

The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince

V011

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Abstract

The household and military retinue of Edward the Black Prince (1330-1376) was created in the early years of the Hundred Years War. This thesis examines the role which the retinue played in that conflict and how the administration of the prince's estates contributed to that effort through the provision of troops, supplies and finance. It aims to place the Black Prince and his retainers, annuitants and servants in a national context, investigating their role in the Hundred Years War and Anglo-Gascon political society, whilst also highlighting the individual and collective roles that they played in the prince's retinue. It also demonstrates something of the atmosphere evident within the household through the examples of the chivalric ethic and religious attitudes. These elements are also seen in the links that existed between members of the retinue and household that were created by their common service to the Black Prince but also through a variety of other associations, familial, financial, political and geographical. The particular status of the heir-apparent governed the nature of his retinue and comparisons are drawn with the other great bastard feudal associations of the day, particularly the royal household and the Lancastrian affinity. The thesis concludes with a biographical appendix, which highlights certain careers and summarises those of others with a wide range of links to the Black Prince.

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My mother and father made it possible for me to do this despite the very long time I seem to have been at school. I hope they think it’s worth it. It’s dedicated to them both.

Abbreviations

ALA	Archives départementales de Loir-Atlantique, Nantes
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BL	British Library
BPR	Black Prince's Register
<i>C.Inq.Misc.</i>	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i>	Chester Recognizance Rolls
<i>CPapR, Letters</i>	Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters
<i>CPapR, Petitions</i>	Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
<i>EcHR</i>	Economic History Review
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
GEC	G.E. Cockayne, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , 13 vols, London, 1910-59.
Preuves	Dom P.H. Morice, <i>Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne</i> , 3 vols, Paris, 1742-6.
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>Rot. Parl.</i>	Rotuli Parliamentorum
Rymer	Thomas Rymer, <i>Feodera</i> (2 editions, 1704-35; 1816-69.)
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
VCH	Victoria County History

Introduction

Edward the Black Prince died on Trinity Sunday (8 June) 1376. With him, it seemed, died the hope of the English. The great principality, forged from victories in France, had been all but lost, there was only a small coastal strip left of the duchy of Gascony and, in no small way, the prince was responsible for this. But he was not blamed for his diplomatic failures and political naïveté, for this was the man who as a boy of 16 had fought in the vanguard in the triumph at Crécy (1346). His star had risen to its height ten years later when, outside Poitiers, he captured the king of France in battle. The consequence was a principality in Aquitaine, comprising nearly a third of all France, to add to the earldom of Chester, duchy of Cornwall and principality of Wales with which he had earlier been endowed as heir to the throne of England. It was from the court at Bordeaux and Angoulême that the prince's last campaign was launched; to reinstate Pedro the Cruel to the throne of Castile. Disaster followed triumph at Nájera; the appeal of the Gascon lords to Charles V fractured the fragile truce which had been in place since the signing of the treaty of Brétigny in 1360. The Black Prince, now stricken with illness, could not hold his borders against the French attacks led by Bertrand Du Guesclin and the duke of Anjou and he retired to England in January 1371.

At Woodstock in 1330 the prospects of the first child of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault looked a little bleak, but by, and as a consequence of his first campaign in 1346 they had blossomed. The foundations of the prince's military retinue were laid in the expedition which led to Crécy. By this time also his estates were being closely administered and rigorously governed so that he might play a full part in the military

career which his father's policies had ensured. That career reached its apex ten years later. The long-term consequence of the victory at Poitiers was to greatly augment the prince's demesne. "L'idée devait venir naturellement de créer pour lui une principauté, peut-être même un royaume...".¹ That kingdom proved to be the product of the failure of the Reims campaign and the compromise of the treaty of Brétigny (1360). Soon after the prince took the politically inadvisable step of marrying Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent. There is little doubt that this was very much contrary to his father's wishes "Mais le Prince Noir était sous le charme de l'enchanteresse"² and together they created a dazzling court at Bordeaux.

The conduct of the prince and his retinue in Aquitaine had much to do with the eventual collapse of the principality. The Gascon rebellion followed the appeal to Charles V, and his response, summoning the prince to Paris to answer charges, was made possible by the failure of both parties to implement certain clauses of the treaty of Brétigny at Calais. However, the prince and his retinue cannot be held entirely to blame although they were closely involved with the negotiations of 1360 and were at the centre of unrest in 1368. That unrest was as much due to local conditions as to the breakdown of relations between the prince and his vassals. "The political behaviour of the Gascon nobility has often been dismissed as inconstant, if not downright treacherous."³ The anarchic political environment, intricate family structures and arcane allegiances were further complicated by peculiarities of inheritance customs and feudal impositions which varied throughout the region. These melded with a culture of private war and "traditions

¹ R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, 5 vols, Paris, 1909-31, iv, 3.

² Colonel Babinet, "Jeanne de Kent. Princesse de Galles et d'Aquitaine", *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest*, ii (1894), 8.

³ M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453*, Oxford, 1970, 155.

of loyalty...which transcended the Anglo-French conflict” and were most evident in the Foix-Armagnac vendetta.⁴ To this was added the direct involvement of Charles V and his lieutenant, Louis of Anjou in attempting to foment revolt. The prince and his retinue were not responsible for the failure of the principality but neither were they free from blame.

A study of the retinue of the Black Prince will naturally draw comparisons with other similar and contemporary associations. *The* bastard feudal exemplar has always been the Lancastrian affinity of the late fourteenth century. It has been the object of a great deal of study and research most recently in the works of Kenneth Fowler, Simon Walker and Anthony Goodman.⁵ The retinue of Thomas of Lancaster - investigated by John Maddicott - and its development under Henry of Grosmont provided the foundation of the inheritance which fell to John of Gaunt and which he shaped for his own military and political purposes.⁶ The royal affinities of the late middle ages have also been subjected to scrutiny particularly by Chris Given-Wilson⁷ and there are a number of family,⁸ regional⁹ and national studies such as the pioneering work by George Holmes.¹⁰

⁴ *ibid.*, 170.

⁵ Kenneth Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant. Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1361*, London, 1969; Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399*, Oxford, 1990; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth Century Europe*, Harlow, 1992.

⁶ J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II*, Oxford, 1970.

⁷ Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413*, New Haven, 1986.

⁸ Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521*, Cambridge, 1978.

⁹ Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1981; Nigel Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400*, Oxford, 1986; Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire 1277-1403*, Manchester, 1987; Michael J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight"*, Cambridge, 1983; Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499*, Cambridge, 1992.

¹⁰ George Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England*, Cambridge, 1957; N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century: with Special Reference to the Heraldic Rolls*

All of these have furthered our understanding of bastard feudal associations and are, to some extent, the legacy of K.B. McFarlane.¹¹ That legacy has in recent years been brought into question. Have we, it has been asked, “followed blindly down the cul-de-sac of patronage studies?”¹² Even if this is so, and there are undoubtedly problems with such an approach, no apology needs to be made for an investigation of the Black Prince’s retinue. It was one of the foremost such associations of its day and numbered among its members some of the most notable military figures of the age. The household and administration contained, similarly, other figures of national significance, judges, bishops, doctors, lawyers and bureaucrats.

The prince’s successes and failures were largely dependent on his retinue in battle and his household in peacetime. Both were large institutions as befitted the heir apparent to the thrones of England and France, but the nature of and distinctions between them are difficult to define. The differences, particularly in personnel, between household, retinue and affinity were small. The household provided the core of the retinue and the retinue was the heart of the affinity. The retinue and its household connections was comparable to the *familia regis* that, in the years before the military revolution of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, formed the core of the royal army. The prince’s retinue was created for war and his extensive landed interests and estates financed that military effort with subsidies from the royal purse. Military men held many of the offices in the household and estates and thus the administration was, to some extent, a military

of Arms, Oxford, 1969; Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: the Fourteenth Century Political Community*, London, 1987.

¹¹ K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*, Oxford, 1972; *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: the Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies*, Oxford, 1973.

¹² R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard, *The McFarlane Legacy. Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, Far Thrupp, 1995, xii.

operation. The martial character of the retinue and household was emphasised by its chivalric attitudes and the aspirations of the prince himself. The chivalric distinction of the retinue was also marked by the coincidence of some of its members being founder knights of the Order of the Garter. Such attitudes reinforced friendships and associations created in battle and gave members of the retinue an identity beyond that of simply service to the same man. That identity was further strengthened by common forms of religious worship and personal ties of a military, financial and familial nature. Yet the great majority of the “military” retinue was not in service to the prince for longer than a single campaign. The soldiery who fought with the prince at Poitiers might equally well serve his father or another great captain in 1359-60. Thus the retinue was an amorphous group, constantly changing to meet the demands which the prince placed upon it. Political and personal conditions shaped those demands from his infancy to his first action at Crécy, to his first command at Poitiers, to the role of the sovereign prince in all but name, to the decline after Nájera, the return to England and then perhaps greater interest in the political machinations of Westminster.

The appeal of service to the prince was evident in all aspects of his life. He was the heir apparent, a victorious general, the lord of vast estates, a chivalric icon and a most generous employer. The largest proportion of the retinue was comprised of short commission soldiers recruited for a single campaign. For many of these, wages would barely pay expenses and it was the offer of booty and pardons which attracted them. Pardons, the most common reward, were only granted following an acknowledgement from the prince or one of his senior commanders that the individual had participated in the campaign. The prince also gave other gifts, particularly after Poitiers, such as land (rarely), money, offices, wood for fuel, wine and exemptions from public service. The

prince might also petition the king on behalf of his men. Maddok Lloyt was granted 14 acres in Flintshire at 3s. 4d. a year on 6 August 1351 after such a request.¹³ This element of service with the prince was significant. He was a conduit to the court through his influence in the halls of power and through the trust and value that the king placed on him. In the final analysis, he was the heir-apparent with access to the court and the king, a title which he would have one day himself. Through such a position of influence, the prince could be of help to his retainers and servants. This could take the form of commissions of oyer and terminer such as were ordered by the king at his son's request for Sir Thomas Gissing and Sir Thomas Peytevyn. In the latter's case the commissioners were to be Nicholas Audley, John Mowbray and Richard de la Bere,¹⁴ men with links to the prince who were likely to get the right result. Good service to the prince might also be rewarded indirectly as the prince recommended individuals to his father for service. An association with the prince could also result in, for example, the early inheritance of land by minors, particularly if the inheritor was involved in military service with the prince. This was so in the case of Edward Despenser in 1357 and John FitzEustace in 1359.¹⁵ Gilbert Talbot, son of Richard, received his Hereford and Gloucester estates whilst serving with the prince in Gascony in 1357 and John Felton, brother of William, received his lands in Northumberland whilst serving in Aquitaine following Felton's death at Ariñez in 1367.¹⁶ John, son of Roger de la Warre, received his Northamptonshire

¹³ *BPR*, iii, 41.

¹⁴ *CPR*, 1370-4, 104-5, 105. Peytevyn's case may have involved attacks made by John, prior of the house of friars of the Order of the Holy Cross, near the Tower of London and others. Peytevyn was forced to become a friar, *CCR*, 1368-74, 242-3.

¹⁵ *CCR*, 1354-60, 348, 602.

¹⁶ *CFR*, 1356-68, 28-9, 358. John Felton received letters of attorney late in 1368, PRO C61/81/2 and again on 16 Nov. 1369, C61/82/2. All manuscript references hereafter will be to the PRO unless otherwise stated.

estates while serving among the prince's troops in Aquitaine.¹⁷ Furthermore, members of the retinue could benefit from the grant of royal licences following a request by the prince to his father. These provided various rights and perquisites, it is uncertain, in a number of cases, whether these were entirely for the benefit of the licence-holder or the prince himself. For example, in 1352 John Mitford, the prince's yeoman, was permitted to ship 1,000 quarters of corn from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to London.¹⁸ However, there would seem to have been little direct benefit to the prince in return for his support for a licence for Bartholomew Burghersh's minstrel, Concius Piper, and his kinsman to buy 100 quarters of wheat in Boston and transport it to Dordrecht.¹⁹ Burghersh was an important official in the prince's administration and a key member of his military retinue.

Wardships and the grant of the keeping of lands while the heir was an infant were also made by the king on his son's recommendation. Richard Punchardoun purchased the keeping of the lands of John Bensted for £50 a year. The grant was made in recognition of his good service to the prince and his father. The grant was extended to include Richard's heirs and the price reduced to £30 annually and later fell by a further £10.²⁰ Punchardoun later purchased the marriage of Edward, John Bensted's son, for 100 marks.²¹ Such acquisitions could serve to increase the prince's influence to regions geographically outside his area of authority. Thus, in addition to the very considerable patronage available to the prince through his own estates, he might provide access to patronage from the king himself. "If the head of an affinity was to serve his followers well, he had to have

¹⁷ *CFR*, 1369-77, 99. John de la Warre became a significant member of the prince's retinue in Aquitaine and he was summoned to a muster of the prince's retainers in 1369, E101/29/24.

¹⁸ *CPR*, 1350-4, 347.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 1358-61, 15.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 252.

²¹ *CFR*, 1356-68, 330.

recourse to that greatest of dispensers of patronage, the king.”²² The retinue was significant at both a national and local level. Through the association of public and regional concerns and the motivation of matters of country and county, individuals within, and the retinue itself, were part of the political and military community at its greatest extent, they were of consequence in the localities and, in some cases, of note at court.

Members of that community, despite their status, have not all received a great deal of attention from historians. The prince himself, by contrast, has fared much better than his retinue in terms of investigation and analysis. Numerous biographies have been written since his death, the first being Chandos Herald’s, *Vie du Prince Noir*, written c.1386 and roughly contemporary with Jean Froissart’s *Chronicles*, in which the prince is a leading figure. Thereafter, Edward has remained a subject of interest. He has been the central character in two plays in the middle years of the 18th and 19th centuries,²³ the latter of which followed renewed interest in his life. He became a particular favourite of Victorian authors: Pierce Egan, the younger’s, *Edward the Black Prince; or, a Tale of the Feudal Times*, London, c.1870; M. Jones, *The Black Prince. A Book for Boys*, London and Edinburgh, 1871, and Evelyn Everett Green’s, *In the Days of Chivalry. A Tale of the Times of the Black Prince*, London, 1893 all attest to the popularity of the Black Prince at the end of the last century which also saw the publication of a new edition of Chandos Herald. More recently, the 1970s saw another flurry of interest in the prince, encouraged by the 600th anniversary of his death, with notable contributions, such

²² McFarlane, *Nobility*, 119.

²³ William Shirley, *Edward the Black Prince; or, The Battle of Poitiers: an Historical Tragedy* [in five acts, in verse], London, 1750; Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart., *Edward the Black Prince. A Tragedy* [in three acts and in verse], London, 1846.

as Barbara Emerson's, *The Black Prince*, London, 1976 and concluding with Richard Barber's extremely comprehensive, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine*, Woodbridge, 1978. There seems little to add to the picture of Edward that the latter authors have produced. As Barber says:

“When all is said and done, the prince remains a shadowy figure. There are very few reliable personal anecdotes about him; there are very few recorded actions which mark him off as a distinctive character. Much of this difficulty arises from the way in which he became a legend in his own lifetime, a legend which was undoubtedly reinforced as men looked back from the domestic troubles of his son's reign to the halcyon days of the great English victories abroad.”²⁴

If this is the case with the prince, will it not be even more so with regard to his retinue, his annuitants, servants and retainers? A number were figures on the national stage such as Richard Stafford, the prince's steward, who was elevated to the peerage, Peter Lacy, receiver-general, and from 1367 keeper of the king's privy seal, and John Chandos, the king's lieutenant in Normandy and Aquitaine, who he oversaw the transfer of lands

²⁴ Richard Barber, *Edward Prince of Wales and Aquitaine*, Woodbridge, 1978, 238. Barbara Emerson, *The Black Prince*, London, 1976; John Harvey, *The Black Prince and his Age*, London, 1976; Hubert Cole, *The Black Prince*, London, 1976; Samuel Clarke, *The Life and Death of the Thrice Noble and Illustrious Edward Surnamed the Black Prince, Son to our Victorious King Edward the Third*, London, 1673; Arthur Collins, *The Life and Glorious Actions of Edward Prince of Wales, Commonly call'd the Black Prince ... Also the History of his Royal Brother John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster*, 2 pt. London, 1740; A. Bicknell, *The History of Edward, Prince of Wales, Commonly Termed the Black Prince; with a Short View of the Reigns of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III, and a Summary Account of the Institution of the Order of the Garter*, London, 1776; T. Johnston *The Valiant Exploits of Edward, the Black Prince*, Falkirk, 1815; George Payne Rainsford James, *A History of the Life of Edward the Black Prince, and of Various Events Connected Therewith*, 2 vol., London, 1836; Louise Creighton, *Life of Edward the Black Prince*, London,

following the treaty of Brétigny. Furthermore, John Knyvet, who had sat on the prince's council, became chancellor in 1372-7 and was succeeded by Adam Houghton who had also assisted with the hand-over of territory after Brétigny. After the prince's death, a number of his former retainers and servants rose to national prominence during the minority rule of his son. Nigel Saul in his recent biography of Richard II has written of these men, stating that: "As the dependents of one of the most successful and charismatic figures of the age they enjoyed a collective identity...Their individual attitudes and beliefs are, of course, almost impossible to establish."²⁵ Whilst the paucity of personal documents does make this true to an extent, it is possible to develop biographies of a number of individuals which reveal or hint at individual attitudes and especially religious beliefs. However, the focus will remain on that "collective identity", for there were many who had no part to play in the great business of the state.

A prosopographical approach has been adopted and many of the conclusions that have been drawn have been based on biographical research. This was foreshadowed by Barber in his biography which aimed "to arrive at an account of Edward, prince of Wales and Aquitaine, and in particular of the group of men who were his companions-in-arms..." Barber was constrained by factors of space and time but the following research depends heavily on that biography which showed the prince "as part of a close-knit, brilliant group of knights..."²⁶ In many cases, an individual mentioned in the following chapters will be the subject of an entry in the biographical appendix. These do not aim to

1876; *The Life and Feats of Arms of Edward the Black Prince by Chandos Herald. A Metrical Chronicle with an English Translation and Notes* ed. and trans. Francisque-Michel, London and Paris, 1883.

²⁵ Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, New Haven and London, 1997, 29.

²⁶ Barber, *op cit.*, 9.

be comprehensive discussions of careers but focus on relations with the Black Prince and other members of the retinue and household. It contains a significant number of entries and it is to be hoped that it will be of interest for its own sake as a work of reference as well as in its role as a companion volume.

There are a number of methodological problems with this type of approach and, in the case of the Black Prince, this is compounded by difficulties with the source material. The evidence concerning the prince's retinue is by no means as extensive as for that of John of Gaunt's, particularly in terms of extant letters of retainer which only number seven, compared with the dozens which remain for Gaunt.²⁷ Additional evidence is available in the *Register of the Black Prince*, which is the most valuable source for the prince's career, administration and retinue from c.1345-65. The chronological gaps (1330-45, 1365-76) can be filled, in part, by the Close, Patent rolls and others. However, the loss of the Gascon volume and most of the north Wales registers is impossible to fill. Welsh account rolls are scarce after c.1345 and in Aquitaine, compared with the preceding years, "Au temps de la principauté, par contre, Londres ne recueille plus que de rares traces de l'action menée en Aquitaine, car celle - ci ne dépend plus du gouvernement qui siège au bord de la Tamise." Also on "le 18 juillet 1362, cesse d'exister la documentation que nous avons fouillée jusqu'ici."²⁸ The only real source for the prince's administration in Aquitaine lies in a composite account enrolled by Richard Fillongley, seneschal of Guienne, when the prince returned to England. It, however, provides merely a general overview of expenditure and gives little information about

²⁷ Michael Jones and Simon Walker, "Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War", *Camden Miscellany*, xxxii (1994), 73-4, 77-8, 80-1, 85-6.

²⁸ Pierre Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne au temps de la lieutenance du Prince Noir, 1354-62", Unpublished thesis, Paris, 1972, 907.

individuals. This lacuna is partially filled by documents from elsewhere. In particular, the Chester exchequer provides a reasonably consistent series of accounts. Many of the rewards, annuities and retainers granted by the prince during his rule in Aquitaine were paid from Cheshire revenue. Some of these have been published both as Chamberlain's accounts and recognizance rolls.²⁹ There are also records from the duchy of Cornwall and a number of so-called "foreign manors" east of the Tamar, including Castle Rising which was included after the death of his grandmother in 1358.

With particular regard to biographical work, witness lists pose a number of problems as evidence for the physical presence of those named. Charters were dated when they were sealed, not when they were drawn up. They could also be witnessed over a period of time or delayed until sufficient men of status were present. However, on the whole "They tell little lies not big ones".³⁰ It has not been possible to consult as many continental sources as I would have wished, although discussions with Richard Barber have indicated that, whilst material is undoubtedly available which has not been exploited, the value of that material is uncertain and the time involved in extracting it probably too great as to warrant major investigation when so many other sources are available. I have been fortunate to have been given a number of references to material held in French collections and transcriptions of some of these. In addition, to try and offset any Anglo-Welsh bias, reference has been made to extensive secondary works and calendared material by continental authors, both Spanish and French. Furthermore, the Gascon rolls (PRO C61) have been consulted to determine the nature of the movement

²⁹ R. Stewart-Brown, *Cheshire Chamberlains' Accounts, 1301-60* (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire), 1910; P.H.W. Booth and A. Carr, ed. *Account of Master John de Brunham the Younger, Chamberlain of Chester of the Revenues of the Counties of Chester and Flint, 1361-62*, (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire), 1991; "Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester", *Deputy Keeper's Report*, 36 (1875).

of individuals between England and Bordeaux and other links which were evident during the time of Black Prince's lieutenancy of the duchy and as prince of Aquitaine. These have also presented difficulties similar to those encountered in the use of witness lists, especially when being used in association with the few documents still extant which purport to be records of the prince's retinue or household.³¹

The focus of the prince's life and the bulk of remaining evidence concerns military matters, the role of the retinue in war. The financing of that role, the provision of equipment and general organisation and administration were crucial factors in the prince's military success and, by contrast, were also instrumental in bringing about the collapse of the principality of Aquitaine and the resumption of the Hundred Years War in 1369. The nature of the sources has influenced the approach and structure of the following chapters. A number of aspects of the prince's life and the configuration of the retinue are difficult to quantify and evaluate. For example, the importance of the chivalric ethic is not quantifiable, yet its importance cannot be doubted. In this area of investigation, as in a number of other aspects of the prince's life, his retinue followed a broadly national pattern. However, it is necessary to stress that the trends that the prince's retinue "followed" were, in many cases, set by members of the retinue and those with whom they were associated. Thus the national example may also be representative of specific attitudes and patterns in the prince's retinue. Through the *Register* and various other accounts we may learn of the preparations for campaigns, of the supplies and soldiers needed, of the means of financing the retinue in war and peace, of the

³⁰ Chris Given-Wilson, "Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399", *Medieval Prosopography*, 12:2 (1991), 37-40.

³¹ E101/29/24; B[ritish] L[ibrary] Cotton Julius C IV ff. 288-91.

preferments, religious and secular, granted by the prince, of the links which tied the retinue, financial and familial. When it comes to matters concerning the ethos within the retinue, certain motivations for service with the prince, how the retinue fought in battle, indeed any aspect which did not have a price, was not subject to an order or left no trace in a bloodline, reliance must be placed on different authorities, chronicles, letters and other contemporary descriptions. In such aspects as military tactics and strategy and the presentation of the chivalric ethic, the prince's retinue followed and set national patterns, conformed to successful military procedures and formed an important element in Edward III's chivalric programme. Therefore, while these aspects of the retinue will be discussed, it will be in such a way as to highlight their national role in the Hundred Years War and to demonstrate that the retinue was subject to general forces and provided a national example.

In determining the composition of the prince's household and retinue, I have been directed by previous studies. Simon Walker defined the Lancastrian affinity as consisting of household attendants, indentured retainers and estate officials. As he says, these categories are largely artificial. Household attendants with menial duties, in the strictest sense of the word, were often at the upper levels of the administration. Estate offices could be largely honorific and undertaken by a deputy.³² Similar groupings have been drawn for a royal household³³ and could also be made for a retinue. Indentured retainers were often also household or estate officials and there were many others without a formal letter of retainer who saw service with the prince. However, can a direct

³² Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 8.

³³ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 1-2.

comparison be made of the retinue and household of the Black Prince with the Lancastrian Affinity? Definitions can be made of these associations; household, retinue and affinity, although there will be constant overlap in form and function and movement between the various groups. Every nobleman had a household, but few an affinity. Yet the royal household in its most expanded form, through its size and varied functions, was, to all intents and purposes, an affinity. Retinue, as a word, gives no indication of size, it could be a knight's single esquire or, as in the case of the Black Prince at Crécy, 1,344 individuals including 11 bannerets, 102 knights and 264 esquires.³⁴

While the extended household and military retinue fulfilled many of the functions of an affinity, the focus of research has been on the "inner circles", those with direct links to the prince, and little attention has been given to his tenants, apart from when they are significant politically or in the administration of estates. The changing nature of military recruitment meant that less reliance was placed on manorial tenants for the substance of armies, particularly after 1346-7. Many of the same individuals might be involved with the prince on the battlefield but the relationship had altered to be one of "retainer" and retained rather than overlord and vassal. The relationship of the prince with his tenants will be addressed with regard to local and national politics and estate administration but, unlike many smaller bastard feudal associations, the prince was not reliant solely on his estates to provide him with retainers.

The administration of the prince's estates cannot be completely separated from the military retinue since many administrative offices throughout the prince's household

³⁴ M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des Rois, Reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV, tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny*, 2 vols, Paris,

and estates were undertaken by military men. Sometimes they were diligent and effective in these roles but often the offices were simply rewards for military service and a deputy did the actual job. For example, from c.1351 to c.1364, John Delves served as the lieutenant of Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger, justice of Chester and north Wales.³⁵ Burghersh held the office as a sinecure and Delves had virtual autonomy. John Chandos was steward of Macclesfield and the Cheshire forests but had little to do with the daily administration. Such dual roles blur the distinction between functions that an individual had in the prince's service. Some members crossed the divide between military, household and administrative service quite unconsciously. Divisions of service were easily obscured and had little real significance. Although, on the whole, the prince's administration became more efficient throughout his tenure of office, the devolution of authority into the hands of absentee officers could present problems. The importance of the administration is highlighted as a consequence of its role in the political fate of Edward's principalities. It is arguable that it was the prince's administrative and financial policies, designed to increase revenue and the authority of the prince himself and his ministers, which brought about the revolt of the Gascon nobility and the resumption of the war in 1369. It may also be the case that many of the conditions which paved the way for the Glyn Dŵr revolt originated in the harsh regime over which the prince presided in Wales. The retinue was bound together in its struggle to sustain a successful military effort and was perhaps unmindful of the political consequences.

The retinue was not a single homogenous group; certain individuals were of more

1839-47, 82.

³⁵ He was in office as lieutenant when notified of the truce with France on 29 Oct. 1351, *BPR*, iii, 45.

importance than others. In some cases this is evident from a title, whether it is a household designation or one granted outside the retinue. In other instances, the significance of an individual becomes clear only through a general reading of the source material and it is possible to decide just who were in that “close-knit, brilliant group of knights”, through determining a number of criteria, and assessing who fulfils them. In the administration, status is evident from the nature of the office held. The first modern study of the prince’s central administration remains the most comprehensive and Margaret Sharpe’s work in Tout’s *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, and elsewhere, has proved extremely useful.³⁶ Like many aspects of the prince’s life and career it is less certain about matters in Aquitaine and indeed in one study deliberately halts in 1362. It is a lacuna which has never been satisfactorily filled, although research on Gascony has given attention to the 1360s.³⁷ These are supported by works concerned with the periods before or after and, in particular, mention must be made of Pierre Capra’s magisterial thesis on the administration of the Black Prince during his lieutenancy in Gascony.³⁸ In this sense, the following comments on the prince’s administration are a synthesis from a broad range of topics concerned with matters at both the central and regional level. The focus has been on the role of the retinue in the administration and why certain policies were adopted with the retinue and household in mind.

³⁶ The first list of the prince’s household officers was drawn up by M. Sharpe in T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, London, 1930, v, 431-40; see also “The Administrative Chancery of the Black Prince Before 1362”, *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T.F. Tout*, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke, Manchester, 1925, 321-33.

³⁷ Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England’s First Colony, 1204-1453*, London, 1980. Eleanor C. Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule*, London, 1926.

³⁸ Capra, “L’administration Anglo-Gasconne”; M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics During the Later Stages of the Hundred Years’ War*, Oxford, 1970. M.G.A. Vale, *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340*, Oxford, 1990.

In the household and military retinue, status could be less certain. It has often been the case that the most significant individuals in such an association would be those formally retained for life service. However, the total number of extant letters of retainer is only seven, most of which were granted by the prince in the late 1360s and early 1370s. Evidence from other sources increases the number to 18. In the main they do not appear to have preceded or been subsequent to obvious military encounters and include three retainers made in 1373. However, in late 1367, after Nájera and prior to the resumption of the war with France, when the political climate in Aquitaine was becoming distinctly hostile, the prince retained six individuals. The lack of evidence from the period for the principalities of Wales and Aquitaine may have skewed the sources to give this impression. Fillongley's account reveals some considerable expenditure on annuities but does not indicate who the recipients were or for what service the grants were made. The accounts of later constables of Aquitaine reveal the identity of a very few of the individuals, but by no means all those who were in receipt of annuities from the prince and they do not indicate any further life retainers.³⁹ Considering the period for which records are reasonably consistent, it is a paltry number and seems strange in this age of burgeoning life retaining:

³⁹ E364/15/36; 16/48-9, see Timothy Runyan, "The Constabulary of Bordeaux: The Accounts of John Ludham (1372-73) and Robert de Wyckford (1373-75)", *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (1974), 215-58; 37 (1975), 42-84.

Indentured Retainers

Henry Eam, retained 28 Jan. 1348, Nigel Loryng, 13 Mar. 1349, Edmund Manchester, retained May 1351, William Aubigny, retained 31 July 1352, John Sully, retained 27 Jan. 1353, Baldwin Frevill, retained 8 Aug. 1358.

William Greneway and Richard Mascy, 1 Mar. 1365, Geoffrey Warburton, 6 June 1365. Aubrey Vere, Gerard Braybrook, William Thorpe, John Golofre, Robert Roos, Baldwin Bereford, Richard Abberbury, all retained 1 Oct. – 6 Nov. 1367.

William Wastencys and Thomas Guysing, retained 5 Oct. 1371, John Mascy and Nicholas Vernon, retained Mar. and May 1373, Ralph Davenport, retained 8 June 1373.

These are clearly not all of the chief members of the household and military retinue.

