

A Prosopographical Study into John of Gaunt's Armies of 1373 and 1378

Name: Michael Philip Warner

Supervisor: Dr Craig Lambert

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Abbreviations

BIHR - *The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*

CCR - *Calendar of Close Rolls*

CPR - *Calendar of Patent Rolls*

EHR - *English Historical Review*

ODNB - *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

TNA - *The National Archives*

TRHS - *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

Chapter I

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Introduction

John of Gaunt, second duke of Lancaster, occupied a unique position in late fourteenth-century England. He was the third surviving son of Edward III and thus the foremost magnate of the realm, occupying a greater social, political and economic position than any other noble. Gaunt's position in the royal bloodline, combined with intelligence, articulateness, an imposing physical presence and a great personal fortune, provided him with the essential prerequisites for holding power in the late medieval age.¹ Furthermore, due to his marriage to Constance of Castile in 1372, he was also titular ruler of Castile; Gaunt was a force on the national and international stage.

Gaunt's status enabled him to possess one of the most comprehensive military recruitment networks of any magnate. As such, Gaunt often raised huge military forces. In 1369, for example, Gaunt raised 1,840 men for an army of approximately 5,000, and in 1385 he raised 3,000 men, a figure which dwarfed the second largest retinue of 400 brought by the earl of Cambridge.² That Gaunt possessed the ability to raise huge retinues has long been recognised by historians.³ However, apart from the work of Simon Walker, there has been little research conducted into the composition of the armies Gaunt commanded.⁴ This essay intends to take a small step towards rectifying this short-fall in current historiography by undertaking a prosopographical investigation into the personnel of Gaunt's armies of 1373 and 1378.⁵

¹ Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Divided Houses*, vol III (London, 2009), p.3-4.

² Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity* (Oxford, 1990), p.40; N. B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385', *EHR*, vol 73 (1958), 1-26 (p.17, Appendix II).

³ A. E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR*, vol 46 (1931), 353-371.

⁴ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.39-50, 67-81.

⁵ This essay shall not provide a detailed narrative of either the 1373 'Great March' or the 1378 St Malo campaign. For a secondary narrative of 1373, see; J. Sumption, *Divided Houses*, p.171-211; Sydney Armitage-

A prosopographical analysis of these two armies is enabled by the survival of a number of sources which yield a considerable quantity of names for those personnel involved.⁶ Our examination of these armies will not only add to the historiography centred on Gaunt, but will also facilitate an exploration into the changing nature of military service in the late fourteenth-century. It is argued by historians that during the mid to late fourteenth-century super-mixed retinues emerged. As these retinues often numbered several thousand men the relationships between serving combatants became increasingly distant and made the retinue less stable.⁷ Through an analysis of Gaunt's personal retinues of 1373 and 1378 this research seeks to explore the super-mixed retinue to discover if the forces led by Gaunt were indeed less cohesive and therefore unstable. Such an analysis may shed light on why English arms over the same period were less militarily effective than those of the mid-fourteenth century. This study shall, in all instances, move from the general to the specific. Chapter two shall explore existing historiography and the sources and methodologies employed by historians. Chapter three shall provide a reconstruction of the armies of 1373 and 1378, by drawing on all available sources. By chapters four and five this essay shall move to specifically examine the vertical and horizontal stability of Gaunt's personal retinue. At the close of this essay a nuanced conclusion regarding the stability of the 1373 and 1378 armies shall have been reached.

Smith, *John of Gaunt* (Westminster, 1904), p. 45-117. For 1378, see; J. Sumption, *Divided Houses*, p.314-333; S. Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 230-234.

⁶ See Chapter 2, 2.2, for an assessment of sources.

⁷ Andrew Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth Century England', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Adrian. R. Bell and Anne Curry (Woodbridge, 2011), pp 9-61.

Chapter II

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Historiography, Sources and Methodology

2.1 - Historiography

There exists a voluminous quantity of literature regarding John of Gaunt. This literature ranges from contemporary chronicles to the work of modern historians. This chapter intends to briefly advance through this literature before progressing into the specific historiographical debate which lies at the heart of this essay; namely, did army stability and cohesion decrease in the late fourteenth-century? This examination of historiography shall be followed by an analysis of the sources utilised by historians and the innovative methodologies employed by them.

Owing to his status, Gaunt features frequently in many of the chronicles of the mid to late fourteenth-century. The most well informed chronicler on Lancastrian issues is Henry Knighton. Knighton, however, writes about neither the 1373 or 1378 campaigns.⁸ Jean Froissart provides the best contemporary narrative of the 'Great March' of 1373 and the 1378 siege of St Malo.⁹ Thomas Walsingham is the only other chronicler to provide an account of the 1378 siege of St Malo.¹⁰ Because of the limited coverage and narrative-nature of the chronicle accounts they will perform a supporting role in this prosopographical study.

Given that a huge literature-base exists for Gaunt it would be un-realistic, and counterproductive, to provide a full examination of it here. However, three distinct categories of historiography regarding Gaunt can be identified. The first of these three categories are the

⁸ Unfortunately, Knighton's narrative is broken from 1367 until 1376. His account of the year 1378 does not mention the siege of St Malo, see; *Knighton Chronicle*, ed and trans. by G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p. 199-207.

⁹ *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*, trans. by Thomas Johnes, vol IV, 2nd edn (London, 1806), for 1373, p.235-248; 1378, vol 5, p.1-25.

¹⁰ *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, trans. by David Preest, introduction and notes by James G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p.68-69.

biographical accounts.¹¹ The second relates to Gaunt's involvement in politics and diplomacy, while the third is military centric.¹² As this present study has a particular focus on the military forces recruited and led by Gaunt it is mainly concerned with those studies that have focused on his military life. The most important works in this regard are those by Andrew Ayton, Anne Curry and Simon Walker.¹³

Over the last century our understanding of the fourteenth-century military has advanced considerably due to the high-level of academic interest in the period. The resultant military-centric literature focuses on three principle areas. The first of these areas concerns strategy and campaigns.¹⁴ A secondary strand to the literature has a focus on recruitment, while the third group of scholars have examined logistics. The belief, first substantially proposed by Charles Oman, that, 'Edward III was a very competent tactician, but a very unskilled strategist' held sway for a long time.¹⁵ However, the revisionist theory advanced by Clifford Rogers that Edward III actively operated a battle-seeking strategy transformed historiographical understanding of medieval military strategy.¹⁶ The foundations for the second area of research, which has focused on recruitment, were laid by J.E. Morris with his pioneering work into the indenture system under Edward I.¹⁷ Building on the foundations laid by Morris, A.E. Prince and N.B Lewis revealed the intricate workings, and development of, the paid contract system by which armies of the fourteenth-century were

¹¹ S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt, The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992); For older works, see; Arthur Collins, *The Life and Glorious Actions of Edward Prince of Wales and the History of his Royal Brother John of Gaunt* (London, 1740); George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), p.132-136; William Goodwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, The Early English Poet: Including Memoirs of his near Friend and Kinsman, John of Gaunt* (London, 1804).

¹² For Gaunt's role in politics and diplomacy, see; C.J. Phillpotts, 'John of Gaunt and English Policy towards France, 1389-1395', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol 16 (1990), 363-386.

¹³ A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment', p.22-25; Adrian. R. Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King and David Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013); S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.39-80.

¹⁴ On campaigns, see; Christopher.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 1988), p.6-36.

¹⁵ Sir Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), p.61, p.591. The argument that Edward III actively attempted to avoid battle was accepted by; H.J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War Under Edward III* (Manchester, 1966), p.100; Maurice Keen, *English Society in the later Middle Ages, 1348-1500* (Harmondsworth, 1990), p.135; C.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Year War*, p.54-55.

¹⁶ Clifford. J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp* (Woodbridge, 2000).

¹⁷ J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 68-71, 189, 272, 278-279.

recruited.¹⁸ Indeed, by 1954 Bruce Lyon could write that, 'As a result of these studies there is probably little more to be known about the actual workings of the indenture system'.¹⁹ H.J. Hewitt was able to build on the work of the aforementioned historians and create a comprehensive account of the recruitment and organisations of armies under Edward III.²⁰ The work of Hewitt crosses over into the third area of military historiography: the logistics of war. While this area has received less attention than the others discussed, historians such as R.A Kaner and, more recently, Craig Lambert have made important contributions to this area of developing historiography.²¹

While the earlier historians made great strides, it was not until computerised analysis tools were brought to bear on the subject that military service prosopography was able to penetrate deeper into the internal structures of retinues. Even so, progress was slow. In 1994, for example, Ayton was still able to write that, 'there are few aspects of medieval English history as worthy of investigation, yet as neglected as military service.'²² Since this time there has been a development in historiography towards examining specifically the combatants of armies. This move is exemplified by the publication of a number of detailed (database-aided) prosopographical studies concerned with the composition of armies and the military community.²³ These studies, by building career biographies of soldiers through the innovative methodology of 'military service prosopography', have, in the whole, given weight to the argument of declining army stability in the late fourteenth-century.

¹⁸ A. E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies' ; N. B. Lewis, 'An Early Indenture of Military Service, 27 July 1287', *BIHR*, vol 13 (1935-36), 85-89 ; N.B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indenture Retinues in the Fourteenth Century', *TRHS*, 4th Series, vol 27 (1945), 29-39 ; N. B. Lewis, 'The Recruitment and Organisation of a Contract Army, May to November 1337', *BIHR*, vol 37 (1964), 1-19.

¹⁹ Bryce D. Lyon, 'The Feudal Antecedent of the Indenture System', *Speculum*, vol 29, (1954), 503-511 (p.503-504).

²⁰ H.J. Hewitt, *Organisation of War*.

²¹ R.A. Kaner, 'The Management of the Mobilization of English Armies: Edward I to Edward III', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2000; Craig Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military: English Maritime Logistics in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011).

²² Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 1.

²³ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*; Adrian. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004).

To reveal decreasing levels of army stability, Ayton first demonstrated that the army which fought at Crecy experienced a high level of retinue stability. Through a prosopographical analysis of the retinue commanded by the earl of Northampton, Ayton was able to identify 72 individuals, half of whom were knights. Six of these men had served with Northampton since 1336 and an additional three since 1337.²⁴ This revealed that Northampton's retinue had a permanent 'nucleus around which less stable elements could collect'.²⁵ These less stable elements were those 'new' men at Crecy, such as Sir Michael Poynings.²⁶ Furthermore, Ayton demonstrated that of the 72 named individuals 41 (57%) could be shown to have served with the earl in some capacity on at least one other previous military campaign.²⁷ If these figures are extrapolated it can be estimated that over half of the men under Northampton had served with him previously. Ayton is able, by employing the same methodology, to demonstrate similar levels of stability within the earl of Warwick's retinue. Of the 109 identifiable individuals attached to Warwick's retinue in 1346, 71 (65%) can be shown to have served with the earl on at least one previous occasion.²⁸ When the composition of Northampton and Warwick's retinues are considered together the conclusion that the Crecy army was a stable force, which contained experienced and loyal soldiers, seems watertight. Indeed, the recent work of David Simpkin and Andrew Spencer, which has examined the stability of retinues prior to Bannockburn, also supports the theory of early fourteenth-century retinue stability.²⁹

2.2 - Sources

In order to determine the overall size of armies and to explore the internal structure of retinues there are several groups of sources which historians can turn to. Broadly, these records were

²⁴ Andrew Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', in *The Battle of Crecy, 1346*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.157-251 (p.206).

²⁵ N.B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues', p.33-34.

