created the earldom of Oxfordshire among others to secure the support of the important barons and this was conferred on Aubrey de Vere, while several other important families also held lands there. A succession of later kings were to use the county as a site for major tournaments and great councils as well holding key castles, palaces and hunting lodges. Oxfordshire was well forested and relatively close to London, providing convenient access to the favourite leisure pursuits of kings and aristocracy.

Saltzman remarks however, that as a result of frequent changes in the ownership of Oxfordshire properties during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, there had been a

² R E Glasscock "England Circa 1334" in "A New Historical Geography of England Before 1606" Ed H C Darby (1980).

³ L F Saltzman ed London 1939 'Political History' in "A History of the County of Oxfordshire" ; Victoria County History Volume 1.

gradual accumulation of lands in royal hands. This led inevitably to a diminishing influence by the major baronial houses. The de Vere family itself held no property of significance (although it took the 'third penny' share of the profits of justice and had some minor holdings). The only other property owners of note were the Bishop of Lincoln and the numerous religious houses of the time.

After the Black Death, lands were increasingly farmed out to lesser families often at least, partly in return for service. A variety of duties were involved and a substantial number of knight's fees were mentioned in feudal surveys and other legal documentation right up to the first half of the Fifteenth Century. Such holdings suggest that the county had been an important source of military manpower or at least its funding. Central to this fertile area for the recruitment of men would have been the king's own properties held under the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster as well as the Honour of Wallingford.

4. MEN IDENTIFIED

Can men be found in the county who bear the same names as soldiers on the campaign?

A search of family names found in contemporary documentation relating to Oxfordshire has produced over 800 which match ones on the Medieval Soldier online database muster and protection lists or the list of those entering indentures⁴.

The breakdown of individuals with relevant family names involved by military rank is as follows⁵:

<i>Status/Rank</i>	<i>Surname Match only</i>	<i>Exact Name Match</i>	<i>Total Number</i>
Dukes		3	3
Earls		5	5
Barons		1	1
Bannerets		1	1
Knights	13	27	40
Esquires	63	30	93
Men at arms	298	119	417
Archers	1250+/-	293	1543+/-

⁴ Anne Curry "The Battle of Agincourt - Sources and Interpretations" (2000) Appendix D : "Men known to have taken out indentures to serve on the 1415 campaign". Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge

⁵ The ratio of knights surnames to Esquires is 1415 being about 1:2.3. and the exact name matches 1:1 but these cannot be compared with other researchers findings as they make comparisons of men found on a muster list. The comparison here is of men connected to a locality.

Total	1624+/-	479	2103+/-
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This information on the wider surname group has been used particularly to identify which localities are producing the greatest numbers of possible soldiers and so point to those places which need examination to decide why this might be. However while the men with exact name matches form the most likely group representing the men sought in the study, especially those found within twenty years of the campaign, both groups and others found earlier and later ; (1370s-1440s) have been included in analysis where other supporting indicators are present.

5. LOCAL LEADERS

Did county men lead troops on the campaign?

There were a group of over fifty captains and retinue leaders with exact name matches who clearly held land personally in the county or near-by as well as Henry V himself (see *Appendix 1*). A slightly larger group had family names then recognizable in Oxfordshire circles. These include a significant proportion of the captains with the major retainers in the expedition who must have been well known to local inhabitants. Property close to Woodstock Palace, a favourite place of Henry IV would have been useful but very few can be definitely identified as anything other than temporarily resident.

6. LOCAL TOPOGRAPHICAL SURNAMES

Were the men on campaign named after county settlements?

A total of 100+ muster list surnames have been found that are also county place names. Although a number of these place names may also be found in other parts of England, some are very locally specific and so can be relied on as pointers to relevant recent origins. Men named Burcestre (Bicester), Lewkenor, and Werberwath (Warborough) for instance are unlikely to have come from further afield. Other names while possibly from elsewhere, are still useful when found in association with other indicators and other likely county men⁶.

An example of the list of men with local place names is shown at *Appendix 2*.

⁶ Bell, A.R., Curry, A., King, A. and Simpkin, D. (2013) *The soldier in later medieval England*. Oxford University Press. Oxford p156. Bell et al's suggestion that the distribution of topographical names in muster lists might provide evidence of recruitment in regional clusters is not in itself upheld here as they are not found often enough in close proximity to make the case sufficiently strong on its own but the association of these found with other indicators used in the study does seem supportive.

7. DATES OF CIVILIAN ACTIVITY

How recently to the campaign were men with the right names found to be living locally?

A group of nearly 300 men with an exact name match have been identified as active in Oxfordshire within +/- 20 years of the campaign which is seen as a reasonable period for the majority of the men making up retinues to be found in civilian life. Interesting possible matches do occur earlier and later.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF GENTRY

Can the Oxfordshire gentry who would be expected to answer a royal call-to-arms be identified?

Some can be identified through civilian records, for instance Robert Corbet of the family who held land in Standlake is shown only as a man-at-arms with retinue on the muster list but is found as a knight holding lands in Oxfordshire in The Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem for 1404-5⁷.

More generally, the list of men who signed the oath made to the Crown in 1434, not to maintain peace-breakers within the county, while drawn up nineteen years after the campaign, is still a good source of those families in the local community who were thought capable of retaining men as a force for their own ends. These would presumably have been in many cases men trained in fighting, and royal pardons of the period frequently forgave murder and attacks on property by groups on behalf of their lord. Such cases were recorded in Oxfordshire. It is unlikely that anyone not able to undertake or control these activities through personal force of arms would have been seen at the time as being required to take such an oath.

Of the list of 180 men concerned who share surnames with men on the 1415 muster lists, 45 are exact name matches.

Similarly other likely county men who are the subject of pardons by the Crown in the time of Richard II (1377-99) and Henry IV (1399-1413) are also found in the campaign retinues. Again these pardons usually relate to armed resistance to the royal administration and so probably concerned men who made a living by force of arms.

A problem though is that there are more archers found on the oath-takers and pardon lists than men-at-arms, so this may not be a good indicator of gentry involvement unless these are younger family members, only equipped for fighting among the lower ranks.

The details of both these groups are shown in *Appendix 3*.

⁷ E101/47/1 m1 ; PRO CIPM C137/46/6 - 1404/5 .

Another useful area of search are the Feudal Aid Surveys of 1346-1428. While those men mentioned are not necessarily resident in Oxfordshire, taken with the other sources described in this paper, the findings seem to offer convincing support for the holders of local properties being involved in recruitment for military service.

9. IDENTIFICATION OF YEOMEN

Are the lower orders traceable and which of them might have been willing to go on campaign?

Yeomen are less likely to appear in surviving records than their social superiors being less able to afford litigation and few manor court records survive from this period. Although the poll tax payment lists of 1377-81 do provide a reasonably comprehensive list of men, they are rather too far before the campaign date to be a really fruitful source and the level of taxation is also usually absent in the Oxfordshire returns, preventing an assessment of an individual's wealth. Even so a reasonable number of possibilities can be drawn up from various sources. There are for instance the 27 archers with exact name matches who also appear on the county list of peace-maintaining oath takers of 1434 and another 21 with an exact name match receive pardons from the crown in Oxfordshire at various times acceptably close to the campaign. Approximately 60 more are found among men labeled as "of " Oxfordshire or somewhere in its boundaries in a variety of documents and approximately 75% of the 103 of local topographical names found are born by archers. So while these groups are not mutually exclusive, it is possible to highlight a group of men from the local yeomanry who could well be men on the muster lists.

10. SOCIAL STATUS OF MEN AT ARMS AND ARCHERS

What was the typical Social Status of Men At Arms and Archers?

Generally the military status of men aligned with their civil social standing where an exact name match is available, although there can be some discrepancy where there is wide gap between the date of documentation and the campaign. This is quite possibly the result of social mobility in the meantime. Men-at-arms name matches are often tax collectors, "tithingmen", free tenants or "gentlemen". Archers name matches are more commonly labeled yeomen, sokemen, jurors or by trade. Both groups occasionally are commemorated with church brasses after death.