Indeed, a number do not appear to be very significant at all, certainly in a military context, although it is uncertain what their role was in the household. To determine who may have been in the “close circle” a number of other criteria may be established. If the individual, despite having no indenture of retainer (or at least no evidence of one), fought with the prince on several occasions and was also in receipt of an annuity for military service, he was clearly a significant member of the military retinue. These annuities varied greatly in value and may not be a great indication of long-term service but rather reward for a specific campaign, they are particularly evident after Poitiers. As records are by no means complete for many of the expeditions, an annuity may serve to indicate the likelihood of later service. Indeed, in a number of cases, the annuity was granted “for past and future good service.” Although perhaps not so binding a contract as a life indenture, the grant of an annuity dependent on good service to the prince in the future was likely to guarantee the assistance of the recipient on the next campaign. To determine whether this individual also had some household status can be seen by the designation as “bachelor”:

Bachelors with annuities involved in multiple campaigns

Audley, James (6 Dec. 1356, £400)
Campaigns: 1355-6; Reims; 1363.
Botetourt, Baldwin (£40, 3 Aug. 1357)
Campaigns: Poitiers bodyguard.
Carington, William (28 July 1364)
Campaigns: 1355-6, Reims, 1363, 1369
 retinue (with 10 men-at-arms & 40 archers).
Cheyne, Alan (1 Feb. 1357, 100 marks)
Campaigns: 1355-6; Reims; 1363; 1369 (with
 2 esqs) (Constable of Rhuddlan & Beeston)
Chandos, John (19 Sept. 1353, £53 13s. 4d.
 > 600 gold écus) Campaigns: Crécy?; 1355-6
 (Poitiers bodyguard); Reims?; Nájera;
 rearguard, d.1370.
Cosington, Stephen (25 Mar. 1350, 100
 marks > £140) Campaigns: Calais, 1355-6
 (Poitiers bodyguard); Reims; 1363; Nájera.
Cotesford, Roger (11 Jan. 1357, 40 marks)
Campaigns: Crécy; 1355-6 (Poitiers
 bodyguard). Constable of Llanbadarn castle
Courtenay, Edward (7 Nov. 1361, 100
 marks) Campaigns: 1355-6; Reims; 1363.
Dale, Tiderik van (1 July 1357, £100)
Campaigns: 1355-6; 1363.
Danyers/Danyel, John (20 Nov. 1363, 20
 marks) Campaigns: 1355-6; 1363; 1369 (with
 9 men-at-arms & 40 archers).
Felton, Thomas (1 July 1357, £40)
Campaigns: Crécy and Calais; 1355-6
 (Poitiers bodyguard); 1363; Nájera; rearguard.
 Seneschal of Aquitaine, Chamberlain of

Chester. Retained by Ric. II
Hereford, Thomas (18 Mar. 1362, £40)
Campaigns: 1363; 1369 retinue (with 2 esqs).
 Pos. retained.
Louches, Adam (11 Nov. 1362; 1 July 1365
 (50 marks) Campaigns: 1355-6; Nájera?; 1369
 (with 2 esqs).
Malyns, Reginald (18 Nov. Nájera, 40
 marks) Campaigns: 1355-6; 1363; 1369 with
 4 esqs & 6 archers).
Neville, Robert (20 Sept. 1357, 100 marks)
Campaigns: 1355-6; 1369 (with 3 esqs).
Paveley, Walter (4 May 1361, 100 marks)
Campaigns: 1355-6; 1369 (with 3 esqs).
Stafford, Richard (1 Oct. 1358, 200 marks)
Campaigns: Crécy and Calais; 1355-6; Reims;
 1363. Steward of the prince's lands.
Trussel, William (pre-18 July 1362, £40), 15
 Dec. 1363, £40; 26 Aug. 1366 + 40 marks; 1
 July 1362, keeping of Beaumaris + 100
 marks) Campaigns: Crécy?; 1355-6 (Poitiers
 bodyguard); Reims; 1363; 1369.
Wauncy, Edmund (ransom payment, 1 Feb.
 1357) Campaigns: Crécy and Calais; 1355-6;
 Reims.
Zedeles, Bernard van (Dec. 1357; 12 Aug.
 1376, 100 marks) Campaigns: 1355-6; 1363.
 Retained by Ric. II.

These are rather crude groupings, but in addition to the life retainers and in accordance with a general reading of the source material, it is clear that these included many, although not all, of the most significant members of the military retinue. There are a number of important omissions such as Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger, who fought at Crécy and Poitiers and was justice of Chester and steward of Wallingford, and John Wingfield, who also fought at Poitiers and was governor of the prince's business. Edward Berkeley, Nicholas Bonde, Peter Veel, the son, and Thomas Despenser are

further oversights. There were also others who came to prominence in the later years of the prince's life and therefore did not have the opportunities to fight with him but were clearly of some considerable standing, such as the Courtenay brothers, Peter and Philip, and Arnold Savage. In some of these cases, the evidence of rewards may have been lost or individuals may have received preferential household wages or conditions of service. These lists do not include any that were solely administrators but they do reveal the different services which might be performed. Wingfield and his successor, John Delves marked the transition from soldier-administrators to professional bureaucrats that took place gradually in the prince's estates from c.1343 and John Henxteworth is another, not mentioned above, but who was clearly an important member of the household and retinue.

This does not answer the question of why there are not more indentured retainers. There may be a number of reasons, not least, fragmentary survival of evidence. Alternatively, the answer may lie in a different attitude to retaining and to the granting of annuities. The majority of those receiving annuities in the Lancastrian affinity were household servants and estate officials in receipt of very small sums.⁴⁰ There were, of course, many such grants given by the Black Prince. They are particularly evident among those confirmed by Richard on his accession and are noted as being granted in Edward's last years and, in many cases, on his death-bed. It would appear that the Black Prince made far more use of large annuities, on average considerably larger than the value of his indentures, than his brother, to provide a pool of labour. The conditions of the times in which they were formed also affected the size of the respective institutions as did the

⁴⁰ Walker, *op cit.*, 17.

prince's expectation that his retinue, on his accession, would be augmented with members of the royal household.

Despite its multi-faceted nature and the wide variety of duties that an individual could play in it, the retinue was a military institution; the atmosphere within the household was chivalric and the administration was undertaken with foreign expeditions in mind. However, military matters were not the only concern. Religion played an important part in the retinue, both in terms of worship and patronage. The prince's own religious attitudes are open to question but he may not have been thoroughly orthodox. Saul describes him as "a man of vaguely puritanical religion."⁴¹ This may well be the case and evidence regarding the probable religious inclinations of certain members of his and his wife's retinue, would seem to support the claim, although there is little that could be called proof. If a further unorthodox impulse is sought, it may be found in the person of the Fair Maid of Kent. If the prince was similarly inclined, it did not prevent him for seeking profitable benefices for his clerks. Many of them were non-resident and pluralists and there seems to have been regular exchanges of benefices between certain individuals. In addition to the patronage available to the prince through his estates and via wardships which fell into his hands, he also was in regular communication with the pope in the search for suitable posts for those who had served him well and who, he hoped, would serve him even better in the future.

Religious patronage might serve to increase the prince's influence outside his area of territorial authority in the West of England and in Wales. Whether this was a deliberate policy, or simple opportunism is open to question, as is the case in the political

⁴¹ Saul, *Richard II*, 9.

aspect of the retinue. A number of the prince's servants sat in the Commons which, throughout the course of the war, grew in authority in accordance with the financial demands placed upon the country. Edward's theoretical authority was not markedly less than that of John of Gaunt at the peak of the Lancastrian Affinity, despite the changing political climate and the importance placed on having retainers in the Commons. It seems that on his return from Aquitaine Edward may have become more involved in business at Westminster and, if so, this interest was engendered by concerns over the succession.

The prince's standing in England, Wales and Aquitaine was based on his military successes and it was on the battlefield that all aspects of the prince's retinue and household came together. Estate administration, political authority in the Commons, Lords and throughout his demesne, the chivalric ethic, religious belief and patronage, and the money on which they all depended, were melded together in all the elements and aspects of the retinue. But despite the importance of each of these, the theme which dominated the prince's life, and thereby his household and retinue, was war. It was the military retinue and the military aspect of the household that fashioned the prince's success, and for which he is best remembered.

The Military Retinue

The reputation of the Black Prince as a military leader belies the small number of campaigns in which he was involved. He commanded the *chevauchées* of 1355 and 1356 and the Spanish campaign in 1367, but in the Reims expedition, as at Crécy, he was, once again, merely a leading player. As a consequence, it is difficult to draw comparisons and make conclusions about the military retinue in the field. There was little continuity of service as a result of varying demands on military manpower, the lack of indentured retainers in the prince's household and the long period of time between many of the campaigns. Nonetheless, there were a few individuals who fought alongside the prince in each of his expeditions. It may well be that, although the prince was himself a highly successful commander and those that he led very capable soldiers, the retinue was not a coherent military unit but a disparate group whose members often saw service together but not always in the same capacity and not always in the retinue of the Black Prince.

The military aspect of the prince's retinue, like almost every other, was both highly individual and also a reflection of national practice. This was particularly so on campaign when the prince's retinue was one of the central elements in the national expeditions of the 1340s and '50s. Therefore, a study of the prince's retinue must involve an appreciation of the national picture as well as a detailed examination of the military personnel under the command of Edward of Woodstock. The Black Prince's retinue in its recruitment, provisioning, strategy and tactics reflected wider trends in many ways. However, since this was the heir-apparent and many of the retinue were figures of national military importance, the retinue did not simply follow trends but also set them.

Edward's military reputation was founded on the English victory at Crécy.

Although the prince played a very limited role in the strategic and tactical decision-making, Edward III attributed the victory to his son. The campaign was not the first to put into practice the developments that have been described as the Edwardian military revolution.¹ It was however, the largest such expedition to date and it established the *chevauchée* as the predominant means of waging war in France. The military experiences of the prince in the victory at Crécy and the subsequent capture of Calais were highly significant. Many of his future retinue were involved in the campaign, the most illustrious of whom were to be numbered among the Order of the Garter. The Crécy campaign "blooded" the retinue and provided the foundations for it both in terms of personnel and the application of strategy and tactics.

The 1355 *chevauchée*, was a classic example of a strategy used throughout the war to great psychological and financial effect though, in this instance, it failed to recoup great territorial or political gains. The raid of the following year culminated in the battle of Poitiers. With the capture of King Jean and the flower of French chivalry similarly taken or killed, the Black Prince achieved a victory greater than that of ten years before and only later equalled by Agincourt. The Reims campaign (1359-60), was a triumph, but only of mobilization, it failed to achieve its end, the coronation of Edward III as King of France. The subsequent treaty of Brétigny-Calais provided a huge ransom and a principality for Edward of Woodstock but did not secure the original demands agreed to by Jean in the "treaties of London". It was whilst in the principality of Aquitaine that the

¹ The concept of a military revolution has been much debated. Michael Robert's thesis has been extended to include the period of the Hundred Years War. The main elements in the thesis include: the importance of advancing in good order, despite the lack of any formal drill; increased numbers of troops; the development of grand strategies including complex alliances and increased emphasis on logistic and supplies, Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages. The English Experience*, New Haven and London, 1996, 9-10. See also *The Medieval Military Revolution: State and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Ayton and J.L. Price, London and New York, 1995; Clifford J. Rogers, "The Military Revolution of the Hundred Years' War", *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241-78.

prince indulged in his final great campaign, which resulted from his intervention in the disputed Castilian succession and culminated in victory at Nájera.

These were the predominant campaigns in which the prince was involved and they included in 1346 and 1356 the most significant encounters of the first phase of the Hundred Years War. In addition, there were a number of other military engagements in which the prince and members of his retinue were involved. The Calais Plot was not a major campaign but deserves mention nonetheless. Geoffrey de Charny offered Aimery of Pavia, governor of Calais, 20,000 crowns to betray the town in late October 1349. Aimery passed on the news to the king and under the banner of Walter Manny, Edward III and the Black Prince with Guy Brian and others successfully ambushed the attackers.

The Breton civil war also involved a number of those close to the prince. At Cocherel on 16 May 1364, Bertrand Du Guesclin defeated a Navarrese army assisted by some English and Gascons, led by the captal de Buch, who was captured. John Chandos led de Montfort's troops at the clash at Auray on 29 September 1364. He was aided by Robert Knolles, Hugh Calveley and others who successfully combated experimental French tactics and troop dispositions designed to counteract the efficiency of de Montfort's archers. Du Guesclin tried to repeat the action at Nájera where he demanded better armour for Enrique's troops and attempted to have the Castilian knights fight on foot. At Auray the tight formations of the Anglo-Breton forces triumphed in the ensuing *melée* which witnessed the death of Charles de Blois and the capture of Du Guesclin. Both were important elements in the English "cold war" effort.²

² Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce, vi, 162-9; Prestwich, *op cit.*, 322.

Preparation, Propaganda and Purveyance

Propaganda

The lack of success of Edward III's early French campaigns had brought controversy in parliament and disaffection in the country. The need to secure public support for the campaign of 1346 coloured the English military effort at home and was instrumental in the establishment of the prince's own military reputation. The need to finance and supply the Crécy expedition necessitated taxation and purveyance on a very large scale. The barrage of secular and ecclesiastic propaganda in the form of proclamations and officially inspired sermons ensured only limited resistance.³ Royal decisions were announced and public compliance demanded. Appeals were made for the support of the Crown's political and diplomatic aspirations and "the economic policies necessitated by the French and Scottish wars".⁴ Prayers were requested and the Dominican order was mobilised. The clergy performed special services to obtain divine protection and the parish system served as a conduit for royal news and propaganda.⁵ It is uncertain exactly what the ecclesiastical attitude was to the war. Later critics such as Hoccleve and Langland were critical of the struggle and argued for the unification of Christendom against the infidel and on pacifist lines respectively.⁶

³ Jonathon Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Vol. 1. Trial by Battle*, London, 1990, 491.

⁴ W.R. Jones, "The English Church and Royal Propaganda During the Hundred Years War", *Journal of British Studies* 19:1 (1979), 21.

⁵ Rymer, III, i, 72-3.

⁶ A.K. McHardy, "The English Clergy and the Hundred Years War", *Studies in Church History*, ed. W.J. Shiels, 20 (1983), 175.

Within France, Edward III and the prince of Wales had to project something of a contradictory image. The *chevauchée* was a particularly malicious form of warfare which targeted the general populace. By contrast, Edward was attempting to promote a “righteous” cause and wished for support from the French people which was clearly demonstrated by the attitude shown in the Reims campaign. In 1346, before the first raiding parties set out, the king issued a proclamation forbidding the molestation of old men, women and children, troops were not to rob any church or shrine or burn any building on pain of death or mutilation. Sumption says “It was a dead letter from the beginning”⁷ although a reward of 40s. was offered to anyone who caught a soldier involved in such activities and brought him to the king. In 1355 less (theoretical) restraint was demanded. The purpose of the raid was to attack the lands of Jean d’Armagnac and do as much damage as possible. However, discipline was strict concerning the property of Gaston Fébus, count of Foix, with whom the prince had an understanding. Church property was, in theory, to be respected but this was not always, or indeed often, the case.

Throughout the campaign of 1346 the propaganda policy continued. A letter was sent to the council following the fall of Caen recounting the operation up to that point. This was to be communicated to the citizens of London and the people of the kingdom. Edward III also wrote to the archbishops of York and Canterbury with orders for them to organise prayers and processions twice a week and for an account of his deeds in France to be published throughout the realm.⁸ The prelates and clergy were to thank God for the king’s good fortune and pray that it might continue.⁹ In addition, a series of communications throughout the campaign recounted Edward’s assumption of the title

⁷ Sumption, *op cit.*, 501.

⁸ For the letter see *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, ed. and trans. H. Maxwell, Glasgow, 1913, 326-8; Sumption, *op cit.*, 511.

⁹ Kenneth A. Fowler, “Letters and Dispatches of the Fourteenth Century”, *Guerre et société en France, en*

the prince's officials and were then more widely circulated. Richard Stafford and William Burton carried them to England. Requests for prayers were regularly sent. The Friars Preachers, Friars Minor, Carmelites and Austin friars, the city of London and its bishop were contacted with this demand. On his return from Poitiers, the prince gave thanks for his victory at Canterbury. Wingfield wrote at Libourne on 22 January, probably to Stafford, who had returned to England for reinforcements and supplies, and related events subsequent to the first raid. Three letters recounted the events of the second raid and the battle of Poitiers. That of 25 June 1356, sent to the bishop of Hereford, was brief and requested prayers and masses.¹⁵ On 20 October Roger Cotesford, one of the prince's bachelors, took another letter to the bishop of Worcester.¹⁶ The most important missive was carried by Nigel Loryng to the mayor, aldermen and commonality of London and was probably also intended for distribution outside the capital.¹⁷ Other members of the retinue who wrote home also passed information. Bartholomew Burghersh penned communications to John Beauchamp and Henry Peverel corresponded with the prior of Winchester.¹⁸ The prince also wrote to the prior naming all those killed or captured at Poitiers.¹⁹ News was also passed by papal envoys, via the wine trade, and the sub-admirals Deyncourt and Hoggeshawe who returned with some of the ships which had taken the army to Gascony.²⁰

Like many aspects of the Spanish campaign, propaganda was not rigorously organised. Nonetheless, after the victory at Nájera the prince wrote to his wife describing

¹⁵ *Register of John de Trillek, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1344-1361)* ed. Joseph H. Parry, Hereford, 1910-12., 242.

¹⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lettenhove, xviii, 389-92; *Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483*, ed. E. Tyrrell and N.H. Nicolas, London, 1827, 206-8.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 204-6; Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 381-4; *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. and trans. R. Barber, Woodbridge, 1986, 57-9.

¹⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lettenhove, v, 528-9; *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. A.W. Goodman, Winchester, 1927, 159-61, no. 370.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 162-4, no. 371; Fowler, *loc. cit.*, 77-8; Delachenal, *op cit.*, i, 205-6.

²⁰ H.J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-57*, Manchester, 1958. 79.

the encounter.²¹ It seems likely that this letter, at least in some form, was forwarded to England from Bordeaux. In addition, the Windsor Herald brought the king news of the victory for which he was rewarded with an annuity of 20 marks.²² On 30 April 1367 Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, ordered news of the campaign to be disseminated. The names and numbers of the dead, wounded and captured were noted.²³ These sources of information provided the basis for the account in the *Anonimalle* and other chronicles.²⁴ Furthermore, Pedro himself had written an account commenting on the composition of the army which would be victorious at Nájera.²⁵

Whilst designed for a more select audience, artistic propaganda such as charter decoration, the use of seals and heraldic devices, played a part in the preparation for military campaigns and throughout the early stages of the Anglo-French conflict. In particular, the arrogation of the *fleur de lis* had great ecclesiastical and political significance. The quartering of the French arms in the paternal position with the lions of England was a clear demonstration of Edward's claim.²⁶ Early examples show the English arms in the first quarter but this was changed in line with the king's dynastic pretensions in 1340. The king's great and privy seals also prominently displayed the *fleur de lis* as part of official royal iconography. By 1348, coins were minted using the French royal arms alone. Despite informally giving up his claim to the throne in 1360, Edward retained the arms.

²¹ SC1/42/33; E. Déprez, "La bataille de Nájera", *Revue Historique*, cxxxvi (1921), 37-59; A.E. Prince, "A Letter of Edward the Black Prince Describing the Battle of Nájera", *EHR*, xli (1926), 415-18; *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333-1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith, Manchester, 1927, 171.

²² *CPR*, 1364-7, 408.

²³ For casualty list see John of Reading, 183-4; *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, 225-7.

²⁴ Prince, *loc. cit.*, 415-16.

²⁵ This was composed on 1 Apr. 1367, *Documentos de Pedro I*, ed. A.L. Molina Molina (Colección de documentos para la historia del reino de Murcia), vii, Murcia, 1978, 197 no. 143. Noted by Fowler, "Letters and Dispatches", 91-2, n. 90.

²⁶ Elizabeth Danbury, "English and French Propaganda During the Period of the Hundred Years War: Some Evidence From Royal Charters", *Power, Culture and Religion in France c.1350 - c.1550*, ed. C.T. Allmand,

Documentary propaganda also associated divine favour with the English cause. The deed by which the prince was granted Aquitaine included an illuminated capital “E” (of Edwardus) depicting the Holy Trinity and the prince’s arms and device of the ostrich feathers.²⁷ This showed he was prepared to govern in peace and war and confirmed the coincidence of earthly policy with heavenly approval.²⁸ The charter also shows the English arms quartering the French but it was sealed with the French quartering the English. The prince used this form, showing French predominance with marks of cadency as first son, as his personal arms.

Purveyance, Supplies and the Fleet

The general scale of purveyance under Edward III was considerably less than during his grandfather’s reign.²⁹ The royal prerogative to purvey developed from rights to supply the royal household to demands to provision the army. This may have been due to the growing association and overlap of the royal army with the *familia regis*. As a result of this and the regularity of military campaigns, purveyance began to be seen as a form of national taxation.³⁰ However, despite action taken to ensure public support for the war effort, the purveyance needed to sustain it was consistently opposed until 1360 although the war itself was popular. Many parliamentary attempts were made to restrict purveyance. Public opinion considered it inherently corrupt, oppressive, arbitrary and indiscriminate. Although the Crown acknowledged the abuses linked to household purveyance, parliament remained opposed to the practice for the army, particularly in the

Woodbridge, 1989, 82.

²⁷ E30/1105.

²⁸ Danbury, *loc. cit.*, 94.

²⁹ Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 253. For a general discussion of purveyance throughout the Hundred Years War see Allmand, *Hundred Years War*, 96-102.

³⁰ W.R. Jones, “Purveyance for War and the Community of the Realm in Late Medieval England”, *Albion*, 7 (1975), 300-1, 306, 310.

period 1343-55. The undoubted opportunities for extortion and corruption led to steps being taken to investigate abuses and regulate the system but it was not until the statute of 1362 that complaints began to diminish.³¹

Purveyance was a very useful means of anticipating income. It served as a substitute for ready cash, strengthened the Crown's ability to keep large forces in the field and, with the possibility of the resale or return of goods, gave flexibility of both revenue and logistical management.³² Before 1362 purveyance for the army was "the principal method of furnishing victuals and war supplies for the royal armies."³³ Cornwall and the southern counties were particularly hard hit in the years 1355-7, providing food stuffs and military equipment, particularly bows and arrows, for the expeditions of Lancaster and the Black Prince.³⁴ However, not all supplies had to be purveyed in England. The army initially ate supplies brought with them, but on arrival in Bordeaux in 1355 further foodstuffs, arms and horses were purchased.³⁵ Whilst in Gascony the prince received some supplies from merchants operating under royal patent.³⁶ Richard Gerounde and Walter Wyght were to be paid £19 16s. and £7 1s. 10d. respectively for wheat purchased for the expedition.³⁷

³¹ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 376, 378-9. Purveyance was restricted to the royal household, purveyors became known as buyers, arrangements were codified to set prices, the amounts purveyed were regulated as was the status and authority of those to whom commissions were issued. For royal household purveyance after 1362 see C. Given-Wilson, "Purveyance for the Royal Household, 1362-1413", *BIHR*, 56 (1983), 145-63.

³² Jones, *loc. cit.*, 303-4.

³³ Harriss, *op cit.*, 381.

³⁴ *BPR*, ii, 86, 103, 107, 116.

³⁵ Hewitt notes that both French and English currency were in circulation in Gascony which facilitated such purchases. In addition the prince brought gold with him, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 49-50.

³⁶ *CPR*, 1354-8, 467-8, 471-2; Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, 170; Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 91-3, nn. 44, 48; Harriss, *op cit.*, 381-2.

³⁷ 6 Sept. 1355, *BPR*, iv, 153. "Hostility to the purveyance system led to a much greater dependence on merchants for army food supplies." Prestwich, *op cit.*, 258.

Horses and Equipment

The role of the horse in warfare remained an important one. Although the use of large numbers of heavy cavalry became rare throughout the course of the Hundred Years War, an increasing proportion of English armies were mounted. The *chevauchée* necessitated the use of larger numbers of horses particularly for the greater proportion of mounted archers who formed contingents in the expeditionary units.

The prince was personally interested in horses, he devised bits and bridles and gave many animals as gifts to his staff, from destriers to cart horses. The prince had studs at Macclesfield, Byfleet, Prince's Risborough, Woking and, at times, Wisley in Surrey and Brackley in Northamptonshire.³⁸ The Macclesfield stud was re-established after the visit of the prince to Cheshire in 1353 and transferred to Denbigh in 1360.³⁹ The prince encouraged a horse-breeding programme in the years up to the Reims campaign.⁴⁰ Stallions and mares were transferred between his estates for breeding. After the treaty of Brétigny a rapid decline in the royal studs was probably mirrored in the prince's and it coincided with his departure to Aquitaine although horses were taken to the principality.⁴¹ Members of the Brocas family were closely involved with the royal horses. Arnald served as master of the horse of Edward III's brother, John, and Menuald was master of the king's horses north of the Trent. Arnald, with Bernard Brocas, the prince's servant,

³⁸ BPR, iii, 363; iv, 176, 290, 330, 484, 514, 530, 560; R.H.C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse*, London, 1989, 91; H.J. Hewitt, *The Horse in Medieval England*, London, 1983, 27. The finest horses had names such as the prince's Morel (Black) de Burghersh, Grisel (Grey) de Cologne, Bayard (Bay) de Brucell and Bayard Dieu. A small hackney which he owned was called simply Wellfed, BPR, iv, 67-8; Prestwich, *op cit.*, 30-1.

³⁹ P.H.W. Booth, *The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272-1377*, (Chetham Society), 1981, 94. The Macclesfield stud was established at least by the time of Edward I. In 1330 the stud, which included two stallions, 23 mares and a number of foals, passed over to the control of Jordan Macclesfield. Later there was a general stock-keeper at Macclesfield supervising both horses and cattle, Hewitt, *Horse in Medieval England*, 12-3.

⁴⁰ A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III*, Woodbridge, 1994, 223-4 and n. 128.

⁴¹ Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 151.

travelled to Gascony in 1362.⁴² John Brocas was sent with 20 horses for the prince and his company, including the captured King of France, to ride to London in 1357. Brocas was to be paid by the sheriff of Devon for his costs in this matter.⁴³ Twenty grooms and a farrier also accompanied them on a leisurely ride via Exeter, Sherborne, Salisbury and Winchester to London.⁴⁴ Prior to moving the household to Aquitaine, preparations were again made for horses, feed and litter for 1,000 animals was purchased in Devon.⁴⁵ Separate transport was laid on for the movement of horses across the Channel in 1364 and thereafter, orders for horse-feed and equipment continued to be made.⁴⁶

The prince did not have to provide horses for all his troops. It was expected that indentured retainers would bring their own mounts. In addition, not all the horses which were required were transported from England. The constable of Bordeaux was ordered to appraise and mark horses for purchase on the arrival of the fleet in 1355.⁴⁷ As Hewitt noted, it is impossible to provide any great detail concerning the sources of supply, the numbers or value of the horses involved in the expedition. Although he does state that a horse was required for each of the 433 men-at-arms and 400 archers in addition to those required for additional soldiers and household or administrative staff.⁴⁸ The king undertook to compensate for the loss of horses on campaign throughout the 1340s and '50s and it could be a very heavy financial burden. In accordance with this, John Deyncourt and three others were appointed to appraise and mark the horses of the prince and others going to Gascony in 1355.⁴⁹ A number of those involved in the 1355-6

⁴² Montague Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court*, London, 1886, 53, 56, 94.

⁴³ CCR, 1354-60, 347.

⁴⁴ Hewitt, *Horse in Medieval England*, 39-40.

⁴⁵ 12 Feb. 1363, CPR, 1361-4, 302.

⁴⁶ 2 Apr. 1365, C61/77/4; 78/10.

⁴⁷ 16 July, Rymer, III, i, 309.

⁴⁸ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 32-3.

⁴⁹ Rymer, III, i, 310, 22 July 1355. Generally on *restauro equorum* see Ayton, *op cit.*, 49-137.

campaign were compensated for loss of horses. Bernard van Zedeles received £53 for three horses, John Landestrene, £12 for two horses and Seyner Gransekyn £16 for two horses. Edward Courtenay received £55 and Burghersh was paid £300 for similar losses by himself and his retinue in the course of the campaign.⁵⁰ In 1358 William Trussel wrote to the prince requesting payment for six horses lost on the last campaign.⁵¹ The prince also compensated for horses lost on his business during peacetime particularly through “hard riding”.⁵² A number of horses died early in the 1355 operation.⁵³ They may have been overworked or overladen or suffering from transport fever. Further horses were required before the second raid and on returning to England in 1357. During the winter of 1355-6 Richard Stafford was sent to England for supplies and reinforcements. John Kendale, receiver of Cornwall, purveyed 30 baggage-horses with tack, and Roger Ragaz purchased a number of sumpter-horses which were to return with Stafford.⁵⁴ He arrived with the troops, horses, equipment and supplies on 19 June 1356.⁵⁵

Many horses were again needed for the Reims operation, both for the prince’s personal use and for the wider retinue. The campaign witnessed a reduction in horse values possibly following the decline of the traditional role of the warhorse in line with the different requirements of the *chevauchée*, possibly marking deliberately reduced valuations. There was a very heavy demand for horses but for animals of substantially lower value.⁵⁶ The expedition was unusual in the predominance of mounted troops as well

⁵⁰ Van Zedeles was paid £395 6s. 8d. in a final payment to replace his horses and those of his companions, presumably the other “Almains”, Hewitt, *Horse in Medieval England*, 75.

⁵¹ BL Cotton Caligula D III f. 30.

⁵² Hewitt, *op cit.*, 40.

⁵³ Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, 1303-56*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Oxford, 1889, 128.

⁵⁴ 27 Mar. 1356, *BPR*, ii, 94. The sheriff of Devon was to provide “clayes” and 400 hurdles for the transport of horses from Plymouth, 8 Mar. 1356, *CCR, 1354-60*, 256-7; Rymer, III, i, 323.

⁵⁵ Barber, *Edward*, 130-1.

⁵⁶ Ayton, *op cit.*, 219-24.

as the rough equality of the numbers of men-at-arms and archers.⁵⁷ On 25 October 1359 an order was made to Lacy to pay Little Watte of Smithfield £50 for a destrier bought for the prince from him.⁵⁸ The prince also purchased a horse from his bachelor, John del Hide, for 80 marks during the campaign.⁵⁹ On 5 July 1359 letters were sent to the chamberlain of Chester and chamberlain of north Wales ordering each to purchase ten of the best sumpter-horses and bring them to London on their next visit.⁶⁰ The prince lost 395 appraised warhorses in the Reims campaign of which the mean value was £8 9s. 11d., he took 1,369 horses with him and returned with 2,114.⁶¹

These animals had to be equipped with harness and saddles. Often these were purchased with the animal although examples from the prince's campaigns can be found of additional purchases of equipment. Lambekyn, a German saddler, was paid £13 6s. 8d. in advance for a number of saddles for the 1355 expedition⁶² and in total he received at least £91 7s. 6d. although it is impossible to say if this was only for military equipment for the campaign.⁶³ His services were again called upon in 1359. An order was given for £52 4s. 8d. to be paid on 20 September 1359.⁶⁴ In addition, £24 9s. 1d. were paid to Terry Sadeler for saddles and other harness.⁶⁵ Horse-shoes were also required in great numbers. They were carried in large quantities by expeditionary forces. On campaign it seems

⁵⁷ Ayton, "English Armies in the Fourteenth Century", *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes, Woodbridge, 1994, 31.

⁵⁸ *BPR*, iv, 326.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 355, 361.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, iii, 351.

⁶¹ Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 265.

⁶² 28 June 1355, *BPR*, iv, 152.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 310.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, iv, 317.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 310-11.

likely that the grooms shod their charges. In 1356 in Bordeaux £20 were paid for 2,000 horse-shoes and 20,000 nails.⁶⁶

Archery equipment

The increasing role and importance of the archer necessitated the stockpiling of bows, arrows and associated equipment prior to campaigns and often additional supplies were required during those expeditions. Throughout the southern counties, bows, arrows and victuals were purveyed for the prince's expedition as well as Lancaster's in 1355. There was extensive purveyance in Cornwall some of which was undertaken by Thomas Durrant, the king's sergeant at arms, for which, in many cases, payment had not been made by 1357.⁶⁷ Lacy was to purvey 400 bows and 1,000 sheaves of arrows "or as many as possible up to that number and deliver them to the prince's yeoman, William de Seint Omer".⁶⁸ Archery stocks were also sent to Saint Macaire in advance of the army.⁶⁹ In addition, the prince had supplies of arms and armour in his principal castles. At Chester in 1359 a store of 4,000 arrow-heads was recorded.⁷⁰ During the period of the principality of Aquitaine the prince maintained an armoury in Bordeaux of which the constable kept an inventory.⁷¹ Presumably this provided the army for the Nájera expedition with at least some of its equipment.