²⁶ The term 'new' refers to those men serving with Northampton for the first time, not necessarily new to warfare, see; A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.211-212.

²⁷ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.206.

²⁸ A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.16.

²⁹ David Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.119-141; A. Spencer, 'The Comital Military Retinue in the Reign of Edward I', *Historical Research*, vol 83 (2008), 46-59.

produced by the Exchequer or the Chancery.³⁰ The three main categories are *Vadia Guerre* records, muster rolls and letters of protection. Additionally, subsidiary sources such as the issue rolls, pipe rolls and charters of pardon have also been used by historians.

To bring precision to the question of overall army size, without the need to rely on the often inflated figures of chroniclers, historians have turned to the *Vadia Guerre* (pay-roll) records.³¹ These records, found for the early campaigns of Edward III in the Wardrobe accounts, provide a captain by captain calendar of an army's retinues with details of personnel numbers, periods of service and pay due.³² Considering that this information is normally clearly laid-out they provide an impression of overall army structure with much detailed information. With the rise of paid military service in the early fourteenth-century many of the major campaigns 'from Boroughbridge to Brétigny' have detailed extant *Vadia Guerre* records.³³ However, some campaigns, such as the Black Prince's chevauchée of 1355-1357 and the Crecy campaign of 1346, have no surviving pay-roll.³⁴

In instances where no comprehensive *Vadia Guerre* exists, historians can turn to the pipe rolls and/or issue rolls.³⁵ Craig Lambert was able to use the pipe rolls, which document royal income and expenditure, to supplement the limited information contained within the *Vadia Natarum* accounts for Northampton's fleet of 1342.³⁶ The issue rolls, which are not fully published, are itemised records of Exchequer expenditure.³⁷ They document many instances of retinue captains

³⁰ The Exchequer contain records such as, Accounts of Particular (E 101), Pipe Rolls (E 372) and Issue Rolls (E 403). The Chancery contains record such as, Treaty Rolls (C 76), Gascon Rolls (C 61) and Scottish Rolls (C 71). See; Craig Lambert, 'Taking the War to Scotland and France: The Supply and Transportation of English Armies by Sea, 1320-60', Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 2006, p.13-14, 23.

³¹ On chroniclers giving inflated figures, see; J.H. Ramsey, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Middle Ages: Estimates of Chroniclers and Modern Writers', *EHR*, vol 29 (1914), 221-227; Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), p.3-5.

³² For this and much of what follows see, A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.138-156.

³³ *Ibid*, p.141-142.

³⁴ For a discussion on a possible *Vadia Guerre* from 1346, see; A. Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp.253-268.

³⁵ On Issue Rolls, see; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.141-142.

³⁶ C. Lambert, 'Taking the War to Scotland and France', p.19. *Vadia Natarum* are the naval equivalent of *Vadia Guerre*.

³⁷ TNA, *Exchequer of Receipts: Issue Rolls and Registers*, <<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/details/redirect/?CATLN=3&CATID=5394&CATREF=E403>> [Accessed 20 March 2014]; For an Issue Rolls which has been published see; *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, ed. by Frederick Devon (London, 1835).

receiving advances of their men's pay (Prests) and *regard*.³⁸ While they confirm the participation of some retinue leaders, they do not, however, provide a complete register of captains. Additionally, prests payments are normally recorded as lump-sums, making it difficult to discern the size of retinues. However, by the late fourteenth-century issue rolls become a more useful source detailing manpower numbers and sometime rank.³⁹ For this reason historians focusing on the late fourteenth-century have utilised issue rolls effectively.⁴⁰

While the issue and pipe rolls can supplement *Vadia Guerre* records, they do not fully compensate for their pitfalls. One of the issues is that the clerks who compiled the *Vadia Guerre* records, in their desire to create a neat document, often summarises figures, thus presenting a 'distorted impression of personnel numbers'.⁴¹ This, 'element of trouble-saving fiction', belies the effect mortality, desertion and late arrivals had on the size of an army.⁴² Furthermore, many camp-followers and servants do not appear on *Vadia Guerre* records. Indeed, all of those serving in return for a charter of pardon (between 5-10%) would not appear on any payroll because they served without pay.⁴³

During the fourteenth-century upwards of five thousand charters of pardon were issued in return for military service.⁴⁴ Records of the pardons issued by Edwardians kings, to 'bolster the ranks of the infantry', are today found in numerous archive repositories and within the Calendar of Patent Rolls.⁴⁵ By providing records of those who served without pay, pardons reveal individuals not featured on *Vadia Guerre* records and thus aid historians in producing accurate statistics regarding

³⁸ On *regard*, which took the place of *Restauro Equorum*, see; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.110-127.

³⁹ J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *EHR*, vol 79 (1965), 718-746 (p.718-719); For example, see the case of Sir Walter Hewitt in 1370; *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, p.119, 130, 141-142.

⁴⁰ See, for example; N. B. Lewis, 'The last Medieval Summons', p.6, p.17 (Appendix II); *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II*, trans and ed. by Chris Given Wilson (Manchester, 1993), pp.247-251 (Appendix A: The Duke of York's Army, July 1399).

⁴¹ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 155

⁴² K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), p.16.

⁴³ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.145-146.

⁴⁴ Helen Lacey, *The Royal Pardon: Access to Mercy in Fourteenth-Century England* (York, 2009), p. 185-186 (Appendix I and II).

⁴⁵ Such as, Gascon (C61), Patent, Scottish (C71), Treaty Rolls (C76) and local collections, see; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.163; H. Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p.1-2, 183-184 (Appendix I).

army sizes.⁴⁶ Additionally, that pardons were generally sought by those of lower status provides historians with a unique window into the socio-economic composition of an army.⁴⁷ While pardons are a useful subsidiary source they must be used with a degree of caution. In some cases, such as the Halidon Hill campaign of 1333, there is no evidence that those granted pardons actually took up arms.⁴⁸ Therefore historians must, if possible, use pardons in conjunction with other sources.⁴⁹

The sources so far discussed have provided historians with much macro data pertinent to discovering the overall size of armies. However, in order to go deeper into exploring the internal structure of an army and its retinues', historians necessarily require the names of soldiers; it is names which provide the bedrock of prosopographical study.⁵⁰ In order to ascertain this data historians turn to muster rolls. Muster rolls, which were compiled by royal clerks, are lists of the names of all the soldiers gathered at a specified muster location prior to embarkation.⁵¹ A muster roll would group the soldiers roughly into retinues, thus indicating the structure of the army.⁵² Muster rolls were compiled in order to provide the Exchequer with a document detailing precisely which individuals fulfilled the terms of their indenture and thus should receive pay. They were dynamic working documents which, in some instances, noted when an individual died or absconded.⁵³ Prior to the administrative reforms of 1369 few muster rolls were compiled, however for the period 1369-1399 124 muster rolls exist.⁵⁴ This large number of muster rolls is crucially important, for as Ayton has observed, having a series of muster rolls allows historians to examine

⁴⁶ In the absence of *Vadia Guerre* records for the army of 1346 Ayton is able to identify, by using pardons, over 1000 individuals, see; A. Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', p.254.

⁴⁷ H. Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p.100-101; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.163-165.

⁴⁸ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.164.

⁴⁹ J. E. Morris made the mistake of taking them at face value for the army of 1333, see; John. E. Morris, 'Mounted Infantry in Medieval Warfare', *TRHS*, 3rd series, vol 8 (1914), 77-102 (p.93).

⁵⁰ Of course, the charters of pardon do provide many names, yet muster rolls provide considerably more.

⁵¹ The locating of muster would be specified in the indenture, see; A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 58.

⁵² A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.166-167.

⁵³ A. R. Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 52. The Medieval Soldier Database does not provide this level of 'dynamic' information.

⁵⁴ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.10. This figure excludes Normandy Garrison Rolls.

continuity of service from one campaign to the next, and thus bring precision to the question of army stability.⁵⁵

Ayton's examination of Lord Brian's retinue from 1370-1378 highlights this point well. Ayton is able to reveal that only 11% of the men who had served with Brian in 1370 returned for at least one of his four subsequent expeditions.⁵⁶ This low level of re-service is clearly indicative that retinue stability was decreasing in the late fourteenth-century. The work of Adrian Bell into the armies of 1387 and 1388, for which two full muster rolls exist, further highlights how unstable armies had become. Bell reveals that only 473 soldiers, 16% of the entire force, served on both campaigns. Indeed, while knightly re-service was considerably higher at 43%, further digging reveals that only 4% of the armies' esquires served under the same captain.⁵⁷ So, while there may have been limited high-level stability, as exemplified by the statistics regarding knightly re-service, specific retinue level and overall re-service, was low. When the data regarding Lord Brian's retinue and the armies of 1387 and 1388 are considered in relation to the extrapolated data for the Crecy army, a conclusion of decreasing military stability seems even more watertight.

The examinations carried out by Ayton and Bell highlight what can be achieved when a series of extant muster rolls exist. Ayton and Bell were, however, fortunate in having such comprehensive data. While 124 muster rolls exist for the 1369-99 period, they only provide data for 58% of the total number of troops involved in military activity over that time.⁵⁸ In order to overcome this problem of partial coverage, historians using muster rolls as their primary source base must turn to subsidiary sources such as the aforementioned charters of pardon and the not yet mentioned letters of protection.

⁵⁵ Due to the work of the Medieval Soldier Team (Anne Curry, Adrian. R. Bell, Andy King, Adam Chapman and David Simpkin), all the muster rolls for the period 1369-1453 have been digitised and are available, in database format, online at, <www.medievalsoldier.org>. All archive references cited hereafter gained from this source, unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁶ A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.24-25.

⁵⁷ A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.97-99.

⁵⁸ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.10. This figure excludes Normandy Garrison Rolls.

Owing to a dearth of muster rolls for the early fourteenth-century, letters of protection are 'very much the staple diet' for historians of this period.⁵⁹ For historians of the late fourteenth-century they are used to overcome the problem of partial coverage provided by the muster rolls.⁶⁰ A protection would be sought by a person who, when going on campaign, had reason to protect the property he left behind. For this reason protections are 'heavily biased towards the propertied'.⁶¹ They provide, almost exclusively, data regarding the knights and esquires of an army. While this is a negative, the 'silent majority' remain silent; it can also be a positive. Nominal record linkage, the principle stage in creating the career biographies essential for prosopographical study, is considerably more achievable for the knights and esquires. Owing to their higher social status, they feature more often in other records. For this reason this study shall only concentrate on those of esquires rank and above.⁶² While protections are a useful source they must be used with a degree of caution for, 'they are statements of intent, rather than firm evidence of performance'.⁶³

2.3 – Methodology

In light of our investigation into many of the sources utilised by fourteenth-century military historians we can see that no group of sources can be used effectively in isolation; they all have certain individual weaknesses. In order to overcome these weaknesses, or at least to limit their impact, historians must employ the methodology of nominal record linkage. In order to produce reliable conclusions historians must use the sources in conjunction with one another. Simply relying on one or two sources would be a methodological mistake. As such this prosopographical study into Gaunt's armies of 1373 and 1378 will use as its foundation musters rolls and letter of protection. Yet in order to go further than simply revealing the overall structure and makeup of the armies, as done by Sherborne for the army of 1373, this study will also utilise available subsidiary sources such as the published issue rolls and the calendars of close and patent rolls. Before we can begin to investigate

⁵⁹ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.157.

⁶⁰ Tables 1 and 2 exemplify how letters of protection can provide additional data where muster roll coverage is only partial, see; below, p.19 and p.20-21.

⁶¹ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.162.

⁶² Additionally, space constraints prohibit an exploration into the archers.