However while the men-at-arms hold more of the more prestigious titles there are a surprising number of exact name archers who also act as tax collectors. A survey of simple surname matches also showed that in many cases men who were archers were found to share the names of families listed in the feudal surveys of the early Fifteenth Century or who held other lands, signed the oath not to maintain peace- breakers of 1434, appeared on pardon rolls etc. This was particularly the case with those who were found in retinue lists as archers *yeoman valettus*. The best example of this is the list of men who are captained

directly by the king himself⁸. Some 78% of the surnames here are found with these associations. In another case a total of 58% are found in such a retinue list whose captain's name is not recorded⁹. Even so, by comparison, approximately 54% of ordinary archers serving under Thomas earl of Arundel still displayed these sorts of social indicator¹⁰.

A further check of same surname men for military rank was also interesting. A search for men who were possible relatives of the archers and held the rank of man-at-arms showed that a large proportion (65%) of the names of the archers *yeoman valettus* in the retinue led by the king could also be found among the higher rank soldiers. The proportion among the retinue with the unnamed captain was 45% and that for the ordinary archers serving with Arundel was only 24%. However searching for rare named men generally among archers *yeoman valettus* produced very small numbers of names also shared by men-at-arms, except in the king's retinue where they were found in 40% of cases¹¹. One or two examples from this group, like that of Stephen Baldwyne can be seen to have had relatives in the royal household¹². It seems then that the archers serving in the king's retinues were probably often from higher status families.

It seems then as Bell suggests¹³ a lot of archers in Oxfordshire came from backgrounds of some social standing and some may have been members of much more prestigious families than men of this rank generally, especially where they were able to join the royal retinue.

11. WHO DID MEN SERVE WITH?

Did men found on a local lord's lands join their retinues?

Generally this is not the case. There were several substantial land-holding families present in the county in a minor way, like the Arundels, Beauchamps, Mortimers, Montagues, de Greys, de Veres and the de la Poles and they did assemble sizeable retinues. However the names of the men who followed them rarely matched those who could have held property on their lands.

Examples that have been found where a lord is accompanied by possible tenants include William Seintcler Esq who had property in Chalgrove and Barton St John, in Richard de Vere's retinue¹⁴, John atte Hall with land in Barton St John, again in de Vere's retinue¹⁵ and John Paradys in Cogges who served as an archer with John de Grey jun¹⁶. Even so they could just be neighbours.

⁸ E101/45/18 m9

⁹ E101/45/1 m13

¹⁰ E101/47/1 m2

¹¹ E 101/45/18 m9.

¹² E101/45/1 m8

¹³ Bell, *ibid*, p152.

¹⁴ E101/44/30/No1 m7

¹⁵ E101/46/36 m2

¹⁶ E101/45/18 m 4

What is usually the case though is a substantial proportion of local leaders' retinues being made up of men from across the county more generally. For example men from the estates of Thomas Chaucer who being largely archers are more likely to have lived there, are found present in a number of other leaders' retinues, despite him having raised one himself. (See *Appendix 4*).¹⁷

This perhaps confirms the suggestions of various researchers that by 1415 men were free to join the retinue of their choice, although there might have been an understandable preference for a relatively local leader who would be more familiar and could be viewed as more reliable in respect of pay. Alternatively Chaucer may have undertaken to recruit men for others, notably the magnates¹⁸. Other examples are :

Edmund Walweyn, man-at-arms who held service fees in Ducklington Manor of the Lovell Family is led by Edmund Burnell, man-at-arms probably of Great Rollright¹⁹ and William Style, man-at-arms with land in Warborough and Marsh Baldon, is found in the retinue of Sir John Grey de Ruthin, who holds several properties in other parts of the county.²⁰

Regional leaders seem to have had an effective network for recruitment, perhaps largely by reputation but also because the military community knew each other and recruitment to meet a leader's own indenture commitments needed to be carried out actively to ensure their fulfilment. This would be easiest where social and military contacts were already established.

12. RETINUE GROUPINGS

Locality Retinue Groups

Given that men are not often found fighting with their local landlord, it is perhaps not surprising that although a number of men likely to be from the same village or parish join the campaign, they do not form part of the same retinue. In no case has a village produced any sizeable contribution to a single retinue.

However, one further feature of the data gathered in this study is notable. An examination of the individual retinues in the muster lists often reveals strong groupings of the suspected county men thought to be soldiers. These may vary from a pairing to up to 20 men within a short space of each other in the list.

These groups are found predominantly within the retinues of the captains and retinue leaders whose families are known to have interests in the county. By plotting these grouped individuals association with the supporting indicators considered in the study, it has also

¹⁷ A search of Arundel's large retinue listed at E101/47/1 m 1-3 and 1d-3d which includes several rare names, does not produce a single match with men thought to be connected to areas where he held property, despite a large number being likely to be from the wider county.

¹⁸ Other reasons for campaigning with a retinue leader from within the wider district rather than further afield (particularly archers) might be that the man recruited would be more likely to share a dialect with his comrades.

¹⁹ E101/45/4 m1

²⁰ E101/47/17 m1

been possible to show the strength of the connection of the group as a whole with Oxfordshire and particularly, royal interests, as well as investigate whether other associations exist.

Examples are the group of men-at-arms in the retinue led by The earl of Oxford²¹, the very large one within Thomas earl of Arundel's retinue²² which has a total of 35 men likely to be from the county, again all men-at-arms, many with several supporting indicators, and the equally large one of both men-at-arms and archers led by Thomas Camoys²³ (see *Appendix 5*).

In addition these apparently locally led retinue groups are often placed side-by-side within large retinues. For example the men captained by Sir Robert Chalons²⁴ include those who followed Thomas Stanton, Richard Etton and William Holton, whose retinues are shown in succession on the muster list and similarly William Castelayn and John Clement and again, John Halton, Thomas Burcester and John Clifford only a little further down the same muster list. Also there are other intervening small retinues whose leaders have not yet been identified but contain men with surnames with obvious county links.

Royal Household

Another interesting finding is that 44 of the men in the 90 strong retinue made up of royal household members have a potential Oxfordshire interest and 16 of these are exact name matches. 11 of those 16 are found in documentation dated between 1400 - 1428. The details of the men also display a large number of the supporting indicators (particularly royal landholdings). Such a sizeable and strong grouping underlines the direct connection between the Crown and the county. It also suggests that rather than the king being partial to men from Oxfordshire, land in the county was available to favoured men and viewed as desirable or necessary, perhaps in order to wait on the king²⁵.

There is also what may be an example of the retinues led by members of the royal household cited in Bell²⁶. In this case²⁷, there are 10 archers led by Wm Marchall who is found on the campaign household retinue list²⁸. Seven of them have names found in Oxfordshire, one of them being rare. Again in almost every instance, the surnames concerned are found present in areas of royal landholding.

(See *Appendix 6* for details of Marchall's career.)

Royal Lands Retinues

²¹ BLH 782 f76 group beginning with Geoffrey Denys and ending with John Somerton (lines 236-43).

²² E 101/47/1 m1 beginning with the earl and ending with Thomas Stokton (lines 8410-91)

²³ E101/47/13 m1

²⁴ E101/45/18 m7

²⁵ There is for example, a considerable match between the names of Knights of Richard II's household and those of Oxfordshire property holders in the early Fifteenth Century (ref : S M Mitchell "Some aspects of the knightly household of Richard II" unpublished Ph. D. thesis London (1998) p 57) .

²⁶ Bell, A.R., Curry, A., King, A. and Simpkin, D. (2013) *The soldier in later medieval England*. Oxford University Press. Oxford p132

²⁷ E101/45/1 m 8

²⁸ E101/407/10 m1.