During the winter and spring of 1355-6 further supplies of archery equipment were required prior to the next raid and to support continuing military action on the

⁶⁶ Hewitt, *Horse in Medieval England*, 5.

⁶⁷ *CCR*, 1354-60, 256; 20 Mar. 1357, *ibid.*, 346. Revenue from Exeter port customs were paid to Durrant in recompense for costs incurred in purveying in Devon on the prince's behalf.

⁶⁸ 6 Sept. 1355, *BPR*, iv, 153.

⁶⁹ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 30, 49. Hewitt makes great use of Henxteworth's day book which provides records of military equipment used in 1355-6.

⁷⁰ *Ches. Chamb. Accs*, 273.

⁷¹ eg. John Ludham's inventory drawn up in 1372 after the prince handed back Aquitaine, E101/179/8, 9.

Gascon borders and, in this case, the pressure fell on Cheshire. The prince had to order the seizure of all remaining supplies in England which had not been requisitioned by his father and the arrest of all Cheshire fletchers, forcing them to work for him.⁷² In addition, Robert Pipot was sent to England to buy and purvey 1,000 bows, 2,000 sheaves of arrows and 400 gross of bowstrings. Cornwall again provided bows and arrows and the timber for their manufacture as well as victuals.⁷³ Even after Poitiers supplies of equipment continued to be sent to the prince.⁷⁴

In preparation for the Reims expedition John Kendale was ordered, on 11 April 1359, to purvey 300 sheaves of arrows and 1,000 bowstrings before midsummer (St James' day). The original order had been for a greater number.⁷⁵ These, in addition to dried fish and other items, were to be sent to Sandwich.⁷⁶ Henry Skuryn, master of the ship *La Seinte Mari*, of Fowey, transported some of the purveyed items to Sandwich.⁷⁷ John Brunham also purveyed arrows and bowstrings. He received a second order for 1,000 sheaves of arrows and 5,000 bowstrings on 26 December. The bowstrings were to be a little bigger than the last ones purveyed by him and were to be sent to the prince's wardrobe in London.⁷⁸ The prince's own activities in this area paled beside the national effort to equip the archers in 1359. The keeper of the privy wardrobe in the Tower was to impress fletchers, armourers, smiths and other workmen to make archery supplies and

⁷² 29 Feb. 1356, *BPR*, iii, 223-4. The fletchers were to be paid for their labour and for items purveyed by John Brunham, chamberlain of Chester. Transportation to Gascony was organised by Little John of Berkhamsted, 27 Mar. 1356, *ibid.*, 224-5.

⁷³ See *BPR*, ii, 116; 13 July 1356, *CPR*, 1354-8, 419.

⁷⁴ E101/392/15.

⁷⁵ *BPR*, iii, 348; ii, 155.

⁷⁶ 4 Aug. 1359, *ibid.*, 160.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 165.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, iii, 379.

other weaponry and armour. Timber was to be purchased and 1,000 bows, 10,000 sheaves of arrows, 1,000 sheaves of top quality arrows, 100 gross of bowstrings and feathers.⁷⁹

Foodstuffs

Bread, supplemented by beans, peas and oatmeal formed the main part of the soldier's diet. Meat or fish, usually dried or salted, were also needed as well as fresh water, wine or ale. The raids in which the prince was involved had different aims and these coloured the way in which the armies were supplied. Earlier raids also influenced the availability of foodstuffs, for both troops and horses. Armies hoped to be able to live off the land but this was impossible if a previous force had recently ravaged the area. This was a partial consideration in determining the route of the 1356 raid. There seems little doubt that the Black Prince's financial position in Aquitaine was significantly weakened by the damage he had wrought in 1355-6. The Reims campaign was envisaged as a coronation procession not a *chevauchée*. Edward had no desire to turn his potential subjects further against him or to damage what might be his own tax revenue. However, foraging parties were required in 1359 and the system of distribution for the supplies they acquired had to be organised. This was despite the very considerable amount of victuals that were taken across the Channel by the army. The inability of the countryside to support an army of such size was a deciding factor in the failure of the English sieges at Reims and Paris. During the 11 months of the siege of Calais, plentiful supplies of wood from Villeneuve-le-Hardi and twice weekly food deliveries from Flanders had assisted the English. Such options were not available in 1359-60. The Nájera campaign might likewise have failed if Enrique had followed French advice and refused battle. The lack of

⁷⁹ CPR, 1358-61, 323.

food and water was starting to take its toll on the prince's army. A much greater delay before the battle and the prince would have been forced to retreat in search of supplies.

Cornwall and its foreign manors provided the bulk of the prince's supplies for his campaigns. This was supplemented by foodstuffs from Cheshire and elsewhere. The duchy was also the main focus for acquiring supplies in 1362-3 for the transfer of the household to Aquitaine.⁸⁰ For the campaign of 1355, Robert Eleford, the steward and sheriff of Cornwall, purveyed wine in Dartmouth, Plymouth and Fowey "and in all other towns on that sea-coast in Cornewaille and Devenshire [he was to] purvey 300 quarters of oats and 100 quarters of wheat" as well as brushwood.⁸¹ John Rous was to be paid £1 13s. 4d. for beans and peas bought for the expedition.⁸² These latter commodities may have also served as feed for the horses. During the winter of 1355-6 further victuals were sent from England. John Pailington, for example, was appointed to provide bacon for the prince.⁸³ The need for supplies did not end with Stafford's return to Gascony. On 11 August an order for 500 dried and powdered cod, 400 salted congers and 200 salted salmon to be sent to Bordeaux was made to Kendale.⁸⁴ After Poitiers, the expenses of the household and requirements of entertaining the captive royalty and nobility necessitated a further order to Cornwall and there were ongoing demands for oats and other horse-feed.⁸⁵ Salted fish were also supplied from Great Yarmouth⁸⁶ and along the north Norfolk coast and wheat was taken from Hull.⁸⁷ The prince reserved the produce of his manors of

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 1361-4, 303.

⁸¹ 24 Apr. 1355, *BPR*, ii, 77.

⁸² 10 Feb. 1356, *ibid.*, iv, 180.

⁸³ 28 Mar. 1356, Rymer, III, i, 325.

⁸⁴ *BPR*, ii, 98.

⁸⁵ 8 Dec. 1355, *ibid.*, 105-6; 8 Feb. 1356, *ibid.*, 107. John le Dyere received a writ of aid having purveyed for horse-feed on 15 Feb. 1357, *CPR*, 1354-8, 514.

⁸⁶ Thomas Drayton, Hugh Fastolf and Adam Kentish were ordered to provide the supplies on 3 Sept. 1356, *CPR*, 1354-8, 468.

⁸⁷ Geoffrey Hamby took 400 quarters of wheat from Kingston-upon-Hull to the prince, 8 Nov. 1356, *ibid.*, 467.

Kennington and Vauxhall for his purchase and use.⁸⁸ On the prince's return to England with his royal captive, John Dabernon, the sheriff of Devon, was ordered to provide victuals and transport.⁸⁹ Although the principality of Aquitaine was intended to be self-sufficient supplies were ordered from England. For example, John Ludham brought three lasts of herrings from Great Yarmouth for his household.⁹⁰

In 1359, prior to the campaign, several tuns of wine were purveyed from the Sandwich area and stored at Northbourne.⁹¹ Thomas Dover was sent to Cheshire to purvey 160 great beasts for the prince's household, which were to be paid for by the chamberlain there.⁹² The purveyors could be too effective, or funds too limited. William Dyn, purveyor of wheat for the prince's household, collected 30 quarters and six bushels of wheat more than was used by Richard Doxeye, the prince's baker, and due to lack of funds the excess was to be returned. 72 quarters and six bushels had been delivered to Doxeye at a cost of £1 16s. 2¼d. from the collection point at Maldon.⁹³ Less evidence is available for the feeding of troops during musters. Problems could become acute as, in many cases, departure was delayed. For example, the fleet was detained for several months at Plymouth in 1355. It remains unclear how troops were supplied during this period.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ 5 Nov. 1356, *ibid.*, 482.

⁸⁹ 20 Mar. 1357, Rymer, III, i, 348. He was also to assist John Brocas who was sent by the king with horses to bring the prince and his company to London, 20 Mar. 1357, *CCR*, 1354-60, 347.

⁹⁰ 26 Oct. 1364, *CPR*, 1364-7, 32.

⁹¹ 4 Aug. 1359, *BPR*, iv, 305.

⁹² 16 June 1359, *ibid.*, iii, 348-9.

⁹³ William had by this point died and the responsibility for returning the wheat fell to his brother, Richard, *ibid.*, iv, 332.

⁹⁴ Crispin Gill, *Plymouth. A New History*, Newton Abbot, 1966, 77-9.

Ships

The fleets used to transport the prince across the Channel were created and dissolved as necessary. Many of the king's ships were purpose-built or specially commissioned but these had to be supplemented for major operations by privately owned ships which were then converted for military use with the addition of gangways, hurdles and fighting platforms. Often crews were impressed with their ships.⁹⁵

The indenture between the prince and his father signed on 10 June 1355 post-dated many of the preparations for the campaign. Hurdles (used for separating horses when onboard ship), to be sent to Plymouth, were purveyed by the sheriff of Devon from Wales.⁹⁶ On 6 May a further 2,500 hurdles were to be commandeered.⁹⁷ On 27 May, Thomas Hoggeshawe, lieutenant of John Beauchamp, the admiral of the fleet west of the Thames, was appointed acting admiral of the prince's fleet. John Deyncourt, sub-admiral of the northern fleet, was also involved. General orders were sent out in April.⁹⁸ Henry Keverell was paid for the purchase of gear for the prince's ship. Items were also delivered to John le Clerk and his fellows, the keepers of the *Christophre*.⁹⁹ On 16 July, Bayonne ships were arrested in various ports.¹⁰⁰ They had previously been used to transport Lancaster's troops to Normandy.¹⁰¹ Safe conducts were issued to the prince's men between 8 June and 6 September. However, contrary winds and lack of ships delayed the

⁹⁵ Timothy J. Runyan, "Ships and Mariners in Later Medieval England", *Journal of British Studies*, 16:2 (1977), 7; Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 34-6.

⁹⁶ C61/67/29; 8 Mar. 1355, *CCR*, 1354-60, 256.

⁹⁷ Rymer, III, i, 299, 302, 307, 309-10, 323, 325. Similar warrants were issued to the sheriffs of Devon and Southampton

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 298, 302.

⁹⁹ 1 Dec. 1354, *BPR*, iv, 158, 160; 16 June 1355; *ibid.*, 166. Henry Keverell presumably was a merchant or supplier for ships and boats. He also supplied items to the prince's barge, *ibid.*, 160.

¹⁰⁰ Rymer, III, i, 308; Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 134.

¹⁰¹ C61/67/5; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 147. For a tentative list of the ships arrested for the prince's use see Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 40-2. This excludes the *Saint Mary* cog of Winchelsea which, at 200 tons, was the largest ship in the fleet, E61/76/4; Runyan, "Ships and Mariners", 2 n. 3. The prince himself sailed on his father's ship, the *Christophre*, Emerson, *Black Prince*, 90.

prince's departure. Instead of leaving in mid July as originally intended, it was early September before all the ships were assembled. During the delay at Plymouth the prince stayed at Plympton priory and concerned himself with affairs concerning the duchy of Cornwall.¹⁰² Advance groups may have been sent over prior to the arrival of the prince and the main fleet. On 1 July 1355 Tiderick van Dale, usher of the prince's chamber, was paid £20 on going abroad with the younger Burghersh.¹⁰³ He received a tun of wine and ten quarters of wheat at Plymouth prior to the muster.¹⁰⁴ Stephen Cosington and William the Chaplain were also sent to prepare the archbishop's palace at Bordeaux for the arrival of the prince who stayed there, whilst not on campaign, until his return to England in 1357.¹⁰⁵ The main fleet sailed on 8 September and arrived in Bordeaux eight days later at the height of the *vendage*. Warwick, Suffolk and their retinues embarked and sailed from Southampton.¹⁰⁶ On 21 September the prince took his oath as lieutenant before the citizens of Bordeaux.¹⁰⁷ The prince's clerk, Robert Brampton, prepared the ships for Stafford's return journey to Gascony in 1356.¹⁰⁸ He received £3 6s. 8d. as a gift from the prince for this.¹⁰⁹ Ships were again required for those involved in overseeing the territorial conditions of the treaty of Brétigny and the transfer of the prince's household to Aquitaine in 1361-3.¹¹⁰ Although it was not a military expedition, a considerable number

¹⁰² BPR, ii, 80-8; *ibid.*, iii, 212-6; Hewitt, *op cit.*, 26.

¹⁰³ BPR, iv, 158. Tiderik was also involved in delivering money to the prince's chamber and received a gift of £10, 1 June 1355, *ibid.*, 161.

¹⁰⁴ 25 May 1355, *ibid.*, 78.

¹⁰⁵ Pierre Capra, "Le séjour du Prince Noir, lieutenant du Roi, à l'Archévêché de Bordeaux (20 septembre 1355 - 11 avril 1357)", *Revue historique du Bordeaux et du département Gironde*, NS 7 (1958), 246-7.

¹⁰⁶ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 37. Ships were arrested for Warwick's departure from 10 Mar. 1355, C61/67/14. By 8 May 44 ships were at Southampton for the prince's use, E101/26/37. For the account of Thomas Hoggeshawe, admiral of the fleet and for William Wenlock's account of mariners' wages see E101/26/34.

¹⁰⁷ Labarge, *Gascony*, 136-7. For text of the oath and a list of witnesses see *Livre de Coutumes*, ed. Henri Barckhausen (Archives Municipales de Bordeaux), 1890, 439-44, see also the *résumé*, 487.

¹⁰⁸ Ships were "arrested" throughout Apr. 1356 for Stafford's mission, C61/68/4; C66/68/4.

¹⁰⁹ 24 Oct. 1356, BPR, iv, 192.

¹¹⁰ For Stafford's and Chivereston's ships see C61/74/3; 75/27. Adam Hoghton received letters of protection 15 July 1361, Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 149

of vessels for the large household, retinue and vast amount of baggage, were needed and the prince was delayed until April 1363 because of the lack of available ships.¹¹¹ The reinforcements sent over to assist in the defence of the principality following the outbreak of hostilities in 1368¹¹² and the formal reopening of the war in 1369, including the retinues of Gaunt and Walter Hewitt, used arrested ships such as John Sloo's ship *La Saintemarie* out of Bristol as troop transports.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Barber, *Edward*, 178-9. Ships were "arrested" on 4 June 1362 and 16 Feb. 1363 for this purpose, C61/75/25; CPR, 1361-4, 317, also see C61/75/6, 8, 16-18; 76/5, 7; Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 151-2. On 3 and 4 June 1363 payments were made to the masters of the ships *Christophre* of Fowey and *Katerine* of Hull, presumably in connection with the transfer to Aquitaine, BPR, iv, 497; Rymer, III, ii, 652. For payments to the masters of ships in 1363-4 see E101/29/1 (Ralph Kesteven's account); 36/20 and payments to mariners, 1362-3 see E101/28/26 (Robert Crull's account).

¹¹² C61/81/4. For Gaunt's fleet in 1366 used to transport his troops for the Spanish campaign see C61/79/8.

¹¹³ 26 Mar. 1369, CPR, 1367-70, 228.

3

Recruitment

Introduction

The means of recruitment to the “close circles” of the prince’s retinue are rather more obscure than general recruitment to the campaigns in which the prince participated and of which the retinue provided the core of the army or division. The prince’s status and, after Crécy, his military standing ensured that recruitment for his expeditions was never a problem. This was further augmented by his generosity after the Poitiers campaign. Short-term contracts secured the services of the majority of the knights and men of comparable status in his expeditionary forces. These were additional to those in receipt of life indentures, of which there were few, those receiving annuities for military service, who were much more numerous, and those of the prince’s household, particularly his bachelors, who were compelled to accompany him on campaign.

The prince’s military forces, although in some ways distinct from other comparable associations, were subject to the same forces as the rest of military and aristocratic society. The increasing professionalism of the army meant that military service became a career option for a range of men outside the traditional military aristocracy. At the same time the mid fourteenth century saw “the temporary ‘remilitarization’ of the traditional warrior class...stimulated...by paid contractual service, governmental pressure and encouragement of a chivalric *esprit de corps*”.¹ Military service was perilous financially and physically but the English found the campaigns from 1345-1367 were generally profitable, particularly the Black Prince’s *chevauchées* of

¹ Andrew Ayton, “Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry”, *The Medieval Military Revolution: State and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J.L. Price, London and New York, 1995, 83.

1355-6. Wages, theoretically paid in advance, were an inducement to serve but they tended only to cover expenses and were not paid regularly. By contrast, the introduction of the *regard* in the 1340s was an important incentive, particularly for a recruiting captain who might not pass on a share to his men. Pardons, booty and a number of other rewards were some of the other benefits that might accrue from participating in a campaign. It was important also that concerns at home did not prevent participation. Letters of protection were issued but were not always effective as the large numbers of complaints leading to commissions of oyer and terminer attest. For others such as Ralph Shelton, legal action against him in Norfolk was delayed until his return from the Poitiers campaign.²

Involvement in a campaign might also result in inheriting property a little earlier than would normally be the case. Edward Despenser was not yet of age when given seisin of the lands of his uncle Hugh, partly due to his service in Gascony and John, son of Roger la Warre, was similarly granted his inheritance in Northamptonshire.³

Mercenaries and/or professional soldiers were conspicuous in English armies and played an important role in many of the prince's battles. In the 1355-6 campaigns the most distinctive were the "Almains" of whom Bernard van Zedeles remained with the prince, accompanied him to Aquitaine in 1363 and was recruited by Richard II. The prince himself fought as, arguably, a mercenary in the Nájera campaign and many leaders and members of the Free Companies found service with the prince at one time or another. With the introduction of paid service the distinction between mercenaries, professional soldiers and those who, in earlier years, would have fought as part of the feudal host became very slight.

² CCR, 1354-60, 334. The case of Walter Thorpe in Leicestershire was similarly delayed in 1359, *ibid.*, 640. The outlawry of Thomas Arderne in Apr. 1367 was delayed until Feb. 1368, *ibid.*, 1364-8, 374.

³ 26 Mar. 1357, *ibid.*, 1354-60, 348; *Cal Fine Rolls*, 1369-77, 99.

After the treaty of Brétigny, the lack of opportunities for military service brought about the formation of the Free Companies. This situation was compounded by the conclusion of the Breton civil war. The role of the mercenary companies in determining the political fortunes of the Iberian states has been examined in some detail, as has their service with Charles of Navarre.⁴ Calveley, Eustace d'Aubrechicourt, John Devereux, John Cresswell, Robert Briquet and William Butler all played a part in the deposition and reinstatement of Pedro to the throne while Owain Lawgoch remained to fight on the Trastamaran side. Calveley's role in the capture of the towns of Miranda and Puente le Reina was critical in ensuring the nominal support of Charles of Navarre. Mercenaries probably formed about a third of the prince's army in 1367. Chandos was personally responsible for much of the recruitment. He was said to have enlisted the support of 14 of the 25 captains who supported the prince. These included John Sandes, John Aleyn, Shakell and Hawley. Companies were also led by Bretons and Gascons such as the sire de Rays and Aimery de Rochechouart.⁵

Feudal obligation was not extinct in 1346. Two years previously, Edward III had introduced a financial scale of assessment to determine military contributions. It was a radical change from the Statute of Winchester (1285) and extremely unpopular especially after the failure of the early encounters in the French war. It is possible that only the overwhelming victory at Crécy prevented a major crisis. The scheme was abandoned in 1352.⁶ Also obliged to fight were those retained for military service. Life retainers were not numerous among the prince's military servants and he relied on short-term indentures

⁴ Kenneth Fowler, "L'emploi des mercenaires par les pouvoirs iberiques et l'intervention militaire anglaise en Espagne (vers 1361 - vers 1379)", *Realidad e Imagenes del Poder. España a fines de la Edad Media*, ed. Adeline Ruquoi, Valladolid, 1988, 23-55. D'Aubrechicourt, Devereux, Cresswell, Petiton de Curton, Seguin de Mussidan, Raymond de Montaunt and Stephen Cosington served Navarre. Cosington did homage to Charles for 1,000 florins, *Catálogo*, vi, nos. 239, 263.

⁵ Fowler, *op cit.*, 36-8. For details of the Rays family and an edition of their cartulary see R. Blanchard, "Les Sires de Rays et leur cartulaire", *AHP*, xxvii (1898).

⁶ Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 80.

and subcontractors who had no particular loyalty to him for a large proportion of his troops.⁷ These were augmented by household servants, annuitants and others.

The Appeal of Service with the Prince

Service with the prince would, theoretically, lead to service with the king, either through promotion to the royal household or when the prince became monarch in his own right. In reality, the monarch proved to be Richard II and the knights of the chamber in the first six or seven years of Richard's reign were mainly former servants of the Black Prince. They included Richard Abberbury, Baldwin Bereford, Nicholas Bonde, John and Simon Burley, Lewis Clifford, Peter Courtenay, John del Hay, Nicholas Sarnesfield, Aubrey Vere and Bernard van Zedeles. Others in the new king's service were Nicholas Dagworth, Robert Roos, Richard Stury, William Beauchamp and John Holland who had been associated with Richard's father⁸ and William Drayton, the prince's esquire became Richard's knight.⁹ John Sandes, who received an annuity from the prince in 1369, also became an esquire of Richard's chamber¹⁰ as did Richard Craddock.¹¹ Of 19 known esquires of Richard's chamber in the first decade of his reign at least nine had served the Black Prince as well as his son as prince of Wales.¹²

As with John of Gaunt so it was with the Black Prince, "Service in his company was...intrinsically more honourable than service with a lesser commander."¹³ For the duration of his militarily active life, the Black Prince was second only to the king in his

⁷ See for comparison Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 50.

⁸ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 161-2.

⁹ CPR, 1377-81, 212, 390. He also served in Gaunt's retinue in 1373, *Gaunt's Register*, 1372-6, i, 32 no.49; James Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth Century England*, ed. A. Tuck, London, 1994, 21.

¹⁰ E364/16/49d.; CPR, 1377-81, 382; Rymer, III, ii, 101; A. Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485*, London, 1954; 40; Sherborne, *op cit.*, 22.

¹¹ CPR, 1381-5, 310; 1391-6, 34; Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 176; Steel, *op cit.*, 40; Sherborne, *op cit.*, 22.

¹² John Breton, Roger Coghull, Lambert Fermer, Richard Hampton, John Peytevyn, Adam Ramsey, Philip Walwyn, snr, Richard Wiltshire and William Wyncelowe, Given-Wilson, *op cit.*, 174, 306 n. 128.

¹³ Walker, *op cit.*, 57.

appeal as a recruiting captain. The victory at Crécy gave the prince military legitimacy and, if the victory in itself was not enough, it was described, exaggerated and promoted in chivalric terms. The image which he portrayed and which he was given, drew men to his retinue, as did the rewards and opportunities that service with the prince offered. The prince's chivalric aura fell on many of his high-ranking retainers as Froissart and Chandos Herald demonstrate. After Crécy almost all aspects of the war became favourable for military recruitment. The display of English power altered the national military reputation as well as that of individual captains such as Audley, Chandos¹⁴ and, perhaps most importantly, the Black Prince.

Rewards

Indentures of life service were the most sought-after rewards for a young knight. Depending on status they could double his income. The prince was generous to his life retainers but much more so to his annuitants. His example may have influenced his younger brother in the scale of payments made to his own affinity.¹⁵ Rewards of all sorts tended to follow a successful campaign. It may be that many more grants, gifts and offices as well as pardons were given by the prince following the Crécy-Calais operation than are now recorded, the lack of evidence for such rewards is puzzling. The prince was of course a very young man and his role in the campaign relatively limited, so perhaps his rewards were restricted to a small number of individuals and, unusually, a number were Welshmen. Griffith ap Llewelyn ap Jevan received a charter of pardon, although this was dependent on his remaining in the prince's service during the Calais siege and David ap

¹⁴ Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, 31.

¹⁵ Walker, *op cit.*, 91-2. Walker states that "In comparison with the fees offered by other magnates they [Gaunt's] were exceptional: only Edward, prince of Wales offered his men more." He notes Aubrey Vere whose retainer was increased by the prince in 1375 to £183 6s. 8d., *CPR, 1377-81*, 161.

Thloet [Llwyd] also received a pardon.¹⁶ Edmund Kendale was granted an annuity, probably for services in battle but perhaps as a reward for being the prince's steward.¹⁷ However, the prince's attitude changed after Poitiers as the welter of gifts, grants and pardons attests. James Audley received the most generous reward with an annuity of £400, probably since he was wounded and unable to join in the ransoming spree, which ensued.¹⁸ As Michael Prestwich notes, the grants awarded on this occasion do not appear to reflect social status and he gives the example of Nicholas Bonde, an esquire, who was rewarded with 50 marks a year whilst two knights received only 40 marks and £20 a year.¹⁹

The retinue was recruited with predominantly military concerns in mind and those grants that were made between campaigns may have been critical in ensuring key support for later expeditions. The extensive patronage at the prince's command, in terms of money, offices, wardships, leases, game, wine, pardons and influence at court all served to further his reputation as a man worthy of serving on the battlefield and in peacetime.

Ransoms

The system of ransoming allowed for the practical implementation of chivalry on the battlefield. It also gave the opportunity for knights to make a fortune or to lose one. The ransoms acquired at Poitiers and elsewhere could be extremely valuable to the prince and his retinue, the greatest example being King Jean himself.²⁰ However, such booty and potential wealth was offset by the prince's demand for a half of all booty rather than the

¹⁶ 27 Aug., 16 Oct. 1347, *BPR*, i, 115, 125.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 13

¹⁸ "oncques...ne prist prisonnier le journée, ne n'entendi au prendre, mais toujours à combattre et à aler avant sus ennemis", Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lettenhove, v, 439.

¹⁹ *BPR.*, iv, 196-8, 291; Prestwich, *op cit.*, 101.

²⁰ See "The Ransom of John II, 1360-70", ed. Dorothy M. Broome, *Camden Miscellany*, xiv (1926).

usual third. This anomaly had been “corrected” by the 1360s.²¹ Among some of the most notable captures made by members of the retinue was the chamberlain of Tancarville taken by Thomas Daniel at Caen in 1346. The prince claimed him as his own prisoner and Daniel was paid 1,000 marks and a 40 mark annuity.²² The “eventual” captor of the count of Dammartin at Poitiers, the earl of Salisbury, paid the prince £1,000 as his share.²³ There were many ransoms after the battle of Nájera, much to the chagrin of Pedro the Cruel who wished to put his enemies to death. The most notable captive was Bertrand Du Guesclin whom the prince later released, allowing him to re-instate Enrique and being instrumental in the recapture of the lands forfeited after the treaty of Brétigny and more besides. The treaty of Libourne of 1366 had stipulations regarding ransoms, which were seen as a potential, if uncertain, source of profit. Even for the captor, ransoms could sometimes have unforeseen and very unfortunate consequences. The case involving the count of Denia and Hawley and Shakell is a case in point.²⁴

Medical Provision

It was not only the chance of booty, the offer of letters of protection, regular wages, pardons and the chance of victory or chivalric glory that drew men to the prince's

²¹ D. Hay, “The Division of Spoils of War in Fourteenth Century England”, *TRHS*, 4th ser., 4 (1954), 94.

²² Tancarville was kept at Wallingford castle until 1348. His ransom was paid by a complicated arrangement by which several estates were mortgaged to an alien priory which surrendered £6,000 of land to Edward III who in turn reimbursed his son, Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, 510-11. On 12 Nov. 1346 the prince wrote rebuking his serjeant-at-arms, William Welham for allowing Tancarville too much freedom “to go at large at his pleasure”. This was prompted by the capture of Walter Manny who was “treacherously imprisoned” in Paris. Welham and Edmund Kendale were to reinforce security, *BPR*, i, 33. On 18 Mar. 1347 an order was given allowing Tancarville to return to France with his brother, who was also a prisoner, to arrange his affairs on the condition that he return, *ibid.*, 60.

²³ Dammartin initially surrendered to John Trailly, then to a Gascon who threatened him, finally a third man handed him over to Salisbury, *BPR*, iv, 339, 379, 381.

²⁴ Both were esquires in Chandos' retinue at Nájera. The capture was actually made by Richard Henry, alias Chamberlain, Hawley's servant. Shakell claimed a share in the ransom due to a brothers-in-arms arrangement. For a discussion of the case, its conclusion in the court of chivalry and Hawley's murder in Westminster abbey see A. Rogers, “Hoton versus Shakell: A Ransom Case in the Court of Chivalry”, 2 parts, *NMS*, vi, 74-108; vii, 53-78.

service.²⁵ Other factors marked him out as a man worthy of serving such as his regard and concern for his troops. He followed the approach adopted by his father concerning the necessity for proper medical care and its importance for recruiting. There were very extensive medical preparations in 1346 and attention was paid similarly to the wounded after Poitiers.²⁶ Surgeons and physicians were, like soldiers, recruited for the duration of the campaign or served in individual retinues. Jordan of Canterbury served the king, the prince and a few close advisors as personal doctor on the Crécy campaign. Roger Heyton may also have been involved.²⁷ William Blackwater also served as doctor to the king and his son in 1346, later accompanied the prince to Poitiers and was retained by him.²⁸ Master Adam, Master Adam de la Poultrie and Adam Rous were probably also present at Poitiers.²⁹ Walter of Gales, physician to Edward III and his son, also went to Gascony and in recompense was granted Crown lands around Bordeaux.³⁰ During the campaign of 1359-60, Nicholas Thomasyn, an apothecary of London joined the prince's company.³¹ The apothecaries usually had a dual role as merchants and doctors. They prepared and administered medicines and purchased medical supplies and particularly such concoctions as spiced wines and confections which were held to have beneficent effects.³² Wounded troops were often billeted in monasteries or with the civilian population or were discharged from the army with a sum of money to allow them to make it back to England

²⁵ On booty war see Hay, *loc. cit.*, 91-109.

²⁶ Robert S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530*, Princeton, 1986, 136-7.

²⁷ *BPR*, i, 130.

²⁸ *ibid.*, iv, 208, 270. C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners of Medieval England: A Biographical Register*, London, 1965, 385-6.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 3-4, 6.

³⁰ Gottfried, *op cit.*, 109, 140.

³¹ He received letters of protection, 16 Apr. 1360, Rymer, III, i, 482.

³² See Leslie G. Mathews, *The Royal Apothecaries*, London, 1967.

Knights were assisted with their wounds by their squires whose duties included carrying dressings and salves and the general treatment of wounds.³³

The Campaigns

Preparations for the prince's military campaigns were coloured by their different conditions and objectives. The prince and his retinue merely formed a contingent in the Crécy and Reims operations whilst the 1355-6 expeditions were led and recruited solely by the prince and his commanders. The Nájera campaign was again different, as were the defensive actions taken after the resumption of the war in 1369. The prince was resident in Aquitaine at the time; troops for the trans-Pyrenean mission came from a number of areas and were also drawn from the Free Companies. In addition, the prince was assisted by a contingent brought from England by the duke of Lancaster. In 1369 the prince was again bolstered by support from England but by this time he had been deserted by many of the Gascon nobility who had restarted the war by their appeal to Charles V. The different conditions and requirements for each of the prince's campaigns influenced the manner in which troops were recruited, fed and equipped.