⁶³ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.157.

the internal structure and stability of the armies we must create a macro picture of their overall size and composition.

Chapter III

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The Armies of 1373 and 1378 and their High-Level Stability

3.1 - The Army of 1373

The army which left England in 1373 comprised 14 English retinues: 1 duke, 3 earls, 7 bannerets, 2 knights, 1 clerk and, additionally under the duke of Brittany, 15 foreign retinues. These figures have been drawn from the foundational work of J. Sherborne, who drew his macro data from *Vadia Guerre* records and issue rolls.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, for the army of 1373 muster rolls relating to only four retinues have survived; those of, Edward Despenser, Ralph Basset of Drayton, Thomas de Beauchamp and Walter Hewitt.⁶⁵ In the absence of a muster roll detailing Gaunt's personal retinue, and in an attempt to identify as many individuals as possible, we must turn to letters of protection. Simon Walker, by drawing on protections, managed to identify 83 individuals from Gaunt's personal retinue.⁶⁶ We can build on the work of Walker and increase the overall figure of identifiable individuals to 169 by likewise drawing on protections. Additionally, another eight individuals can be identified from the work of Andy King into militarily active members of Parliament.⁶⁷ Table one represents a full breakdown of all available figures.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues', p.728-729.

⁶⁵ Lord Edward Despenser, TNA E 101/32/26, m.1, m.2, m1d, m2d; Ralph Bassett, TNA E 101/32/38, m.1, m.2, m.3 ; Thomas Beauchamps, TNA E 101/32/39, m.3, m3d ; Walter Hewitt, TNA E 101/35/2, m.8.

⁶⁶ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I). Walker also drew on other sources, which cannot be used in this study because they have not been fully translated, such as John of Gaunt's register and sources from regional record offices.

⁶⁷ Andy King, 'What Werre Amounteth': The Military Experience of Knights of the Shire, 1369–1389', *History*, vol 95 (2010), 418-436.

⁶⁸ Few charters of pardon can be identified for either the 1373 or 1378 armies.

Table 1 – The Army of 1373 ⁶⁹

Captains for whom data is available	Peers	Banneret	Knights	Esquires	Total [Inc. Retinue Captain]
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster ⁷⁰	3	0 [8]	112 [150]	53 [621]	169 [779]
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick ⁷¹	0		33 [59]	181 [140]	215 [199]
Lord Ralph Basset of Drayton ⁷²			6 [9]	93 [90]	100 [99]
Lord Edward Despenser ⁷³		1 [0]	40 [59]	274 [240]	316 [299]
Sir Walter Hewitt ⁷⁴			6 [10]	72 [50]	79 [60]
Sir Thomas Fogg ⁷⁵				1	2
Sir William Montendre ⁷⁶				2	3
Unknown Retinue ⁷⁷			8		8
					Total identifiable individuals: 892

Table one shows that the total number of identifiable individuals, for the 1373 army, drawn from the 3 existing muster rolls, 116 letters of protection, and from the work of Andy King and Simon Walker, stands at 892. When the retinue captains supplied by Sherborne, but for whom no additional data is available (22), are added to the data in table one, the total number rises to 914. To this figure can be added three individuals, Lord Lewis Clifford, Sir Stephen Cossington and Sir Richard Pontchardon, whose presence is noted by Froissart.⁷⁸ When all the data is considered together the total number of identifiable individuals for the 1373 campaign is 917. When it is considered that the

⁶⁹ Numbers in brackets indicate the number of soldiers originally contracted to serve with that retinue leader, drawn from; J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues', p.728-729. Those retinue leaders for whom no data is available (22) have been omitted from the table. In order to provide as accurate data as possible only those letters of protection which specifically state the rank of combatant have been used. It is hoped, therefore, that no archer has been included in the data in table one.

⁷⁰ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I) ; TNA C 76/56, m.7, m.11, m.18, m.20, m.25,m.26,m.27,m.28. For a comprehensive list of all identifiable individuals, see; Appendix I, below (p.46-48).

⁷¹ TNA E 101/32/39, m.3, m3d; TNA C 76/56, m.33,m.22

⁷² TNA E 101/32/38, m.1, m.2, m.3; TNA C 76/56, m.27

⁷³ TNA E 101/32/26, m.1, m.2, m1d, m2d ; TNA C 76/56, m.31, m.13

⁷⁴ TNA E 101/35/2, m.8 ; TNA C76/56, m.26

⁷⁵ TNA C 76/56, m.9

⁷⁶ TNA C 76/56, m.10

⁷⁷ Andy King, 'What Werre Amounteth', 418-436.

⁷⁸ *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, p.235-236.

total number of men-at-arms present on the 1373 campaign was 3,032, we can conclude that 30% of those men-at-arms are identifiable by name.⁷⁹

3.2 – The Army of 1378

Due to the sporadic and incomplete nature of the available sources, reconstructing the 1378 army is a difficult task. At present no study akin to Sherborne’s has been undertaken, so a comprehensive breakdown of the numbers of retinues and/or their commanders is unavailable. Additionally, akin to the previous case, the six surviving muster rolls do not provide full coverage of personnel. However, by using the existing muster rolls in conjunction with letters of protection, a sizeable portion of the 1378 army can be identified. We are able to identify 19 retinues (some sub-level) including Gaunt’s, which were present on the campaign. A full breakdown of the available data is presented in table two.

Table 2 - The Army of 1378⁸⁰

Captains for whom data is available	Peers	Banneret	Knights	Esquires	Total [Inc. Retinue Capt.]
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster ⁸¹	1	0	36	11	49
Earl of Arundel ⁸²			20	181	202
Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham ⁸³		1	12	60	74
Sir William de Beauchamp ⁸⁴			17	40	58
Sir John Darundell ⁸⁵	2		26	175	204
Sir William de Neville ⁸⁶			3	66	70
Sir Thomas Percy ⁸⁷			4	109	114
Sir John atte Pole ⁸⁸			3	39	43
Sir Aubrey de Vere ⁸⁹			5	120	126

⁷⁹ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.271 (Appendix I).

⁸⁰ Those captains, whose name appears in italics, are not to be found on any muster roll. Their presence on the campaign is known only through being mentioned as a captain on a letter of protection.

⁸¹ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I); TNA C76/62, m.1, m.5, m.18, m.20. For a comprehensive list of all identifiable individuals, see; Appendix II, below (p.49-50).

⁸² TNA E 101/36/32, m.3, m.4; TNA C 76/62, m.18, m.24.

⁸³ TNA E 101/38/2, m.1.

⁸⁴ TNA E 101/36/39, m.2, m.3, m.4 ; TNA C 76/62, m.4, m.19, m.22 m.1.

⁸⁵ TNA E 101/36/39, m.12d, m.11d, m.10d, m.9d, m.8d.

⁸⁶ TNA E 101/36/39, m.2, m.3, m.4.

⁸⁷ TNA E 101/36/39, m.10, m.11 ; TNA E 101/37/28, m.1.

⁸⁸ TNA E 101/36/34, m.1, m.9; TNA C 76/62, m.9.

Sir Thomas Fogg ⁹⁰				1	2
Sir Robert Knolles ⁹¹			3		4
Sir Philip le Despencer ⁹²				5	6
John Ypes ⁹³				1	2
Lord Thomas Roos ⁹⁴			2	1	4
Sir Michael de le Pole ⁹⁵			1	1	3
Robert Ferrers ⁹⁶			1		2
Richard Cryse ⁹⁷				1	2
Thomas Symond ⁹⁸				1	2
Sir John Cornwall ⁹⁹				1	2
					Total identifiable individuals; 969

Table two demonstrates that by utilising all available data 969 of the 2,690 men-at-arms who landed at St Malo in 1370 can be identified by name.¹⁰⁰ This represents 36% coverage of the total personnel. Determining re-service rates between the two campaigns is problematic because no major retinue captain, bar Gaunt, served on both campaigns. One may expect to see evidence of re-service between the retinues of Thomas Beauchamp and his brother William, however this is not the case.¹⁰¹ In regard to Gaunt's retinue specifically, only 18 soldiers can be identified to have served on both the 1373 and 1378 campaigns.¹⁰² It is clear to see, therefore, that at the micro retinue level, comprehensive re-service data cannot be produced.

⁸⁹ TNA E 101/36/39, m.5, m.6, m.7, m.8.

⁹⁰ TNA C 76/62, m.2.

⁹¹ TNA C 76/63, m.18.

⁹² TNA C 76/62, m.14.

⁹³ TNA C 76/62, m.2.

⁹⁴ TNA C 76/62, m.1.

⁹⁵ TNA C 76/62, m.9.

⁹⁶ TNA C 76/62, m.10.

⁹⁷ TNA C 76/62, m.2.

⁹⁸ TNA C 76/63, m.21.

⁹⁹ TNA C 76/62, m.3.

¹⁰⁰ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.272 (Appendix I).

¹⁰¹ No individuals can be identified to have served under Thomas in 1373 and them William in 1378. This may be partially explained by the fact that the muster roll is damaged. The first names of 30 individuals are missing, see; TNA E 101/36/39, m.2, m.3, m.4.

¹⁰² S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I); Walker provides 17 individuals who re-served, the eighteenth individual is Sir Edmund de la Pole, see; 1373, TNA C 76/56, m.28; 1378, TNA C 76/62, m.4.

On a macro level, by comparing the 1373 and 1378 datasets, only 24 individuals can be positively identified to have re-served.¹⁰³ These include soldiers such as Sir Youn Fitz Waryn who served in the earl of Warwick's retinue in 1373 and Sir John Darundell's in 1378 and Sir Thomas Arthur who served in, respectively, the retinues of Edward lord Despencer and Sir John Darundell.¹⁰⁴ That all of these individuals served under different captains on the 1373 and 1378 campaigns highlights the fluidity of the late fourteenth-century recruitment market. If it were not for a dearth of information, it would likely be possible to identify more individuals who re-served. For example, is the esquire John Bonham who served under Warwick in 1373 the same John Bonham, with no rank recorded, serving under the earl of Arundel in 1378?¹⁰⁵ Without more details, it is impossible to know for certain whether this was the same person. So, due to the limitations of, and sporadic coverage provided by, the surviving sources, we cannot reach any sound conclusions regarding overall re-service statistics between the armies of 1373 and 1378.

On account of being unable to produce reliable re-service statistics the armies of 1373 and 1378 thus appear as unstable forces. They appear to support the argument of declining army stability in the late fourteenth-century. However, we must not leap to this conclusion. As Ayton has observed, there are other ways to explore the stability of armies without relying wholly on re-service statistics. By employing prosopography to explore the vertical and horizontal ties which existed within a retinue, a web of interconnectedness which gave the retinue stability can be revealed.¹⁰⁶ This study shall, therefore, undertake an investigation into the vertical and horizontal ties which existed within Gaunt's identifiable 1373 and 1378 retinues. Before this can be accomplished, however, we shall examine the stability of the high-command networks of both armies.

¹⁰³ Excluding figures for Gaunt's retinue mentioned above.

¹⁰⁴ Sir Youn Fitz Waryn: 1373, TNA E 101/32/39, m.3; 1378, TNA E 101/36/39, m.9d. Sir Thomas Arthur: 1373, TNA E 101/32/26, m.1; 1378, TNA E 101/36/39, m.12d.

¹⁰⁵ 1373, TNA E 101/32/39, m.3; 1378, TNA E 101/36/32, m.3

¹⁰⁶ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.213-215.