A further related finding is that some of the other strongest groupings of likely Oxfordshire men are associated with the king's own lands. An example is the large group of *yeoman valettus* archers²⁹ headed by William Wykham, presumably a relative of Thomas Wykham of Woodstock where the royal palace was situated. The retinue was made up of men with likely connections to eight different royal properties in the county³⁰.

Curry et al 's article on Henry IV's Scottish expedition of 1400 and Bell's later work highlight his calling on all those owing him service (military or not), fee holders, recipients of annuities etc on pain of losing these advantages. This also applied to those benefits given by the late Edward III and Duke of Lancaster, so swelling the King's campaign retinues as much as possible. Fifteen years later this approach was likely still to have been seen as a necessary and effective means of recruitment and was probably a strong stimulus to the raising of men from the settlements on crown lands³¹.

13. RESIDENT MEN AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Did the men who can more certainly be said to be 'local' fight together?

The considerable problem for this study has been the uncertainty on whether soldiers who seem likely to have had county links were actually resident or merely held property there. The former group might be thought to have had much more influence on recruitment through the normal local social networks of the day.

Interestingly an examination of the names found in the contemporary civilian documentation as "of" Oxfordshire or a place within it, together with those who took the oath within the county not to maintain peace breakers in 1434³², reveals that the vast majority of them appear within the groups on the muster lists which for other reasons described in section 12, are thought to be of Oxfordshire men. Added to this is the finding that of those men with local topographical names, a similar proportion are also found within these retinue groupings. Indeed often, more than one man named after a local place is found in the same group. This seems to be a useful pointer to the groupings being an indication of county men being involved in the campaign.³³

14. COMPOSITION OF RETINUES

What is the make-up of the retinues that men with county names are found in?

²⁹ E101/45/18 m9

³⁰ It is interesting that a further group of six men with similar links are listed immediately before these archers. Unfortunately there is no captain listed and so no royal interest can be confirmed.

³¹ Curry, A., Bell, A. R., King, A. and Simpkin New regime, new army? : Henry IV's scottish expedition of 1400" English Historical Review Vol. CXXV No 517 p1390. See also Bell A.R., Curry, A., Chapman, A. and Simpkin, D (2011) The soldier experience in the Fourteenth Century. Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge p 217).

³² Calendar of Patent Rolls 1434

³³ One further indirect indication of a man being resident is of course the rarity of his name and its being found in the contemporary county records. A rare, local topographical named archer is unlikely to have held property in more than one place, especially if only found in one location.

A lot of the men with recognizable county connections are found grouped together in the large retinues of men at arms led by major captains with their own interest in Oxfordshire found in the TNA BLH 782 lists. These include the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Oxford, and March and Lord Camoys. The Earl of Suffolk may also have been sufficiently known locally to explain the clusters of men found in his following. County men are however also present in the smaller retinues of men-at-arms raised by for instance by Thomas Chaucer, Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Thomas West.

Men, often with rare names found in Oxfordshire, also crop up individually in many other types of retinue, from the very small independently led ones, for instance Stephen Popham man-at-arms, following York with three archers (all but one with rare names)³⁴, to those headed by more middling gentry (like William Talbot man-at-arms with four others and thirteen archers)³⁵. However, leaving aside the Royal Household itself, the other interesting examples of apparently local men grouped in retinues are the ones not listed with a captain. For instance those shown on the muster list³⁶ (although this retinue is probably sub-captained by Sir John de Mauley Esq who may have been related to the Morley Family in the county) and the one possibly led by Thomas Swynford man-at-arms.³⁷ Both retinues contain significant numbers of archers. In the second case there are 4-5 small groups of men, some with unusual names, shown in a very long list. In the first case approximately a third of the group of nearly a hundred archers have county surnames. This is one of the three largest groups of archers in any of the muster lists available and their being labeled *yeoman valettus*, might possibly be one of the bodies of archers retained by the king himself, perhaps the "Archers of the Crown"³⁸.

It seems then that Oxfordshire men responded to a variety of recruiting mechanisms resulting in their membership of a wide mix of retinue types.

15. TRADITION OF FAMILY SERVICE

What evidence is there for continued military service by the same local family?

If historically families possessed land holdings in return for military service it is logical that the same family names would appear in previous campaigns. A search of the study's subset list shows that some 385 county family names entered on the 1415 muster lists can be

³⁴ TNA E101/45/1 m 3

³⁵ E101/44/30/No1 m 13

³⁶ E101/45/1 m13

³⁷ E101/45/17 m1

³⁸ J. L. Gillespie (1979) Richard II's Archers of the Crown. *Journal of British Studies*. Gillespie mentions that the real concentration of yeoman archers in Richard II's time was drawn from a crescent around London including Oxford and Berks. There is a John Benefeld (rare name) who is a king's archer at this time and a yeoman archer of the same name, who is shown in the TNA E101/45/13 m13 list for 1415. He may be connected with the Henry Benefeld who signs the peace-breakers oath in Oxfordshire in 1434.

found in retinues taking part in the military expeditions of previous years and 217 men have exact name matches. This suggests that these men or their probable descendants are clearly visible on muster lists up to forty years apart. Even the rarest surnames in the Fifteenth Century are found in earlier muster lists (over 60%), helping confirm that former generations gave a similar commitment to the King's service.

Examples of the repeated instances of mustering for royal expeditions can be found among Oxfordshire names at all levels of military rank. For instance :

- John Lovell Esquire of Chilson Manor near Chipping Norton one of Lord William Botreaux's retinue in 1415³⁹ was a member of a family well established in the county, members of which had fought in numerous previous expeditions with captains who also had holdings in Oxfordshire.
- Similarly Robert Feriby man-at-arms⁴⁰ who in the Feudal Survey of 1428 was mentioned as holding land in Lynham in Chadlington and was part of the retinue of John Waterton (possibly of Water Eaton in Wooton), and an official at Windsor Castle.
- William Auncell, archer from Banbury⁴¹ and a member of a family which had already offered a knight and an esquire in campaigns during the late Fourteenth Century.

Each of these men's names is comparatively rare but they still suggest a strong and enduring family involvement with the military activity of the period. Examination of later muster rolls reveals that in many cases this commitment was to be continued among families in the county over the following thirty years.

Looking more widely there are nineteen families in the county in 1415 who are found in feudal surveys from as early as 1316, who have been militarily active throughout the period and once again supply men to Henry V's campaign. Of these fourteen families last served between 1400 and 1404-6. The remaining five families are found between 1374 and 1389-90. So it would seem that the majority of this group had been on campaign within nine to fifteen years but others not for at least twenty five years. This despite repeated opportunities, albeit some of them small and in distant theatres of war.

Of those involved, the number of campaigns undertaken ranges from just one to twenty seven. The average is 9. Only eight of the nineteen families can be seen to have supported Henry IV's own initial campaign in Scotland in 1400.

How experienced generally were the men assembled for the campaign in 1415?

Of the men apparently present in the county in 1415 and who have an exact name and rank match with members of previous campaign retinues, only about half of them had fought previously. Of those (138 men) only 46% had fought since Henry IV's taking the throne in

³⁹ E101/45/18 m3

⁴⁰ E101/45/1 m6

⁴¹ E101/45/1 m13

1399, 26% had last fought between 1385 and 1399 and the remaining 28% between 1370 and 1384⁴².

16. SERVICE FEES

Is there any evidence of a continuation of service fee obligations?

It is not suggested that the old feudal obligations of land for military service were still explicitly operational by the time Henry V began his reign in 1413. Even so a study of the lands from which the men on campaign are most likely to have come from, does offer the opportunity to consider whether there is any signs that the original knights' fee obligations still formed in part, the basis of the response to a royal request for manpower.

Approximately 200 of the 1000+ men who have been examined in detail have been found to come from localities regarded by the Crown as subject to service obligations in recent times previous to the 1415 campaign⁴³. A good number of these are found in the feudal aid surveys of 1401-2 and 1428. Although admittedly, these are felt to be little more than vehicles for tax collection, they do seem to represent a royal record of the localities in which such service had been acknowledged. The corollary was probably the expectation by the Crown at least, that service or equivalent funding were still a requirement to be fulfilled by the occupant.