By 1360 the royal right to summon his subjects to defend the realm had been adapted to meet the military conditions of the day, namely the protection of the northern border and sporadic campaigns to France. After Edward's flirtation with foreign support, the campaign of 1346 was the first major operation to implement the revised military assessment of 1344. This greatly expanded the range of landed income under appraisal to include those worth 100s. to over £1,000 a year on a graduated scale. For the wealthy this meant a vast increase in their military obligations. However, during the preparations for

³³ John Laffin, *Surgeons in the Field*, London, 1970, 14-7.

the Crécy campaign, many individuals and towns commuted their obligations into money fines, effectively transforming the feudal assessment into direct taxation.³⁴

The developments in recruiting practice made in the reign of Edward I continued, particularly through the use of commissions of array. This proved effective in acquiring sufficient numbers of troops but was less so in forming an integrated army of men-at-arms and archers.³⁵ The effectiveness of the longbow focused the attention of commissioners on archers. The use of indentures was “perhaps the most important administrative development in the English army in the late Middle Ages”³⁶ by allowing specific types of soldiers to be recruited. Members of the prince’s retinue were often found in commissions of array throughout the country. They were most common in Wales and Cheshire but were found throughout the country. In a commission of array ordered on the 29 April 1377, 19 counties had arrayers who had fought alongside Edward the Black Prince.³⁷

The Crécy-Calais campaign was coloured by earlier continental and Scottish experiences and was undertaken by predominantly English troops and not supported by foreign soldiers. The structure of alliances which Edward had developed had been broken by French diplomacy, the renewal of the struggle between the papacy and the empire and the lack of English financial resources. A very large army was needed for the proposed three pronged attack, from the south, from the west through Brittany, and from the north through Flanders.³⁸ Neither the intended scale of recruitment nor initial timetable target was achieved despite the pressure of the military assessment which, though soon to be

³⁴ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 392-5. In 1344 Edward III introduced a graduated scale to assess contributions to the army to include everyone with an annual income over £5 was included. A £5 landholder was to provide 1 archer, a £25 landholder one man-at-arms, Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 80. See also M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England*, London, 1962, 194ff.

³⁵ Prestwich, *op cit.*, 123-5.

³⁶ Allmand, *Hundred Years War*, 94.

³⁷ *CPR*, 1374-7, 499.

³⁸ About 800 men received letters of protection in the early summer of 1346, C76/22-3.

abandoned, raised over 4,000 men-at-arms for the siege of Calais.³⁹ The expedition was postponed at the end of September 1345 and fresh writs were issued in the following February after an impressment of ships in January.⁴⁰ The invasion force probably numbered 15,000 - 20,000 men, which was four or five times the total which crossed to the Low Countries in 1338.⁴¹ The lower estimate is more likely although surviving records do not allow for an accurate calculation to be made.⁴² This necessitated recruitment and purveyance on a scale never before attempted and meant that the whole army had to be transported over the Channel and not just a contingent.⁴³

The loss of Wetewang's pay accounts makes the reconstruction of the army at Calais difficult. Ayton has pointed to a number of other documents that appear to be partial transcriptions from the originals which may show the assembled siege force. He also emphasises the problems associated with such transcripts, the most famous of which is Wrotesley's *Crécy and Calais*. The siege necessitated a great expansion in the size of the army. Estimates of the numbers of troops involved during the course of the operation range from 26,000 to 32,000.⁴⁴

³⁹ Ayton, "English Armies", 28. See for example the writ to the sheriff of Devon ordering that he inform the king of the names of all those owning 100s. or more of land in George Wrotesley, *Crécy and Calais from the Public Records*, (Collections for a History of Staffordshire, edited by the William Salt Archaeological Society, xviii), London, 1897, 66. The Commons petitioned in 1352 that no one should be obliged to provide military service except by common consent and grant of Parliament. This was agreed, Prestwich, *op cit.*, 80.

⁴⁰ Wrotesley, *op cit.*, 62-3. The prince's Welsh troops were ordered to be prepared to march on 29 Sept. On 20 Jan. 1346 the array of troops was postponed until the Sunday of mid-Lent. Bartholomew Burghersh, constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque ports was commanded to requisition all ships of 30 tons or more which were to be in Portsmouth by 15 Feb., writ dated 7 Jan. 1346.

⁴¹ Allmand, *op cit.*, 15, estimates the invasion force as being 15,000. Viard summarises the sources concerning the number of vessels in the invasion fleet, "Le campagne de juillet-août 1346 et la bataille de Crécy", *Le Moyen Age*, xxxvi (1926) 8, n.1.

⁴² Ayton suggests 14-15,000, including a few less than 3,000 men-at-arms, over 3,000 mounted archers, 8,000 foot soldiers and several hundred others, Andrew Ayton, "The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346", *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Bates and Anne Curry, London, 1994, 268. Prestwich suggests some 8,000 footsoldiers and over 3,000 mounted archers and hobelars, *op cit.*, 177.

⁴³ Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, 489-90. For English preparations see Rymer, III, i, 60, 66-7, 70-1, 76, 78-9.

⁴⁴ Ayton, *loc. cit.*, 253-68, indicates problems associated with previous estimates of the 1346-7 armies. With regard to the specific size of individual retinues, he states, "...numbers of retinue personnel cannot be ascertained from these records. All they can do is offer confirmation of the general order of magnitude - and the order of precedence - of those retinues that appear on the Calais roll."

The prince's army of 1355 was his first independent command and shows the state of his retinue and personal standing at that time. The expeditionary force consisted of his personal following and the retinues of the magnates who followed him. His main recruiting areas were Cheshire, Flintshire and north Wales. There remain no official pay rolls for the army that accompanied the prince to Gascony and on to Poitiers. The indenture of 10 July 1355 specified a force of 433 men-at-arms (although this may have been exceeded), 400 mounted archers and 300 foot archers totalling 1,133.⁴⁵ Taking into account the "regard" paid in advance to captains on about the same date, a total force of 2,600 has been estimated.⁴⁶ This is generally accepted, although Hewitt described Prince's deductions regarding the number of troops in the retinues of the magnates as "ingenious but not wholly conclusive".⁴⁷ Other estimates are slightly higher. No muster roll exists, but shipping records indicate that Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford, Salisbury, Lisle and Cobham brought 500 men-at-arms and 1,800 archers. This gives a total of 933 men-at-arms and 1,800 archers as well as 1,000 Gascons.⁴⁸ These contingents were composed, in part, of small local retinues such as that brought by Ralph Mobberley, which included himself, one esquire and 32 mounted archers. It may be indicative of many such retinues, having three close relatives and a number of others bound in a loose association to

⁴⁵ BPR, iv, 143-5.

⁴⁶ A.E. Prince, "The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III", *EHR*, xlii (1931), 366-7 and n. 2. Prince estimated the men-at-arms brought by the chief captains to be as follows: Warwick, 120; Suffolk, 60; Salisbury, about 55; Cobham, 30; Lisle, 60 (Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, 35 numbered Lisle's retinue as 20 knights, 39 esquires and 40 mounted archers, citing E372/200/7). In addition, Oxford may have had a contingent of 60 men-at-arms. Lisle brought a total retinue of 20 knights, 39 esquires and 60 mounted archers. Hewitt, reaches the same total, comprised of 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,000 mounted archers, 3-400 foot archers and 170 Welsh troops, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 21, 24.

Wages of war and regard were paid to the following:

Prince of Wales	£8,129 18s.
Earl of Warwick	£2,614 4s.
Earl of Suffolk	£1,428 6s. 8d.
Earl of Oxford	£1,174 13s. 10d.
Earl of Salisbury	£1,124 2s. 2d.
Reginald Cobham	£652 0s. 8d.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁸ J.H. Ramsay, *Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1925, 215, 218 n. 1. According to Knighton there were over 800 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers. For an account of the battle see *Eulogium*

Mobberley. Many were already in the knight's following. The core of the unit was a mix of dependants, tenants and neighbours.⁴⁹

The force that left England in 1355 was small compared with that which marched to Crécy although it was complemented on arrival by Gascon forces and further increased prior to the 1356 expedition when Richard Stafford was commissioned to reinforce and resupply the army.⁵⁰ Exact numbers of recruits are uncertain. Initial demands for 200 Cheshire archers increased to 500 but probably few over 300 actually entered service. A maximum of 600 archers were recruited in total.⁵¹ Military summons were also sent to the seneschals of north Wales.⁵² In addition to those troops from the prince's demesne, the expedition attracted men from Westmoreland and Yorkshire as well as Germany.⁵³

An army of 10-12,000 soldiers was raised for the invasion of 1359, larger than any except the Calais siege force.⁵⁴ The prince's retinue, only smaller than the king's, numbered in the region of 1,500, comprising 587 men-at-arms and 900 archers.⁵⁵ Military preparations began late in 1358 with orders for the prompt mobilisation of troops being issued in early 1359 and proceeding in earnest from mid May.⁵⁶ The army carried supplies with it but they proved insufficient. The devastation wrought by previous campaigns prevented the army from living off the land.⁵⁷ Also, it was not in the interest of

Historiarum, iii, 224-5.

⁴⁹ Morgan, *War and Society*, 150-1; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 43-4.

⁵⁰ Barber, *Edward*, 113-14.

⁵¹ 15, 26 Mar. 1356, *BPR*, iii, 224; Morgan, *op cit.*, 113. Lancaster was also recruiting troops at this time which placed further pressure on the availability of manpower. Lancaster and his Cheshire soldiers received letters off protection for their expedition to Brittany made out by John Brunham, 18 Apr. 1356, *BPR*, iii, 225.

⁵² Rymer, III, i, 315.

⁵³ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 21.

⁵⁴ There were 11,900 according to Emerson, *Black Prince*, 147; about 10,000 according to Ayton, "English Armies", 21; Prestwich estimates 6,600 mounted archers and infantry presumably excluding the magnate retinues, *Armies and Warfare*, 118. For William Farley's pay rolls see E101/393/11 fos. 79-116v.

⁵⁵ Prestwich, *op cit.*, 161; Ayton, *loc. cit.*, 31.

⁵⁶ Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 144 and n. 3.

⁵⁷ Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 198; Emerson, *Black Prince*, 147.

a potential monarch to further destroy any support for his candidacy for the throne and his own income.

Although not brought for a specific campaign, the retinue that the prince took to the principality in 1363 contained a number of military figures and numbered over 260.⁵⁸ Among those who were or would become his life retainers were Loryng, Sully, Frevill, Richard Mascy, Baldwin Bereford, Gerard Braybroke and Robert Roos. However, others may well have been involved either in the short or long term other than those noted in the main list. The Gascon rolls contain many letters of protection issued in 1362-3 when the departure was intended which include some who later are mentioned on the retinue roll as well as others who are not and were likely to have accompanied the prince. Richard Doxeye, the prince's baker, is one of these.⁵⁹ Others such as John Delves, Roger la Warre and John Basset travelled between Bordeaux and England at various times⁶⁰ and ships continued to be sent to Gascony throughout the period of the principality.⁶¹

Recruitment for the operation that was to restore Pedro briefly to the throne of Castile began in August 1366 although it seems that the English garrison had been alerted about the likelihood of service towards the end of May or in early June.⁶² There are large numbers of letters of protection and attorney noted on the Gascon rolls from May and particularly from 8 June through to October.⁶³ The treaty of Libourne, which secured

⁵⁸ BL Cotton Julius CIV ff. 288-90. See also C61/76. Not all who came to the principality intended to stay. Henxteworth's visit in 1364 was probably on Cheshire business, C47/34/1,2; Capra, "L'apogée politique", 397.

⁵⁹ C61/75/4. See also 77/6 which contains many known to have accompanied the prince and a number of others in the retinue whose presence is not confirmed in the retinue roll.

⁶⁰ C61/77/6; CPR, 1364-7, 33. Ships were prepared for Delves' journey to Gascony on 4 Mar. 1364, he and a number of others received letters of protection and attorney around this time. They included, John Gistels, Peter le Veel, Thomas Wetenhale, Robert Neville, Peter Cusance and Adam Louches, C61/77/2-3; 78/12.

⁶¹ eg. 2 Apr. 1365, C61/78/10.

⁶² Russell, *Intervention*, 62 n. 1. Capra, "L'apogée politique", 400, states that the English garrisons were chiefly comprised of mercenaries in contrast to Russell, *op. cit.*, 79. Ships were "arrested" on 18 June 1366, and letters of protection and attorney were issued, Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 154. See also C61/79/3-5, 7.

⁶³ C61/79/4-13.

Anglo-Gascon aid for Pedro, was signed on 23 September.⁶⁴ Preparations were nearly complete by December, although the army which mustered at Dax did not leave for Castile until February. It was composed of many disparate units. Nearly half the force was drawn from the English garrison in Gascony which was complemented by those sent from England under Gaunt and the earl of Cambridge, probably numbering about 400 men-at-arms and 800 archers. Edward III had decided to send reinforcements to the prince for the expedition as early as 30 July, although the prince took personal responsibility for the campaign, 16 sheriffs were required to raise 100 archers.⁶⁵ The monthly cost of about 50,000 florins for the prince and a similar amount for the Gascon lords indicates a maximum of 10,000 front-line troops.⁶⁶ The absence of muster and pay rolls makes it particularly difficult to establish the complement of the force taken to Nájera. The prince's own troops for the expedition were drawn from the English and Gascon members of his retinue in Aquitaine. Although many records are missing Chandos Herald provides a detailed account of the main figures in the campaign. This is a useful indicator of the military retinue at this time, augmented by the Free Companies and the prince's Gascon subjects. In the vanguard, led by Gaunt, were Thomas Ufford, "Hugh of Hastings and his noble comrade William Beauchamp", Chandos, "Constable of the army, leader of all the Companions, whose names I will tell you. First of all the lord de Rays...next the lord d'Aubeterre...Mesire Garsis de Castel...and Gaillard de la Mote also, and Aimery de Rochechouart, and Messire Robert Camyn, Cresswell and the true-hearted Briquet and Messire Richard Taunton and William Felton and Willecock le Boteller and Peverell of the proud heart, John Sandes a man of renown and John Alein his companion,

⁶⁴ For the text of the Treaty of Libourne see Rymer, III, ii, 799-807. For Pedro's oath to make good his grant of Vizcaya and Castro Urdiales to the prince and the warrant to Chandos to put the prince in possession of these territories see E30/1255.

⁶⁵ C61/79/10. These included John Catesby, William Wacelyn, John Henxteworth and Thomas Hungerford. Preparations for Gaunt's fleet were made on 20 Oct, C61/79/8.

⁶⁶ Russell, *Intervention*, 79 n. 2, 80.

next afterwards Shakell and Hawley.”⁶⁷ Also in the vanguard were the Marshals, Stephen Cosington and Guichard d’Angle “Ovesque eux le peignon Seint George...”.⁶⁸ The main body of the army was led by the prince and included Pedro and Charles of Navarre. They crossed the Pyrenees the day following the vanguard. Others in the “battle” named by Chandos Herald included Louis de Harcourt, Eustace d’Aubrechicourt, Thomas Felton, as well as the seneschals of Poitou,⁶⁹ the Angoumois, Saintogne (probably Richard Totesham), Périgord, Quercy (Thomas Walkefare held the post in 1364)⁷⁰ and Bigorre, the baron de Parthenay, the de Pommiers brothers, Oliver de Clisson, the lord de Curton, lord de la Warre, Robert Knolles “of short speech”, the viscount de Rochechouart and lord Bouchier.

The king of Majorca and Jean d’Armagnac led the third battle.⁷¹ It included Bernard and Bertucat d’Albret, the lord of Mussidan, the Bour de Breteuil and the Bour Camus, Naudon de Bageran, Bernard de la Salle and a knight known to Chandos Herald as Lami. The rearguard followed under the command of the lord d’Albret and the capital de Buch.

1369 and the defence of Aquitaine

The only extant retinue roll for the prince details a muster at Northampton in 1368/9.⁷² It is almost certainly incomplete due to the location of the prince in Aquitaine at that time and is somewhat problematic. It contains the names of many individuals known to have accompanied the prince to Spain in 1367 and certainly a great number who were

⁶⁷ Chandos Herald, *Life of the Black Prince*, ed. Pope and Lodge, 154, ll. 2249-77.

⁶⁸ Chandos Herald, *Vie du Prince Noir*, ed. Tyson, ll. 2288.

⁶⁹ This was William Felton but as he had already been mentioned by Chandos Herald he may well have meant Baldwin Frevill who became seneschal in 1368 or Thomas Percy who was appointed to the office in 1370, Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia*, iv, 474.

⁷⁰ Lehoux, *Jean de France*, i, 198 and n. 5. He is called Thomas “Vallia” by Dupont-Ferrier, *op cit.*, v, 64.

⁷¹ Knighton included the count of Deerne [Denia] in the third battle, although he may have confused him with the count of Osona who accompanied the king of Mallorca, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, ed. Martin, 194 and n. 2, 195.

part of the household in 1363. Were they at Northampton in 1369, had they left Aquitaine after the return from Castile? There was considerable movement between England and Aquitaine and many had landed interests in England. It would not be impossible for them to have returned but it does seem unlikely. Soon after the unsatisfactory conclusion of the Nájera campaign individuals and small retinues were being sent from England to Aquitaine. These included Eustace d'Aubrechicourt, Duncan Felton, Robert Morley, John Harpley, James de la Plaunche, Robert Ty and John del Hay.⁷³ Letters of protection and attorney were issued for those in England and Aquitaine and ships were prepared for the movement of troops.⁷⁴ Another difficulty with the Northampton roll is the location of the muster. The prince had no estates of consequence in the area and it is distant from the estates of many of the those included on the roll. A muster did take place and individuals did travel to Aquitaine but the roll may reflect administrative convenience as much as the presence of a number of the retinue at Northampton in 1369 when their talents would have been better used on the rapidly shrinking borders of the principality of Aquitaine.

In 1368-9 £20,000 was sent in cash, as well as 60 men-at-arms, 80 archers and later 800 archers. The earl of Cambridge brought 400 men-at-arms and 400 archers. He landed in Brittany and fought his way south with Chandos and Calveley. The earl of Pembroke also came with troops to assist in the defence of the principality.⁷⁵ The demand for troops continued in 1370 and letters of protection were made out for many of the prince's retinue who continued to fight in defence of Aquitaine.⁷⁶

⁷² E101/29/24.

⁷³ *CPR, 1367-70*, 12, 56, 58, 131, 406. James Audley also departed for Gascony at this time with eight yeomen, 12 horses and 100 marks expenses. He was described as the prince's "esquire". It may be that in addition to Chandos' brother-in-arms and the lord of Helegh there was a third individual with the same name.

⁷⁴ C61/81/5-6. These included Thomas Wetenhale, Edward Berkeley and John Breton, Chandos, Richard Folesham, William Murrers, John la Warre, Roger la Warre, Walter Penhergard, 81/6. See also Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 156. Orders regarding transport were made on 18 Sept. 1368, *ibid*.

⁷⁵ Ramsay, *Revenues*, 252 n. 1, 254 and n. 1. Pembroke received letters of protection 13 July 1369, *CPR, 1367-70*, 280.

⁷⁶ Carte, *Roles Gascons*, i, 157-8.

Areas of Recruitment

Cheshire and Wales

i. Crécy and Calais

Preparations for the Crécy campaign began in 1345 but there were a number of delays and setbacks.⁷⁷ Recruitment in Wales and Cheshire in the last years of the prince's minority was inefficient. In April 1345, Thomas Ferrers, justice of Chester, was ordered to join the prince at Sandwich with his retinue and 100 archers. Guy Brian was to choose 40 miners from the forest of Dean, four of whom were to be master-miners to assist with engineering and siege work.⁷⁸ The prince delegated responsibility for recruitment to his, mainly short-term, indentured retainers. The gradual shift from reliance on traditional tenurial obligations to retainers was inhibited in Cheshire by a number of peculiar local factors centring on the status of the earl.⁷⁹ The role of the Cheshire soldiers and their service conditions had been defined through their participation in the Welsh wars. Once they travelled beyond the River Dee or elsewhere out of Cheshire it was to be at the king's expense. In 1346 payments were made for the journey to Sandwich. This was not a permanent arrangement but laid down by the prince's council and paid in advance by the chamberlain of Chester.⁸⁰

Troops from Cheshire and Wales formed the backbone of the prince's expeditionary forces. The principal recruiting area for the Crécy campaign was intended to be Wales, which was to provide 7,000 archers and spearmen. The Marcher lords were

⁷⁷ Welsh forces were involved in Grosmont's campaign in 1345. 250 were *en route* to Derby on 24 May 1345. At the same time 500 troops were ready to proceed to the king at Sandwich when their wages arrived, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards, Cardiff, 1935, 245-6.

⁷⁸ E372/191/9; Wrotesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 78. Six horses were needed to carry their equipment.

⁷⁹ Morgan, *War and Society*, 105-7. This may have been a result of changing forms of evidence rather than changing behaviour, Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 42.

⁸⁰ Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, 40.

to array half of these from their lands and the prince the other half, as well as 100 archers from Cheshire. There was a very slow response to the demands.⁸¹ Those that were recruited were equipped with a distinctive green and white uniform. They were selected by: Robert ap Griffith and Yevan ap Griffith ap Howel in Caernarfonshire, David ap Rhys ap Tudur and Howel ap Lewelyn ap Griffith in Anglesey, Eignon ap Griffith, Yevan ap Lewelyn ap Baron in Merioneth, Rhys Dugan and Rhys ap Griffith in Carmarthenshire, and Owen ap Owen and Llewellyn Eignon Vaghan in south Wales.⁸² For the 1346 muster 3,500 troops were again summoned from the principality and 100 archers from Cheshire to be led by John Hide. Thomas Danyers was retained to bring troops and William Bohun and Henry of Lancaster were also involved in the recruitment and array of troops from Wales.⁸³ On 8 July 1346, whilst difficult weather conditions were preventing a passage over the Channel, Roger Hopwell, lieutenant of the justice of Chester, and Roger Trumwyn, lieutenant of the justice of north Wales, were ordered to pick and arm a further 300 and 200 archers respectively. The Cheshire archers were to be led by William Brereton.⁸⁴

Cheshire reinforcements for Calais were demanded on 12 September 1346 and were led by Griffith ap Jor'ap Meyler and William Brereton, who may have died during the siege. Thomas Danyers was ordered to bring further reinforcements on 16 March 1347 and Richard Baskerville in May. Orders were also sent to Alexander Wasteneys, William Tabley, Ralph Oldington, Ralph Stathum and Richard del Hogh, sheriff of Flint.

⁸¹ Ayton, "Normandy Campaign", 261-2 n. 55; Morgan, *op cit.*, 104-5.

⁸² Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 58. The writ concerning the 100 Cheshire archers was dated 26 Aug. See also *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, ed. Edwards, 236-7 regarding the payment and travel of southern Welsh troops to Portsmouth. 500 Welsh troops had demanded to be led by Rhys ap Gruffydd rather than Owain ap Owain on 24 May 1345, *ibid.*, 193.

⁸³ *BPR*, i, 69, 80. See E403/336/44 for the separate march of the contingents to Portsmouth.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 7. John Brunham, chamberlain of Chester, was ordered to pay those archers recruited by Roger Hopwell, steward of Bromfield and Yale, 6d. a day and provide them with uniforms. Brereton was to receive 2s. a day, *ibid.*, 13. However, on 14 Sept. Brunham was ordered to buy green and white cloth for the uniforms for 200 soldiers and to pay their wages to William Brereton, *ibid.*, 68.

Rhys ap Griffith, who had been knighted by this time, led Welsh reinforcements. He returned from France to lead them to Winchelsea.⁸⁵ Welsh forces before Calais, according to Wetewang totalled 4,572.⁸⁶

ii. Poitiers

Preparations for the 1355 campaign began in Cheshire in May with the order that 200 archers were to be “chosen, tested and arrayed”. On 26 June a further demand was made for 300 archers from Cheshire and 100 from Flint.⁸⁷ Only four of the Cheshire archers failed to arrive at Plymouth “by three weeks before Midsummer” as requested. Unfortunately, one of these, Richard Wynstanton, had been paid £6 wages for himself and his companions. He and the others, as well as those who enlisted in another company without the prince’s permission, had their land and goods seized.⁸⁸ 36 of the Flintshire troops failed to arrive.⁸⁹ Cheshire archers received a higher rate of pay than the Welsh soldiers who were employed as both lancers and archers.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *A History of Carmarthenshire*, ed. John E. Lloyd, Cardiff, 1935, i, 249.
⁸⁶ From D.L. Evans, “Some Notes on the History of the Principality of Wales in the Time of the Black Prince, 1343-1376”, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymrodorion* (1925-6), 80.

	North Wales	South Wales
Knights	3	-
Esquires	3	-
Leaders	4	2
Constables	24	30
Chaplains	1	1
Surgeons	1	1
Proclamator	1	1
Standard Bearers	9	29
Vinteners	112	108
Footmen	2252	1990
Total	2410	2162

⁸⁷ *BPR*, iii, 204. The leaders of archers were to be: Macclesfield Hundred, John Hide and Robert Legh; Eddisbury Hundred, Robert Brown; Wirral and Broxton Hundreds, Hamo Mascy and Hugh Golbourne; Nantwich Hundred, John Griffyn, H.J. Hewitt, *Cheshire Under the Three Edwards*, Chester, 1967, 101-2. It was later ordered that Hide should lead all the archers from Macclesfield, 30 June 1355, *BPR*, iii, 205.
⁸⁸ 25 June, 26 Aug. 1355, *BPR*, iii, 205, 214.
⁸⁹ A number of these had received wages or cloth for uniforms or both. Those noted were to be arrested on 5 Sept. 1355. Equally a number were given leave not to sail with the prince due to illness, *ibid.*, 215-16.
⁹⁰ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 15, 17.

Those raised from Cheshire either served in the hundred contingents and were assigned to the companies of particular retainers or were recruited by the retainers themselves. It has been argued that the prince was never dependent on Cheshire for more than a small percentage of the leadership and men-at-arms of his war retinue. The *Register*, which might appear to provide a contradictory answer, provides details of numbers, which were demanded rather than those who actually participated.⁹¹ However, the area was dominant in the provision of mounted archers. They were paid 21 days wages for the journey to Plymouth.⁹²

In contrast to the Crécy-Calais campaign, there was only a small Welsh contingent in the prince's army in 1355.⁹³ These were attached to the prince's own household retinue. Gronou ap Griffith commanded 60 men from north Wales and David ap Blethin Vaghan, 30 men from Flintshire. Three notable Welsh knights also brought their retinues; John Griffith, Rhys ap Griffith, who may have been the leader of a force from south Wales with the third, Hywel ap Griffith, known to posterity as Sir Hywel of the Axe.⁹⁴ This was the first campaign in the Hundred Years War in which the Welsh were recorded as using horses.

iii. Reims

Recruiting arrangements were made on 1 March 1359 with the summons of 300 Cheshire archers and, on 10 June, 50 Welsh archers. These numbers were later altered to 400 from Cheshire and only 10 archers from Wales, the extra 40 being lancers. They were

⁹¹ Morgan, *op cit.*, 108-9.

⁹² Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, 40. For the payment of Cheshire retinues in 1356 (2 Jan., 14 May, 30 June) see Morgan, *op cit.*, 111 table 4.

⁹³ Avesbury however spoke of "magnaue numero Wallensium", 425, quoted by Delachenal, *Charles V*, i, 124 n. 4.

⁹⁴ Evans, "Some Notes on the History of the Principality", 62-3.

arrayed in their, now traditional, green and white uniforms. With the knights and esquires, they were to join the prince at Northbourne, near Sandwich. The original date of assembly was also put back from 1 August to 1 September. In August, eight knights and 17 esquires were retained for a year's service.⁹⁵ The leaders of the Cheshire force were Robert Legh, the son (leader of Macclesfield hundred), John Fitton, Ralph Mobberley, William Carington and John, son of Thomas Danyers.⁹⁶ These, and the archers they led, received the king's wages from their point of muster.⁹⁷ Howel ap Oweyn Voil may have led the Welsh contingent. General letters of protection were issued on 24 September for all those from Chester and Flint in receipt of fees, wages and clothing.⁹⁸ Compared with the large numbers of Welsh troops who fought at Crécy and Calais, there were few from the principality who participated in the campaigns of the 1350s. Welsh footsoldiers numbered 1,000 in the expedition of 1359-60, compared with around 3,000 who fought in Flanders in 1338.⁹⁹

The importance of Cheshiremen in Aquitaine has been pointed out by Philip Morgan as well as the financial burden that the earldom carried to fund the principality.¹⁰⁰ They were prominent among the most important officials. For example, Thomas Wetenhale was seneschal of the Rouergue, 1365-9, his lieutenant, David Cradock, became mayor of Bordeaux and Richard Rotour, constable of Bordeaux, 1375-9.¹⁰¹

Cornwall

Cornwall does not appear to have been a major recruiting area for the prince although there were demands for troops from the duchy for the Crécy expedition. The

⁹⁵ BPR, iii, 331, 349-50; Rymer, III, i, 415; Barber, *Edward*, 158.

⁹⁶ Hewitt, *Cheshire Under the Three Edwards*, 102.

⁹⁷ C76/37/8.

⁹⁸ BPR, iii, 367-8.

⁹⁹ E101/393/11 fo. 115-115v.; *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, 356-62.

¹⁰⁰ Morgan, "Cheshire and the Defence of Aquitaine", 139-60.

¹⁰¹ Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, 179.

sheriff of Cornwall and others were ordered, in a writ of 28 August, to inquire about all able-bodied men not in a lord's retinue and send them to Portsmouth by three weeks before Michaelmas.¹⁰² But there appear to be few references for subsequent recruitment.

Gascony

Gascony provided troops for the prince in 1355-6 and 1367. Evidence for this is not as comprehensive as one would expect. Despite the continuity of records in Gascony in the period 1354-61, those for the 1355 campaign and Gascon contingents are not complete.¹⁰³ Records for the time of the principality are generally poor. The local nobility led military companies. Berard d'Albret, for example, was a long standing military servant of the English crown. From 1351-3 for a total of 833 days he supplied 100 men-at-arms, 100 *sergents à cheval* and 100 other foot soldiers. It was through such men that "La défense du duché est abandonnée au principal des nobles du pays."¹⁰⁴ In this context, without any other motivation, it is clear to see why the appeal of the Gascon nobility to Edward III, in the face of the threat from Armagnac and Clermont, was successful. The captal de Buch, an established supporter of the English cause, was among those who appealed for assistance in January 1355. To further strengthen his loyalty, Edward III granted him rights in the towns of Bénauges, Ilaz and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ In addition, Amauri de Biron, sire de Montferrand,¹⁰⁶ Auger de Montaut, sire de Mussidan, Guillaume de Pommiers, Guillaume Sans, sire de Lesparre, Guillaume Amanier, sire de Roson all led

¹⁰² Wrotesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 61.

¹⁰³ Pierre Capra, "Les bases sociales du pouvoir anglo-gascon au milieu du xiv^e siècle", *Le Moyen Age*, 4^{ème} sér., 30 (1975), 276.

¹⁰⁴ Pierre Capra, "L'évolution de l'administration anglo-gasconne au milieu du xiv^e siècle", *Bordeaux et les Iles britanniques du xiii^e au xx^e siècle*, [Actes du colloque franco-britannique tenu à York, 1973], Bordeaux, 1975, 23. For Albret's agreement with the seneschal, Ralph Stafford see E101/168/2 m. 3; 3/12v.; E372/199/39r. m. 2; 207/14r. m. 2. For payment by the constable John Charnels see E101/168/8; E372/199/39r. m. 1.

¹⁰⁵ On 6 July 1355, Rymer, III, i, 305.