3.3 – High-Level Stability

For an army to be stable, cohesive and successful its high-command must not be divided by ‘rivalries and jealousies’.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, as David Simpkin has noted, the more militarily experienced individuals a high-command network comprised the more stable it became.¹⁰⁸ Simpkin has demonstrated that the high-command of late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century English armies were stable networks, comprising experienced soldiers.¹⁰⁹ Ayton has likewise demonstrated that armies of the mid-fourteenth-century possessed stable high-command networks.¹¹⁰ With the resumption of war in 1369, however, many of England’s most experienced commanders, those who had historically made up the high-command of armies, had either died or retired from military activity.¹¹¹ The command of armies passed to a new generation of military leaders. The circumstances suggest that the high-level stability of fourteenth-century armies thus decreased in the latter part of the century. To test this we shall explore the stability of the high-command networks of the 1373 and 1378 armies.

To begin, we shall explore the military relationship which existed between Gaunt and his foremost captains in 1373. Of the 12 principle English captains identified by Sherborne, excluding all foreign contingents, eight (66%) had served on at least one military campaign alongside Gaunt before 1373, as exemplified by table three.¹¹² Some captains, such as Thomas Beauchamp (earl of Warwick in 1369), and Henry Percy, can be seen to have served alongside Gaunt on multiple campaigns. There must have existed between these captains and Gaunt a camaraderie which had been forged though shared military experiences. While Beauchamp’s and Percy’s relationship with Gaunt had likely been fostered through service alongside one another on numerous campaigns, other captains, such as Sir Hugh Calverley , Sir Walter Hewitt and earl Strafford would have forged

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.226.

¹⁰⁸ D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy*, p.39

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.39-67.

¹¹⁰ A. Ayton, ‘The English Army at Crecy’, p.200-201; A. Ayton, ‘Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England’, in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed.by P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.215-239 (p.229-231).

¹¹¹ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.23-53.

¹¹² J. Sherborne, ‘Indenture Retinues’, p.728-729. Note alongside, not necessarily under Gaunt.

comradeship with Gaunt through battle. In 1367 both Calverley and Hewitt had fought alongside Gaunt in the vanguard of the English army at Najera. The experience of having fought beside each other in battle must have forged strong horizontal and vertical ties between these men and Gaunt.

Table 3 – Campaigns on Which the Principle Retinue Captains of the 1373 Army Campaigned Alongside John of Gaunt

Principle Captains of 1373 Campaign ¹¹³	1355	1359	1367	1369	1372
Hugh, earl of Stafford ¹¹⁴		*	*		
William, earl of Suffolk ¹¹⁵					*
Thomas, earl of Warwick ¹¹⁶	*	*		*	*
Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton ¹¹⁷		*			*
Sir Hugh Calverley ¹¹⁸			*		*
Edward, Lord Despenser ¹¹⁹		*			*
Sir Walter Hewitt ¹²⁰			*		
Henry, Lord Percy ¹²¹		*		*	*

The information in table three demonstrates that between the commander of the 1373 army and many of his principle captains there existed a bond forged through shared military experiences. These shared experiences would have bound the high-command together and given a degree of cohesion and stability to the whole of the army. It would appear, therefore, that the high-

¹¹³ The four principle captains who did not serve with Gaunt before 1373, Sir William Bardolf, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Green and Sir Richard Green have been omitted from this table. See; *Ibid*. Additionally, Sir Thomas Fogg and Sir William Montendre, who are included on table 1, have been omitted here because they were clearly sub-retinue captains and thus were not part of the high-command network.

¹¹⁴ For service in 1359 see; TNA C 76/38, m.11; 1367, Carole Rawcliffe, 'Stafford, Hugh, second earl of Stafford (c.1342–1386)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26206>>, [Accessed 28 March 2014].

All archive references relating to the 1359 army are gained from Dr Craig Lambert's database. I am grateful to Dr Lambert for allowing me to use this data.

¹¹⁵ 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower, *Past and Present*, vol 37, (1967), 163-175 (p.171).

¹¹⁶ 1355, *The Chronicle of Henry Knighton*, p.131; 1359, TNA E 101 393/11 fol.83v; 1369, J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues', p.722; 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy', p.171.

¹¹⁷ 1359, TNA E 101 393/11 fol. 80v, C 76/38, m.18; 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy', p.171.

¹¹⁸ 1367, Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries* (Massachusetts, 2001), p.214; 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy', p.171.

¹¹⁹ 1359, TNA E 101 393/11 fol. 80v; 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy', p.171.

¹²⁰ 1367, K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 214.

¹²¹ 1359, TNA E 101 393/11 fol.82; 1369, J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues', p.722; 1372, J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy', p.171.

command of the 1373 army was equally as stable as the high-command of the early-mid fourteenth-century armies. Indeed, this argument can be further supported by the fact that four of the 12 principle captains were, like Gaunt, knights of the Garter. Edward Despenser had been invested at the same time as Gaunt in 1361, Henry Percy had been invested in 1366, Ralph Basset in 1368 and Thomas Beauchamp in 1373.¹²² The army of 1373 consequently had a stable body of leaders vertically bound to the overall commander though shared military experiences and, in some cases, membership to the most prestigious order of chivalry.

To investigate the vertical ties within the high-command of the 1378 army is more challenging because no comprehensive list detailing who the main captains were exists. Yet, based on the information presented in table two, some of the main captains, based on rank and retinue size, can be identified. The captains who likely made up the high-command of the 1378 army were, therefore, the earls of Arundel and Buckingham, and the knights William Beauchamp, John Darundell, William Neville, Thomas Percy, John atte Pole and Audrey de Vere.¹²³ The other captains, based on the size of their identifiable retinues, would have been sub-retinue captains and thus not part of the high-command network.

Of the eight main captains, only three (38%) had previously served under or alongside Gaunt. All three, Sir William Beauchamp, Sir Audrey de Vere and Sir Thomas Percy, served with Gaunt at Najera.¹²⁴ Najera was the only occasion de Vere served alongside Gaunt prior to 1378. However, Thomas Percy, son of Henry Percy, was part of the army jointly commanded by the Black Prince and Gaunt in 1370 which infamously sacked Limoges.¹²⁵ Likewise, William Beauchamp, younger brother of Thomas Beauchamp, had also served alongside Gaunt in 1370.¹²⁶ Indeed, Beauchamp had served alongside Gaunt in 1372 and was part of Gaunt's personal retinue by

¹²² G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, for Gaunt, p. 132-136, Despenser, 140-142, Henry Percy, 154-158, Ralph Basset, 159-162, Thomas Beauchamp (Warwick), 192-195.

¹²³ See; Table 2, above (p.20-21).

¹²⁴ K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 214; On Beauchamp's presence, see, *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, vol 3, p.304-305; On de Vere's, see; Anthony Goodman, 'Vere, Aubrey de, tenth earl of Oxford', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28205>>, [Accessed 29 March 2014].

¹²⁵ *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, vol 4, p.94-95; TNA C 61/83, m.6.

¹²⁶ TNA C 61/83, m.4.

1373.¹²⁷ By 1375 William Beauchamp was jointly retained by Gaunt and his brother the earl of Warwick. Beauchamp was probably retained jointly by Gaunt and Warwick because he was clearly a captain who, like Sir Thomas Ughtred, could supply a magnate with an 'off the peg' retinue.¹²⁸ Gaunt's relationship with Thomas Percy also ran deeper. In 1369 Percy had helped Sir John Chandos to capture the important castle of La Roche-sur-Yon in Poitou. The castle was handed to Gaunt who in turn leased it to Thomas Percy.¹²⁹ It must also be noted that, like Gaunt, both Beauchamp and Percy were knights of the Garter by 1378.¹³⁰

The cases of Beauchamp and Percy highlight the fact that there existed strong vertical ties between Gaunt and some of his captains, formed through shared military experiences. Furthermore, ties of fraternity obviously existed between Gaunt and his younger brother Thomas Woodstock, earl of Buckingham. The high-command of the 1378 army was not therefore, wholly unstable. However, there are fewer instances of shared military service between the 1378 captains. The overall impression is, therefore, that the high-command of the 1378 army was less bound together and thus less cohesive and stable than the high-command of 1373. Indeed, the two foremost captains of the 1378 army, Arundel and Buckingham, both had limited military experience in 1378.¹³¹ In light of this it must be concluded that within the high-command of the 1378 army there existed a limited number of vertical ties; certainly less than existed within the 1373 high-command. The conclusion appears, therefore, to partially support the hypothesis of decreasing army stability in the late fourteenth-century. Yet, to test this hypothesis further we must turn to examine specific retinue-level stability.

¹²⁷ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 264; TNA C 76/56, m.26.

¹²⁸ A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.22-23. On Sir Thomas Ughtred, see; A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 107-132.

¹²⁹ A. L. Brown, 'Percy, Thomas, earl of Worcester (c.1343–1403)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21955>>, [Accessed 29 March 2014].

¹³⁰ G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 221-227, 227-231.

¹³¹ C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard (III), fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey (1346–1397)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9535>>, [Accessed 29 March 2014]; Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas, duke of Gloucester (1355–1397)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27197>>, [Accessed 29 March 2014].

Chapter IV

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The Stability of John of Gaunt's Identifiable 1373 Retinue

4.1 - Vertical Ties

The clearest way to reveal the vertical ties which existed between Gaunt and the identifiable members of his 1373 retinue is to quantify their military relationship.¹³² Of the 168 identifiable individuals who served within Gaunt's 1373 retinue, 71 (42%) had served under Gaunt on at least one previous military campaign, as table 4 exemplifies. To gauge the importance of these figures they must be viewed in relation to those presented by Ayton for Northampton's 1346 retinue. Ayton demonstrated that 57% of Northampton's retinue had served with him on at least one previous military campaign.¹³³ The 17% variance between the previous service statistics for Northampton and Gaunt's retinues should not be exaggerated. Ayton, in his investigation, was able to identify 45% of Northampton's men-at-arms.¹³⁴ However, only 22% of Gaunt's men-at-arms from 1373 can be identified.¹³⁵ If the sources allowed us to identify more individuals then the 17% variance would likely decrease and the 42% previous service statistic would increase. Thus Gaunt's identifiable retinue appears to challenge the hypothesis that by the late fourteenth-century retinue level stability had decreased drastically. At this stage the overall impression of Gaunt's 1373 retinue is that it was a stable force, in which 42% its of members were bound, vertically, to the captain through ties of shared military experiences.

¹³² For the names of all identifiable individuals, see; Appendix I, below (p.46-48).

¹³³ That is 41 of the 72 identifiable individuals, see; A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.205-206.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p.206.

¹³⁵ See; Table 1 above (p.19).