There is also some evidence of non royal overlordship in the county being significant in the recruitment of men at least in one particular case. For example Lea Manor in Swalecliffe Parish was held of the Bishop of Lincoln for a knight's service and was one of the localities supplying a larger than usual number of possible soldiers. While not an obvious source of fighting men, the service obligations owed by the Bishop here may be similar to those resulting in the substantial number of men raised apparently from Banbury. Although a large settlement, it also supplied a disproportionately high number of men. Banbury Castle was again owned by the bishop and was a well maintained and manned, military establishment which may have fulfilled many of the bishop's military service obligations in respect of his considerable estates in the region.

It seems reasonable to assume then that the continuing restatement of service requirements attached to particular properties in the early Fifteenth Century indicates a remaining recognition by the then landholder of a royal expectation of support it would be difficult to refuse. This in turn was likely to be reflected in the numbers of men joining retinues.

⁴² It may be that some men were present previously with a different rank but it is interesting that so many of the men on the 1415 campaign seem to be comparatively inexperienced in the military role now required of them and such a large proportion had apparently not fought for a very considerable period.

⁴³ From the Book of Knights Fees : Queens Remembrancer of the Exchequer "Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids etc" : PRO Volume 4 1284-1431 Vol IV. The author's commentary remarks that these entries concern a tax on everyone holding land subject to more than a quarter of a knight's fee.

An investigation of the properties which produce high numbers of likely soldiers discussed in the next section of the study, shows that 34(56%) are known to have been subject to service fees and 22 (65%) of those have royal connections.

17. LOCALITIES THAT PROVIDE MORE SOLDIERS

From whose lands do men seem to be drawn from most frequently?

A group of villages/parishes produced strikingly high numbers of men with family names matching those in muster lists. This is in terms of the comparative numbers of men or the ratio of men to the number of poll tax payers where this is known. Often it is in terms of both.

Interestingly in virtually all of these cases, it is possible to identify a knight, esquire or man-at-arms who has an interest in the locality. Major families like the Montagues (Earls of March) who held Stanlake and the Staffords who held Great Haseley would be expected to recruit large numbers of men from their lands. But in Oxfordshire it is the lesser gentry who occur in possession of the most productive places. Families like the Shottesbrooks, Gyffards, Cheynes, James and Bryans were most often associated with the sixty places concerned. Occasionally it can also be shown that there was a member of the gentry definitely resident in the county e.g Walter Beauchamp man-at-arms, who has a memorial brass in the parish church at Checkendon⁴⁴ or William Balderton, archer of Alderbury Manor, in Bullingdon Hundred, are from the place concerned,⁴⁵ but unfortunately this is rare.

One other member of the local gentry who was a constant and influential presence in the Thames Valley at the time was Thomas Chaucer, whose caput was at Ewelme. He held many properties in the area and several of these are places apparently associated with relatively large numbers of men who joined the campaign (eg Begbroke, Woodstock and Ewelme itself).

This leads us back to the probably most important underlying reason for the suggested presence of so many fighting men in the county at the beginning of the Fifteenth Century. Thomas Chaucer (son of Geoffrey Chaucer the court poet) was initially closely associated with John of Gaunt, the king's father. Lucraft suggests he was possibly even Gaunt's illegitimate son, his mother being the younger sister of Gaunt's mistress⁴⁶. He was also steward of the Honours of Wallingford, St Valery and Ewelme all royal possessions with many holdings within Oxfordshire. Gaunt's property in the county through the Duchy of Lancaster also passed in 1399 to Gaunt's son Henry IV and by 1413 was inherited by Henry V. To this was added the Duchy of Cornwall lands and other royal property. The Honour of Wallingford was by far the most important. It included a large number of manors primarily in Oxfordshire and Berkshire and a few more in Bucks. It also included Wallingford Castle of which Chaucer was constable as he was of Banbury Castle.

The records of these royal properties show that they were often granted to men, officers of the ducal administrations like Chaucer, in return for military service. They could be expected

⁴⁴ E101/45/13 m4d

⁴⁵ E101/45/1 m10

⁴⁶ Jeanette Lucraft (2006) "Katherine Swynford - The History of a Medieval Mistress". Sutton Publishing

to generate men, probably resident in some cases, who would take part in many military campaigns. and also bring their own men and neighbours with them⁴⁷. Of the 60 places found in this study to have had a comparatively high number or high proportion of men with surnames matching those on the campaign, 41 can be identified as lands linked to royalty directly or indirectly⁴⁸.

It is also evident that 16 of these same 60 locations, are associated with sites of defended buildings which may indicate a local military presence, possibly influential at the time of the campaign⁴⁹. Similarly Bell has suggested that the archers of the late middle ages were often drawn from forest localities as men there were more likely to be engaged in hunting (having archery skills) and received grants of wood if they undertook military service⁵⁰. A further 8 places with a high density of likely campaign men in 1415 are known to have contained significant areas of woodland⁵¹

18. COUNTY ARRAYS AND HUNDRED COURTS.

Is there any evidence of their use in recruitment arrangements?

As the county seems to have been so dominated by the Crown in the early Fifteenth Century it is difficult to establish whether the procedure for county arrays was still used informally to recruit archers for the campaign as was generally the case where magnates were raising troops in the Thirteenth Century⁵². Certainly major retinue leaders do not seem to have raised significant numbers of men for themselves in the County Hundreds where they had land holdings of their own, although enquiries are still being made of the Stonor Family about "fencible men" being available to do the king's service in the half Hundred of Ewelme in 1480⁵³. Nor is there evidence that men from the same Hundred fought collectively in any other lord's retinue. As Ayton suggests it may well be that rather than any formal local administration arrangement being used to raise men, it is the number of families with

⁴⁷ For instance Benson in Oxfordshire which produced a large number of men with surnames on the 1415 muster list and which was part of the Honour of Wallingford was granted to Chaucer and previously Sir John Salisbury, Richard II's chamber knight ; reference Victoria County History Texts in Progress, "Benson : Manors and Estates, July 2014 p 4. See also "Notes on the Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399" by Simon Walker p88 where he finds that the Lancastrian lands are often farmed by duchy officials and yeomanry rather than local gentry.

⁴⁸ This includes both places with high total numbers and disproportionately high percentages of populations found paying poll tax. This information is however only partially available and some other parishes and settlements may have had similar levels of potential involvement in the campaign.

⁴⁹ This information is drawn from a provisional list of moated sites in Oxfordshire drawn up in 2012 by James Bond (unpublished work).

⁵⁰ Bell, A.R., Curry, A., King, A. and Simpkin, D. (2013) *The soldier in later medieval England*. Oxford University Press. Oxford p228

⁵¹ P Preece "Medieval Woodlands in the Oxfordshire Chilterns" *Oxoniensia* vol 55 1990.

⁵² Ayton, A. "Military service and Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth Century England" in Bell A.R., Curry, A., Chapman, A. and Simpkin, D (2011) *The soldier experience in the Fourteenth Century*. Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge p 217) p30 - citing Simpkin D (2008) *The English Aristocracy at War from the Welsh Wars of Edward to the Battle of Bannockburn*. Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge Press Iwho finds the same recruitment networks being used under feudal service and military contract.

⁵³ "The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483" ed C. L. Kingsford (1966)

interests locally and who are long-standing members of the national military community, which is the greatest influence on recruitment⁵⁴.

19. GENERAL FINDINGS

What is the overall impression of the county Involvement in the campaign as a result of this research?

The details of county men with surnames matching those on muster and accounts lists often include a number of the supporting indicators of their having interests in or living in an area, where military service might be expected. A study of the groups of likely men show them or their families as active at the relevant time and following members of families with likely local property interests. They hold property themselves or live on royal lands, which had been quite often the subject of service fees. In other cases their family name appears as an annuitant from royalty in the recent past. They may be present in an area with a defended site or significant amounts of woodland.