¹⁰⁶ Montferrand had been granted the provostship of Entre-deux-Mers by Edward III. It had been held by Thomas Bradeston who relinquished it for an annuity of 100 marks, *CCR*, 1354-60, 356.

troops in the 1355-6 campaign.¹⁰⁷ For the Nájera expedition, the chief Gascon lords and their retinues assembled alongside Castilian men-at-arms and *jinetes*, who were with Pedro in Gascony, and dissident Aragonese, mainly in the retinues of Jaume of Mallorca and the count of Osona.¹⁰⁸

Elsewhere

The prince also employed soldiers from beyond his own lands. Many, particularly for the royal expeditions of 1346 and 1359, must have been placed in his division and under his command without necessarily having a direct link to him as territorial overlord. Furthermore, in 1355 the prince was joined at Bordeaux by a number of “Almains”, William Qwad, Ingelbrith Zobbe, Bernard van Zedeles and Daniel van Pesse.¹⁰⁹

The Nájera campaign was the first of the prince’s operations to employ the Free Companies on an extensive scale. The prince could himself be described, in the context of this operation as a “super condotierre”. Robert Knolles and Chandos arranged for part of the Great Company, not already in Spain, to supply men-at-arms and archers¹¹⁰ and a number of those serving Du Guesclin withdrew on the prince’s order in August and September 1366, although not until they had replaced Pedro with the Francophile Enrique.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 44.

¹⁰⁸ Russell, *Intervention*, 79.

¹⁰⁹ Hewitt, *op cit.*, 44.

¹¹⁰ “Et Chandos ne demora mie
Car a la Grande Compaignie
Ala quere les compaignons
Jesques a quatorze penouns...”, Chandos Herald, *La Vie du Prince Noir*, ed. Tyson, ll. 1971-4.

¹¹¹ It is questionable if Calveley and Mathew Gournay left Enrique at this time, Russell, *Intervention*, 70 and n. 1. It is far more certain that “...then returned Sir Eustace d’Aubréchicourt, Devereux, Cresswell, Briquet whose name is often on peoples’ lips, and thereafter the Lord of Aubeterre that ever gladly followed after war, and the good Bernard de la Salle. All the merry companions returned to Aquitaine, but first they endured great sufferings, for when the Bastard knew verily that the Prince wished to succour the King Don Pedro he wrought them sore hindrance; he cut all the roads, and night and morning he made to spring out many an ambush on them, and caused them to be attacked in divers fashion by *jinetes* and villains.”, Chandos Herald, *Life of the Black Prince*, ed. Pope and Lodge, 152, ll. 1988-2006.

The Prince's Retinue and Household

The prince's personal retinue and household formed the backbone of the forces he commanded. In 1346 his retinue is said to have included 11 bannerets, 102 bachelors/knights, 264 men-at-arms/esquires, 384 horsed archers and 582 others, totalling 1,343.¹¹² However, it is uncertain whether all these served from the outset of the campaign or were drafted in for the siege of Calais or indeed the manner in which they were assigned to his command. In 1359 the prince's retinue on sailing consisted of seven bannerets, 136 knights, 443/4 esquires and 900 horse archers, i.e. 24% of the force were knights.¹¹³ This total remained the same for nine months despite the loss of 395 appraised warhorses. Ayton suggests a number of explanations for this most unlikely state of affairs, including fraud, reinforcements, the uneven survival of evidence and the possibility that more men were involved than was formally recorded. He concludes that it was due to the use of a flexible accounting system employed by royal clerks to determine the correct pay total not the complement of the retinue.¹¹⁴ The prince did not receive a formal indenture as in 1355. Contracts were not usually needed for the king's expeditions to France as they were administered by his own household officials. Thus records do not exist for the 1346-7 or 1359-60 armies.¹¹⁵ The armies of 1359 and 1367 were "led by a glittering array of military talent"¹¹⁶ much of which was in the prince's retinue. It included many of the most famous soldiers of the age, Chandos, Audley, Nigel Loryng,

¹¹² Emerson, *Black Prince*, 26-7. This figure includes 513 Welsh troops and one chaplain, one *medicus*, one *proclamator*, five standard bearers and 25 vinteners, Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 193. The Brut roll for Crécy and Calais concurs as regards bannerets, knight and men-at-arms but notes the Welsh contingent as 600 in addition to 480 footmen and 69 archers on foot, *The Brut*, ed. F.W.D. Brie, (E.E.T.S.), 1906, ii, 538.

¹¹³ E101/393/11 fo. 79r.; Prince, "Strength of English Armies", 368 n. 2; Barber, *Edward*, 159. Ayton's estimate based on the pay rolls is about 1,500, "English Armies", 31; Prestwich concurs, *Armies and Warfare*, 42; Tout, *Chapters*, iv, 144 n. 3

¹¹⁴ Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 147-54.

¹¹⁵ Prestwich, *op cit.*, 93.

¹¹⁶ Ayton, "English Armies", 21.

Knolles, Calveley and the captal de Buch, members of the Garter, experienced soldiers on whom the English military successes were based.

The chief commanders and officers of the 1355 expedition were closely associated with the prince's household and personal retinue. In addition to the magnates, Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Lisle and Cobham were James Audley, Richard Stafford, John Chandos, John Wingfield, Baldwin Botetourt, Bartholomew Burghersh, Nigel Loryng, Stephen Cosington, Roger Cotesford, Alan Cheyne and William Trussel. The prince's household staff included Nicholas Bonde, Tiderick van Dale, Henry Aldrington, William Bakton, Richard Doxeye, Robert Egremont, Geoffrey Hamelyn, John Henxteworth, William Lenche, Henry Berkhamsted and John Pailington.¹¹⁷ Ufford was the titular head of the prince's council and had been associated with him since 1338. Vere may have been a commander of the prince's "battle" in 1346. Montague had been knighted with the prince at La Hogue.¹¹⁸ In addition, there was considerable Gascon experience in the retinue. Loryng, Audley and Stafford had served with Derby in 1345. The army also contained seven Garter knights and, in Ufford and Cobham, the constable, were two who would later be included.¹¹⁹ Among the leaders of the army at least a dozen had fought at Crécy and others in Gascony in 1345-6. The bonds formed from a year campaigning together would compound these associations and experience.¹²⁰

Evidence within the letters sent back by the prince and others, indicate that Audley, Chandos, Botetourt and at times Burghersh "were the prince's handy men for field work, that Stafford was assigned to special tasks (as he had been before the campaign), that Wingfield remained as 'head of the office' and that these men who had of

¹¹⁷ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 22-3.

¹¹⁸ In July Edward III granted Montague a respite of his debts in Gascony. Presumably this was due to the impending campaign, Rymer, III, i, 305.

¹¹⁹ Barber, *Edward*, 114.

¹²⁰ Hewitt, *op cit.*, 123. Delachenal commented on the quality of the prince's commanders, *Charles V*, i, 220-1.

course known one another before going out to France, formed a group bound by friendly relations to one another and by common loyalty to their chief: they were part of the 'permanent staff'.¹²¹ In addition to the purely military roles of many of these men, the campaign was organised and administered by the prince's staff. Various officers of the household received money gifts as a result of their efforts in outfitting the expedition to Gascony to a total of £275 10s.¹²²

There does not appear to have been a widescale enhancement of the size of the prince's retinue prior to the 1355 campaign. Between Crécy and Poitiers only Loryng, Henry Eam, Edmund Manchester, William Aubigny and John Sully were retained and, of those, only Loryng and Sully are certain to have fought at Poitiers. Many more annuities were granted in the same period, the most notable being those to Chandos and Stephen Cosington. Large numbers of soldiers of all ranks were recruited for the campaign but many of these were short-term contracts.¹²³ Following Poitiers, the numbers of men associated with the prince, particularly annuitants, increased greatly. However, evidence only exists for Baldwin Frevill being retained before the Reims campaign. Clearly the prince did not find that formal indentures were a necessary or desirable element in his recruiting policy.

Illness prevented the participation of several of those chosen for service in 1359. Robert Mottrum and Thomas Ashton amongst others were given leave to return home.¹²⁴ Walter Clerc, the prince's poulterer, also was permitted to remain in England although he was expected to join the prince at some point.¹²⁵ Fear of a case in the Cheshire county

¹²¹ Hewitt, *op cit.*, 80-1.

¹²² *BPR*, iv, 166-7. Rothelin, the prince's palfreyman, was paid 40s. towards his expenses in "going beyond the seas on the prince's business", 8 Nov. 1355, *ibid.*, 157.

¹²³ For example, John Griffyn was retained for the war, at fee of 40 marks if with two esquires or £23 6s. 8d. if with one. He was to be paid half his fee, 13 June 1355, *ibid.*, iii, 202.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, 366, see also 371-2.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, iv, 345.

court allowed Simon Grymesdik to stay at home.¹²⁶ Local Cheshire antagonism also precluded the involvement of Thomas Blakeden and John Swetenham, who was to have been in Wingfield's company.¹²⁷ However, those who absconded were dealt with harshly. John Porter of Newhall was to be arrested if found in Cheshire after going absent without leave.¹²⁸ Michael Gerard's legal case was respited on account of his intended service with the Black Prince but continued when the king was informed that he had stayed in London.¹²⁹

The need to secure service for the Reims campaign ensured that payments and grants from the previous one were up to date. Old loans and debts were repaid and new ones negotiated and secured. Thomas Roos had £100 returned for a loan dating from the 1355-6 expeditions.¹³⁰ Henry Berkhamsted was compensated £6 *restauro equorum* on 1 October. This was from a total of £10 6s. 8d. and the balance was to be paid on 25th of the same month.¹³¹ The annuities of Stephen Cosington and Daniel van Pesse were to be paid up to date.¹³² William Moigne was paid the final instalment of 100 marks, which had been granted for his service at Poitiers.¹³³ Thomas Walkefare was to receive £35 out of the 100 marks granted at Poitiers.¹³⁴ Henry Aldrington, the prince's tailor, was also paid what was owing on his final account from the last campaign.¹³⁵

Grants were also made or extended. William Goldebourne was discharged from paying the escheat on the inheritance of his wife, one of the daughters of Peter

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, iii, 367.

¹²⁷ 1 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 369.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 372.

¹²⁹ CCR, 1360-4, 1.

¹³⁰ BPR, iv, 327.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 318, 329.

¹³² 15, 23 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 319, 322.

¹³³ *ibid.*, 327.

¹³⁴ 2 Nov. 1359 (the payment was to be made after Michaelmas), *ibid.*, 334.

¹³⁵ £29 7s. 10d. were ordered to be paid on 15 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 319.

Thornton.¹³⁶ William Chorlegh received the keeping of the prince's park in Macclesfield with wages of 3d. per day for himself and a groom.¹³⁷ Alan Cheyne's £40 annuity was extended to last for a year after his death in the event of that happening in the course of the forthcoming expedition.¹³⁸ Baldwin Frevill was retained for life at £40 per year on 8 August 1358, he was the only individuals to receive a life indenture at this time.¹³⁹

Thomas Keshale, an archer in the 1359 campaign, was allowed to pay by instalments the £8 owed on his account as bedel of the Hundred of Eddisbury. On his return, payment was again delayed until he received his wages.¹⁴⁰ Chandos' executors were permitted to keep certain lands for a year in the event of his death.¹⁴¹ Sir John's retinue was very large for a mere knight consisting of seven knights, 54 esquires, and 36 archers.¹⁴² Richard Foune, Lambert Trekingham, both clerks, and 14 others in Chandos' retinue received letters of protection on 20 August 1359.¹⁴³

A great number of administrative and legal appointments were made at this time and several of the prince's clerks were given furs, winter robes or cloth.¹⁴⁴ However, there were few other long-term military annuities granted immediately prior to the campaign. It may be that after Poitiers the prince had made so many grants and had proved himself so fine a commander that there was no need for him to recruit except on a short-term basis. Half year retainers were made to a number of esquires including Thomas

¹³⁶ 3 June 1359, *ibid.*, iii, 343.

¹³⁷ 22 Aug. 1359, *ibid.*, 358.

¹³⁸ 22 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 373-4. Cheyne accumulated considerable debts preparing for the 1359 campaign and orders were sent from the prince to the chamberlain of Chester for the prompt payment of the annuity to Cheyne's attorneys.

¹³⁹ He was to be paid by Nicholas Michel, the prince's receiver of Coventry, University of Nottingham, Middleton Deeds, Mi F 10/8; *BPR*, iv, 80, 259; Jones and Walker, "Private Indentures", 77-8.

¹⁴⁰ *BPR*, iii, 374, 391.

¹⁴¹ 8 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, iv, 318.

¹⁴² Prince, "Strength of English Armies", 368 n. 5. In addition to its size, Chandos' retinue was equipped with very fine horses, the mean value of which was £12.57. 134 sailed with him and 108 returned, 27 appraised warhorses were lost, Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 270.

¹⁴³ Rymer, III, i, 444.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Madefray, Hugh Bridham, John Gurmonchester and John Christmas were rewarded in these ways,

Dutton and two companions for £13 6s. 8d;¹⁴⁵ Hamo Mascy, 5 marks; Richard Mascy, 5 marks;¹⁴⁶ Thomas Stathum, 5 Marks;¹⁴⁷ Robert and William Legh, 5 marks each.¹⁴⁸ These six month contracts may have been part of a longer military relationship between the prince and certain individuals so that he had regular military support “on the books”. Alternatively, and more probably, it may have been a financial measure to ensure that only six months wages had to be paid at the outset of a campaign since, presumably, an individual would be retained for a 12 month period.

Existing troops were placed on a war footing and wages were paid. The amounts paid to the prince’s bachelors was consistent. John Danyel, who led four esquires, was paid £23 6s. 8d. for a half year,¹⁴⁹ John Hide and his two esquires received £16 13s. 4d.¹⁵⁰ Other payments were made to John Griffyn and one esquire to the sum of £13 6s. 8d., John Fitton and one esquire received £13 6s. 8d.,¹⁵¹ Geoffrey Werberton and two esquires, £16 13s. 4d.,¹⁵² William Carington and three esquires, £20, Ralph Mobberley and two esquires, £16 13s. 4d.;¹⁵³ William Goldebourne and two esquires, £16 13s. 4d. Burghersh also brought a sizeable contingent. Letters of protection were made out for 20

BPR, iv, 329-30.

¹⁴⁵ Roger Dutton, William Bertirton and Hugh Dagge were unable to serve in Dutton’s company because of illness, *ibid.*, iii, 371.

¹⁴⁶ Richard Mascy lost the services of John and Hugh Swon due to illness, 19 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 372.

¹⁴⁷ Stathum testified to the illness of Philip Filkyn who was given leave to return home. Permission was also given to Richard Bertumlegh, who was replaced by William Copenhale, *ibid.*, 371-2. Stathum, the prince’s yeoman, was rewarded with the offices of constable and porter of Denbigh castle, which were held by the prince after the death of Roger Mortimer, before his son came of age, 5 June 1360, *ibid.*, 383.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Aiston, Henry Smyth of Stockport, Gilbert Baret and Hugh del Dounes were unable to serve with Legh due to illness, *ibid.*, 373-4.

¹⁴⁹ 30 Sept., John Brunham was ordered to make out letters of protection for William Janny, younger, who was “to go with the prince in the company of Sir John Danyel.”, *ibid.*, 369, John Drokenfeld also received letters of protection, 8 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 370.

¹⁵⁰ John Holyngworth, of Hide’s company, received letters of protection, 8 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, 370.

¹⁵¹ Fitton lost the services in his company of John Holm, Thomas son of Richard, and Thomas Rosselyn because of illness, *ibid.*, 373.

¹⁵² John Haselyngton, Adam Malbon, Edmund Aldelym, Hamon son of William and Ralph Hull were unable to participate in the campaign in Werberton’s company due to illness, *ibid.*, 371, 374.

¹⁵³ Mobberley lost the services of Hugh le Vernon, Richard Tailor, William Gostre John and Hardyng due to illness, 19 Oct. and John Brown, 26 Oct., *ibid.*, 372-4.

Cheshire archers in his company on 9 October 1359.¹⁵⁴ John Byntre was ordered to go to Sandwich for embarkation by 5 September.¹⁵⁵ Knights were paid 2s. a day for the seven day journey to Northbourne, esquires received 12d. a day and archers 6d.

As in 1355, the prince was accompanied by a number of chaplains. William Claydon, a clerk of his chapel, was one who for "certain reasons" could not accompany the prince. During his absence he was to stay with the bishop of Winchester.¹⁵⁶ It is presumed that he was of rather more savoury character than the chaplain, Roger Mogyngton, who at the end of the campaign was pardoned for murdering the parson of Mogington, Peter Botrel.¹⁵⁷

The conditions under which recruitment was organised for the 1367 campaign is less well documented. Recruitment to the retinue continued throughout the period of the principality but it was certainly not greatly enhanced immediately prior to or after the treaty of Libourne. The prince's permanent retinue was clearly not sufficient for the task as he needed the support of the Free Companies. However, it is not certain why this was preferable to the troops who could have been brought by the Gascon lords and of which, in the case of Albret, he felt the need to reduce the number. Distrust was perhaps already coming to its height.

Immediately after Nájera conditions changed and recruiting was again a matter of urgency as a number of life indentures were made and annuities were granted. It showed that the prince knew that he could not rely on the army with which he had returned and he was forced to use a recruiting method which had been conspicuous only by its infrequency throughout the bulk of his career. The organisation of the defence of the

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 371. See also SC1/41/199.

¹⁵⁵ 16 Aug. 1359, *ibid.*, 356-7. Robert Legh, the father, was pardoned of a fine of £20 collected at the Cheshire forest, John Hide was pardoned £40, 30 Sept. 1359, *ibid.*, 368-9.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, iv, 331.

¹⁵⁷ *CPR, 1358-61*, 392.

principality was left to others as the prince was now very ill. He requested troops from England and mustered his own English retainers but matters were left in the hands of Chandos and Audley and when they died, Felton, Gaunt and the capital de Buch.¹⁵⁸ The prince's retinue was composed of a number of distinct groups and their recruitment was governed by political conditions. The bulk of his forces were drawn from Cheshire and, in 1346, from Wales. Above the ranks of the regular soldiery, the military retinue was composed of individuals with estates and landed interests throughout the country and were drawn to the prince for a variety of reasons, not only because he might be the dominant territorial authority. The means of recruitment was unusual in that a relatively small number of individuals were life retainers and they were not always the most important. The prince used a variety of retaining procedures of which the annuity was the most common and most generous. In addition to this core of military support, soldiers were recruited for specific campaigns on relatively brief contracts. It may be the case that once they had served with the prince re-service was likely even if, because of the relatively few campaigns in which he was involved, it was rarely needed.

¹⁵⁸ For the muster of the prince's troops see E101/29/24, for the letter to Edward III of 7 Dec. 1368 see BL Harley 3988 f. 34v.-36r.

APPENDIX

1363 Household, BL Cotton Julius C IV ff. 288-91.

Roger la Warre + 2 companions, 4 esquires & 6 archers
 Richard Stafford + 2 companions & 5 esquires
 Hugh Stafford + 1 companion, 3 esquires & 6 archers
 James Audley + 3 esquires & 3 archers
 ---- + 3 esquires & 3 archers
 Edward Courtenay + 2 esquires
 Thomas Despenser + 2 esquires
 Baldwin Frevill + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Richard Baskerville + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 William Trussel + 3 esquires & 6 archers
 Thomas Graunson? + 2 esquires
 Robert ---- + 2 esquires
 Thomas Felton + 2 esquires
 Nigel Loryng + 2 esquires
 John Sully + 1 esquire
 William Moigne + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Thomas Hereford + 1 esquire
 Peter Veel + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Baldwin Beresford + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Edward Berkeley + 2 esquires & 2 archers
 Tiderik van Dale + 1 esquire
 John Gistels + 1 esquire
 Rhys ap Griffith + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Robert Roos + 1 esquire & 2 archers
 Alan Cheyne + 1 esquire
 Reginald Malyns + 1 esquire & 2 archers
 Gerard Braybrook + 2 esquires & 2 archers
 William Harpeden + 1 esquire
 Peter Cusance + 2 esquires & 3 archers
 Henry del Hay + 1 esquire
 William Brereley + 1 esquire
 John Danyel + 2 esquires
 William Carrington + 2 esquires
 Richard Mascy + 2 esquires
 Howel ap Gruffydd + 1 esquire
 William Cusance + 1 esquire
 Andrew Lutterel
 Bernard van Zedeles
 John
 Thomas Percy
 Simon
 Thomas Holland + 1 companion
 John la Warre
 William St Omer
 Nicholas Bonde
 John Sarnesfield
 Nicholas Sarnesfield
 John del Hay
 Bertrand de St Omer
 Lewis Clifford
 John Kentwode

John T
 William Shank
 Reginald Harpeden
 Simon Bradeston
 John Montviron
 William Ireys
 Peter Hedon
 Thomas Sergeant

 John Farendon
 Adam Ramseye
 Thomas Aldrington
 Richard Thorp

 Henry Berkhamsted
 Thomas Benschef
 William Len—
 Thomas L[atimer]
 William Thorpe + 3 companions & 4 archers
 John ----
 Ithel ap Ken Seys
 Adam ap Ith'
 Gronou ap Vaghan
 James Legh
 James ----
 Lyon the Goldsmith
 Geoffrey Wer[berton]
 Laurence Dutton
 John Leicester
 John son of Hugh Mascy
 Henry Mascy
 Nicholas Vernon
 John ----
 Ralph Leicester
 William Leicester
 William Mascy
 Henry ----
 Robert Mascy
 Donald Haselrig
 John Maynard
 William Harpeley
 Roger Foljambe
 Thomas Duncalfe
 Corby
 John ----
 John Stratton
 John ----
 Robert ----
 + 6 others
 Master John ----
 Master Robert Walsham
 Hugh ----
 John Stene

Alan Stokes
Richard ----
William ---ford

Thomas Madefray

Hugh Bridham
John Gurmoncestre
William Walsingham
+ 7 others

There were, no doubt, others who were involved in the preparation for the prince's arrival and other followed him to the principality after July 1363. The Gascon rolls for the later months of 1362 name a number of individuals with close links to the prince who are not included on the above list and the letters of protection and attorney they include also confirm the intention of certain individuals to join the prince on the delayed journey. The absentees are, in some cases, household staff such as Richard Doxeye and Hervey Hewe, and in others, military servants such as Ralph Shelton, Adam Louches and Richard Punchardon.¹⁵⁹ The principal exception is John Chandos who was, of course, resident in Aquitaine by this time.

Individuals continued to travel to Aquitaine throughout the period of the principality. The lack of household records makes it very difficult to judge if they were long-term residents in or around Bordeaux. The issue of letters of protection is no real indication of movement between England and Gascony. The prince himself was issued with such letters on a number of occasions but there is no reason to believe that he returned to England before 1371.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ C61/75/4; 77/3

¹⁶⁰ Letters of protection were issued in 1364 for Delves, Thomas Cosington, Thomas Roos and Robert Neville. Presumably John Gistels, Thomas Felton, Peter Veel and Thomas Wetenhale, who also received protections were already in Aquitaine, C61/77/3-4. The protections issued in 1365 do not clarify matters any further, for example Peter Cusance, Thomas Hereford, Arnold Savage, Wetenhale and Adam Louches received such letters, C61/78/3, 12

1369 Northampton Muster Roll, E101/29/24

Aubrey Vere + 2 esquires
 Baldwin Frevill + 100 men-at-arms & 10 archers
 Thomas Wetenhale + 2 esquire
 John Golafre + 4 esquires & 10 archers
 Richard Abberbury + 4 esquires & 10 archers
 Nicholas Bonde + 1 esquire
 Edward Berkeley + 3 esquires
 Richard Punchardoun + 2 esquires
 Thomas Bardolf + 1 esquire
 Ralph St Legier + 1 esquire
 Arnold Savage + 1 esquire
 Reginald Cobham
 Thomas Belgrave} +
 Peter Legh } 70
 John Legh } *Cheshire*
 Roger Coghull } *archers*
 John Davenport) +
 William Hulgreve) troops
 Hugh Stafford + 6 men-at-arms & 10 archers
 [Robert] Tibetot + 3 companions, 16 esquires &
 10 archers
 Gilbert Talbot + 2 companions, 12 esquires & 15
 archers
 Thomas Despenser + 15 men-at-arms & 15
 archers
 Philip Despenser + 10 men-at-arms & 10 archers
 Thomas Percy + 20 men-at-arms & 24 archers
 John [Aun]cell + 20 men-at-arms & 30 archers
 John de la Warre + 6 men-at-arms
 Baldwin Bereford + 6 men-at-arms & 6 archers
 Thomas Hereford + 2 esquires
 Walter C[ol]sesey + 1 esquire
 Walter Paveley + 3 esquire
 Peter le Veel + 4 esquires
 Thomas Cotesford + 1 esquire
 Thomas Latimer + 5 esquires & 12 archers
 Reginald Malyns + 4 esquires & 6 archers
 William Trussel + 6 men-at-arms & archers
 Rhys ap Griffith + 2 esquires
 Gerard Braybroke + 5 esquires & 6 archers
 Robert Roos + 4 esquires & 6 archers
 John Sully + 1 esquire
 William Thorpe + 5 esquires & 6 archers
 William Londlyn + 2 esquires
 Peter Cusance + 3 esquires
 John Kentwode + 2 esquires
 Donald Hasclrig + 11 companion & 3 esquires
 Adam Louches + 2 esquires
 Philip Courtenay + 2 esquires
 Peter Courtenay + 2 esquires
 Ralph Bearn + 2 esquires
 Robert Neville + 3 esquires
 Alan Cheyne + 2 esquires
 B. de Laudira + 4 men-at-arms & 6 archers?

Thomas Arderne + 2 esquires
 Richard Vernon + 2 esquires
 Richard Cergeaux + 6 men-at-arms
 Walter Baa----
 William Benet
 William Rothwell
 Hugh Otelby
 John Ellerton
 John Derde
 William Ch----al
 Fulk Corbet + 2 companions
 Fulk FitzWarin
 Philip Anne
 Thomas Marchington
 John Hynkeley
 William Carington + 10 men-at-arms & 40
 archers
 Richard Mascy + 5 men-at-arms
 John Griffyn + 2 men-at-arms
 John Danyers + 9 men-at-arms & 40 archers
 Thomas Suthworth + 2 men-at-arms
 William Brereton + 2 men-at-arms & 40 archers
 Ralph Vernon + 2 esquires
 Robert Standish + 1 companion & 30 archers
 Hamo Mascy of Poddington + 1 companion
 Robert Swinnerton + 1 companion
 Roger Swinnerton
 Roger Arc[h]er
 William Hu (Hoo?)
 Richard Winington
 William Bridge
 John Arkenstall
 Henry Glayne + 20 archers
 William ----
 John Frodesham
 William Talbot
 Hugh F----
 + 16 with men-at-arms
 John Croft
 Thomas Langetre
 John Par
 ---- Lathum + 1 companion
 Richard Baldreston
 Robert le --- + 1 companion
 Ralph Baggele
 Hugh Cotoun
 Robert Debyngton
 Adam le ----
 Ithel ap Bleth' ap Ithel
 Gronou
 Adam ap Ith' ap Bleth'
 Ith' Bleth' ap Ith' Vaghan
 + 3 others, probably Welshmen

The 1369 muster roll is somewhat confusing. While it is undoubtedly a record of muster of the prince's servants and wider retinue it is by no means clear why this took place at Northampton and if all those noted on it were present. It may, in some cases, reflect administrative convenience rather than the direct participation of all those included. Movement over the Channel was common and regular and it may be that some of those who fought in Spain in 1367 returned almost immediately to England, although this does seem unlikely in the context of the prince's deteriorating relations with his nobles and the increasingly hostile activities of Charles V and Louis of Anjou.

Aubrey Vere was probably in Aquitaine at this time, although it is possible that he, Frevill, Wetenhale and others of the prince's chief retainers assisted John Montvion with the muster in Cheshire and north Wales. Furthermore, Thomas Latimer had received letters of protection on 15 October 1367 and therefore was probably already in Aquitaine¹⁶¹ and John de la Warre received similar letters on 27 April 1368.¹⁶²

By contrast, letters of protection in the late months of 1368 and until April of the following year confirms, at least the intention of active service, of the great majority of the chief members of the retinue included on the muster roll. Among those absent from the muster roll but receiving letters of protection were Lewis Clifford, who was presumably resident in Aquitaine, William Wasteneys, John Clanvowe and John Cresswell.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ C61/80/2.

¹⁶² C61/81/6.

¹⁶³ C61/82/8, 12

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Administration

Although the prince had little personal involvement in the administration of his estates his influence was felt throughout his demesne which was plundered for resources for his military campaigns, extensive retinue and lavish lifestyle. Despite their military and financial importance he never visited Wales and paid only two visits to Cheshire in 1353 and 1358. By contrast he travelled to Cornwall on a number of occasions and held court at Restormel castle.¹ The administration of his lands in England, Wales and Aquitaine, was characterized by a policy which aimed to increase revenue and authority. A number of individuals were conspicuous in implementing these objectives which sustained the prince in luxury and facilitated his military activities. A harsh policy in Wales barely maintained control in the 1340s and discontent increased from the 1370s until it erupted at the end of the century. In Aquitaine, the Nájera campaign compounded grievances among the Gascon aristocracy heightened by a style of rule which while appealing to their love of grandeur and conspicuous consumption struck at the heart of their pride and prestige. Therefore the administration of the prince's estates was closely bound up with the political role of the prince in both Wales, Aquitaine and elsewhere. It also determined, in part, the nature of his retinue. The retinue itself was intimately involved with the administration, offices throughout the prince's estates were given as rewards and to trusted members of the military retinue. The role of the knight was not only military but also political and administrative, he had a part to play in local society. The prince was keen to ensure that his administration functioned effectively so that it

could finance his campaigns and household, often this was best achieved through local knowledge which was provided by men, resident in the area. Alternatively, certain offices were granted to individuals in lieu of other forms of reward and, thereby, the administration of those particular areas was fully given over to particular members of the retinue.

The retinue of the Black Prince is almost impossible to compartmentalize; household, administrative and military service were woven together. The administration of the prince's household and estates involved many of those prominent in the household and on the battlefield and a number of others who contributed towards those campaigns and provided the household with the image and luxury which the prince demanded.

Officials and the Early Household

During the prince's minority, administrative matters were undertaken by the household of the Queen, his mother, with whom he lived with his sisters, Isabella and Joanna. Although small and unsophisticated the prince's early household was important, particularly when he was keeper of the realm, an office he held in 1338, 1340 and 1342-3.² As keeper he was "advised" by a number of peers, Ralph Neville, the earls of Arundel, Lancaster, Huntingdon and principally John Stratford, the archbishop of Canterbury.³ The early household officials were relatively undistinguished although a number would later achieve episcopal rank including William Spridlington, John Harewell, John Fordham (bishop of Durham, 1382-8, of Ely, 1388-1425) and Robert Stretton (bishop of Lichfield,

¹ R. Allen Brown, *English Medieval Castles*, London, 1954, 55 (not noted in later editions).

² Rymer, II, ii, 880, 1049, 1125, 1212.

³ McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 159-60; M. Packe, *King Edward III*, ed. L.C.B. Seaman, London, 1983, 91; Sharpe, "Administrative Chancery", 321.

1360-85). The household increased in size and sophistication after Edward's appointment as prince of Wales, and thereafter changing conditions and military burdens forced the evolution and growth of the administration.

In the early years William St Omer, whose wife, Elizabeth, was "mistress and guardian" of the king's children, was the prince's steward. He was succeeded by Robert Bilkemore. The steward's tasks involved discussing business, paying creditors, supervising purchases and holding courts.⁴ The prince also employed an almoner and a tailor, William Stratton. By 1338 his staff included pages and valets, John Skirbek was his butler, John Gaddesden [Catesden] his physician, William Hoo, keeper of the wardrobe, John Bradeston and a minstrel called Merlin.⁵

The most important permanent official was the master of the household although his precise role is unclear. Nicholas de la Beche, the former deputy-marshal of England and constable of the Tower, was the first such official. He had close links to the royal family and had received a number of gifts from them. His daily wage of 13s. 4d. demonstrates his importance. Bartholomew Burghersh, the elder succeeded Beche in January 1341. After 1347 the office was redesignated as governor of the prince's business.⁶ John Wingfield was governor until his death in 1360 as well as the prince's attorney, steward of his lands and chief of the council. He was paid 10s. a day and in later years lent money to the prince. John Delves succeeded Wingfield until his own death in 1369.⁷

The chief financial and clerical officer was the keeper of the wardrobe, namely John Brunham, the elder, from before 23 October 1331 until he became chamberlain of Chester in

⁴ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 294., 314-15, 317-18. Bilkemore's duties involved a considerable amount of travelling. He made a number of journeys to Cornwall to report on various matters as well as to Salisbury taking messages from the king to his son. Whilst outside the household he was paid 5s. a day.