Table 4 – Military Service under Gaunt Prior to 1373

Retainers¹³⁶	Rank	1359	1367	1369	1370	1372
Nicholas Atherton	Knight			*	*	*
Thomas Banaster	Knight	*	*		*	
Oliver Barton	Knight	*	*		*	
John Bathe	Esquire		*	*		*
William Beauchamp	Knight		*		*	*
Thomas Beaumont	Knight				*	*
John Botiller	Knight			*	*	*
Walter Blount	Knight			*	*	
John Boseville	Knight			*	*	*
William Bradshaw	Knight				*	*
William Cantilupe	Knight				*	*
Robert Caunsfield	Esquire			*		
<i>Thomas Cheyne¹³⁷</i>	<i>Knight</i>	*				
William Chetewynd	Knight	*		*	*	*
Robert Clifton	Knight			*		
Thomas Colville	Knight			*	*	*
<i>John Crescy¹³⁸</i>	<i>Knight</i>			*		
Hugh Dacre	Knight			*		*
John Dageney	Knight		*	*		*
Thomas Dale	Knight				*	
Thomas Driby	Esquire				*	
Edmund Frithby	Knight			*		*
Thomas Goys	Esquire				*	
Henry Green	Knight					*
<i>Gerard Grymesto¹³⁹</i>	<i>Knight</i>			*	*	
William Hall	Esquire			*	*	*
William Hauley	Knight	*	*	*		
Thomas Haselden	Esquire		*	*	*	
Ralph Hastings	Knight		*	*	*	*
<i>Roger Hulme¹⁴⁰</i>	<i>Esquire</i>			*		
Thomas Ilderton	Knight			*		*
Ralph Ipres	Knight			*	*	
Nicholas Kynbell	Knight		*	*	*	
Nicholas Longford	Knight		*	*	*	
John Lutterell	Esquire					*
John Marmion	Knight		*	*	*	*
<i>William Melton¹⁴¹</i>	<i>Knight</i>	*		*	*	
Thomas Metham	Knight		*	*	*	*

¹³⁶ Much of this tabulated data has been gained from, S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I). I have only footnoted incidents where I have been able to add to Walker's data. Those individuals who are italicised can be shown to have served in Gaunt retinue prior to 1373, yet were never personally retained by Gaunt and as such do feature in Walker's data. All other individuals were, at some point, personally retained by Gaunt. For dates of retention, see; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I).

¹³⁷ TNA, E 101 393/11 fol. 114v.

¹³⁸ TNA, C 76/52, m.8.

¹³⁹ 1369, TNA, C 76/52, m.9; 1370, TNA, C 61/83, m.3.

¹⁴⁰ TNA C 76/52, m.3.

¹⁴¹ 1359, TNA C 76/83, m.13; 1369, TNA C 76/52, m.10; 1370, TNA 61/83, m.3.

Richard Northland	Knight					*
William Notton	Esquire		*	*		
Janyndel Panetrye	Esquire		*	*		
William Parr	Knight				*	
Robert Pilkington	Esquire			*	*	*
Edmund Pierrepont	Knight		*	*	*	*
Walter Penhergerd	Esquire					*
<i>William Percy</i> ¹⁴²	<i>Knight</i>					*
John Plays	Knight		*	*	*	*
John de la Pole	Knight					*
Michael de la Pole	Knight	*		*	*	*
<i>Edmund de la Pole</i> ¹⁴³	<i>Knight</i>					*
Stephen Pulham	Esquire				*	
John Rither	Esquire			*		
Ralph Rocheford	Knight			*		
John Rocheford	Knight		*	*	*	
Thomas Roos	Baron			*	*	*
Robert Rockley	Knight			*	*	
Henry Rose	Esquire			*		
John Saville	Knight		*	*	*	
William Scargill	Knight			*	*	
Richard Scrope	Baron	*	*	*		
<i>Stephen Scrope</i> ¹⁴⁴	<i>Knight</i>	*				
<i>John Seynloo</i> ¹⁴⁵	<i>Knight</i>			*		*
Thomas Southworth	Knight					*
<i>Robert Swylyngton</i> ¹⁴⁶	<i>Knight</i>	*		*		
John St Lo	Knight		*	*	*	*
Alured Sulny	Knight			*		
Thomas Travers	Knight			*	*	
Roger Trumpyngton	Knight			*	*	
<i>Walter Ursewyk</i> ¹⁴⁷	<i>Knight</i>		*	*	*	*
John Wells	Baron			*		*
<i>Hugh la Zouche</i> ¹⁴⁸	<i>Knight</i>					*

However, by digging deeper into the previous service data, this impression can be challenged. By further breaking down the previous service figures it can be revealed that of the 71 individuals who served under Gaunt before 1373, 22 (30%) had served on only one previous campaign and 18 (25%) had served on only two campaigns. When these figures are combined it can

¹⁴² TNA, C 76/55, m.21.

¹⁴³ TNA, C 76/55, m.22.

¹⁴⁴ TNA, C 76/38, m.13.

¹⁴⁵ 1369, TNA, C 76/52, m.12; 1372, TNA, C 76/55, m.21.

¹⁴⁶ 1359, TNA, C 76/38, m.13; 1369, TNA, C 76/52, m.15.

¹⁴⁷ 1367, *CPR, 1367-1370*, p. 77-78; 1369, TNA, C 76/52, m.15; 1370, TNA, C 61/83, m.2; 1372, TNA, C 61/84, m.3.

¹⁴⁸ TNA, C 76/55, m.22.

be calculated that 55% of those who had campaigned with Gaunt before 1373 had done so seldom and infrequently. The knights Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir Stephen Scrope are examples of such individuals. Both had been part of Gaunt's personal retinue during his first major campaign in 1359, yet neither can be identified to have served under Gaunt again until 1373.¹⁴⁹ That over half of Gaunt's identifiable retinue had seldom served under him suggests that his retinue was fluid in composition. Furthermore, it suggests that Gaunt had difficulty in ensuring the repeat service of individual soldiers and that his retinues had poor overall re-service rates. This supports the observation made by Walker that, 'overall rate of re-service under the duke's command...was never high'.¹⁵⁰

Historians such as Ayton and Walker have acknowledged poor overall re-service rates within retinues of the late-fourteenth century as a key indicator of declining stability.¹⁵¹ They have done so because within a retinue of shifting composition (such as Gaunt's) one would expect to see few strong vertical ties existing between the commander and his retinue members, thus making the retinue an unstable unit. However, in taking overall low re-service rates as a key indicator of declining retinue stability, historians must be cautious. As shall be witnessed, retinues with overall low re-service rates, such as Gaunt's 1373 retinue, were not necessarily vertically, or horizontally, unstable.

That 55% of those who had served under Gaunt prior to 1373 had done so on only one or two occasions, must not be exaggerated. At the heart, and in the surrounding arteries, of Gaunt's 1373 retinue can be detected a stable group of loyal, professional, veteran knights. Of the 71 individuals who had served under Gaunt before 1373, 21 (30%) had served three times and, more importantly, nine (13%) had served four times.¹⁵² Of those nine knights who had served Gaunt on

¹⁴⁹ Neither soldier was militarily static during the intervening years, however. Cheyne had fought at Najera; he, along with Sir William Berland, took prisoner Bertrand de Guesclin. On this occasion he was likely retained by the Black Prince, see; K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p.241; Sir Stephen Scrope served under a number of different captains following the resumption of war in 1369. In 1371 he served under Sir John Neville, see; TNA C 76/54, m.12; In 1372 he served under his father, Lord Henry Scrope, see; TNA C 76/55, m.20.

¹⁵⁰ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 50.

¹⁵¹ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.205-206; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.23.

¹⁵² See; Table 4, above (p.28-29).

four occasions prior to 1373, eight were personally retained by Gaunt.¹⁵³ Furthermore, of those nine knights four had been in Lancastrian service long enough to have served under Henry of Grosmont before Gaunt.¹⁵⁴ The one knight who was not retained by Gaunt, Sir Walter Ursewyk, had his own strong personal ties with him. Ursewyk had been knighted by Gaunt following the Battle of Najera and had been given the constabulary of Richmond castle.¹⁵⁵ These knights, through a long history of military service with Gaunt and Grosmont, had created strong vertical ties with their Lancastrian captain.¹⁵⁶ These nine identifiable knights would have performed a vital function within Gaunt's retinue. They would have acted as a 'nucleus around which less stable elements could collect'.¹⁵⁷ Their strong vertical ties with Gaunt would have had a stabilising and strengthening effect on the weaker vertical ties of those individuals who had served with Gaunt infrequently. The presence of these knights at the heart of Gaunt's 1373 retinue would have gone a considerable way to ensuring the stability of the retinue.

To further the argument that Gaunt's retinue was a relatively stable unit more examples of vertical ties can be identified. Seven individuals from Gaunt's retinue can be identified to have worked alongside Gaunt on at least one Commission of Oyer and Terminer and/or Commission of the Peace.¹⁵⁸ In 1368, for example, Sir John Dymmock, Sir Robert Swylyngton, Lord Thomas Roos and

¹⁵³ These eight individuals were, Sir Thomas Metham (retained 1361), Sir Edmund Pierrepont (1368), Sir Michael de la Pole (1369), Sir John Plays (1370), Sir John St Lo (1372), Sir John Marmion (1372), Sir Ralph Hastings (1373) and Sir William Chetewynd (1373), see; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 262-284 (Appendix I).

¹⁵⁴ They were, Sir Thomas Metham, Sir Edmund Pierrepont, Sir Michael de la Pole and Sir Ralph Hastings. It is also noteworthy that Sir William Chetewynd's father, Sir Roger Chetewynd, had served under Grosmont. Sir William Chetewynd was clearly following his father into Lancastrian service. See; K. Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1361', Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1961, p. 240-263 (Appendix C:9).

¹⁵⁵ *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.77-78.

¹⁵⁶ Eleven other members of Gaunt's 1373 retinue had served under Grosmont before Gaunt. They were, Sir Ralph Ferrers, Sir Nicholas Longford, Sir John de Loudham, Sir Edmund de la Pole, Sir John de la Pole, Sir John Rocheford, Lord Thomas Roos, Henry Rose, Sir William Scargill, Sir Alfred Sulny, Sir John Saville. See; K. Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont', Ph.D. thesis, p. 240-263 (Appendix C:9); S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.28-29.

¹⁵⁷ N.B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues', p.33-34.

¹⁵⁸ On Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Commissions of the Peace, see; Anthony Musson and Mark Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1999), p.48-54.

Sir Richard Scrope all acted as judges alongside Gaunt on a Commission of the Peace.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, in 1364 and 1371 Sir John Sayville sat alongside Gaunt on a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.¹⁶⁰ Through working alongside Gaunt, these individuals would have become acquainted with him personally and thus forged a vertical tie with him. These examples serve to highlight the fact that vertical ties with Gaunt did not always take the form of shared military experiences.¹⁶¹

One further piece of evidence may be cited in support of the argument that Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue was vertically stable. Of the 71 individuals who had fought with Gaunt previously 49 (69%) were personally retained by Gaunt at the commencement of the 1373 campaign.¹⁶² These 49 soldiers were vertically tied to Gaunt through a contract; they were part of the much coveted Lancastrian Affinity. In light of this, and the fact that at the heart of the retinue there existed a stable nucleus, it may be concluded that Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue was a vertically stable unit. Owing to a lack a data, this conclusion, at present, must only be applied to Gaunt's identifiable retinue. Notwithstanding this, between Gaunt and many of the 168 identifiable individuals, who made up *part* of his 1373 retinue, can be perceived many vertical ties; with the stronger ties shoring up the weaker. The evidence so far examined is pointing to the conclusion that Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue was overall a stable and cohesive unit. To further investigate whether this was the case the horizontal stability of Gaunt's retinue must now be examined.

4.2 - Horizontal Ties

Andrew Ayton has observed that retinues were often held together internally through the existence of horizontal ties between its members. These ties were formed though a 'complex pattern of associations, based on family, tenure, friendship and shared locality, as well as prior service'.¹⁶³ This

¹⁵⁹ *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.193-194. Sir Robert Swylyngton also served on Commissions of the Peace with Gaunt in 1366 and 1369, see; *CPR, 1364-1367*, p.418, *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.350. On Sir Richard Scrope, see; Brigitte Vale, 'Scrope, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton (c.1327-1403)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004,; online edn, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24963>>, [Accessed 7 April 2014].

¹⁶⁰ *CPR, 1364-1367*, p.73; *CPR, 1370-1374*, p.106.