Others recorded close together in a retinue list have local topographical names or have been pardoned for acts of illegal force of arms like fighting, murder, robbery or resistance to the Crown. They are connected to places which produce many names with apparently similar backgrounds. They also bear family names that have been involved in many previous muster lists and are to be in future ones. They frequently follow men with county connections and similar family histories⁵⁵.

Even the rarest names display like characteristics. The men involved are found in retinue groupings twice as often as not and similar proportions apply to those following a leader with local interests and to those living on land with royal connections⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Ayton, A (2009) "Armies and Military Communities in the Fourteenth Century". in P. Cross and C. Tyerman (eds) *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen* Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge

⁵⁵ Typical findings are :

- Knight : Sir John Harpeden (rare name) presumably of Harpsden in Binfield (a part of the Honour of Wallingford) alive in 1408, grouped on the muster list with two other local knights and from a family who have provided at least one member to military expeditions in the past. Probably captained by Sir John Cornwaille who held several local properties.
- Esquire : Wm Argentein (rare name) holds land in Chalgrove (Honour of Wallingford) in 1415. A member of Michael de la Pole's retinue (nephew of a local property owner) and found in the muster list next to another esquire with another rare name from the County. This family has been the source of an esquire and a man at arms on earlier campaigns.
- man-at-arms : Wm Laurence of Bix Brand (Honour of Wallingford), an annuitant of John of Gaunt in 1399 and still alive in 1432. There are many entries for this family name in previous campaigns.
- Archer : Wm Auncell (a rare name) of Banbury (a town with a major castle fielding high numbers and high proportions of its' population) found in the Feet of Fines for 1392. The Auncells were represented with a knight and an esquire in the campaigns of 1368-9 (in the retinue of the Black Prince) and in 1378 (in the retinue of Sir William de Beauchamp) both local landholders.

⁵⁶ A comparison of the rare and exact name matches found within +/- 20 years of the campaign with the list of men in the subset of the wider population studied, shows an almost identical proportion. Approximately 70% of both lists are found within

Finally men thought most likely to be resident in the county are also frequently grouped together and are found to have an association with a lot of the supporting indicators of interest.

20. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined some evidence for the participation of men connected with Oxfordshire in the English military campaign in France of 1415. It has focussed on a comparison of names found in the muster lists with contemporary civilian documentation concerning the county. It has sought to develop ways of establishing the rarity of names and so their reliability for identifying likely participants, as well as highlighting the known facts about them and their families which support the case that those discussed are indeed men from this part of Fifteenth Century England.

This method involves a form of “triangulation” or cross-referencing and allows an assessment of those indicators which are most revealing. Taken together they would seem to offer a potentially useful means of showing some of the patterns of relationships in the military community concerned.

21. LIST OF STRONGEST CANDIDATES

Ultimately it is necessary to “take a view” of an individual man’s origins and involvement in the campaign, based on the rarity of his name and the number of supporting indicators found within the individual’s circumstances. A database is currently being prepared that will summarise the details of the most likely men for further consideration by local historians.

22. FURTHER WORK

In the future it is hoped to complete the survey of the surnames on the muster lists which match with the names of all counties’ poll tax payers recorded between 1377-81 and to identify those which only occur in Oxfordshire (using the sources available in Fenwick’s work on this subject)⁵⁷. The information collected so far has however proved fruitful. Many of the names of men found with some of the other supporting indicators are only found in Oxfordshire or near-by and there is a particular correlation with the names in the study found

this time span. This suggests that the great majority of men named are likely to be local participants in the expedition, their being active at the right time. It also supports the proposition that the rare name group which is found in the county is closely representative of the wider group studied and so that latter group with more common names, can be more easily accepted as being made up of local men.

⁵⁷ C Fenwick “The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381”.

to be rare in muster lists generally for the whole period of the “Hundred Years War” (two thirds of the rare names concerned are only found in Oxfordshire or one other adjacent county). Even so, the number of county poll tax lists from further afield investigated so far, is too limited to draw firm conclusions.

In addition investigation is needed into the grouping of probable county men within retinues of previous campaigns. Preliminary searches suggest that very similar clustering of men from the same area existed and a comparison of those with the later campaigns might help show a development of local recruitment arrangements.

Appendix 1 Local Leaders - Exact Name Match (ENM)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	MILITARY ROLE	REFERENCE	LOCAL LINK
?Arundel Earl				
Beauchamp	Thos	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m2	Kencott & Bampton
Beauchamp	Walter	Captain	TNA E101/45/13 m3d	Heyford
Beauchamp	Wm	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m1	Spelsbury
Belle	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4	M Baldon
Burnell Knt	Edward	Captain	TNA E101/45/4 m1	Rollright
Camoy's Lord	Thos	Captain	BLH 782 f77v	various
Chaucer	Thos	Captain	BLH 782 f84v	various - Ewelme resident
Cheyne Esq	John	Captain	BLH 782 f80	Oxon
Clarence of Duke	Thos	Captain	TNA E101/44/30/No1 m1	Shipton Cherwell
Clifford Lord	John	Captain	TNA E101/44/30 no1 m12	Holton
Compton	Rbt	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m1	Oxon
Cromwell	Ralph	Captain	TNA E101/45/4 m2	Rotherfeld Grey
Daubriggecourt Knt	John	Captain	TNA E101/45/4 m1	Herd, Hook N. etc
Erpingham Knt	Thos	Captain	TNA E101/44/30/no3 m3	
Etton	Richard	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/18 m7	Banbury
Everard	Laurence	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/18 m7	Oxon
Fenys	James	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4	Ascot
Gloucester Duke of	Humphrey	Captain	BLH 782 f72	various
Gloucester	Thos	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4d	Whitchurch

Grey de Sir of Ruthin	John	Captain	BLH 782 f79v	various
Grove	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m4	M. Gurney
Gyffard	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4	
Hay	Richard	Captain	TNA E101/45/1 m8	of Oxon
Heron	John	Captain	TNA E101/45/1 m3	Souldern
Hungerford Knt	Walter	Captain	BLH 782 f81v	various
Huntingdon Earl of	John	Captain	BLH 782 f75	Minster Lovel, S Gower
Huse Knt	Henry	Captain	BLH 782 f82	BERKS
Huwet	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4d	Warborough
Kyrkeby Esq	Richard	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/44/30/no1 m4	Oxford
Ligh de Knt	Wm	Captain	BLH 782 f82v	Lindley
March Earl of	Edmund	Captain	BLH 782 f74v	various
Mareschall Esq	Wm	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/1 m8	Chilton
Marney	Thos	Captain	TNA E101/45/4 m2	Oxon
Middleton	John	Captain	TNA E101/45/4 m3	Oxon
Morley Knt	Thos	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m2	various
Morton?	Rbt	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m2	Clare?
Osbaldeston Knt	John	Captain	BLH 782 f83	various
Oxford Earl of	Richard	Captain	BLH 782 f76	various
Parker	Richard	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/18 m6	N. Courtney
Payn	Thos	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m2	Garsington
Popham (Knt?)	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m3	Oxon*
Pelham	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/19 m2	Chalgrove & St Johns

Pheilipe Knt	Wm	Captain	BLH 782 f85	Holton & M Stoney
Pole de la Knt	Edmund	Captain	BLH 782 f83	Headington
Porter Knt	Wm	Captain	E101/44/30/no	Wroxton
Savage	John	Captain	BLH 783 f73v	Oxon
Selby	John	Captain	E101/44/30/no2 m22	Deddington
Shottesbrok	Rbt	Captain	E101/44/30/no2 m16	various
Stafford	John	Retinue Leader	E101/45/19 m2	Oxon
Stokes	John	Captain	E101/45/4 m3	S. Newington & Bignel
Suffolk Earl of	Michael	Captain	BLH 782 f76v	Forests Steward
Sutton	John	Captain	TNA E101/45/5 m3	Chadlington
Warde esq	Thos	Captain	TNA E101/44/30/no2 m14	Waterstock
Waterton	John	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/44/30/no3 m4	WINDSOR CASTLE
West Knt	Thos	Captain	BLH 782 f82	Bloxham
Whytyngdon	Guy	Retinue Leader	TNA E101/45/13 m4d	Oxon
York Duke of	Edward	Captain	TNA E101/45/19 m1	Langley
Total 56				