⁵ Barber, *Edward*, 19, 30-1. This was presumably Richard Merlin, his mother's viol player.

⁶ Tout, *op cit.*, 318-20.

⁷ Sharpe, *loc. cit.*, 331.

April 1336. His successor, William Hoo, officiated until his death in 1340/1. The keeper was directly senior to the controller of the wardrobe.⁸ From 1341-4 this was Ivo Glinton who was also keeper of the privy seal in which office he was assisted by William Munden.⁹ In August 1344, possibly as a result of Edward's appointment as prince of Wales, these offices were separated. The wardrobe became less significant after the establishment of an exchequer at Westminster. Their duties continued to overlap and the political and social importance of the household ensured that the keeper remained a prominent figure. The wardrobe was financed by the exchequer and certain lordships such as Cornwall from 1352-5, Byfleet park in 1355 and, for a time, money from Cheshire as well as profits from the sale of wardships. The great wardrobe, a storehouse for household and military goods, was a separate department and based in London. A sub-department dealt with arms. It was funded directly and probably not financially reliant on the wardrobe.

The development of a central bureaucracy reduced the independence of provincial receivers and stewards who had to account for their actions in all but relatively minor matters. Central concerns were maintenance, or preferably increase, of revenue which was ensured by the auditors' regular visits. There was little leeway for shortfalls although payment of arrears were occasionally excused as a special reward.¹⁰ The office of receiver-general originated with the establishment of the prince's exchequer. He was "receiver of all moneys arising from all lands and profits" and made payments to chief ministers. For this he

⁸ Tout, *op cit.*, 316-17. Many of the most important members of the prince's administration filled this office: Peter Gildesburgh, 1 Feb. 1341 - 31 July 1344; John Hale, 31 July 1344 - 31 May 1345; William Norwell, 1 June 1345 - 31 Jan. 1349; Henry Blackburn, 1 Feb. 1349 - 30 Nov. 1349 (Blackburn was Norwell's lieutenant); William Norwell, 1 Dec. 1349 - July 1355; Henry Blackburn, 3 Aug. 1355 - 29 Sept. 1359; Hugh Barton, 29 Sept. 1359 - c. June 1363; Alan Stokes, c. 1364; John Carleton, c. 1364; Oliver Martin, pre 5 Oct. 1372, *ibid.*, 432.

⁹ Munden was keeper of Edward's privy seal as duke of Cornwall. He was assisted in his duties by a clerk, *ibid.*, 317.

¹⁰ R.R. Davies, "Baronial Accounts, Incomes and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages", *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 21 (1968), 221-4.

was paid 40 marks a year. Auditors, keepers of fees and stewards of lands completed the upper levels of the administration.¹¹

The king appointed the members of the prince's early council, like all his officials. It was an ill-defined group that fluctuated in purpose and membership.¹² Although it was not a part of the household, officials representing the wardrobe, chamber and privy seal were included. It consisted of a number of specialised lawyers retained at an annual fee, current and former administrators and, depending on the occasion, a number of magnates. The most consistent lay member was Richard Stafford, steward of the prince's lands (1347-60). William Shareshull and William Spridlington, the chief auditor, were also usually involved. The governor of the prince's business acted as the prince's lieutenant.¹³ There were only four great sessions held each year and membership was often combined with other duties. Nonetheless, it was the centre of the administrative system having advisory and executive functions and its decisions were as law in the prince's lands. During the prince's minority, the Council was the real governing body and when he was abroad it was virtually independent. In its annual meetings the council dealt with exceptional petitions and acted as a court of appeal to correct or approve the actions of officials.¹⁴ With the chief steward and the receiver-general, the Council formulated a policy aiming to increase revenue through a close scrutiny of resources. Measures were taken to ensure the probity of local officials such as a reversal of the trend of the farming of offices.¹⁵ This probably resulted from the

¹¹ *ibid.*, 329-30, 335, 342-55.

¹² Councillors in 1337-8 included: the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon and Suffolk, Nicholas de la Beche, Henry Ferrers, John Pulteney, Ralph Neville, Reginald Cobham, William Shareshull and John Stonor. In May 1340: the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, archbishop Stratford, Henry Percy, Thomas Wake, Ralph Neville and William Beauchamp. A Tudor document lists the council during the time of the Crécy campaign. However, it is not considered wholly reliable. According to this in 1346 the prince's councillors were: Wingfield, Delves, Dabernon, Alexander Aungre, Skipwith, Mowbray, I. Debenham, Spridlington, Lacy, Witchingham, Bourney, Stafford, Bannister, Shareshull and William Hall, Tout, *op cit.*, 322-3, 385-6 n. 6.

¹³ *ibid.*, 382-8.

¹⁴ Booth, *Financial Administration*, 75-6.

¹⁵ In Wales "The key to ... misrule lies in the practice of farming offices". Rhys ap Iorwerth farmed a number of offices including escheator of Flintshire in 1351. It was granted on condition that he could retain a sixth of all extra

influence of Peter Gildesburgh who entered the prince's service in 1341 as keeper of the wardrobe from a position in the king's exchequer. He was receiver-general from August 1344 to 1346¹⁶ when Peter Lacy undertook the office.¹⁷ Lacy was also keeper of the great wardrobe, 13 March 1347 - 1371.

Expansion and Development

The household underwent expansion and reorganization after Edward's appointment as prince of Wales in 1343. His exchequer was established in the precinct of the palace of Westminster and the wardrobe at Ironmonger Lane in Old Jewry. The development of a professional salaried staff was nearly complete by 1354. At the highest administrative levels lawyer-administrators such as John Delves replaced the clerks such as Gildesburgh and the soldier-administrators such as Wingfield and Reginald Grey.¹⁸ The prince's frequent absences on campaign necessitated an increasing centralization of the administration in London which maintained links with the royal administration.¹⁹

Many of the prince's clerks were recruited from royal institutions and the organization of the central secretariat consequently followed the royal model. Most institutions of government were replicated in miniature.²⁰ Contrariwise, those clerks who showed particular aptitude in the prince's administration could find service with the king. Peter Lacy became keeper of the king's privy seal in 1367 and did not resign his offices with

profits which may explain his oppressive and extortionate methods, *BPR*, iii, 46; A.D. Carr, "Rhys ap Ropert", *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, 25 (1976), 158-61.

¹⁶ Morgan, *War and Society*, 99; Booth, *op cit.*, 64-5. Gildesburgh also served the Burghersh family and accompanied Bartholomew into the prince's service when he became master of the prince's household.

¹⁷ William Norwell, who had also been in royal service as keeper of the king's wardrobe, and John Pirye both held the post until Lacy's appointment in Nov./Dec. 1346.

¹⁸ Booth, *op cit.*, 75.

¹⁹ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 394-5; Sharpe, "Administrative Chancery", 321.

²⁰ Sharpe, *loc. cit.*, 325.

the prince.²¹ Keepers of the prince's privy seal were experienced administrators and had usually served him in some other office but within the hierarchy of the prince's servants they did not rival the authority in the household of such officers as Nigel Loryng, the prince's chamberlain, (c.1351-c.1375) and Edmund Wauncy, his steward (c.1352-c.1361). The keepers could conduct little business without warrant from other departments or authorities.²² The keeper of the privy seal may also have acted as a chancellor. Cheshire and Cornish records refer to Ivo Glinton, John Hale, Richard Wolveston and John Henxteworth as "chancellor" at times when they were keepers of the privy seal. Furthermore, during those periods when the prince was keeper of the realm, his privy seal was used for national business. By 1342 the secret seal, perhaps the seal of the prince's chamber, was in use. It became the normal means of issuing letters of presentation to religious benefices and warranted payments.²³ The separation of seals reflects the increasing sophistication of the household that accompanied the prince's involvement in the Crécy campaign. One seal remained at Westminster and one accompanied the prince. Most of the prince's letters were issued under the Westminster seal whilst he was abroad and under another kept by John Hale. Similar arrangements were made in 1355. The seal remaining in England had equal authority with that "used in Gascony".²⁴ Administrative and/or financial reasons may have resulted in a seal being made for the prince's use during the Reims campaign. John Hiltoft, a London goldsmith, was paid £9 7s. 4d. for the work.²⁵

²¹ Tout, *op cit.*, 295-6. Others in service to the king and the prince included John Branketre, Thomas Brayton and John Newenham.

²² Sharpe, *loc. cit.*, 330-1. Wauncy was in the prince's service for a long time. He accompanied him to Flanders on his first trip abroad in 1345 with William St Omer, Richard de la Bere, Roland Daneys and Richard Raven, the prince's cook. He fought at Poitiers and succeeded Richard Stafford as steward, Barber, *Edward*, 44, 153.

²³ Tout, *op cit.*, 367-70, 378-9, 381-2.

²⁴ Sharpe, *loc. cit.*, 329-30.

²⁵ 8 Dec. 1361, *BPR*, iv, 370.

The prince played only a minor role in the daily administration of his estates so his absence had little effect. In 1359, orders were sent to the chamberlains of Chester and north Wales and the justice of south Wales ordering the chief officials to “act by common assent, as shall seem best for the prince’s honour and profit.”²⁶ Provision was made for those members of the household who remained at home.²⁷ John Deyere and William Hunte purveyed for the needs of the household in the prince’s absence in 1359-60.²⁸

Estate Administration

Cheshire

Palatinate status, in addition to its military traditions, fostered in conflicts with Wales, gave Cheshire a certain independence and individuality. The aggressive reputation of Cheshire was not unfounded and raiding and poaching on neighbouring counties was common. The 1353 trailbaston sessions revealed a high incidence of casual violence at all levels of society.²⁹ As the county was not represented in parliament it paid no parliamentary taxes and had escaped the increasing elaboration of the system of public finance. However, it was obliged to contribute to national defence. Cheshire records are, in many ways, very comprehensive, particularly in the form of Chamberlains’ accounts. However, there are problems with a lack of material after the prince’s departure for

²⁶ 26 Sept. 1359, *ibid.*, iii, 368.

²⁷ Delves remained at Northbourne after the army departed. The prince informed John Brunham that Delves would not be attending the county court due to “weighty business which has to be done there”, 7 Oct. 1359, *ibid.*, iii, 370. In May 1360 demands for an account of the temporalities of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield were delayed as Delves was “so occupied with the business of Edward, prince of Wales”, *CCR, 1360-4*, 28.

²⁸ *BPR*, iv, 345.

²⁹ In order of frequency crimes recorded at these sessions were: assault; robbery/theft; rape; abduction; extortion and homicide. Those indicted included John Dromville, Richard Hough, Richard Doune, Adam Mottrum, Thomas Danyers, Hopwell, Brunham and Hopwas who were all accused, in broad terms, of accepting presents from James Audley and the great men of the county in return for approval and help in their criminal acts, Booth, “Taxation and Public Order”, 25-7.

Aquitaine in 1363, a problem which increases in 1365 with the conclusion of the Black Prince's Register. Cheshire was a very important financial resource for the prince in this period and he was heavily dependent on the region in the later years of the principality particularly for the payment of military annuities, however, the daily administration becomes much less certain during that time. This may have been compromised since a number of individuals who played some part in the administration of Cheshire, both in person and those holding sinecure offices, travelled with the prince to Aquitaine and, in some cases, held posts there.

Despite his authority, the prince's freedom to act was circumscribed by a number of factors. Royal intervention was common in his estates during the prince's minority. In 1341, Edward III had Hugh Berwick take over the administration from Henry Ferrers and instituted a judicial inquiry, mirroring policy in the rest of England. This resulted in fines of over £900, which were collected by John Brunham, the younger, in which capacity he first took office within the prince's demesne.³⁰ Furthermore, representatives of the king's council were associated with sittings of the Chester exchequer which controlled the collection of revenue, the supervision of accounts and the activities of the local seal. In 1355 the king secured the appointment of Thomas Warwick as constable of Chester castle.³¹ Royal control, previous to the prince's assumption of the earldom, had not strengthened the administration. This was clear in 1346 when a general levy was imposed on England occasioned by the knighting of the prince and worth £2 per knight's fee.³² This was combined with a demand for a grant of an aid in Flintshire. Despite the involvement of Gildesburgh and Sharesull, the Cheshire tax was probably a failure. It certainly proved very difficult to collect. This led

³⁰ Booth, *Financial Administration*, 199.

³¹ *VCH*, Chester, ii, 10-11; Tout, *Chapters*, v, 297-8.

³² £6,000 of the aid raised for knighting the prince (12 July 1346) were assigned in repayment of debts to the sire d'Albret, *CPR 1345-8*, 136.

to the development of a new taxation system and in accordance with general centralization, the main financial control was external to the county and specially commissioned auditors made regular checks.³³

The effect of this and the prince's administration in general was to break down local privilege. As in Cornwall there was limited noble power which consisted of a number of small power blocs. Beyond the palatinate however, the administration often came into conflict with the neighbouring Marcher lords. The prince's absenteeism and need for military support created a gradually deteriorating situation with regard to law and order which led to a crisis during Richard's reign.

Local government was the responsibility of five chief officers and their staff, the justice, lieutenant-justice, sheriff, chamberlain and escheator. From the mid part of the century the position of the justice as the supreme head of county administration declined and the office became almost exclusively concerned with judicial administration.³⁴ The post was increasingly performed by deputies and was held as a sinecure after 1353.³⁵ Thomas Ferrers (justice, 1343-53) may have been the last to undertake the duties of justice personally.³⁶ The extent of these duties, which later included responsibilities for Flintshire and elsewhere, necessitated the introduction of the post of lieutenant-justice, initially held, possibly for seven years, by Roger Hopwell.³⁷ John Delves held the same office in Cheshire and in Wales from 1338. In 1354-5 he was paid £40 a year compared with the £100 that his

³³ Booth, *op cit.*, 52.

³⁴ At the county court sitting of 10 Aug. 1350 were: Thomas Ferrers, John St Pierre, Geoffrey Warburton, snr, Peter Thoreton, John Legh, William Praers, Philip Eggerton, Thomas Danyers and others. Many of these held offices in the prince's administration, John Brownbill, "The Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey", *Lancs. and Ches. Rec. Soc.*, lxvii (1914), 61.

³⁵ In Sept. 1375 this post was held by John de la Pole, Brownbill, *loc. cit.*, 86.

³⁶ Ferrers was Henry's brother and executor and replaced him as justiciar. By Mar. 1351 Ferrers had accumulated over £200 arrears on his steward's account, well over the normal annual revenue. This sum is only partly explained by the effects of the Black Death. The debt was not cleared by his estate until 17 years after his death in 1353, Booth, *Financial Administration*, 91.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 51; Booth, "Taxation and Public Order", 19. Hopwell was also the steward of abbot Thomas of Vale Royal abbey, Brownbill, *loc. cit.*, 60.

superior, Bartholomew Burghersh, received.³⁸ Delves was, for all intents and purposes, treated as the justice. Burghersh was appointed in 1353 and empowered to act personally or through his deputy. Both Burghersh and his successor, Thomas Felton, spent much of their careers abroad in the prince's service.³⁹ The county court was both the lord's court and the judicial forum for civil and criminal actions.⁴⁰ The manipulation of these sessions, particularly by William Shareshull, to increase revenue was a major feature of the prince's lordship.

The chamberlain of Chester became head of the exchequer and the leading administrative official. He was responsible for the seal of the earldom and payments to the receiver-general at Westminster. John Brunham held office from 1347 to 1370 and became "the lynchpin of the financial administration of Cheshire."⁴¹ He was paid £20 a year. This increased in 1351 to £26 13s. 4d. in recognition of his greater responsibilities for receiving revenue from Macclesfield.⁴² The chamberlain and justice were briefly linked through the office of controller of all pleas, receipts and issues of the offices of justice and chamberlain. A clerk was appointed to this office in 1347 but the post had been abandoned by 1350. Brunham's early favour with the prince is apparent when, after 1351, he was paid an

³⁸ There was something of a tradition of service in this office for Burghersh. His great-grandfather, Guncelyn Badlesmere, had also filled this post.

³⁹ *VCH*, Cheshire, ii, 12-13.

⁴⁰ In Feb. 1346 an inquisition before the county court was heard by Hugh Venables, John Arderne, Geoffrey Werburton, William Praers the former sheriff of Cheshire, Henry Beston, Thomas Danyers, John Coton, William Swetenham, William Venables, Thomas Venables, Richard Sumerford and Richard Scot. Rudheath and Overmarsh were judges to be the property of the earl, Brownbill, *loc. cit.*, 142-4.

⁴¹ Booth, *Financial Administration*, 66.

⁴² Macclesfield had been severed from Cheshire when given in dower to Eleanor, Edward I's wife, and then Isabella, the prince's grandmother. Isabella exchanged it in 1347 with the prince for two manors in Dorset and Wiltshire. It was managed by a "farmer" or keeper who sometimes also had responsibility for the manor of Overton-on-Dee. The prince retained Isabella's chief official, Robert Legh of Adlington until Dec. 1347 when he was replaced with a Welshman. A high-ranking enquiry involving Gildesburgh and Shareshull decided that Macclesfield should be partly re-integrated into Cheshire and on 16 Mar. 1348 Thomas Ferrers was appointed steward and bailiff, *ibid.*, 86-91.

additional annual sum of 10 marks. Despite its poor wage, half that of the justice, the office of chamberlain was extremely desirable due to its influence over patronage.⁴³

The escheator took control of lands which fell into the earl's possession on the death or surrender of the property by the holder. The escheator valued the property and managed it. Lands were rarely in his hands for long as they were convenient forms of patronage. The irregularity of revenue meant that the office was impossible to farm and therefore open to corruption. Measures had to be taken to prevent the escheator concealing the earl's rights in return for bribes. In 1344 Peter Arderne, who had held the office from 1333-8, was accused of falsifying an *inquisition post mortem* in return for the wardship of the heir in question.⁴⁴ The office was reorganised in the early 1350s. Hugh Hopwas, the incumbent, received 2d. a day for his wages and, as a special favour, 10 marks a year. In 1352 the escheator was made *ex officio* steward of the demesne manors and towns of the earldom with the exceptions of Macclesfield and the city of Chester. Hopwas' successor, Thomas Young, had additional duties including holding courts and views of frankpledge at demesne manors and was granted 40s. a year above his daily fee. In 1353 he also became responsible for Flintshire.⁴⁵ The duties of the office continued to grow and were mirrored by an increasing salary, firstly 10 marks and by Michaelmas 1356 £10 a year. The increasing burdens of the office necessitated the appointment of a separate escheator for Flintshire in 1357.⁴⁶ The office was often combined with other. From October 1359 to December 1361, Young was both escheator and sheriff of Cheshire. In 1365 John Scolehall became escheator, steward of foreign courts and the prince's attorney in Cheshire. In 1367 he was also appointed sheriff

⁴³ After 1348 the chamberlain could charge 16s. 4d. for every charter sealed with the prince's seal and by 1354 a further "great fee" had been imposed. These charges were waived for war service grants etc although the clerk's fee still had to be paid, *VCH*, Cheshire, ii, 18-20.

⁴⁴ Booth, *op cit.*, 54.

⁴⁵ *BPR*, iii, 135-6.

⁴⁶ He was appointed before 1 June, *ibid.*, 247.

and held these offices until 1370.⁴⁷ Escheat provided some of the greatest increases in revenue and, as elsewhere, the influence of Delves and Brunham is notable. In the aftermath of the Black Death revenue rose from £55 in 1349-50 to £240 in 1358-9 and £482 by 1372-3. Military demands switched the emphasis on patronage to a drive for profit and in 1355 the escheator was authorised to sell all wardships valued at 10 marks a year or less. By 1359 three officers were employed and authorised to sell all wardships by common consent and arrange leases of escheated lands.⁴⁸

The county sheriff was primarily responsible for the maintenance of public order. He enforced the orders of the county court, collected fines and amercements and summoned juries. He was also the most important revenue collector. Until c.1346 the office was usually farmed out, however, by 1349 it paid an annual wage of £20. There were many opportunities for corruption. In 1353 James Audley of Helegh and his serjeants forfeited their offices on account of a catalogue of crimes and abuses. Audley was fined 700 marks⁴⁹ and, as a result, central control was tightened over the sheriff and his subordinates.⁵⁰ This was not successful, nor was the office, particularly in Macclesfield, an effective way of keeping the peace.⁵¹ The office was often granted in return for military service as in the cases of Adam Acton and John Daniel.⁵² Five of the seven Cheshire hundreds were subject to the authority of the master-serjeant of the peace. In 1353 the office was held jointly by John Sutton of Malpas and John St Pierre of Peckforton. Macclesfield had its own hereditary master-serjeant who,

⁴⁷ *VCH*, Cheshire, ii, 25.

⁴⁸ Booth, *op cit.*, 140.

⁴⁹ Audley was a close associate of the prince. He entertained him on his 1353 visit to Cheshire and fought at Poitiers. He was also Roger Hillary's brother-in-law and a childhood friend of Sharesnull and Hillary from Staffordshire, Booth, "Taxation and Public Order", 25.

⁵⁰ To lessen the temptation of bribery all beadles and bailiffs of hundreds, except in Macclesfield, were to farm the serjeancy within their hundred and pay the farm to the sheriff, Booth, *Financial Administration*, 53-4.

⁵¹ John Davenport and others broke the forest laws and there were breaches of the peace at the Macclesfield fair, 11 June 1373, *BPR*, iii, 390, T.P. Highet, "The Davenports of Davenport", *Chetham Soc.*, 3rd ser., ix (1960), 43.

⁵² *BPR*, iii, 253, 483; R. Stewart Brown, *Serjeants*, 18. Daniel lost the office when it was abolished in 1365 but he retained his pension.

in 1353, was John Davenport. The Davenports had held the office from c.1220 although from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century it was often leased or treated as a sinecure.⁵³ The Wirral had the right to elect two serjeants of its own.⁵⁴

In 1353 there was a major administrative overhaul which, as well as exacting revenue, was also intended to restore order. It was not a reaction to an uprising but “it was on the contrary, undertaken in response to the express grievances of many of the people of Cheshire, and especially...those concerning behaviour of the ‘great men’ and officials of the county.”⁵⁵ The lieutenant-justice, county sheriff, constable of Chester and all serjeants of the peace lost their offices.⁵⁶ Richard Sainsbury, abbot of Chester, was fined 400 marks. John Legh, steward of the duke of Lancaster’s Cheshire lands, was fined £20. Regulations concerning the receipt of gifts were established. At a great council on 10 September the prince heard petitions, dispensed favours and made ordinances. He also took over the St Pierre estates before returning to London on 7 October leaving Delves in charge as lieutenant-justice of north Wales and Chester. The 1353 incident was not a rebellion such as the Gascon response to the *fouage* but it did reveal a breakdown in relations between the most powerful members of society and those beneath them. However, “The most striking thing about this well-documented visit is the extent of its failure”.⁵⁷ Shortly after the prince’s return to London disorder broke out again. 1355 and 1357 saw armed raids into

⁵³ The serjeants of the peace in Macclesfield in Sept. 1342 were Richard Swetenham, Richard Sclegh, William Bebyngton and Thomas Vernon. The Davenports had a tradition of service with the Black Prince. John Davenport fought at Crécy in the division commanded by Northampton and Arundel. In June 1358 Thomas Davenport “our beloved knight” did homage and fealty for Macclesfield by serjeanty. On 8 June 1373 Ralph Davenport was appointed custodian of Flint. He was also sheriff of Flint, a grant confirmed by Richard II on 25 Feb. 1377. In 1373-8 Ralph was sheriff, *raglaw*, constable and mayor of Flint, , Highet, “Davenports”, 48, 16, 18, 23-4, 42-3, 48.

⁵⁴ CHES 29/20/14; Booth, “Taxation and Public Order”, 20.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 21. See by contrast Packe, *King Edward*, 206, who suggests that after a long and stormy winter 1352-3 the prince increased exaction on his tenants which led to rebellion in Cheshire. Conditions had been very harsh as William of Bavaria had tried to relieve the famine by a gift of corn and the king felt the situation was important as he sent the earls of Lancaster, Warwick and Stafford to assist his son.

⁵⁶ The prince had leased the office of sheriff of Cheshire for £53 6s. 8d. for the first year and £213 6s. 8d. thereafter on 25 June 1348, *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 15. Audley lost the serjeancy of Nantwich in 15 Dec. 1353, *BPR*, iii, 138.

⁵⁷ Booth, “Taxation and Public Order”, 22, 25.

neighbouring counties and in September 1358 the prince and his council returned to Cheshire. Rhys ap Roppert, the sheriff of Flint, was accused of packing and influencing juries.⁵⁸ Allegations were also made against the escheator and *rhaglaw*. The mayor and sheriffs of Chester were to bind over criminals within the city. A special peace commission was instituted in 1359.⁵⁹ Despite these measures conditions continued to be disordered as “...the men of Cheshire...were too useful to the prince for him to take genuinely radical action...” There were close links between the prince’s military requirements and outbreaks of civil disorder.⁶⁰

The imposition of comital authority was combined with a policy of land acquisition. In 1346 the manor of Drakelowe, consisting of the districts of Rudheath and Overmarsh, was “reclaimed” in an operation engineered by Gildesburgh and Sharesull with the acquiescence of the abbot of Chester. In 1353 the prince acquired the estates of Sir John St Pierre in the south west of the county.⁶¹ In April 1350 a reversion of the Cheshire property had been granted for £1,000 as well as the keeping of Beaumaris castle. This was an opportunist attack occasioned by the weakness of the inheritance claim. In 1353 the prince gave St Pierre lands in Anglesey lands annually worth £111 19s. 0½d.⁶² The St Pierre lands were much used as rewards for service after the Poitiers campaigns.⁶³ Grants of timber from Peckforton were made in the period 1357-62 and a number of gifts were made from Bickley,

⁵⁸ In Easter 1349 Rhys and Ithel ap Cynwrig Sais ap Ithel Fychan took over the shrievality of the county and the constableness of Flint castle. The following Michaelmas they leased the raglotry of the avowries of the cantref of Englefield, and the escheat lands of the commote for seven years. From 1351 the office was exchanged between the two men until 1360. Rhys was appointed escheator of Caernarfonshire and Merioneth, 12 Dec. 1347 - 1350/1. In 1356/6 he farmed the escheatorship of Edeirnion and Abertanath and the raglotry of Abertanath. In 1360-1 he farmed the raglotry of Dinmael and chief sergeant of the lordship of Denbigh in 1374-5. Rhys had led Welsh reinforcements to Calais in Mar. 1347, Carr, “Rhys ap Roppert”, 156-8.

⁵⁹ *BPR*, iii, 161, 318-22, 377.

⁶⁰ Booth, “Taxation and Public Order”, 27, 28.

⁶¹ He held a number of offices including the county serjeancy which he lost but reclaimed, *BPR*, iii, 96-8.

⁶² *ibid.*, 123-4. John Ashton, parson of Davenham, was granted all the St Pierre lands in Shipbrook, Stanthurl, Bradford and Leftwich during St Pierre’s life at a annual rent of 100s., *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 11.

⁶³ Furthermore, timber from Peckforton was sold on 5 July 1354.

which was formerly St Pierre land. A rather vindictive campaign does seem to have been waged against the family as the need for assets that accompanied Edward's appointment as prince of Aquitaine resulted in him later suing St Pierre for additional lands.⁶⁴

Wales

In June 1343 William Emeldon was appointed to survey buildings and defences and deliver the lands and appurtenances of the principality of Wales to the king's eldest son.⁶⁵ Of the commissioners appointed with Emeldon one was Richard Stafford. Their investigation showed the administration of south Wales to be far less organised than in the north which was neatly divided into commotes and shires.⁶⁶ During the prince's minority, William Shareshull was guardian of the principality. As elsewhere, the prince was presented with an administrative retinue already in place and involved in a policy bent on revenue extraction which would accelerate under his rule. Richard FitzAlan was justice of north Wales, William Trussel, sheriff of Anglesey and Robert Hambury had served as chamberlain of north Wales.⁶⁷

Before 1350 low level administrators were predominantly Welsh.⁶⁸ However, deliberate policy and general attitudes meant that higher office within the principality was rarely open to Welshmen. This did nothing to discourage anti-English hostility. "The political world of the English kingdom was largely closed to men of Welsh birth."⁶⁹ Furthermore the towns were English strongholds and symbols of dominion and Welshmen

⁶⁴ On the St Pierre land deal see Booth, *Financial Administration*, 129-32.

⁶⁵ See E407/4/42. The prince's fealty roll is in *ibid.* 4/34.

⁶⁶ D.L. Evans, "Some Notes on the History of the Principality of Wales in the Time of the Black Prince, 1343-1376, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymrodorion*, (1925-6), 31, 33.

⁶⁷ FitzAlan was appointed in Mar. 1337, *CPR*, 1334-8, 415. In July 1339 he became sheriff and constable of Caernarfon, *CFR*, 1337-47, 140. For Trussel see *ibid.*, 1327-47, 420.

⁶⁸ Perhaps 83.3% of offices below sheriff were in Welsh hands. In 1343 in north Wales these were one sheriff, one coroner, two woodwards, two *rhingylliad* and three *rhaglawriad*, Given, *State and Society*, 158-9.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 219.

were denied the privilege of being burgesses by the ordinances of Edward I. The judicial system functioning in the principality was “English” as opposed to that in the Welshries of the Marcher estates. However, some Welsh law remained; in 1356 the men of Cydweli claimed the right to demise property to illegitimate sons despite it being outlawed by the statute of Rhuddlan.⁷⁰

Wales continued to be viewed as little more than a source of men and money. Resources had been depleted as offices and land were used to pay the king’s creditors. Merioneth was granted to Walter Manny in 1341.⁷¹ In April 1340 Richard Eccleshall, a royal clerk, received a number of *rhaglawries* and *ringildries* for life. The reforms made after 1343 were foreshadowed by earlier policy that sought to restore the unity of the administration and increase the authority of the chief ministers while dealing with high levels of local corruption.⁷² The government of the principality became increasingly efficient throughout the prince’s tenure of office. The previous administration had become characterised by absenteeism, pluralism, extortion and economic decline.⁷³ Changes throughout the mid fourteenth century to increase revenue and the prince’s authority made the administration more productive and competent. These changes resulted in objections from the Marcher lords who, as they had to the pretensions of Edward I in the 1290s and the younger Despenser, now closed ranks against the Black Prince. This resulted in the 1354 statute stating that Marcher lands were held directly of the king.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Davies, *Survival*, 346-7.

⁷¹ According to Emeldon’s commission Howel ap Gron’ was sheriff of Merioneth, which shows the extent to which the post was held as a sinecure. Manny was made sheriff in Dec. 1332 while accompanying Edward Balliol in his invasion of Scotland. He was also granted the fee-farm of Harlech and Bala for life in 1341 and effectively the whole royal revenue of Merioneth. This was in compensation for prisoners taken by Manny in a raid of the island of Cadzand in 1337, D.L. Evans, “Walter de Mauny, Sheriff of Merioneth, 1332-1372”, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical Society*, 4 (1961-4), 194-203.

⁷² For a discussion of these reforms and their limitations see W.H. Waters, *The Edwardian Settlement of North Wales in its Administrative and Legal Aspects (1284-1343)*, Cardiff, 1935, 72-7. For the ordinances of 1339 see CCR, 1339-41, 249-51.

⁷³ Waters, *op cit.*, 69.