¹⁶¹ The additional two individuals who had served on Commission with Gaunt prior to the 1373 campaign were, Sir William Hauley, see; *CPR, 1370-1374*, p.106; Sir Alured Sulny, see; *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.418.

¹⁶² See, Appendix I (p. 46-48); S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 262-284 (Appendix I).

¹⁶³ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.214.

horizontal interconnectedness would have given the retinue stability, cohesion and rigidity. As such, if it can be proven that there existed such a web of interconnectivity within Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue, then it would strongly support the conclusions that his retinue was a stable unit. Moreover, it would challenge the generally accepted hypothesis of declining retinue stability.

To examine the horizontal ties between the members of Gaunt's identifiable retinue we shall begin by exploring their military relationships. Of the 71 individuals who had served under Gaunt prior to 1373, 49 (69%) had served alongside one another on the 1369 campaign.¹⁶⁴ During this inconclusive campaign, horizontal ties must have been forged between these individuals; friendships and acquaintances must have been formed, or been furthered.¹⁶⁵ It is not difficult to imagine individuals such as Sir John Boseville, Sir Thomas Metham and Sir Robert Rockly sitting, dejectedly, outside the walls of Harfleur discussing the progress of the siege, or indeed the state of affairs back in their home county of Yorkshire.¹⁶⁶ The camaraderie forged between soldiers in such environments would have created strong horizontal ties and in turn bought cohesion and stability to the retinue. Moreover, it would have made the retinue a more effective fighting unit. Indeed, it is through battle that many of the most potent horizontal ties of comradeship must have been forged.

Since time immemorial, individuals who have fought alongside one another in major battles have shared an immutable, unique bond. During the medieval age, when major battles were infrequent events, this bond must have had an added potency. As such, between the 21 members of Gaunt's retinue who had fought together at the Battle of Najera in 1367 there must have existed a unique and strong horizontal bond.¹⁶⁷ A similarly strong bond must likewise have existed between

¹⁶⁴ See; Table 4, above (p.28-29). Gaunt's 1369 retinue was the largest he had ever raised. It represents his recruitment power, see; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.40-41, 50-51.

¹⁶⁵ For the context and a narrative of this inconclusive campaign, see; J. Sumption, *Divided Houses*, p.18-60

¹⁶⁶ For their presence of the campaign see; Table 4, above (p.28-29). That they were all Yorkshire knights, see; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.31-32.

¹⁶⁷ The Battle of Najera is currently an understudied episode of the Hundred Years War. For a contemporary account, see; *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, vol 4, p.300-317; Richard Barber, *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and Chronicles, including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1986), p.107-134. For a secondary examination of the battle see; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial By Fire* (London, 1999), p.547-555. The lack of study on this particular episode may be attributed in part to the fact that no financial records (i.e. Pay Rolls) exists. Identifying individuals who fought at the battle is thus very difficult.

the 10 individuals who had fought alongside one another at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356.¹⁶⁸ In total at least 31 members (18%) of Gaunt's identifiable retinue had fought alongside one another at one of the rare set piece battles of the Hundred Years War.¹⁶⁹ Within these 'battlefield communities' a strong sense of shared martial experiences must have existed.¹⁷⁰ It is thus clear to see that between many of the members of Gaunt's retinue there existed horizontal ties forged through shared military experiences.

As Ayton astutely observed horizontal ties did not, however, always take the form of shared military experiences.¹⁷¹ The members of a retinue could be bound horizontally through ties of shared locality and/or friendship. Akin to the Pals-Battalions of the First World War a number of so-called 'regional comradeship groups' can be discerned to have existed within Gaunt's 1373 retinue.¹⁷² For example, as table 5 exemplifies, 14 individuals originated from Lancashire.¹⁷³ It is likely that many of these individuals would have known each other from either official shrieval administration or more informal occasions such as county fairs.¹⁷⁴ Certainly the Lancastrian retainers Sir John Botiller and Sir Alured Sulny knew each other for they had served alongside each other as members of Parliament in 1372.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ These individuals were, Sir Baldwin Berford, Sir John Bottourt, Sir John Dymmock, William Hall, Sir Lawrence Lynford, Sir John Mohun, Lord Thomas Roos, Sir Robert Russell, Sir Gilbert Talbot and Lord John Wells. See; H.J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357* (Manchester, 1958), p.196-215 (Appendix C).

¹⁶⁹ Edouard Perry called the Najera campaign the 'Castilian comedy', see; E. Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1965), p. 157. Since Perry wrote this, historiography has rightly elevated the position of the Battle of Najera where today it is considered one of the major battles of the Hundred Years War.

¹⁷⁰ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.207

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p.214.

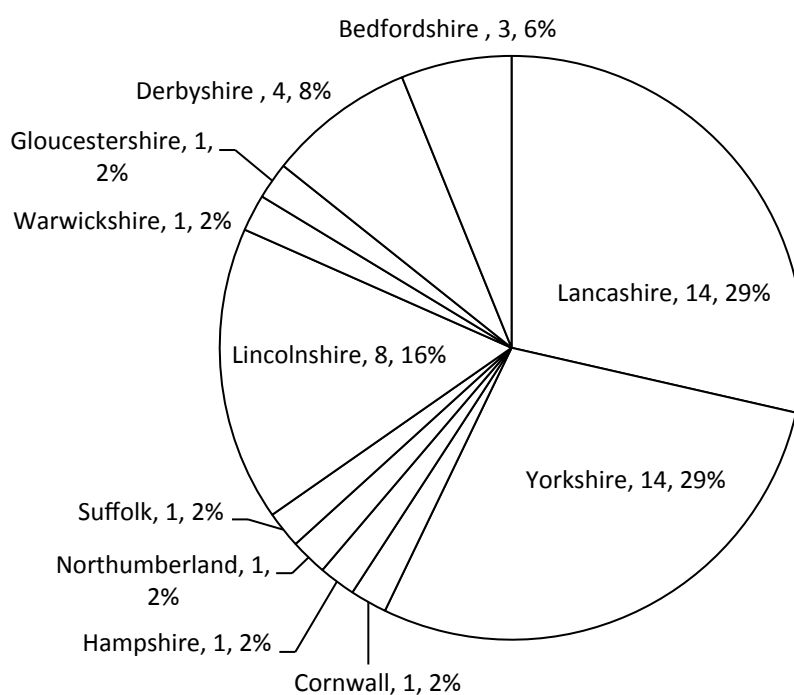
¹⁷² A. Ayton, 'Armies and Military Communities', p.225-226.

¹⁷³ Table five also represents the wide geographical spread of Gaunt's recruitment.

¹⁷⁴ I can, however, find no specific examples of such association. However, this is probably because I cannot access the necessary sources, such as Fair Court Rolls (TNA, SC2) and Accounts of the Manor (TNA, SC 6). On all of these points, see; Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study* (Toronto, 1985), p.1-5, 354-356.

¹⁷⁵ J.C. Wedgewood, 'John of Gaunt and the Packing of Parliament', *EHR*, vol 45 (1930), 623-625.

Table 5 – Horizontal ties of Shared Locality, 1373¹⁷⁶



In addition to the clear ties of shared locality, ties of friendship can also be discerned to have existed between the members of Gaunt's retinue. For example, in 1364 and 1366 Sir Edmund de la Pole nominated Sir William Hauley to act as his attorney while he was abroad.¹⁷⁷ Likewise, in 1368 Sir Robert Swylyngton nominated Sir John Boseville to act as his attorney.¹⁷⁸ Between these individuals a friendship must have existed for a knight would not have nominated as attorney an individual he did not trust wholeheartedly. A friendship also probably existed between Sir Alfred Sulny and Sir Nicholas Longford for Sulny was Longford's father in law; he had allowed his daughter to marry Longford.¹⁷⁹ Horizontal ties based on money lending can also be discerned. In 1369, for example, Sir William Chetwynd and Sir Ralph Hastings, who were both part of the aforementioned nucleus, paid a recognisance of 800 marks.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, in 1366 Sir John Dymmock, Sir John Botiller and others

¹⁷⁶ Table 5 represents the known region of origin for 45 of the 168 identifiable individuals from Gaunt's 1373 retinue. The data has been gained from; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.31-37.

¹⁷⁷ 1364, *CPR, 1364-1367*, p.43; 1366, *CPR, 1364-1367*, p.214.

¹⁷⁸ *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.44. Additionally, in 1366 Philip Deneys is attorney for Edmund de la Pole, see; *CPR, 1364-1367*, p.214.

¹⁷⁹ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.114-115.

¹⁸⁰ *CCR, 1369-1374*, p. 94.

make a recognisance payment of 3,000 marks to the king.¹⁸¹ Between these individuals, and those who shared locality, strong horizontal ties evidently existed.

It can be concluded, therefore, that Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue was a horizontally stable unit. Many of its members were horizontally bound together through ties of previous military experience, shared locality and friendship. It can be concluded, therefore, that based on all the available evidence, Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue was overall a stable and cohesive unit, vertically and horizontally bound together. The level of stability which existed within Gaunt's identifiable retinue was not drastically different from that which Ayton revealed existed within the 1346 retinues of Northampton and Warwick. Gaunt's identifiable 1373 retinue does not support the generally accepted hypothesis of declining retinue stability in the late fourteenth-century; rather it challenges it.

¹⁸¹ *CCR, 1364-1368*, p. 274; Among others, Sir William Hauley made payment of 2,000l to Sir John de la Pole in 1370, see; *CCR, 1369-1374*, p. 172; In 1372 Sir Thomas Banaster paid recognisance of 200l to Sir Nicholas Longford, see; *CCR, 1369-1374*, p. 430.

Chapter V

*

The Stability of John of Gaunt's Identifiable 1378 Retinue

5.1 – Vertical Ties

To explore the vertical ties which bound Gaunt and the men under his command together in 1378 we shall, akin to the previous chapter, begin by quantifying their military relationship. Of the 48 individuals known to serve within Gaunt's retinue, 28 (58%) had served under Gaunt on at least one previous military campaign, as table 6 exemplifies. The level of overall previous military service within Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue was, therefore, at roughly the same level as existed within the 1346 retainues of Northampton (57%) and Warwick (65%).¹⁸² On the surface Gaunt's retinue appears, therefore, as a vertically bound unit; with many of its member having shared many military experiences with their commander. If this were true then Gaunt's 1378 retinue would, akin to his 1373 retinue, challenge the hypothesis of decreased retinue-level stability in the late fourteenth-century. However, by digging deeper into the previous service data, this immediate appearance of vertical stability can be cast into doubt.

Table 6 – Military Service under Gaunt Prior to 1378 ¹⁸³

Retainer	Rank	1359	1367	1369	1370	1372	1373
Edmund Appleby	Knight		*	*	*		
John Ashton	Knight			*			
Richard Balderston	Knight				*		
Thomas Barley	Esquire					*	
Thomas Beaumont	Knight				*	*	*
John Botiller	Knight			*	*	*	*
Thomas Driffield	Esquire						*
Thomas Ernysby ¹⁸⁴	Knight					*	
Robert Ferrers ¹⁸⁵	Knight						*
Thomas Fogg	Knight						*
Thomas Goys	Knight				*		*

¹⁸² A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.206; A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.16.

¹⁸³ Unless otherwise stated, this data is gained from; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284.