Appendix 2 Topographical Surnames - extract

Surname	Exact Name Match	Rank	Local Captain surname	Local Captain Exact Name Match	Grouped	Reference
Cadwell	-	archer	-	Camoys	x pr	45/13
Calthorpe	-	MAA esq		Erpingham	x	44/30/No3 m 3
Chesterton	na	MAA		Hungerford	x	BLH 782 f81v
Clare	T	archer	-	-	-	47/32 m 1
Claydon	na	archer yv	-	-	x	45/1 m 8
Clevely= Chevely	na	archer	Pope	-	?	44/30/No2 m 7
Clyfton	na	MAA	Beaumont	-	x pr	45/2 m 4
Colyers	na	archer	-	Camoys	x	47/13 m 2
Cornwell	-	archer		Glos/Husee	?sp	50/26
Cote	na	MAA		Arundel J Sir	? no info	44/30 No 5 m
Coton	-	archer	-	Dabridgecourt	x pr	45/4 m 7
Cowle	T	no info	-	Chaucer	x pr	f85
Croker	na	archer	-	Suffolk	x	46/24 m 4d
Crouche	na	archer	-	Huntingdon	x	45/7 m1
Denaston	na	archer	-	Grey de	x	44/30/No1 m 16
Dene	W	archer	-	-(Camoys)	x	45/1 m 10
Denton	-	archer	-	-	x pr	47/38 m 1
Derham	J	archer	-	Suffolk	-	46/24 m 4
Dorchester	Thos	-	-	-	-	45/17 m 5
Draycot	na	archer yv	-	Henry V	x pr	45/18 m 9
Drayton	Rich	-	-	Henry V	x	BLH 782 f85v
Eynham	na	archer	-	Stafford	x	46/24 m 4
Folbrook	J	MAA	-	-	x pr	BLH 782 f 77
Godyngton	na	MAA	-	Arundel Thos Sir	x	47/1 m 2
Goolde	na	archer	-	Suffolk	x pr	46/24 m 3d
Gournay	-	MAA Esq	-	Huntingdon	x	45/18 m 2
Gower	na	MAA	-	-	x	44/30/no 1 m 14
Grafton	J	archer yv	-	Arundel Thos Sir	x pr	44/30/no 1 m 8
Grendon	na	archer	-	Huntingdon	-	45/7 m 1

Appendix 3 Oaths and Pardons for men-at-arms (MAA) and Archers in Oxfordshire

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	RANK	LOCALCAPTAIN/ RETINUE LEADER	OATHS IN 1434	PARDON ROLL	LOCAL LINKS
Aston	John	MAA	Gloucester	x		Somerton
Bray	John	MAA	Clifton	x		Bloxham (gent)
Brewes**	John	MAA	self	x		poss Crowell
Byngham**	John	MAA	West*	x		Not known
Counseil**	John	MAA			1400	Not known
Elys	John	MAA			1400	Not known
Feteplace**	Thos	MAA	Talbot	x		poss Nethercote
Forster	Richard	MAA	-	x		Not known
Hamond	John	MAA & A		x		Not known
Holt	John	MAA	York*/Lovell	x		Wheatley
Kyrkeby	Richard	MAA			1400	Oxford
More	John	MAA			1388 & 1399	Henley
Payn	Thos	MAA	York*/self	x		Garsington
Pygot	John	MAA			1388 & 1398	Whitney sp?
Sampson	John	MAA	Carew*	x		M. Gurney
Sampson	Wm	MAA		x	1388 & 1398	Churchill
Savage	John	Knt		x		Not known
Shakerle**	Thos	MAA			1398	Grt Tew
Shawe	John	MAA		x		Not known
Stokes	John	MAA	self	x		South Newington
Style*	Wm	MAA	Grey Ruthin*	x		Not known
Walker	John	MAA		x		Standlake
Walweyn**	Edw	MAA		x		Cokethorpe
Whityngdon	Wm	MAA		x		Not known
				18	7	

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	RANK	LOCALCAPTAIN/ RETINUE LEADER	OATHS IN 1434	PARDON ROLL	LOCAL LINKS
Aleyn	John	Archer			1398	of Banbury
Andrew	John	Archer				Ludwell Manor
Badby	Thos	Archer	-	x		Mollington
Bray	John	Archer		x		Nether Orton
Brewes	John	Archer		x		poss Crowell
Broun	Richard	Archer	York*/ Ferrers & Oxford*		1398	Begbroke
Bryggeman**	John	Archer	Porter Wm*		1400	Not known
Burdon	John	Archer	Clarence*	x		Ascot
Burford	John	Archer	Caleys	x	1388 &1398	Oxford
But	Wm	Archer	Suffolk*		1382	of Chalgrove
Dodde	Thos	Archer	Arundel*	x		poss Banbury
Fowler	John	Archer	Suffolk*	x		Not known
Fuller	John	Archer	Ashfiel		1388 &1398	of Banbury
Fyssher	John	Archer yv	Arundel*	x		of Chinnor
Geyte	Wm	Archer yv	Glos*/Beauchamp*	x		possibly Whytney
Halle	Thos	Archer	Colville	x		Not known
Haywarde	John	Archer	Arundel J* & Glos*/Tirell	x		Addurbury
Hunt	John	Archer	York*/self		1388 &1398	Wendlebury
Hure	Richard	Archer	Arundel*	x		Not known
Jurdan	John	Archer	Oxford*	x		Not known
Leche	John	Archer	Henry V*	x		Not known
Leche	Wm	Archer	York*/ Messenger	x		Fawler
Martyn	John	Archer	Holand	x		Pyrtton
Mason	Richard	Archer	-		1398	of Enstone
Mason	Richard	Archer	-		1398	of Fifield
Mason	Walter	Archer	Glos*/ Hyde		1382	of Bucknel
North	Wm	Archer	-	x		Not known
Page	Wm	Archer		x		Nether Orton

Payn	John	Archer	Glos*/ Whytyngham	x		Not known
Pygot	John	Archer	Camoys*		1388 & 1398	of Witney
Stable	John	Archer	Glos*/ Harrington	x		Not known
Stoke	John	Archer	Donne		1398	of Thame
Swyft	John	Archer	Suffolk*	x		Morecote
Sylver**	John	Archer	-	x		Not known
Sylvestre	John	Archer	Suffolk*	x		Great Tew
Tyler	Wm	Archer	Mareschal*	x		of Brytwell
Walker	Wm	Archer	York*/ Stafford*	x		Not known
Walsh	Richard	Archer	Arundel*		1388 & 1399	of Brize Norton
Waryn	John	Archer	Glos/ de Vere* or Beauchamp*		1388 & 1398	Burcot
White	John	Archer	Burchester* (Bicester)	x		Bicester
Yonge	John	Archer	Suffolk*	x		Chipping Norton
				27	21	
<i>Key</i>						
			<i>Grand Totals</i>	45	28	73
<i>** rare name</i>						

Notes

1. More major men are not listed as oath-takers in the county, possibly because not resident.
2. Lesser proportion of archers than on the campaign generally which suggest that they sign oaths and need pardons less often than MAA.
3. Still a large number of archers which suggests they are possibly linked to the same families producing the MAA. - good family but not able to afford the " full battle kit".
4. Vast majority of retinue leaders have local interests themselves.