⁷⁴ For the acrimonious exchanges between the prince and the Marcher lords see R.R. Davies, *Lordship and Society*

The prince claimed “royal” powers over bishoprics, the temporalities of vacant episcopal sees and collations of cathedral churches throughout the country. He secured the vacant temporalities of the bishoprics of Bangor, St Asaph and Llandaff.⁷⁵ He interfered with the affairs of Brecon and attempted to make Gower dependent on the Carmarthen administration. In Aberystwyth the town’s control over its own affairs was very restricted. Its revenue was not farmed to the burgesses but paid to the constable of Cardigan castle who, until 1347, was Gilbert Turberville. Thereafter they were farmed to the constable of Aberystwyth. Therefore, the prince’s appointee as constable had a direct interest in the economic and social activities of the burgesses. The first farmer of Aberystwyth, in 1352, was Robert Stretton, the prince’s chaplain and rector of Llanbadarn Fawr, with which the town was closely linked. The church was appropriated by the prince for the abbey of Vale Royal in 1359 and two years later the abbot became custodian of the castle and farmer of the town.⁷⁶

The attempt by the prince to extend his authority was conducted against an uneasy backdrop. Not only was there the reaction of the Marcher lords but there also had been the Shaldeford incident which resulted in panic among the English burgesses. The murder of one of the prince’s attorneys on St Valentine’s Day 1344 *en route* to Caernarfon emphasised the racial tension of the region. John Huntingdon, acting-sheriff of Merioneth, may also have been assassinated in 1345 whilst holding the county court.⁷⁷ The previous year had seen an

in the March of Wales, 1282-1400, Oxford, 1978, 271-2.

⁷⁵ Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, challenged the prince’s right to Crown dues in the diocese of St Asaph and the prince was balked by the king over his ambitions in St David’s, Davies, *ibid.*, 270, 273.

⁷⁶ *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, ed. R.A. Griffiths, Cardiff, 1978, 35; R.A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales*, Far Thrupp, 1994, 132.

⁷⁷ The burgesses of Caernarfon and Conwy and the communities of Denbigh and Rhuddlan wrote to the prince asking for protection and assistance “against the rebellious Welsh and other evildoers”, Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, 230-2. The murder at the county court would have seemed highly appropriate. The English judicial system created unpopular burdens. In 1361 when the people of Denbigh complained that they were no longer able to settle disputes by the traditional system of negotiation due to the local ministers’ greed for amercements, *BPR*, iii, 410.

anti-English riot at a fair in St Asaph.⁷⁸ In 1362 a proclamation forbade anyone going about the country armed. This was in response to roaming bands of men who were committing felonies and acts of trespass.⁷⁹ Even before Edward became prince there were considerable disturbances in the marches centred on Chepstow and Newport.⁸⁰ However, many of the lawless elements were absorbed into armies. The campaigns also provided opportunities for further exactions. After Crécy, justices in Anglesey imposed penalties on Welsh villagers for failing to contribute to the military effort.⁸¹ But not all militant elements were absorbed into English armies. A number of Welshmen entered the service of the king of France.⁸² Owain Lawgoch was involved in action against England both from France and from Wales. The great-nephew of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, his grandfather had sold his rights in Gwynedd and retired to England as a royal pensioner whilst his father had inherited lands in Cheshire, the Marches and elsewhere. Owain returned from abroad to claim his inheritance in 1369 to find that it had been confiscated after commanding a free company of Welshmen in the service of Charles V. He received some French support in an attempted revolt but the expedition from Harfleur was driven back by the weather and a further attempt in 1372 attacked Guernsey before being diverted to Castile. The consequence was the English defeat off La Rochelle. From 1372, when he achieved a victory over the captal de Buch and Thomas Percy, until his assassination by an English agent, John Lambe, at the siege of Mortagne-sur-Gironde in 1378 Owain remained in active French service.⁸³

⁷⁸ Given, *State and Society*, 213.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 36, 93.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1337-47*, 92-3; A.C. Reeves, *Newport Lordship, 1317-1536*, Michigan, 1979, 28. There had also been disturbances in Bromfield and Yale when in 1333 after the garrison had been stripped from the lordship for service in Scotland. The king was forced personally to intervene, D. Pratt, "Wrexham Militia in the Fourteenth Century", *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, (1963), 66-7.

⁸¹ G. Peredur Jones, *Anglesey Court Rolls, 1346*, 34-8.

⁸² See M. Siddons, "Welshmen in the Service of France", *BBCS*, xxxvi (1989), 160-84.

⁸³ A.D. Carr, *Medieval Wales*, London, 1995, 103-4. See also Carr, "Rhys ap Roppert", 162-7 on the role of Ieuan ap Rhys, possibly also known as Ieuan Wyn, and on the possibility of more widespread Welsh support for Owain Lawgoch.

Caernarfon and Carmarthen⁸⁴ were the seats of the local exchequers and chanceries as well as the centres of judicial administration for north and south Wales. They exerted great control over their "hinterlands". Even when John Pyrie was appointed chamberlain of north and south Wales, there remained two seals and two chanceries.⁸⁵ Caernarfon elected its own bailiffs annually to preside over its courts, while the constable appointed the mayor. Government of north Wales was the responsibility of the justice of Snowdon. This office, much abused by Roger Mortimer and his deputy William Shalford,⁸⁶ lost some of its authority in 1330. Robert Bilkemore deputised for Edward Bohun, one of Mortimer's successors. In 1334, following his acquisition of the Mortimer inheritance at Chirk, Richard FitzAlan was granted the office for life.⁸⁷ His salary of £100 a year was often used to offset loans he made to the crown. Deputies, for a wage of £40 a year, undertook the majority of the work.⁸⁸ FitzAlan's authority was augmented by his life appointment as sheriff and keeper of the castle of Caernarfon in July 1339.⁸⁹

The duties of justice of south Wales were also performed mainly by a deputy. In 1359 Richard de la Rivers was the first such deputy whose payment was recorded at the Carmarthen exchequer. His salary of £20 compared poorly to the £100 paid to his superior.⁹⁰ The justice was the political and judicial head of the prince's lands in Cardigan and Carmarthen. In the years 1350-60 Thomas Bradeston held this post. The centralization of justice in south Wales at Carmarthen was a blow to the prestige of Cardigan. This was

⁸⁴ Carmarthen, Cantrefmawr and Newcastle Emlyn came into the prince's hands as a result of the expiry of the lease of the region to Grosmont in 1342, Lloyd, *Carmarthenshire*, 245.

⁸⁵ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 297-8. On the authority and relationship of Caernarfon with its neighbouring districts and the varying status of the chamberlain of north Wales see, Waters, *Edwardian Settlement*, 77-9, 87-96 Pyrie was chamberlain of the exchequer of Caernarfon at the time of the prince's accession.

⁸⁶ Shalford also became FitzAlan's deputy with Roger Trumwyn.

⁸⁷ The life grant was made in Mar. 1337, *CPR*, 1334-8, 415.

⁸⁸ Evans, "Notes on the History of the Principality", 37.

⁸⁹ *CFR*, 1337-47, 140.

⁹⁰ One of his predecessors was Rhys ap Gruffydd, Lloyd, *op cit.*, 209 and n.

somewhat redeemed on the prince's death when the county was given to Joan and it was there that she based her administration.⁹¹

The sheriffs of north and south Wales were responsible for the biannual tourn, special sessions of the commote courts. A jury would report on such matters as encroachments on royal rights and breaches of the peace.⁹² The sheriff of Carmarthenshire was usually commissioned by the justice of south Wales but in 1341 the king appointed Philip Hawkeston, resulting in a challenge from the justice, Gilbert Talbot.⁹³

Cornwall

The Black Prince was granted Cornwall as a duchy in 1337. It included the 17 demesne manors of the earldom, a number of towns and boroughs and various rights and privileges.⁹⁴ There were also a number of "foreign" manors associated with the duchy. These included the fee-farm of Exeter, the manors of Lydford, Bradninch, Berkhamsted, Byfleet, Mere, Isleworth, Wallingford and St Valery.⁹⁵ There was also the water and chase of Dartmoor and the water of Sutton Pool. In 1337 the manors of Kennington, Vauxhall,⁹⁶ Castle Rising (from his grandmother) and Cheylesmore, Warwickshire, came under Cornish administration, in 1342; Little Weldon, Fordington, Southleigh, Old Shoreham and the town

⁹¹ Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, 290.

⁹² Given, *State and Society*, 47-8.

⁹³ Until 1350 the sheriff presided over the county courts, Lloyd, *op cit.*, 212.

⁹⁴ John Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500*, Cambridge, 1970, 5-6. For discussion and description of these manors see *ibid.*, 17-29.

⁹⁵ Wallingford was highly privileged and had always been close to the Crown. The steward, surveyor, feodary and escheator was Thomas Gerveys. His duties were set out in a commission of 1361 to Richard Stratton who was appointed to act in Oxfordshire and eight other counties. Two other feodaries covered the other 15 counties in which the prince held fees. They were paid £5 a year. In 1351 Burghersh, younger, succeeded Ralph Spigurnell as farmer of Wallingford for 12 years at £200 a year. This gave control of the town and honour of Wallingford and St Vallery, 4½ Chiltern hundreds and the constableness of the castle. His lieutenant was John Alveton, steward of the lands of the chamber in Oxfordshire who was often employed by the royal family in Buckinghamshire and the neighbouring counties, N. Denholm-Young, *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1969, 121-2, 125-7.

⁹⁶ In May 1337 Elizabeth Burgh exchanged Kennington and Vauxhall with Edward III for other manors, *CCR*, 1337-9, 261. In Sept. 1337 the manors were incorporated into the duchy of Cornwall in the charge of William Hoo and William Plunden, *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327-41*, 428. In 1362 Vauxhall was given to the prior of Christchurch,

of Rockingham and in 1354 the manor and soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey were included.⁹⁷ In 1337 the duchy held 50 demesne manors in 20 counties.⁹⁸ The estates made up five distinct regions: those in the south west, Cornwall, Devon and lands further afield in Somerset, Dorset, Gloucester and Wiltshire; those in the Thames Valley; an East Anglian estate, the honour of Eye; Midland holdings in Northamptonshire, Rutland, Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire and a northern estate around Knaresborough.⁹⁹ The concentration of territorial authority prevented the growth of a powerful local nobility although families based outside the region did hold manors in Cornwall such as the Beauchamps at Helston and Trigg. There was a greater tradition of landholding in Devon particularly by the Courtenays.

John of Eltham's administrative machinery and personnel were in place when Edward assumed the duchy in 1337, indeed the "Caption of Seisin" may well have been undertaken by William Munden, the prince's clerk, who had been trained by William Cusance, Eltham's secretary.¹⁰⁰ Most importantly Eltham had appointed John Kendale as receiver and granted him custody of the castle and park of Restormel for life with 3d. a day and a robe annually for life.¹⁰¹ The receiver accounted for money due from the reeves and bailiffs and made certain payments. Richard Kendale succeeded John on 30 September 1365.¹⁰²

Canterbury to maintain the Trinity chapel the prince had endowed, *CPR*, 1361-4, 242, 254.

⁹⁷ L.E. Elliot-Birns, *Medieval Cornwall*, London, 1955, 169.

⁹⁸ Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society*, 37.

⁹⁹ William Hopton was keeper of the prince's fees in Gloucs., Worcs. and elsewhere, *BPR*, ii, 184. Knaresborough was linked to the duchy after it ceased to be part of Queen Philippa's dower. In 1372 it was granted to compensate Gaunt for the loss of Richmond to de Montfort, R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, London, 1953, i, 52 and n. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *CPR*, 1334-8, 231; 1377-81, 240-1; Tout, *Chapters*, v, 378 n. 6.

¹⁰¹ Other officials from the Eltham era included Richard Bakhampton, steward of the earldom. He had a grant of 400 acres in four manors to be held for the lives of his two sons. Life tenure was rare in Cornwall. It became more common after the Black Death for those areas difficult to lease on short-term contracts, but swiftly declined after the 1360s, Hatcher, *op cit.*, 70-1; "The Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall, 1337", ed. P.L. Hull, *Devon and Cornwall Record Society*, ns 17 (1971), xxxv n. 5, xxvi nn. 4-5, 14, 32, 69, 75, 100, 131.

¹⁰² *BPR*, ii, 213.

The extensive Cornish coastline provided trading opportunities for a number of industrial and commercial ventures of which tin mining was the most important.¹⁰³ Demesne farming was uncommon and landlords' incomes tended to come from rents. These were high at the assession of 1333 and remained so in 1340 and 1347. The seven year freehold became usual for free and unfree tenants.¹⁰⁴ The agricultural importance of the duchy for the prince's retinue is demonstrated in its role in producing supplies for campaigns. Thomas FitzHenry had the office of havener of Cornwall for life when the prince assumed the duchy with a wage of ten marks and a robe. He later became weigher of all tin coined in Cornwall and was keeper of the tinnars gaol.¹⁰⁵

Cornwall was administered like an English shire with some additional privileges. Reorganization from 1317 had encouraged economic development and this continued with the formation of the duchy. Surveys were made of duchy resources in 1337 and March 1345 by Hugh Berwick and William Cusance. These revised rents and the values of some manorial properties resulting in a considerable increase in the profitability of the assessionable manors.¹⁰⁶ The administrative centre was transferred to Berkhamsted from Lostwithiel. Audits were also held at Launceston and Liskeard. The chief officials, as elsewhere, were the steward, receiver and keeper of fees. In 1357 John Dabernon held all these offices in Devon and Cornwall. In Cornwall the steward was paid £60 a year compared with £10 that the stewards of Devon, Mere and St Valery received.¹⁰⁷

Thomas atte Fenne was commissioned sheriff on 5 November 1347. John Dabernon and then Robert Eleford as sheriff and steward replaced him on 18 August 1354. Dabernon

¹⁰³ Tout, *op cit.*, 298-9. In 1338 Cornish tin output was 700 tons. Revenue taken by the Crown from coinage dues was well over £2,000, McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 392.

¹⁰⁴ J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500*, London, 1980, 188.

¹⁰⁵ 4 Dec. 1361, *BPR*, ii, 185.

¹⁰⁶ E120/1; "Caption of Seisin", ed. Hull. The average value of the 17 manors rose from £375, 1297-1306 to £550, 1338/9, Hatcher, *op cit.*, 91-2.

was subsequently reappointed to the office.¹⁰⁸ The sheriff was required theoretically to preside over all manorial courts but this was, by necessity, delegated. "The creation of the Duchy brought a tightening of manorial discipline and considerably enhanced revenues from the manorial courts..."¹⁰⁹ These, which had contributed 10-20% of total manorial profits, in some cases, almost doubled by the end of the prince's life. Revenue was maintained after the Black Death. Dabernon visited most of the 17 assessionable manors each year in an attempt to maximize revenue particularly by making many, more valuable, conventional leases.¹¹⁰ Dabernon was replaced by John Skirbeck, a former constable of Launceston, who had presumably mended his ways after being criticised in this office and ordered to "labour more diligently".¹¹¹ Extensive duties necessitated the appointment of a bailiff-errant to aid in the collection of money.¹¹² Increased rents resulted in a 70% increase in profits between 1333 and 1347.¹¹³ Higher rent and court revenues pushed profits of almost all duchy manors to new heights in the 1370s.

Many of the responsibilities for manorial administration were those of the reeve. This post was elected annually from among the wealthier landholders.¹¹⁴ It was clearly a considerable burden and fines were often paid to avoid serving in the office. Nicholas Kernek failed to avoid service in 1350-1, 1351-2 and 1358-62.¹¹⁵ This office was severely disrupted by the Black Death. John Rill, reeve of Rillaton manor, died on 12 March 1349

¹⁰⁷ Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, 170.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 62. Dabernon resigned as keeper of fees and sheriff on 13 Sept. 1354. However, he was commissioned on 1 Oct. 1357 to be sheriff and steward. As such he was paid £20 a year for each office, *BPR*, ii, 69, 125.

¹⁰⁹ Hatcher, *op cit.*, 194.

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 136 and 52-71 for discussion and description of different tenurial systems, rents and obligations.

¹¹¹ He was also granted Tintagel castle without fee, 22 July 1351, *BPR*, ii, 9, 14, 24, 66.

¹¹² Hatcher, *op cit.*, 44-5. Richard Clerc was restored to the office 10 July 1360 but stripped of it by John Kendale on 4 Dec. 1361. 12 May 1365 the office was granted for life to John Cook, *BPR*, ii, 171, 185, 209.

¹¹³ In the 1364 assession all but one Restormel villein became unfree conventional tenants without an increase in rents or tallage. This was probably at Edward's order who spent the early spring of 1363 at Restormel castle, Hatcher, *op cit.*, 61-2. See Bolton, *Medieval English Economy*, 188 for profitability of manors.

¹¹⁴ After the Black Death the reeve of Helston-in-Kerrier became a permanent, salaried officer.

and his counterpart at Liskeard, Lucas Cerle, had to be relieved of his duties. In addition William Carneke, bailiff of the manor of Helston-in-Kirrier, died on 11 April 1349.¹¹⁶

The Cornish castles and seven deer parks were usually under the supervision of individual yeomen or retainers receiving wages of two or three pence a day. Park maintenance was expensive and the welfare of the deer was paramount although pasture was often leased.¹¹⁷ John Kendale was one of the most active officials under the Black Prince's regime. He was parker and constable of Restormel and receiver of the duchy until 1365. Restormel, which was visited by the prince on a number of occasions, was the largest of the parks with 300 deer. Individual parkers were answerable to the "surveyor of all game in Cornwall."¹¹⁸ This office was held by Theobald la Hunte until 16 June 1353 when he was replaced by John Sully¹¹⁹ who, in 1360, received an additional grant of £20 a year to the £40 already awarded for good service in Gascony and at Poitiers.¹²⁰ The parker of Helsbury and Lanteglos, John Logardyne, was granted the office at the request of both Burghershes on 29 October 1351.¹²¹ Nicholas le Hunte and then John, son of Robert Dabernon, succeeded him at the request of his namesake and kinsman, the keeper of the prince's fees.¹²² Carrybullock park, appended to Climsland manor, held 150 deer and was in the keeping of Hugh Horuel.¹²³ William Gyles, yeoman of the buttery, became under-forester and keeper of the

¹¹⁵ He rented pasture on Helstone-in-Triggshire manor for 46s. a year, Hatcher, *op cit.*, 38-40.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 103. For services owed to the prince in the deer parks see Hull, "Caption of Seisin", xxxv, xxxix, xli-ii, 15. For Launceston see *ibid.*, 2, Restormel, 41-2, Liskeard, 72, Climsland, 115-16, Trematon, 122, and generally, 141-2

¹¹⁷ Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society*, 182-3.

¹¹⁸ *BPR*, ii, 46, 113, 198, 202, 204.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 49. Sully was retained to be of one of the prince's "especial retinue", 10 Mar. 1353, Jones and Walker, "Private Indentures", 74 and n. 82. He received his fee from Bradninch manor, Devon which had previously paid Henry Eam's retainer of 100 marks. For the order to the receiver of Bradninch to make payment see C66/301/12; *BPR*, ii, 45.

¹²⁰ This was to be paid by the mayor and burgesses of Exeter, *ibid.*, 171.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, 18.

¹²² 7 May 1361, *ibid.*, 182.

¹²³ The commission was dependent on good behaviour 25 May 1363, *ibid.*, 201.

chase of Dartmoor with 10 marks a year in June 1360 and in 1362, keeper of Liskeard park.¹²⁴

The Black Death disrupted the administration and income of the duchy. The immediate financial effects of the plague, inability to collect tallage and assession fines was offset, to a degree, by death duties which in some manors were quadruple their usual amounts.¹²⁵ The prince's administration is not usually noted for its benevolence, particularly in Wales and Aquitaine, however, the situation appears to be markedly different in Cornwall. National policy was followed and efforts made to control the wages of the tin miners. Possibly as a result there was a commission appointed in August 1358 to inquire into crimes against the tanners of Devonshire, led by John Dabernon and Shareshull who had earlier been appointed to enquire into tin forgeries. In other fields "The policies initiated by the Duchy in 1349 to deal with the unprecedented crisis caused by the Great Plague were remarkable for both their wisdom and foresight..."¹²⁶ The council was kept closely informed of the situation, auditors visited the duchy in February 1350 and local officials were summoned to London to report in 1351/2.¹²⁷ As a result rents and farms were reduced, maintenance costs were paid on manorial mills and other properties ensuring the continual occupation and upkeep of land. The second major outbreak of plague, 1360-2 seems to have had few economic consequences although some rents were also respited in 1361 after a great storm. However, the prince was not above using strong-arm tactics even in Cornwall. Rates of collection of manorial revenues (averaging £600 in the 1340s) improved markedly after

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, 170, 189.

¹²⁵ Hatcher, *op cit.*, 104. For tables showing decaying rents and vacant land see *ibid.*, 106-7.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, 116, 135, 146.

¹²⁷ *BPR*, ii, 54.

1342 when, following a special council meeting, soldiers were used to distraint for existing debts. Later rent allowances also encouraged prompt payment.¹²⁸

The duchy was a valuable source of patronage and reward. Offices in deer parks and the deer themselves were given to the prince's servants. Wood, a valuable commodity in the duchy, was given for building repairs, gifts to religious houses and retainers.¹²⁹ Wind-fall trees were sold as was timber, but only in times of impecunity. Turves were also very valuable and grants of "sufficient turbary" were common. The most valuable ferry in the duchy connected Saltash with Devon and was granted to William Lench, after the battle of Poitiers, until Trematon manor was given to Nigel Loryng who leased it to the burgesses of Saltash. The keeping of the Devon stannaries and coinage, in addition to the water of Dartmouth, was granted to the younger Burghersh for good service in September 1355.¹³⁰ James Audley's £400 annuity for his services at Poitiers was paid from the coinage of the Cornish stannaries. John Polper was granted the stannary of Penwith and Kerrier for seven years in October 1356. Two years later John Legh, yeoman of the buttery, received, for good service, the bailiwick as a life grant and Polper paid his lease directly to Legh.¹³¹

Gascony

The administration of Gascony, although not unlike Wales and Chester, was more organised, specialised and localised.¹³² The offices of seneschal and constable corresponded to those of justice and chamberlain. However, central administrative authority was circumscribed by the many privileges of towns and feudatories. The prince's appointment as

¹²⁸ Hatcher, *op cit.*, 128-9, 196-7.

¹²⁹ BPR, ii, 65, 82, 87, 142, 155, 180, 181.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, 84. This was immediately sub-leased on 1 Sept. 1355 to William Slegh of Kenton, William Smale of Dartmouth and John Dabernon of Bradeford for 100 marks for the first year and £80 for the succeeding two years. On 6 July 1359 Burghersh granted a new sub-lease to John Dabernon, for £80. The water of Dartmouth was granted to Richard atte Brigge at no cost by Burghersh on 3 Sept. 1359, *ibid.*, 159, 161.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 101, 105, 147.

his father's lieutenant in 1355 had theoretically involved an administrative reorganization but it would be an understatement to say that much of his time was concerned with military matters.¹³³ Nonetheless Westminster control was supplanted for the period of his lieutenancy.¹³⁴ The prince's household treasurer's partly replaced the Gascon financial administration or bypassed it and, to a degree, the prince's retinue governed the duchy.

The treaty of Brétigny had created a greatly enlarged Aquitaine and many of the ceded territories had no reason to love their new master.¹³⁵ The first stage of the transition began in October 1360 and the first major town to be handed over was La Rochelle.¹³⁶ There were two main tasks, "réorganisation administrative d'une part, d'autre part effort considérable pour assurer l'application de la paix."¹³⁷ On 1 July 1361 John Chandos was charged with annexing the new territories whilst on same day Richard Stafford and William Farley were chosen to take responsibility of the administration. Stafford was appointed seneschal on 1 July 1361, but had left office by 12 January 1362, and may have been replaced by Chandos in the greater office of constable of Aquitaine. Farley died on 11 September 1362 although his final accounts were not handed in until 1365.¹³⁸ Several other members of the retinue were important in overseeing the transfer of territories in accordance with the treaty of Brétigny and others were concerned with making preparations for the prince's arrival. These included Loryng, William Felton, Adam Hoghton, Thomas Driffeld

¹³² A document of 1373 enumerates the 17 royal offices of Bordeaux, C47/24/7, 10.

¹³³ On 21 Sept. 1355 in the cathedral of Bordeaux, before Thomas Roos the mayor and others, the king's letters were read describing the intention to recover lost lands and rights and to reorganize the duchy's administration. The prince was to rule the duchy according to custom with the rights of high, middle and low justice, Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 31-2.

¹³⁴ The number of entries on the Gascon rolls shows the decreasing influence of Westminster; in 1355 there were 45 entries and only nine in 1356, Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 129.

¹³⁵ As a result of the treaty England acquired: Poitiers and Poitou with Thouars, Belleville, Saintes and Saintonge, Aunis, Angoulême and Angoumois, Limoges and the Limousin, Périgord and Périgord, Agen and the Agenais, Cahors and Quercy, Rouergue, Gaure, Tarbes and Bigorre, Rodez and the Rouergue, Rymer, III, ii, 667-80.

¹³⁶ Robert Favreau, "Le cession de La Rochelle à l'Angleterre en 1360", *La France Anglaise au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1988, 217-31; Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 835-50.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, 770.

¹³⁸ His executor William Guildford was responsible for this. They are now held in E101/176/4, 13, 20.

and Stephen Cosington.¹³⁹ The appointment of Chandos to receive the ceded territories seems to have been an inspired one.¹⁴⁰ He dealt with the indigenous nobility and civic authorities with courtesy, patience and understanding and, following certain negotiations and agreements to maintain ancient rights and jurisdictions created an apparently amicable milieu in which the prince could take charge.¹⁴¹ He was also assisted in this by members of the council of Gascony which was made up of local men and gave them a political role and dignity.¹⁴² Chandos later had authority in Poitou where he won over the nobility and although administrative offices tended to be given to Englishmen, he ensured positions in justice and finance went to Poitevins.¹⁴³ Adam Hoghton was responsible for annexing Bigorre. He arrived at Rabastens on 28 January 1362, took oaths of a number of nobles, churchmen and urban authorities and occupied four castles. Like Chandos he used many Gascon officers.¹⁴⁴

The prince's first official task was to receive homage from his new subjects. Many of the most important of these were present at a ceremony in Bordeaux on 9 July 1363,

¹³⁹ Capra, *op cit.*, 828, 836, 844 n. 12, 885-6, 890 n. 12. For Loryng's accounts see E372/206/10 m. 2; E403/408/31-2; 411/34; 413/15.

¹⁴⁰ "Chandos seems to have acted with great circumspection and the English rule began with some prospect of success although his task was a far from easy one." The Rouergue in particular was most reluctant to become "English" as were many towns but with no outside support they were forced to submit, Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule*, 93-4. Belleville was also a difficult area. It was contested by the French that it had not formed part of the treaty. Ponthieu and the viscounty of Montreuil also proved troublesome, Delachenal, *Charles V*, iv, 33-6, 44-50.

¹⁴¹ The grant and confirmation of charters of liberties in Wales "corresponds closely in form and intention to the charters of franchises to French rural communities." Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 463-4. Cahors and other towns were particularly unhappy at the transfer of authority. The privileges of La Rochelle, Agen, Limoges and Bergerac were all confirmed, Delachenal, *Charles V*, iv, 17-20. In 1365 the town consuls of Limoges re-established the 13th century municipal *coutumes*, Louis Pérouas, *Histoire de Limoges*, Toulouse, 1989, 105, 117. In Bordeaux concessions were given in 1363 restricting purveyance, suppression of arbitrary *peages* imposed by Albret on merchants. Rights of *jurade* were confirmed and two annual fairs of 32 days were established. Ancient privileges were confirmed at Dax, Montauban, Millau and Figeac. There were tax concessions for Gourdon, Beaulieu, Moissac and Millau. Certain fines were lifted at Cahors. Contributions for river and canal repairs were lifted in Rouergue, Quercy and the Agenais and river navigation was improved. Individual rights were also examined such as those of Arnaud de Durfort in the parishes of St-Gemme, St-Foy-du-Temple, Artigues, Serres-Cassou, St-Denis-Lagourge and Mérens, Moissant, *Prince Noir*, 85, 94-5. For further confirmations of privileges see *Livre de coutumes*, ed. Henri Barckhausen (Archives municipales de Bordeaux), 1890, 417-20, 423.

¹⁴² In 1361-2 this included Jean Socquiel, Arnaud de Plassan, Pierre Mossiet, Bartholomé de Fayet, Geraud de Mente, Arnaud Comte, Guillaume Gaudin, Raymond de Beaulieu, Jean Guitard and Guillaume de Longe, E101/176/6-9.

¹⁴³ P. Boissonnade, *Histoire de Poitou*, Paris, 1941, 136-7.

Gaston Fébus being a notable exception.¹⁴⁵ The count of Foix refused to do homage for Béarn, which he considered to be a sovereign allod and tried to assert his claim to Bigorre.¹⁴⁶ At a second ceremony the following week the homages of towns and fortress leaders were taken. Present were two other commissioners who had been involved with the implementation of the treaty of Brétigny, James Audley and John Streatley.¹⁴⁷ The chancellor of Aquitaine as well as John Harewell also attended. The official tour of the principality, in which Jean de Montfort, duke of Brittany, for a period, accompanied the prince, lasted nine months until April 1364.¹⁴⁸ The prince received 1,047 homages from all ranks.¹⁴⁹ At Agen, after the involvement of de Montfort, Louis d'Harcourt and John de Saintré, Gaston Fébus did homage for the viscounties of Marsan and Gavardan although not Béarn.¹⁵⁰

The powers conceded to the prince were specified in his charter of institution written by John Fretton and illuminated by the prince's clerk, John Carleton.¹⁵¹ His authority exceeded that of all previous lieutenants with the power to appoint the seneschal, constable and mayor of Bordeaux. Edward III retained the sovereignty and thus the right of hearing appeals.¹⁵² The use of the great seal of England virtually ended with the creation of the

¹⁴⁴ Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 811-24.

¹⁴⁵ The ceremony was conducted in the presence of the earl of Warwick, Chandos, now viscount of Saint-Sauveur, William Seris, constable of Bordeaux and Peter Maderan. The prince received homages in his father's name then in his own. The first to give homage was Arnould Amanieu, sire d'Albret. He was followed by 17 barons, 20 knights and 18 esquires including Pierre Caillau, "bourgeois de Bordeaux". Once the formalities were completed Masse d'Aiguecave, probably one of the prince's secretaries, named the fiefs of those who had done homage, Moisant, *op cit.*, 77-8.

¹⁴⁶ He had also refused to do homage for Béarn to the king of France, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, ed. Charles Higounet, Toulouse, 1971, 217.

¹⁴⁷ Barber, *Edward*, 171.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Maderan, a royal clerk recorded the verbal homages, Moisant, *op cit.*, 76-7.

¹⁴⁹ The resulting document was written in part by a secretary called Aberford. For details of those who gave homage see E407/37/10; Trabut-Cussac, *Livre d'hommage*, 70-116.

¹⁵⁰ E36/189.

¹⁵¹ See E30/1105; Rymer, III, ii, 667.