¹⁸⁴ TNA, C 76/62, m.18

¹⁸⁵ S. Walker does not note Sir Robert Ferrers as having served under Gaunt in 1373. Yet, according to a letter of protection, he did. See; TNA C 76/56, m.11

William Hauley	Knight						*
Richard Hoo	Knight						*
John Ipres	Knight		*				
Gerard Lounde	Knight			*	*		
John Mersh	Knight			*			
Thomas Metham	Knight		*	*	*	*	*
William Parr	Knight				*		*
Robert Pilkington	Esquire			*	*	*	*
John Plays	Knight		*	*	*	*	*
Edmund de la Pole	Knight						*
Michael de la Pole	Knight	*		*	*	*	*
Ralph Rocheford	Knight			*			*
Thomas Roos	Lord			*	*	*	*
John Seyton	Knight			*			
Thomas Southworth	Knight					*	*
Robert Standish	Knight				*		
Roger Trumpington	Knight			*	*		*

In his investigation of Warwick's 1346 retinue, Ayton revealed high-levels of knightly re-service. Of the 20 identifiable knights 17 (85%) had served under Warwick at least once and 12 (60%) had served twice.¹⁸⁶ Similar statistics cannot be revealed for Gaunt's 1378 retinue. Of the 37 identifiable knights, 25 (68%) had served under Gaunt at least once but only 13 (35%) had served twice. These figures support the notion that Gaunt had difficulty in retaining the repeat service of knights and thus had few shared military experiences with those under his command.¹⁸⁷ This point is further supported by the fact that only 16 knights re-served from 1373 to 1378 and that only three of the knights who had made up the core nucleus of the 1373 army can be identified to have re-served in 1378.¹⁸⁸ The low knightly re-service figures may be partially explained by the limited coverage of the available data. Indeed, it may also be explained by the fact that knightly participation in war was generally falling in the late fourteenth-century.¹⁸⁹ Notwithstanding this, the fact remains that Gaunt evidently had difficulty in securing the repeat service of knights.¹⁹⁰ Indeed,

¹⁸⁶ A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.16-17.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p.23-24; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁸ For the sixteen knights who re-served from 1373 to 1378, see; Table 6, above (P.37-38). The three knights who had likely made up the nucleus of Gaunt's 1373 retinue and re-served in 1378 were, Sir Thomas Roos, Sir Thomas Metham and Sir John Plays.

¹⁸⁹ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 54-73; M. Prestwich, 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: The Knight at War', *TRHS*, 6th Series, vol 5 (1995), 201-220.

¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, A.R. Bell has demonstrated that the earl of Arundel had similar difficulty in securing the repeat service of knights. By cross-referencing Arundel's 1378 muster roll with his 1387-1388 rolls Bell has

that 61% of his entire identifiable retinue had served on only one or two campaigns under him before 1378 further suggests that his retinue was fluid in composition, thus lacking vertical rigidity. The available military service data demonstrates that the majority of Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue lacked strong martial vertical ties with their commander. Moreover, no core nucleus of retainers can be identified to have existed to shore up the weak vertical ties of those individuals who had seldom served under Gaunt. As such, Gaunt's 1378 retinue appears to support the theory of decreased retinue-level stability in the late fourteenth-century.

Yet, by moving away from the military service data, some strong vertical ties can be discerned to have existed between individual soldiers and Gaunt. One such individual was Sir Edmund Appleby. Appleby had had a long and active relationship with Gaunt. In 1369 Gaunt had commissioned him to arrest a number of miners for a building project.¹⁹¹ The following year Gaunt acted as an intercessor of pardon for Appleby.¹⁹² That Gaunt acted as an intercessor of pardon for only one other person during 1370 highlights the vertical relationship which existed between him and Appleby.¹⁹³ Furthermore, in 1371 Appleby served for a short while alongside Gaunt on a Commission of Oyer and Terminer and in 1376 was Gaunt's mouthpiece in Parliament.¹⁹⁴ Another individual with clear vertical ties with Gaunt was Sir John Ipres. Ipres had been knighted, and retained for 20 livre, by Gaunt following the Battle of Najera.¹⁹⁵ By 1369 Ipres was high in the shrieval administration of Lancashire, occupying the position of Sheriff.¹⁹⁶ In this position he would have had a close working relation with Gaunt. Ipres was still Sheriff in 1371 and was named by Gaunt, in 1373, as one of those who would inherit lands if he died on the 1373 campaign.¹⁹⁷ Ipres was one of Gaunt's most trusted retainers.¹⁹⁸ These two individuals clearly had a strong working relationship with Gaunt and thus would have brought a degree of stability to the retinue. The strong

demonstrated that only 12 knights from Arundel's 1378 retinue re-served with him in 1387-1388, see; A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.171-175.

¹⁹¹ *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.243.

¹⁹² *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.405.

¹⁹³ H. Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 203,

¹⁹⁴ *CCR, 1369-1374*, p. 342; J.C. Wedgewood, 'Gaunt and the Packing of Parliament', p.623.

¹⁹⁵ *CPR, 1360-1370*, p.297

¹⁹⁶ *CCR, 1364-1367*, p.208

¹⁹⁷ *CCR, 1370-1374*, p.31; *CPR, 1370-1374*, p.229.

¹⁹⁸ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 12, 38, 151.

vertical ties of Appleby and Ipres were, however, unique. The majority of Gaunt's retinue cannot be identified to have been vertically bound to their commander. As such, the evidence suggests that while some members did possess strong vertical ties, the majority lacked vertical ties with Gaunt. Gaunt's 1378 retinue appears, unlike his 1373 retinue, as a more vertically unstable unit thus supporting the hypothesis of decreasing retinue-level stability in the late fourteenth-century.

5.2 - Horizontal Ties

Much like the 1373 case, horizontal ties can be identified to have existed within Gaunt's 1378 retinue. However, ties forged through shared military experiences were fewer and weaker. For example, of the 71 individuals who had served under Gaunt before 1373, 49 (69%) had served alongside one another on the 1369 campaign.¹⁹⁹ In 1378, however, only 13 (27%) of those who had served under Gaunt before had served alongside one another on the 1369 campaign.²⁰⁰ That the horizontal ties of shared military experiences were weaker in 1378 is exemplified by the fact that few individuals had fought together at one of the major battles of the fourteenth-century. In Gaunt's 1373 retinue 21 members had fought at Najera; in his 1378 retinue only four had. Likewise 10 members of his 1373 retinue fought Poitiers, yet in his 1378 retinue only two had.²⁰¹ These figures underline the fact that few 'battlefield communities' existed within Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue. By moving away from the military service data other horizontal ties can, however, be discerned.

Some horizontal ties of shared locality can be discerned to have existed. For example, as table six represents, nine individuals (53%) can be identified to have come from Lancashire and three individuals (17%) can be seen to have originated from Yorkshire.²⁰² Between two of the soldiers from Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Metham and Lord Thomas Roos, particularly strong horizontal ties existed. Both men had served alongside each other on four military campaigns prior to 1378. Yet

¹⁹⁹ See; Table 4, above (p.28-29).

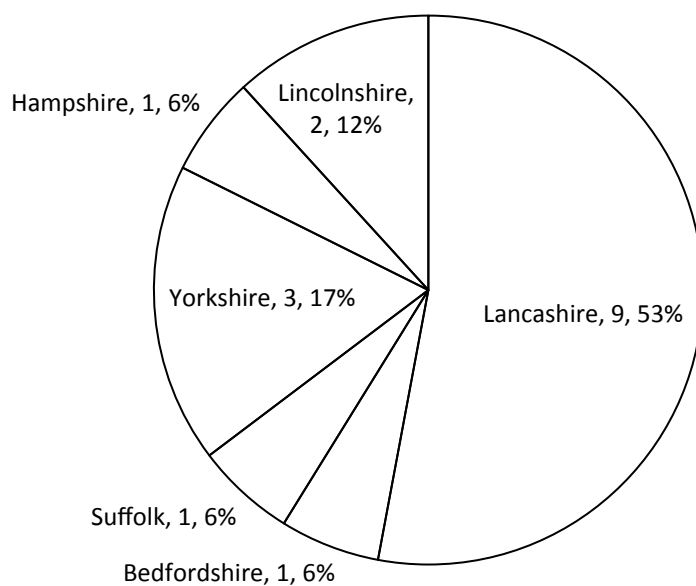
²⁰⁰ See; Table 6, above (P.37-38).

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² These percentages are based on the total number of individuals for whom a place of origin is known. The place of origin for eleven members of Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue is unknown and thus they have been excluded from these calculations. For the names of these individuals, see; Below (n. 206).

their relationship extended beyond shared military experiences. They had worked together in an official capacity on a number of occasions. For example, in 1368 they both sat alongside Gaunt on a Commission of the Peace.²⁰³ Again in 1376 both were ordered to serve together on a commission of Oyer and Terminer.²⁰⁴ Other members of Gaunt's 1378 retinue had worked together in an official capacity before 1378. In 1376 Sir Edmund Appleby and Sir Thomas Fogg served as members of Parliament as did Sir John Botiller and Sir Ralph Rocheford in 1377.²⁰⁵ These examples highlight the fact that some members of Gaunt's 1378 retinue knew each other before embarking on the St Malo campaign. In addition to these horizontal ties of acquaintanceship, familial ties, such as between Edmund and Michael de la Pole, can also be recognised.

Table 7- Horizontal Ties of Shared Locality, 1378²⁰⁶



Horizontal ties can, therefore, certainly be discerned to have existed within Gaunt's 1378 retinue. However, the question must be asked, how strong were these horizontal ties? The examples

²⁰³ *CPR, 1367-1370*, p.193.

²⁰⁴ *CPR, 1374-1377*, p.316.

²⁰⁵ J.C. Wedgewood, 'Gaunt and the Packing of Parliament', p.623-624.

²⁰⁶ Eleven (23%) members of Gaunt's retinue have been excluded from this chart because no place of origin is known for them. The excluded individuals are; Sir John Mersh, Sir Gerard Lounde, Sir Richard Hoo, Sir Thomas Goys, Thomas Barley, Sir Thomas Fogg, Sir Thomas Ernysby, Sir Thomas Beaumont, Sir John Seyton, Sir Edmund de la Pole and Sir Robert Ferrers.

demonstrate that a number of retinue members knew each other personally having worked together in an official capacity. However, for a strong horizontal bond to have forged between these individuals they would have had to have been considerably more than just personal acquaintances. The strongest form of horizontal tie was, arguably, that of friendship. As we have already witnessed a number of friendship ties existed within Gaunt's 1373 retinue. However, decidedly fewer such strong ties are discernable within his 1378 retinue. Apart from the aforementioned relationship between Metham and Roos, no other horizontal ties of friendship can be identified to have existed. The horizontal ties which did exist within Gaunt's 1378 retinue were therefore, on the whole, not strong. Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue was, consequently, a less horizontally stable unit than his 1373 retinue had been.

In light of this, our examination can conclude that Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue lacked strong vertical and horizontal ties. As such, his identifiable retinue lacked in both vertical and horizontal stability. It may be concluded that Gaunt's identifiable 1378 retinue therefore support the hypothesis of declining retinue stability in the late fourteenth-century.

Chapter VI

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Conclusion

In John of Gaunt's identifiable 1373 and 1378 retinue we have one example which challenges and another which supports the hypothesis of declining retinue stability in the late fourteenth-century. Before this prosopographical study can reach an end, three questions remain which must be tackled in this concluding chapter. So far this study has been cautious to only draw conclusions specifically regarding the stability of Gaunt's *identifiable* retinues. However, based on the available data, can a conclusion regarding the overall stability of Gaunt's 1373 and 1378 retinues be reached? In other words, how representative is the available data? The second question this conclusion will tackle is why was Gaunt's 1373 retinue more stable than his 1378? And thirdly, what impact do the findings of this essay have on current historiography?