Appendix 4 Men possibly from Chaucer's Lands

Soldier's Name	Rank	Muster list ref	Exact Name Match	Capt/Retinue Leader	Place Soldier's Surname Found	Captain's Exact Name Match	Place in Oxfordshire Captain's Surname Found
Atte Hall J	archer	46/36	yes	de Vere	Barford St John	yes	Barford St J
Hylton J	archer	45/4	yes	Clarence	Barford St John	yes	Barford St J
Page Wm?	archer	47/33	no	Harrington	Barford St John	yes	witness at Checkendon
Seton J (10)	archer	44/30/no 4	no	Holand J	Barford St John	no	Sibford Gower
Stafford Family	both	various	no	(York)/Stafford &(Pole)	Barford St John		Barford St J
Tuwe J (2)	archer	45/4	yes	Clarence	Barford St John	yes	Shipton Cherwell
St Clare etc	MAA	BLH,47/1, 50/26	no	De Vere, Arundel, Gray	Barford St John	yes	various
Bartelot							
Abel T (2)	archer	45/18	no	Grey-Ruthin	Benson	yes	Rotherfield Grey
Avery T (4)	archer	45/19	yes	York/(Devile/Watford)	Benson	yes	Langley
Baldryton W (3)	archer yv	45/1	no	Brokyl/- HV	Benson	no	various
Davy Wm	archer	47/33	yes	Harrington	Benson?	no	none
Drayton J	archer	45/18,46/13	yes	Lenthale	Benson	no	none
Forte Rbt	archer	47/13	no	Camoy's	Benson	yes	Benson
Hook N (4+)	archer	47/17	no	Grey-Ruthin	Benson	yes	Rotherfield Grey
Lucas var	both	various	no	var - all local	Benson	no	various - all royal
Maseger J	archer	45/17	yes	Swynford- HenV?	Benson	no	Henry V overlord of Benson. Swynford is Thos Chaucer's cousin

Mott J (14 max)	archer	46/36	no	de Vere	Benson	yes	Chip N
Palmer Rbt	MAA	45/17 m1	yes	Swynford- HenV?	Benson	no	Henry V overlord of Benson. Swynford is Thos Chaucer's cousin
Scot J	archer	45/17 m2	yes	Swynford- HenV?	Benson	no	Henry V overlord of Benson. Swynford is Thos Chaucer's cousin
Seton J (10)	archer	44/30/No 4	yes	Holand J	Benson	yes	Minster Level
Wolf var	both	various	no	March, Oxford, (Willoughby)	Benson		various
Belle var	various	various	no	various (not Chaucer)	Blechington	yes	most local
Burgh var-	various	various	no	various (not Chaucer)	Blechington	some	most local
Coton var	various	various	no	various (not Chaucer)	Blechington	most	most local
Beke (Broke?) Laurens		AC	no (yes)	Glos'/ Wm Beauchamp	Ewelme	yes	Spelsbury
Colyn	various	various	no (yes)	var predom local (not Chaucer)	Ewelme		
Cottesmore (3)	2	2	no	Mortimer & Glos/Hussee	Ewelme		var/Berks
Deys J (2)	archer	45/19 7 45/2	no	York/Ferrers	Ewelme	no	Langley/ Chinnor, Hethe
Frenche J	archer	45/4, 45/1	yes	Clarence	Ewelme	yes	Shipton, Cherwell
Grenefeld J (10)	archer	45/1, 45/2,45/19	no	Chaucer	Ewelme	yes	Ewelme
Gylot Rbt (5)	archer	44/30/No1	no	Arundel lord J Maltravers	Ewelme	no	Ewelme
Horton var	both			various incl Arundel	Ewelme	yes	Chinnor, Hethe

Kyngsey Ric (1)	archer	46/24	no	Pole	Ewelme	yes - at least bro	Hook N +?
Lucas var	archer			various (not Chaucer)	Ewelme		
Penne Henry (12)	archer	47/17 m3	no	Swynford - HV?	Ewelme	yes?	Hen V overlord of Ewelme and Chaucer holds it! Swynson in Chaucer's cousin
Prentys Rbt (7)	archer	46/24	no	Pole	Ewelme	yes - at least bros	Hook N +?
Rufford J (1)	archer	47/1	no name	Arundel Thos Earl of	Ewelme	yes	Chipping norton
Tanner Rbt	archer	50/26	no name	Glos/Boston	Ewelme	n/a	
Wate	var	var	no	various (not Chaucer)	Ewelme		var
Freman J	archer	45/1	yes	Huntingdon (Holand)	Hanborough	yes	Sibford Gower +
Freman J	archer	45/18	yes	Huntingdon (Holand)	Hook Norton	yes?	Minster Level
Newman T	archer	indenture	yes	-	Hook Norton	-	-
Pyke J (12)	archer	45/4	no	Clarence	Hook Norton	yes	Shipton Cherwell
Scot var	var			various (not Chaucer)	Hook Norton		
Carter var	var	var	no	Erpingham, (Fastolf)	Huntercome	yes	Oakley
Costard H & J (7)	both		no	Arundel J (& mowbray)	Huntercome		var inc Ewelme
Dryvere J	archer	46/24 & 45/4	no	self & Pole	Huntercome		
Martyn Ric	archer	45/17	yes	Swynford/- HV?	Huntercome	yes	Thos Swynford is Chaucer's cousin
Berewyk	MAA	44/30/No1	no	de Vere/Oxf	Newnham Murren	yes	var
Berford	archer	50/26	no	Clarence	Newnham Murren	yes	Shipton Cherwell

English	archer	var	no	most local	Newnham Murren	var	most local
James	archer	var	no		Newnham Murren	var	all local
Mannyng J	archer	47/13	no		Newnham Murren	Camoyoys	var
Preston J	archer	45/13	yes		Newnham Murren	Glos/Lloyd	
Gerard Ric	archer	45/13	yes	Glos/de Vere J	Souldern	yes	various
Heron J	MAA	45/4	yes	self	Souldern	yes	Souldern
Baily Ric	archer	45/13 & 47/1	yes	Arundel T & de Vere	Woodstock	yes	Chip N & others
Bold J	both	45/13, BLH,44/30/No4	yes	Camoyoys	Woodstock	yes	Woodstock manor
Canon Rbt	archer	45/4	no	Daubridgercourt	Woodstock	yes	Herd, Hook N, Kidlington
Cheyne var	MAA	BLH 782 f80v	no	inc self & h/h	Woodstock	yes	
Lily	archer	45/4	no	Chamber	Woodstock	no	no
Mundy J (8)	archer	45/19, 45/2	no	York/Wintrishill	Woodstock	no	no
Stevens Ric (4)	archer	45/5	yes	Clarence & Stokes	Woodstock	C yes/ S no	Shipton Cherwell/ var
Frere J	archer	44/30/No1	no	Roos	Wooton	no	no

(shown in order of settlement of origin)

Note

Generally men with local names fight for men with local interests but not for Chaucer himself. This is true of exact name matches. Most of these captains are of high status.

Appendix 5 Extract from Retinue Groupings and Supporting Indicators data

Surname	First Name	Rank	Captain	Rarity	Exact Name Match	1415+/- 20 yrs	Local Leader
Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of		MAA	Gloucester, Humphrey, Duke of	(No on MS database)	(±=surname only)	(nearest date)	(Local Retinue Leader = interests in Oxsh)
Seynesbury	John	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord	r2	*		*
Bold	John	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Aylesward	John	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord				
Kyngeston	Robert	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
More	John	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1398	*
Gylspyn	Thomas	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord				
Codyngton	Simon	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord	r4 sp? Godyngton	±		*
Baydell	David	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord				
Bretton	William	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Colmer	John	Man-at-arms	Camoys, Thomas, Lord				

Polmer	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	sp? Palmer	*		*
Trussell	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±	1402	*
Oderne	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Merlots	William	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Mewes	Lewis	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Tryskebetys	Thomas	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Gode	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r8	±		*
Ramsell	Nicholas	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Fitz Henry	Thomas	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Brocas	Samson	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r5	±		*
Hoo	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Stubber	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Bernet	John	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	Benet?			

Bayoun	Geronet	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Spayne	William	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Brimwyche	Thomas	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Parker	Laurence	Man-at-arms	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±	1415	*
Goldrynge	Henry	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Strode	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r22	*		*
Prior	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r1	±		*
Pygot	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r25	*	1398	*
Atkyn	Richard	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Ryge	Henry	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Norreys	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Spray	Nicholas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Cadwell	Roger	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r1	±	1398	*

Hunt	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Burdon	Richard	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r13	±	1434	*
Crescy	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Coke	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1437	*
Smyth	Henry	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1398	*
Tyler	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1398	*
Holand	Simon	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±	1415	*
May	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r17	*		*
Crispe	Henry	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r2	*	1415	*
Oldham	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Boteler	Roger	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Russell	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±	1420	*
Mayland	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				

Turnor	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Ambrate	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Howdon	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r15	±	1391	*
Carpenter	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Dalderby	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r1	±	1398	*
Forte	Robert	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r9	±sp		*
Dene	Robert	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Perpoynte	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Chapman	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Pycton	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Bernard	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	*1415	*
Lytster	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Coke	Robert	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*sp	1404	*

Charpe	Henry	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	SP? Sharp	±	1429	
Appelby	Robert	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r8	±	1428	*
Kyngeston	Richard	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Gander	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Galun	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Padley	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Morer	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Turner	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Sadler	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r7	±		*
Hipstun	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Codyngton	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r5? Godyngton			*
Turner	Nichola s	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Daykham	Richard	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				

Hosyer	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r9	*	1400 + 1422	*
Charietter	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Durnwell	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Lawrence	Lewes	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±		*
Turndale	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Ceman	Thomas	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Bourgh	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	sp?	*		*
Armorer	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Fote	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r7	±		*
Petyrsfeld	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Arundell	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1415	*
Hodenet	Philip	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
More	Gregory	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		±	1414	*

Mannyng	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r16	*	1395	*
Spycer	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r19	*	1415	*
Abyrcourt	Stephe n	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord				
Hardyng	Robert	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*	1426	*
Waryn	William	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord		*		*
Merden	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r1	±		
Colyers	John	Archer	Camoyoys, Thomas, Lord	r1			*

NB Other supporting indicators of connection with a local military community are available in the full version of this chart for each man. They include whether the area he is linked to contains property owned by the Honour of Wallingford, Duchy of Lancaster or is some other kind of royal holding, whether a service fee has been identified or whether a defended site, or wooded site likely to produce archers is present. In addition it shows whether the man's name is also a local place name and if his locality is one which produces high numbers, his family history of military involvement etc.

Appendix 6 **William Mareschall**

A William Marchall is shown as a man-at-arms on the royal household muster list for the campaign in 1415⁵⁸. He is possibly also the William Marshall Esq known to have taken indentures to serve on the campaign⁵⁹. It is likely that he is also the William Mareschall Esq who appears on another muster list⁶⁰ leading a retinue of ten men, all archers *yeomen valletus*. Close by on the muster roll is a further retinue raised by John Cheyne, who may be

⁵⁸ E101/407/10 m1.

⁵⁹ Anne Curry "The Battle of Agincourt : Sources and Interpretations" Appendix D.

⁶⁰ E101/45/1 m8.

the one who had land in Steeple Aston, Wooton in 1428 and is also a member of the royal household retinue⁶¹.

William Mareschall is first traced in civilian life in 1386 as living in the City of Winchester, who with his wife Elizabeth quite claimed from her dower rights to Benham Lovell Manor in Hampstede Mareschall following the death of her former husband William Dauvers. The witnesses that were present were a familiar list of names in Oxfordshire at the time including Richard Abburbury knt, Henry atte Wood and Richard Brouns⁶². Hampstede Mareschall itself was the subject to royal overlordship as in 1411-13 there was a royal order for payment to be made from the proceeds of the property which was held by Queen Ann in dower and again in 1439 when a similar order was made to bailiffs and other occupants for the time being of the lordship⁶³.

By 1395 William Marschall is described as the King's Esquire, and again in January 1411 he is King's Esquire and Constable of Winchester Castle⁶⁴. In May of 1420 William is again mentioned as a tenant of the Lovell Family at Chylton in Berkshire. Maud, the late wife of John Lord Lovell and Holande gave a charter of land transfer to trustees which confirms William Mareschall was tenant for life to her manor there⁶⁵. In 1430 William was still a tenant of William Lord Lovell when grants were made of a variety of properties to trustees, including William's holdings at Chylton and Wyllecourt Manor in Oxfordshire. This document was witnessed by a large number of men with interests in Oxon and Berks like Robert James, John Barton, Thos Stokes, Thos Trussell, Robert Mouton and Roger Aston knts, Richard Harecourt, and John Hapour⁶⁶.

Turning to the military career of William Mareschall it seems that he may have taken part as an archer in the naval expedition of 1372-4 in the retinue of Lord Edward Despenser and captained by John of Gaunt⁶⁷. In 1375-6 a William Mareschall, a Man-at-arms was part of the standing force in Ireland captained by Sir William de Windsor⁶⁸ and in 1387 he was again a man-at-arms in the naval expedition led by Sir Thomas Trivet and commanded by Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel⁶⁹. Then in 1388 he was on a similar expedition led by Sir William Heron and again captained by Arundel⁷⁰. It is noteworthy that nearly all of these captains and commanders had connections with Oxfordshire or Berkshire.

⁶¹ From the Book of Knights Fees : Queens Remembrancer of the Exchequer "Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids etc" : PRO Volume 4 1284-1431 Vol IV; E101/407/10 m1.

⁶² Calendar of Close Rolls Richard II : Volume 3, 1385-1389.

⁶³ Calendar of Close Rolls Henry IV : Volume 4, Misc 1411-1413 ; Henry VI Volume 3 1435-41.

⁶⁴ Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II : Volume 5. 1392-1396. ; Henry IV : Volume 4, Misc, 1410-11.

⁶⁵ Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry V : Volume 2, 1419-22.

⁶⁶ Calendar of Closed Rolls, Henry VI : Volume 2, 1429-1435.

⁶⁷ E101/32/38 m1d.

⁶⁸ E101/35/38 mii.

⁶⁹ E101/40/33/ m7.

⁷⁰ E101/41/5/ m10.

Thereafter, William's military career abroad may have ceased or taken a long pause as there is no recorded muster list entry for William until the campaign of 1415.

Looking at the retinue led by William. It is interesting that while exact name matches with men in contemporary civilian records are scarce, seven of the ten surnames shown are found in Oxfordshire around that time. Of these two are rare and another which is rather uncommon, appears only once in the campaign list for that year. Six of the surnames are recorded in areas of royal ownership (Honour of Wallingford, Duchy of Lancs etc) and two are found among the 1434 list of county oath-takers not to support peace-breakers, so presumably were resident. One retinue member's rare surname (Baldewyn) is shared with a member of the royal household also on the campaign. Two exact name matches (William Tyler and John Spicer) are next to each other in the list and are possibly from Britwell and Bampton, both areas of royal interest.

While some of the surnames concerned are quite common then, this is a close grouping of names and with a retinue leader all of whom have strong links to relevant, local, royal and military class activity.

Looking back at the retinues that William was a part of in his earlier military career, there are likewise, many names local to County Oxon among his comrades. A number are rare or uncommon and some are found in more than one campaign. The names Lychffeld, Lynne, Coton, Scot, Wyght, Cockerell, Blackwell, Morley, Huse, Spaldyng, Porter, More, Sutton, Herman, Barton and others appear two or three times in the Fourteenth Century lists. A new group have arrived by 1415 though.

So it would seem that William Mareschall was a man of mature years by the time he came to the muster in 1415. He had risen to high office and perhaps was in possession of property on both sides of the Oxfordshire/Berkshire border. The men in his retinue were often from Oxfordshire itself but there is no evidence that they were his tenants. He was not to take up arms again and based on the records available, only three of his retinue may have done so either.