Andrew Ayton was able to identify a large proportion of the men-at-arms who made up the 1346 retinues of Northampton and Warwick; 72 (45%) of Northampton's and 104 (69%) of Warwick's.²⁰⁷ By managing to identify such a large proportion of Northampton and Warwick's men-at-arms Ayton ensured that he could make reliable conclusions regarding the stability of the retinue as a whole. The difficulty in making conclusions regarding the overall stability of Gaunt's 1373 and 1378 retinues is that much less data is available. Of the 779 men-at-arms of Gaunt's 1373 retinue, only 168 (22%) can be identified.²⁰⁸ Similarly, of the 449 men-at-arms of his 1378 retinue only 49 (10%) can be identified.²⁰⁹ That so few men-at-arms are identifiable, for both of Gaunt's retinues, suggests that the available data is unrepresentative and that to draw conclusions regarding the whole of Gaunt's 1373 and 1378 retinues from it would be a methodological mistake.

²⁰⁷ A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crecy', p.206; The precise size of Warwick's 1346 retinue is debatable, see; A. Ayton, 'The Dynamics of Recruitment' p.13 n. 20.

²⁰⁸ J. Sherborne, 'Indenture Retinues', p.728-729.

²⁰⁹ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.40.

However, while the available data is wanting in terms of quantity, it is not wholly unrepresentative. In Gaunt's 1373 and 1378 retinues a mix of retained and non-retained personnel are visible; 61 (35%) in 1373 and 19 (38%) in 1378 were retained.²¹⁰ Furthermore of the 150 knights of Gaunt's 1373 retinue, 117 (78%) can be identified. Of the 100 knights of Gaunt's 1378 retinue, 37 (37%) can be identified. Since we can identify only 10% of Gaunt's 1378 retinue the percentage of identifiable knights is proportionally quite high. When considered together these facts demonstrate that the available data is to a reasonable extent representative of the makeup of the whole retinue. As such, we may tentatively extrapolate the available data and conclude that Gaunt's 1373 retinue was, overall, a stable and cohesive unit and that his 1378 retinue was an unstable unit.

In light of this, the question must be asked, why was Gaunt's 1373 retinue more stable than his 1378 retinue? The instability of Gaunt's 1378 retinue cannot be wholly ascribed to the fact that it was a super mixed-retinue because, as we have seen, his 1373 retinue had been larger and more stable. A contextual explanation may, however, be made. A lot of preparation went into building the army of 1373. Indeed, Froissart remarks, 'Three years before, this expedition had been planned and provided for'.²¹¹ While a slight exaggeration on Froissart's behalf, plans for a great expedition, to be led by Gaunt, had been first decided upon during the autumn Parliament of 1372.²¹² During the 10 months before the army left England Gaunt had time to build a stable, militarily capable retinue. Through the inclusions of known criminal knights, such as Sir William Atherton and Sir William Parr, Gaunt appears to have been more concerned with 'military ability, rather than social position'.²¹³ Gaunt was likewise evidently concerned with creating a stable high-command network for he specifically recalled his friend Edward Lord Despenser back from Italy.²¹⁴ Such preparation cannot be detected to have occurred prior to the 1378 campaign. Originally intended to land at Brest and invade Brittany, the plan was changed at the last minute, due to political reasons and a shortage of

²¹⁰ See; Appendix I and II, below (p.46-48, 49-50).

²¹¹ *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, vol 4, p.235.

²¹² J. Sumption, *Divided Houses*, p. 175.

²¹³ S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.32.

²¹⁴ T. B. Pugh, 'Despenser, Edward, first Lord Despenser (1336–1375)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7550>>, [Accessed 23 April 2014]; *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles*, vol 4, p.200-201.

shipping, to St Malo.²¹⁵ The stability of Gaunt's 1373 retinue, and the instability of his 1378 retinue, can thus be partially attributed to contextual factors.

To bring this essay to a close, one final issue must be addressed; what impact do the findings of this essay have on the current historiographical debate regarding military stability in the late fourteenth-century? Put simply, the findings of this essay demonstrate that the issue of late fourteenth-century military stability is not as clear cut as existing historiography suggests. The majority of existing prosopographical research, published by historians such as Ayton, Simpkin, Curry and Bell has furthered the hypothesis that by the late fourteenth-century retinue-level stability, and by extension overall army stability, had decreased. The example of Gaunt's 1378 retinue supports this conclusion. However, the fact that this essay has demonstrated that Gaunt's 1373 retinue was in-fact a stable, cohesive unit allows an important conclusion to be made.

The hypothesis that by the late fourteenth-century retinues had become unstable units, lacking vertical and/or horizontal stability, must not be draconianly applied by historians. This essay, by undertaking retinue-level prosopographical study, has revealed that exceptions to the generally accepted hypothesis can be discovered. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that it is not methodologically sound for conclusions regarding military stability to be based solely on re-service figures. In 1994 Ayton wrote, 'there are few aspects of medieval English history as worthy of investigation, yet as neglected as military service'.²¹⁶ Today we know a lot more about fourteenth-century military service. However, the debate around late fourteenth-century military stability shall continue until more retinue-level prosopographical research is conducted. As such, until more research is completed, a conclusion regarding the overall stability of John of Gaunt's armies of 1373 and 1378 cannot be made.

Word Count – 9,968

²¹⁵ J. Sumption, *Divided Houses*, p. 323

²¹⁶ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p.1.

Appendix I

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John of Gaunt's Identifiable 1373 Retinue ²¹⁷

Forename	De (La)	Surname	Rank	Reference ²¹⁸
John		Annesley	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Nicholas		Atherton	Knight	
John		Auncel	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John	de	Ausley	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.18
Thomas		Banaster	Knight	
Robert		Barry	Knight	
William		Beauchamp	Knight	
Thomas		Beaumont	Knight	
John		Botiller	Knight	
William	de	Bello Campo	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.28
Baldwin		Berford	Knight	
William	de	Berland	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Walter		Blount	Knight	
John		Boseville	Knight	
John		Bottourt	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.18
Thomas	de	Bouclonde	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Bourgherssh	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Bradeston	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
William		Bradshaw	Knight	
William	de	Cantelowe	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
William		Cantilupe	Knight	
William		Chetewynd	Knight	
Thomas		Cheyne	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
John	jnr	Chydiok	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Robert		Clifton	Knight	
Lewis	de	Clyfford	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.7
Thomas		Colshull	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Thomas		Colville	Knight	
Philip	de	Colvyll	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Crescy	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Roger		Curzon	Knight	
John		Cyfrewast	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.28
Hugh		Dacre	Knight	
John		Dageney	Knight	
Thomas		Dale	Knight	

²¹⁷ The names of all those in bold type are gained from; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I).

²¹⁸ All archive references are from the Medieval Soldier Database, see; <www.medievalsoldier.org>.

Philip		Deneys	Knight	
John		Dymmok	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Juan		Fernadez	Knight	
Robert	de	Ferrers	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.18
Thomas		Fitz Henry	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Fogg	Knight	
Thomas		Fitz Wauter	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
William		Frank	Knight	
Edmund		Frithby	Knight	
John		Golofre	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.28
William		Gramary	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Henry		Green	Knight	
Thomas		Grene	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Bartholomew		Grey	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Henry	jnr	Grey	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Gerard	de	Grymeston	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.18
William		Hauley	Knight	
Ralph		Hastings	Knight	
Thomas		Holand	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Ilderton	Knight	
Ralph		Ipres	Knight	
Nicholas		Kynbell	Knight	
Robert	de	Laton	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Thomas		Latymer	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Nicholas		Longford	Knight	
John		Loudham	Knight	
Laurence	de	Lynford	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Marmion	Knight	
William	de	Melton	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Thomas		Merkynfeld	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas	de	Metham	Knight	
Walter		Mewe	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.7
John	de	Mohun	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas	de	Mountford	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Naunton	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.11
Richard		Northland	Knight	
William		Parr	Knight	
Edmund		Pierrepont	Knight	
William	de	Percy	Knight	
John		Plays	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.28
Edmund	de la	Pole	Knight	
John	de la	Pole	Knight	
Michael	de la	Pole	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Ponyngges	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Ralph		Rocheford	Knight	
John		Rocheford	Knight	

Robert		Rockley	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Rodeney	Knight	
Robert		Russell	Knight	
Nicholas		Sarnesfield	Knight	
John		Saville	Knight	
John		Scargill	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
John		Scotte	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Stephen	de	Scrope	Knight	
John		Seynloo	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Thomas		Seyntquyntyne	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
John		Seyvill	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Nicholas		Sharnesfeld ²¹⁹	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Siwarby	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.18
William	de	Smalbergh	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Thomas		Southeworth	Knight	
John		St Lo	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.11
Hugh	de	Strallay	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Sampson	de	Strelley	Knight	
Alured		Sulny	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Robert	de	Swylyngton	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.25
Norman	de	Swynford	Knight	
John		Swynton	Knight	
Gilbert		Talbot	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Robert	de	Thorp	Knight	
Thomas		Travers	Knight	
Roger	de	Trumpyngton	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
Walter		Ursewyk	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Philip	la	Vache	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.20
Thomas		Walshe	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.26
John		Worthe	Knight	TNA C76/56, m.11
Hugh	la	Zouche	Knight	

²¹⁹ This may be the same individual as the Sir Nicholas Sarnesfield eight places above.

Appendix II

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John of Gaunt's Identifiable 1378 Retinue ²²⁰

Forname	De (la)	Surname	Rank	Reference
Edmund		Appleby	Knight	
John		Ashton	Knight	
Richard		Balderston	Knight	
Thomas		Barley	Esquire	
Thomas		Beaumont	Knight	
John		Blount	Knight	
John		Botiller	Knight	
John	de	Brewes	Knight	TNA C76/62, m.1
John	de	Burgh	Knight	TNA C76/63, m.20
John		Burton	Esquire	TNA C76/62, m.18
John		Bussy	Knight	
John		Chaunceux	Knight	TNA C76/62, m.18
Roger		Coleman	Esquire	
John		Cornwall	Knight	
Thomas		Driffield	Esquire	
Thomas		Ernysby	Esquire	TNA C76/62, m.18
Robert		Ferrers	Knight	
Thomas		Fogg	Knight	
Thomas		Goys	Knight	
William		Hauley	Knight	
Richard		Hoo	Knight	
John		Hopton	Knight	TNA C76/62, m.5
John		Ipres	Knight	
Robert		Knolles	Knight	
Alexander	de	Lounde	Esquire	TNA C76/62, m.18
Gerard		Lounde	Knight	
Thomas		Meaux	Knight	
John		Mersh	Esquire	
Thomas		Metham	Knight	
Thomas		Mewes	Knight	TNA C76/63, m.20
John		Noreys	Knight	TNA C76/62, m.18
John		Oddingsels	Knight	
William		Parr	Knight	
Robert		Pilkington		
John		Plays	Knight	
Edmund	de la	Pole	Knight	TNA C76/62, m.4

²²⁰ The names of all those in bold type are gained from; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity*, p.262-284 (Appendix I).

Michael	de la	Pole	Knight	
William		Randolf	Esquire	
Ralph		Rocheford	Knight	
John		Rocheford	Knight	
John		Rokell	Esquire	TNA C76/62, m.18
Thomas		Roos	Lord	
Thomas		Scoggayn	Esquire	TNA C76/63, m.20
John		Seyton	Knight	
Thomas		Southworth	Knight	
Robert		Standish	knight	
Thomas		Symond	Knight	
Roger		Trumpington	Knight	

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