¹⁵² Pierre Chaplais, The Court of Sovereignty of Guyenne (Edward III – Henry VI) and its Antecedents", *Documenting the Past. Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cuttino*, ed. J.S. Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley, Woodbridge, 1989, 137-53; Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule*, 96, 137. In 1368 the prince

principality replaced by the seal of the court of Gascony.¹⁵³ The prince concerned himself with his personal authority over his great vassals, the clergy and the civil authorities. The granting of charters of concessions or ordinances concerned with local interests manifested this. He was also involved in the appointment of officials and, in theory, attempting to establish good relations with his subjects “but he had nothing of his grandfather’s good sense and political foresight.”¹⁵⁴

The prince’s authority was uneven throughout the 13 unequally sized sénéchaussées. Some areas and particularly some towns enjoyed an independence denied to others.¹⁵⁵ It was also curtailed by the authority of the individual lords and tenants-in-chief.¹⁵⁶ The great churchmen held the largest estates, particularly the archbishop of Bordeaux and the abbot of La Grande Sauve. There was some conflict and usurpation of episcopal authority and, although records are sketchy, there was papal opposition to the prince’s demand that the bishops take an oath of allegiance.¹⁵⁷ Lesser lords might also band together to give mutual assistance which could restrict the prince’s authority.¹⁵⁸ Tenurial practice was also an important element in the control of the principality. The allod remained the prevalent form of land holding. All the lands of the archbishop of Bordeaux were held in this manner whereby it was free from services, rents, homage or fealty. An allod could be inherited or

was given authority to hold the final court of appeal in Aquitaine although his father’s authority had only been suspended not renounced. The principality was held by liege homage and one ounce of gold a year. The prince could accept homages in his own name, had certain feudal rights, the authority to mint coinage and the traditional royal prerogative of consenting to redemptions and abridgements of fiefs. He could raise commoners to the peerage, Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 92-3.

¹⁵³ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 300-5.

¹⁵⁴ Lodge, *op cit.*, 97.

¹⁵⁵ Each great town had its own customary code of rules and procedure. The most important of these were Bordeaux, Bayonne and Dax.

¹⁵⁶ The chief lay lords were the counts of Armagnac and Fezensac, the viscounts of Fronsac and Bigorre and the lord of Albret. A number of lesser lords and knights were also tenants-in-chief. Some had rights of high justice. All had rights of low justice and many claimed greater authority. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction also impinged on the prince’s power. The situation compared closely to the Welsh March where lords proclaimed the “regal” quality of their lordship having total judicial and territorial authority and maintained their rights to make war and sign treaties as a form of dispute settlement, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 217-20.

¹⁵⁷ Delachenal, *Charles V*, iv, 22-4.

given away and only reverted to the lord if the holder died intestate. There were however, a number of modified conditions by which, for example, the archbishop had to say masses or prayers for the ruler of the land which made the system of landholding similar to frankalmoign. Lands were essentially free but held on condition of hospitality or military service. Service was personal, not territorial. However, there was an on-going tendency for land to become fiefs.¹⁵⁹

The three great offices of state were the constable, seneschal and chancellor. The first to hold these offices in the principality were Thomas Felton, John Chandos and John Harewell. John Harewell was constable and chancellor of Bordeaux (1362-4).¹⁶⁰ The seneschal was the head of government with a variety of changing duties. He presided over the council and the judicial business of the court of Gascony. The constable of Bordeaux was the next most important official accountable for financial matters. He paid the salaries of most officials, received their accounts and was guardian of the seal.¹⁶¹ The constables of Bordeaux came from a variety of backgrounds with previous experience in the duchy or having served the Black Prince prior to his arrival in Aquitaine. Bordeaux, with its population of 20-30,000, was the administrative capital of the principality and the constable was the chief financial minister. He was based at the castle of the Ombrière where he received revenue and made payments for which he had to account at the exchequer. He reviewed the accounts of lesser officials and had a variety of other duties, which required an extensive staff. These duties included the management of supplies and victuals, the

¹⁵⁸ Henri Morel, "Une association de seigneurs gascons au xiv^e siècle", *Mélanges d'histoire dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, 523-34.

¹⁵⁹ Lodge, *op cit.*, 194-6.

¹⁶⁰ Harewell received £17,476 from the English exchequer but there were no further receipts before 1370, Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 476 n. 3. Gascon revenues never covered the pay of the chief officials which totaled £750 a year, Frank Musgrove, *The North of England. A History*, Oxford, 1990, 160.

¹⁶¹ Lodge, *op cit.*, 138-41, 147-50. The court was a permanent tribunal in Bordeaux held by the seneschal or his lieutenant, the judge of Aquitaine. It was superior to other courts and could hear appeals from municipal courts and deal with disputes between secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, for which, in 1365 Edward III handed over

supervision of coinage and the upkeep of castles and fortresses. Authority in Bordeaux was concentrated in a very few individuals. If they failed to be effective it damaged the whole administration. John Streatley (28 April 1348 - 12 September 1350 and 18 January 1354 - 1 July 1361)¹⁶² assisted Chandos with the transfer of lands and was a frequent member of the prince's council and had also served him as an envoy. He was chancellor of Guienne from 1362 to 1364.¹⁶³ Chivereston and Streatley stayed for a time at the head of the Aquitaine administration. William Farley had been keeper of the wardrobe of the duke of Gascony and succeeded Streatley as constable (20 September 1361) at the time of the hand-over of territories with William Loryng as his lieutenant. He travelled to Gascony around the same time as Stafford and Nigel Loryng (c. July 1361). Farley received the first accounts but died of plague soon after.¹⁶⁴ It was after this that the administration began to develop. Bernard Brocas was controller and receiver of the money due to the king at this time. He was the most experienced Englishmen in south western French financial affairs having served as controller to Nicolo Uso di Mare, John Streatley and Farley and in 1357 he had also been keeper of the seal. He succeeded Farley on 9 December 1362 with responsibility to collect all revenues due to the king until 19 July 1362 when he had created the principality. If his activities and practice was followed by the prince's officials then accounts were very closely scrutinised.¹⁶⁵ John Ludham graduated from being the prince's clerk to become

responsibility. In 1370 a *curia superioritatis*, largely composed of Gascons was established.

¹⁶² In this time he received £86,227, Morgan, "Cheshire and the Defence of Aquitaine", 139. Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 249 gives his dates of office as 15 Sept. 1348 - 26 Dec. 1350 and 4 Apr. 1354 - 20 Sept. 1361 citing E372/207/14 1r.; 207/16 2r.

¹⁶³ He had letters of protection on returning to Aquitaine on 28 Nov. 1362, C61/75/2. A 1368 audit showed him to be nearly £94 in arrears to the Crown, of which he was pardoned, Timothy Runyan, "The Constabulary of Bordeaux: The Accounts of John Ludham (1372-3) and Robert de Wykford (1373-5)", *Mediaeval Studies*, xxxvii (1975), ii, 49 n. 44.

¹⁶⁴ Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 826, 838-40; 843 n. 3; C76/44/6; E361/5/3 r.-v.

¹⁶⁵ Françoise Bériac, "Une principauté sans chambre des comptes ni échiquier: L'Aquitaine (1362-1370)", *La France des principautés. Les chambre des comptes xiv^e et xv^e siècles*, ed. Philippe Contamine et Olivier Mattéoni, Paris, 1996, 109-10, 113-15.

constable.¹⁶⁶ The next most important fiscal officer was the controller who was also based in the Ombrière and kept a counter-roll of the constable's records and whose salary was half that of his superior. There was also a *memorandus* to guard the castle archives.¹⁶⁷ Other officers included the judge of Aquitaine, the provosts with authority over towns, the bailiffs and reeves with responsibility for districts.¹⁶⁸

It appears that the prince's early years in Aquitaine were benevolent and few changes were made to traditional rights and exactions. There were some administrative alterations after Edward's appointment as prince of Aquitaine. The paucity of documents concerning the prince's administration makes it difficult to tell but government probably became increasingly based on an English model with Estates, comparable to Parliament, being used as opposed to the French local assembly.¹⁶⁹ New officers were appointed to govern the new territories, which were divided into sénéchaussées, and, if nothing else, Gascony had to come to terms with its first resident prince in over 150 years.¹⁷⁰ There was an expansion in the authority of government and the number and complexity of departments.¹⁷¹ The first step had been the appointment of Harewell, followed by Alan Stokes as treasurer. In addition "English" practices of local government, bureaucratic and legal practice were introduced. A higher court of judicial appeal in Gascony rather than

¹⁶⁶ He was commissioned at La Rochelle on 25 Apr. 1372. His duties were those of treasurer of Aquitaine. Prior to this he had served Nicholas Loveigne in 1362 and was receiver of La Rochelle from 26 Oct. 1364, Timothy Runyan, "The Constabulary of Bordeaux: The Accounts of John Ludham (1372-3) and Robert de Wykford (1373-5)", *Mediaeval Studies*, xxxvi, (1974), i, 223-4.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 221-2, 239 n. 1. The Ombrière housed the court of Gascony, the council, the chancery of the seneschal and perhaps the court of sovereignty. It served as the local prison and was topped by two large towers; the *tour du roi* and the *tour Arbalesteyre*.

¹⁶⁸ The divisions were known as *baillages* in the Agenais and *prévôtés* in the south. The most important provost was at the castle of the Ombrière in Bordeaux who safeguarded the prince's rights of justice in the town, Lodge, *op cit.*, 143.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph M. Tyrell, *A History of the Estates of Poitou*, The Hague, 1968, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Gascony had consisted of six sénéchaussées, the principality had 13.

¹⁷¹ See Pierre Capra, "L'évolution de l'administration Anglo-Gasconne au milieu du xiv^e siècle", *Bordeaux et les îles britanniques du xiii^e au xx^e siècle*, Bordeaux, 1975, 22-3. Also Pierre Chaplais, "The Chancery of Guyenne, 1289-1453", *Studies Presented to Hillary Jenkinson*, ed., J. Conway Davies, Oxford, 1957, esp. 81-7; Chaplais, "The Court of Sovereignty of Guyenne", 141-50; Runyan, "Constabulary of Bordeaux:" i, 220-2; Lodge, *op cit.*, 135-51.

England where it had been previously was created. 1370 saw the establishment of the *cour supérieure*.

The new administration witnessed a number of personnel changes. It has been argued that this “anglicizing” of the prince’s administration contributed another element to the discontent that erupted in 1368.¹⁷² The prince’s financial demands also had consequences. The expenses involved in running a court (and what appears to have been a very splendid and lavish court) were considerable. The extravagance could be extreme; the Anonimale Chronicle refers to “outrages costages et excessive despens”.¹⁷³ Lavish feasts and tournaments were common. An extensive retinue had to be paid for in addition to sumptuous clothes and jewellery for himself and his wife. However, the Anonimale Chronicle also refers to his overbearing pride and disrespectful attitude to the Gascon nobility.¹⁷⁴ The 1355 *chevauchée* had been conducted partly as a result of the appeal of a number of Gascon lords who felt threatened by Armagnac, Jean II’s lieutenant in Languedoc.¹⁷⁵ They were happy to accept English help but did not appreciate the reality of a resident sovereign. Furthermore, there were great tensions between the nobility. It had been difficult to keep the peace in Gascony before Brétigny-Calais, in the greater Aquitaine it was nearly impossible. A policy of conciliation was not successful in endearing the English to

¹⁷² For example, William Felton became seneschal of Poitou, Musgrove, *North of England*, 136. Richard Totesham was appointed seneschal of Angoumois, Saintonge and governor of La Rochelle on 6 Oct. 1361 with wages of 200*l.* for Angoumois and 500*l.* for Saintonge, E101/176/2 fo. 23r.; 175/2. He had succeeded Bernard de Montferrand as governor of La Rochelle in Dec. 1360. In Oct. 1361 he also received the captaincy of the castle of St-Jean-d’Angély with wages of 100*l.* Totesham had been a French prisoner and had fought a duel during his captivity, *Chronique Normande*, 104-5; Favreau, “Comptes”, 74-5. However, Capra points out that throughout the 1350s many offices were open only to Englishmen and notes the nepotism of John Streatley who found offices for four members of his family and other close friends, *op cit.*, 249-50, 253-4 nn. 7-10. This is countered by Delachenal, *Charles V*, iv, 20 and n. 1, who stated that the only evidence for this supposed antipathy was Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce, vi, 82; vii, 92.

¹⁷³ *Anonimale Chronicle*, 55.

¹⁷⁴ “...si fuist il si hauteyn et de si graunt port qil ne mettast de nully et si voldroit soeffrere diverses grauntz seignours del pais qe vendraynt au luy parler, demurer quatre iours ou cynk avaunt qil dedaigna od eux parler; et quaunt ils veindrent en sa presence il les soeffreit genulere et chaunger les genules une quartre de iour avaunt qil les comaunda estere.” *ibid.*, 56.

¹⁷⁵ He was appointed lieutenant in Nov. 1352. Two months later hostilities began with the siege of Saint-Antonin. By the end of May 1354 his conquests had brought him to the banks of the River Lot, 27 leagues from Bordeaux.

the Gascon people.¹⁷⁶ As in his dealings with the Marcher lords strains quickly became evident between the prince and his greater Gascon vassals. "...though admired as a commander in the field [he] had his share of harshness, arrogance and unthinking extravagance to be found in other paragons of chivalry."¹⁷⁷

The short-term policies undertaken by the prince's administration were very effective in Wales and Cheshire but with ominous future consequences resulting from a depleted and shrinking economy base. Michael Prestwich has referred to the "constantly overbearing character of the administration."¹⁷⁸ This is perhaps an exaggeration, the prince could be brutal but his administrators were realists and the policies introduced in Cornwall and to a lesser degree in Cheshire were realistic, indeed Bean argues that the Cheshire administration was a victim of its own success. Political conditions changed radically after 1367 and the financial situation deteriorated accordingly. Wales was a different story. Flintshire and those other regions appended to the Cheshire administration did not suffer excessively but this was not true of the rest of the principality where, for the most part, the prince employed Welsh nationals to extort from their own. Traditionally, Plantagenet policy to Celtic countries was in complete contrast to their French dominions. In Wales rule was based on conquest not inheritance.¹⁷⁹ Arguably this changed under the prince's administration, particularly after Nájera. The administration was geared to war. The prince was victorious in each of his campaigns. The failure of the principality of Aquitaine is traditionally attributed to the administrative policies of the prince and in part this is true.

¹⁷⁶ On 4 May 1365 letters of the prince were proclaimed at Najac which stated that he did not intend to prejudice episcopal jurisdiction (as he had in Wales). On 9 July 1367 David Cradock, lieutenant of Amanieu de Fossat, the seneschal of Rouergue, heard the complaints of the consuls of Najac at a meeting near Moissac and made restitution for goods purveyed by the prince's troops.

¹⁷⁷ Packe, *King Edward*, 260.

¹⁷⁸ Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, 278.

¹⁷⁹ John le Patourel, "The Plantagenet Dominions", *Feudal Empires. Norman and Plantagenet*, ed. M. Jones,

However, the administration in itself was, on the whole, very efficient and probably no more brutal than was the norm. Nonetheless, administrative efficiency was lost as the need for patronage developed throughout the prince's life and, while it may have been overstated, the behaviour of the prince's retinue in Aquitaine turned the residents more against Edward than might otherwise have been the case. It is something of a dichotomy that the prince's retinue was responsible for a great increase in administrative efficiency which led to increased revenue that allowed him to participate very effectively in the French wars and yet which was also responsible for the breakdown of relations in Gascony, the loss of the principality and perhaps, to a significant degree, the loss of all that the English had achieved in France in the first part of the Hundred Years War.

Finance

The profligacy of the Black Prince is almost as famous as his victory at Poitiers. However, the greatest pressure on the prince's treasury came from military costs, either in the form of campaigns or in the payment of rewards and annuities arising from those campaigns. Household expenditure was very considerable, but is much more difficult to quantify due to the very limited number of central household accounts. Financial demands and resources fluctuated from year to year particularly with the effects of war and plague and the nature of the evidence makes it difficult to assess total income. Estate accounts reveal both revenue and expenses but rarely the conditions of service or indeed the service for which an individual was paid and there are particular gaps in the documentation from Wales and Aquitaine. The household and military retinue, in its widest form, was the greatest expense which the prince had to meet. He attempted to do this through a variety of sources, estate revenue, government grants and gifts and loans from private creditors. As a consequence, expenditure on estates and any form of internal investment was negligible, although household properties, particularly Kennington, were the focus of considerable spending.

Income

The prince was provided with 500 marks a year on 16 September 1330 out of revenue from Cheshire despite the fact that he would not become earl until 18 March 1333. Six months later, on 25 February 1331, the sum was increased to provide maintenance for

the prince's sister, Eleanor.¹ The appointment as earl further augmented his income that came to include Cornish revenue in 1337 and Welsh receipts in 1343 "confirming and strengthening the inalienability and coherence of the patrimony of the king's eldest son."² Marriage to Joan of Kent brought with it the income from her inheritance. Together their estates have been valued conservatively at £8,600 a year,³ although £10,000 is a closer figure. The acquisition of Aquitaine in 1362 increased resources but also expenditure since the costs of running the principality exceeded its revenue.

The Crown provided the prince with resources for military campaigns and assisted occasionally with other expenses. The years 1346-60 were profitable for the nation and this was reflected in the sums granted to the prince. He did not have the same problems to contend with at the royal exchequer, as did many others did seeking payment or grants from the Crown.⁴ In addition, he retained or made a number of gifts to clerks employed in the exchequer, which may well have galvanised payments to him. These payments were made throughout his life, apart from, arguably when he needed them most, during the principality of Aquitaine. Despite its total value, the occasional payments from Jean's ransom proved to be completely inadequate. From 1336, an additional £500 a year was granted to the prince and later 1,000 marks was paid annually from the customs of London, although this was to offset a grant to the earl of Salisbury made by the king out of Cornish tin revenue.⁵ Other occasional payments were also made. On 20 November 1341, £106 13s. 3d., part of a grant of £1,000 for household expenses, was made to the prince.⁶ £1,500 of the 1349 lay subsidy

¹ Rymer, II, ii, 798, 811; 25 Feb. 1331, *CPR*, 1330-4, 78.

² B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History*, London, 1971, 54.

³ Tout says this was not an extraordinary sum and proved to be totally insufficient, *Chapters*, v, 293.

⁴ See G.L. Harriss, "Preference at the Medieval Exchequer", *BIHR*, 30 (1957), 17-40 for a discussion of the issues and problems involved in securing payment.

⁵ *CCR*, 1333-7, 625. A roll of customs accounts shows the prince's receipts from London from Michaelmas 1361 to 4 Nov. 1375, E122/193/19.

⁶ *Issues of the Exchequer*, 149.

was assigned to him on 13 October. This may have been to repay some of the costs of the Crécy-Calais campaign. In July 1353 he received £1,300 and in the Michaelmas term 1354-5, the king made almost £5,000 of gifts to the prince and Queen Philippa.⁷ The transfer to Aquitaine was underwritten by the Crown and on his return from the principality in 1370 the city of London presented the prince and Joan with a fifteenth and half a fifteenth.⁸ In 1374 the king provided his son with instalments of a grant of 4,000 marks, “in aid of maintaining his estate.”⁹

Plague

The prince's resources were greatly compromised by repeated outbreaks of plague. The Black Death had enormous implications for Edward as a major landowner and recruiting captain. It affected not only his income but also the administration of his estates. The Great Famine, livestock epidemics, storm damage and a reduction in agricultural prices had already reduced the tax yield and this was compounded by the plague in 1348.¹⁰ Although the mortality rates of tenants-in-chief and those making up the prince's personal circle was considerably lower than in other groups, about 27% as opposed to monastic rates of 45% and up to 66% for the peasantry, the prince's family were not untouched by the Black Death. His sister Joan died in the first epidemic while *en route* to her marriage to Pedro the Cruel.¹¹ Reginald Cobham was another victim in 1361.

⁷ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 338, 340.

⁸ *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London* G, 275. The city also made them a present of plate on 16 Dec. 1371, *ibid.*, 283. See also *Memorials of London and London life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries*, ed. H.T. Riley, London, 1868, 350, 352.

⁹ *Issues of the Exchequer*, 196-7.

¹⁰ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, 100. The traditional view of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a series of crises pre-dating and resulting from the Black Death has been challenged with regard to France by James L. Goldsmith, “The Crisis of the Late Middle Ages: The Case of France”, *French History*, 9, (1995), 417-48.

¹¹ John Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530*, Houndsmill, 1977, 13-14, 22, 68. The population has been estimated in 1348 as 4.5 - 6 million and 2.75-3.00 million in 1377.

The high peasant mortality created immediate financial problems and plague inflicted additional responsibilities such as the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers.¹² Low level administration was heavily disrupted and the offices of beadle and reeve in Wales were farmed out for half the customary fee and many vacancies were not filled at all.¹³ Estates could also lay untilld and in 1360 there was still some land at Berkhamsted that had not been sown since 1349.¹⁴ The prince's life annuity of 1,000 marks from the customs of London was also affected. The serious dislocation of trade forced the farmers of the customs, Walter Chiriton and his associates, to default on a number of payments to the prince and Lancaster between October 1348 and March 1349.¹⁵

Nonetheless, despite further outbreaks in 1361-2, 1369 and 1375 and the reduction of the population by approximately a third following the first onset of the plague, agriculture remained buoyant and urban, industrial and commercial development continued. Revenue may not have recovered by the time of the prince's death but it was not dramatically lower than in pre-plague years. In East Anglia, Denbigh, Monmouthshire, Somerset and Dorset income was only 10% lower than in the 1340s. Cornish tin production however, was devastated and had not completely recovered by the 1380s.

Estates

As the administration of the prince's estates became more centralized so did the income from them and a large proportion of the resources and revenue of an individual

¹² *BPR*, iii, 415-16.

¹³ Evans, "Notes on the History of the Principality", 79.

¹⁴ See for example *BPR*, iv, 194. On 26 Nov. 1356 Lacy, Delves, Walter Aldebury, Spridlington, Hockele, Thomas Gerveys and Thomas Eleford were ordered to make a fresh extent of Berkhamsted manor since "frequent changes in tenants...and the manifold divisions and dismemberments had occurred in the tenements...".

¹⁵ *CPR 1354-8*, 255. According to Fryde the sum was £1,000, E.B. Fryde, "The English Farmers of the Customs, 1343-51", *TRHS*, 5th ser., ix (1959), 15.

estate were spent elsewhere.¹⁶ The acquisition of the principality of Aquitaine extended the prince's demesne into a lordship running from the estuary of the Mersey to the Rouergue.¹⁷ All these lands were committed, however unwillingly, to the prince's military and political ambitions and resources were shared between them. For example, the assumption of the duchy coincided with the greatest levels of Cornish tin production on record and marked the intensification of a process of siphoning off revenue from the stannaries.¹⁸ Cornish resources, after 1362, were devoted to maintaining the court and retinue at Bordeaux. Inward investment was restricted since a large proportion of revenue from the individual estates passed to central coffers or was granted at source to annuitants and others. Similarly, as in Cornwall, Philip Morgan has drawn attention to the burden placed on Cheshire by the expenses of the principality of Aquitaine.¹⁹ The issues of Cheshire and Flintshire had been earmarked for the expenses of the household and wardrobe and this continued after 1363.²⁰ When the war resumed in 1369, almost the entire yield from the subsidy was used in paying wages to troops raised in Cheshire for Gascon service. "For almost a decade the ordinary resources of comital patronage were governed by considerations of military service in Aquitaine."²¹ The direct recipients of this are uncertain since accounts are sadly lacking from the time of the principality of Aquitaine although details from before and after can give some insight.²²

¹⁶ Although particular conditions may have affected the situation in 1377 it has been estimated that out of a total revenue of £3,415 over £2,219 went out of the duchy of Cornwall., Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, 166.

¹⁷ See Wolffe, *Royal Demesne*, 240-1.

¹⁸ Charters for Devon and Cornwall in 1305 encouraged mining activity and relieved the tanners of ordinary taxation, G.R. Lewis, *The Stannaries. A Study of the Medieval Tin Miners of Cornwall and Devon*, Truro, repr. 1965, 39.

¹⁹ Morgan, "Cheshire and the Defence of Aquitaine", 139.

²⁰ *BPR*, iii, 84, 122, 137, 168, 187, 200, 201.

²¹ Morgan, *loc. cit.*, 144.

²² Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne"; Runyan, "Constabulary of Bordeaux" based on E364/15/36; 16/48-9.

Although funds were sent to Westminster and Bordeaux, in general, it is uncertain how much revenue found its way into the central reserves as the receiver-general has left no accounts. Regional accounts were a statement of potential receipts and not of collection. Fluctuations in revenue, particularly falls, were usually treated as arrears and not attributed to a decline in productivity which undoubtedly occurred in plague years.²³ The valor of the prince's estates, calculated from an average of the last three years of his life, reckoned the annual value of north Wales as £3,041 7s. 6¼d. (less the justiciar's fee of £40), south Wales £1,830 4s. 11¼d. (less the life annuity of £110 granted to Richard de la Bere and the justiciar's fee of £50), Cheshire, Flint and Macclesfield as £1,695 1s. 10d. (less £61 6s. 6d. alms and £129 granted to Richard Stafford), Cornwall, £2,219 7s. 9½d. (£1,016 1s. 4d. was for the coinage of tin), Devon, £273 19s. 5¾d. (less £20 granted to John Sully and £120 14s. 11d. to Nigel Loryng) and other estates in England, £922 11s. 2d., a gross total of £9,982 12s. 8¾d.²⁴ This then was the Black Prince's income at the end of his life and after his military expenses had been reduced and when his household was no longer a court and did not have to be maintained accordingly. It is difficult to trace changes in income throughout his life. Revenue increased in Cheshire to a high point in 1353 and thereafter suffered a fairly continuous decline. However, the receipts from 1353 were exceptional and could not be maintained. Records from Wales are particularly scarce from the more profitable north. In the south, receipts appear to have varied between £1,438 5s. 8d. in 1361 (a plague year) to a high point in the valor. The coercive policy adopted did not result in great increases in productivity between 1354-5 and 1376. By contrast, Cornwall recorded a steady increase in revenue throughout the 1360s and '70s despite the consequences of the

²³ On revenue collection, a discussion of potential receipts and the evolution of the valor in the 14th century see R.R. Davies, "Baronial Accounts, Incomes and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages", *ECHR*, xxi, ii (1968), 214-17, 219-21.

²⁴ C47/9/57, see also SC12/22/97 and for a summary Booth, *Financial Administration*, 173-5.

plague on tin mining. Therefore, the prince enjoyed an overall increase in estate revenue during the course of his life. This was punctuated by particular highs, such as Cheshire in 1353 and particular lows, such as Cornwall after the plague. The war and conditions in the principality did not always coincide with such factors and in any case the financial conditions in Aquitaine may well have been unsustainable for a more prudent and financially responsible ruler, let alone the Black Prince.

Despite increasing administrative efficiency, estate income was often insufficient and the prince and his officials, particularly John Wingfield, were forced to seek additional revenue particularly to finance military expeditions. William Shareshull was particularly influential in increasing revenue. In the main, he achieved this through the exploitation of the profits of justice. Furthermore, by investigating delinquent estate and customs officials he increased administrative efficiency.²⁵ The development of certain legal practices involving changes and innovations in the “feudal” order also had economic implications for the prince. His traditional rights and revenue were reduced by such measures as the *enfeoffment-to-use* which was of great concern to the prince’s council.²⁶ The prince’s administration followed a policy of increasing the prince’s authority and the revenue available to him. The methods imposed could result in disaffection and revolt. The *fouage* of 1368 provided the Gascon nobility with an excuse to rebel and the exploitation of Wales created some of the conditions for the Glyn Dŵr revolt.

i. Cheshire

Similar principles were implemented in Cheshire, with the aim of restoring and then increasing the income and authority of the earl of Chester. As in Gascony, efforts were

²⁵ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 406.

²⁶ McFarlane, *Nobility*, 217-18.

directed at increasing coercion and administrative efficiency rather than levels of productivity.²⁷ Taking control from local gentry affinities and developing a new taxation system was an integral part in re-establishing central authority. Average annual Cheshire net revenue has been estimated as £682.²⁸ In 1325-6 liveries yielded £1,470. By 1353 this had increased to £3,928 13s. 7¼d. with expenditure of £957 18s. 1d. leaving £2,970 15s. 6¼d.²⁹ This was an exceptional amount and resulted from deliberate policy and a concerted effort. In 1359-60, £2,600 remained after expenses and this figure included income from Flint as well as proffers, amercements, fees from the seal and forest administration.³⁰ Income fell again in 1361-2, £3,208 19s. 8½d. was collected with expenses of £807 3s. 3d. leaving £2,401 16s. 5½d. of which £1,076 12s. 9d. was delivered to the receiver-general.³¹

Cheshire was exempt from parliamentary taxation but a series of aids, gifts and subsidies were demanded to a figure approximating to parliamentary levels.³² The rule of the Black Prince enforced and developed those exactions and brought the palatinate increasingly into line with national practice. There were two levies, the common fine, a payment made by the community in return for a grant or pardon and a straightforward grant. The most important instrument in exacting this was the prince's household.³³ Collection of fines and grants was very problematic. The "community" was persuaded to grant the prince a subsidy

²⁷ Given, *State and Society*, 247.

²⁸ Booth, "Taxation and Public Order", 24. How much of this was actually paid into the prince's treasury is difficult to determine. The receiver's account of 1342-3 records a payment to Gildesburgh of £414 9s. 8d. The chamberlain's accounts record deliveries to Peter Lacy of £814 11s. 8d., 1349-50; £1,015 7s. 11¼d., 1350-1; £2,291 8s. 10¾d., 1353-4 (£1,029 11s. 10¾d. to the great wardrobe, £113 6s. 8d. to Kennington manor and £1,028 10s. 8d. to the chamber); £221 1s. 4d., 1356-7; £2,605 1s. 7¼d., 1359-60, *Ches. Chamb. Accs*, 118, 130, 167, 218, 236, 274.

²⁹ The previous year's account showed debts of £324 9s. 4d. so that Brunham owed £3,295 4s. 10¼d., *ibid.*, 214, 218.

³⁰ *VCH*, Chester, ii, 23. This figure remains fairly constant. In 1374 income was £2,524 5s. 2d., SC6/772/10.

³¹ Booth and Carr, *Account of Master John de Brunham, 1360-1*, 99.

³² Morgan, *loc. cit.*, 141-2.

³³ Morgan, *War and Society*, 98-9.

or *mise* of £1,000 in 1346 “in aid of his great expenses in furthering the king’s war”.³⁴ No money had been received by April 1347 and it was not paid in full until 1349.³⁵ The sums demanded by the prince tended to become fixed by tradition. For example, from each *mise* of £100, the Bucklow Hundred paid £14 and the Northwich Hundred £13. The *mise* was income-related and demanded from no one with less than 20s. in land, rent or chattels. In 1350, to great resentment, a forest eyre was held for the first time. The chief justices were Richard Stafford and Gildesburgh, and Shareshull was also closely involved. In 1368 a subsidy of 2,500 marks payable within two years was demanded and in 1373 a grant of 3,000 marks.³⁶

The Black Death had a great effect on the administration and the social fabric of Cheshire. Plague fatalities in 1348-9, included the abbot of Chester, prioress of St Mary’s, prior of Norton and at least 24 parish clerks. In the manor of Drakelow 57 men died and at least 88 Macclesfield tenants died.³⁷ However, despite severe short-term administrative dislocation, by 1355 all but six of the 1348-9 holdings had been let to new tenants. Robert Legh, the deputy steward, throughout the plague period continued to hold manorial courts in Macclesfield. Rent arrears, despite an early tough policy towards revenue collection, were ignored in some cases as attempts were made to re-let holdings. The value of the lordship fell from £291 19s. 11d. in 1348-9 to £242 8s. 10d. in 1374-5.³⁸

Between 1353 and 1357 military concerns initiated a large revenue drive.³⁹ It proved to be a highly successful operation conceived by Shareshull, administered by Delves,

³⁴ See Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, ch. 2 for a discussion of the nature of the Cheshire “community”.

³⁵ Morgan, *op cit.*, 100.

³⁶ SC6/772/5, 9; *VCH*, Chester, ii, 23.

³⁷ Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*, Far Thrupp, 1994, 140.

³⁸ Booth, *op cit.*, 108.

³⁹ Cheshire revenue in 1353-4 totaled £3,928 of which £2,291 went to the prince. By 1359-60 this had fallen to £3,450 of which the prince received £2,605, Hewitt, *Cheshire Under the Three Edwards*, 8-9.

executed by Brunham and it involved one of the prince's two personal visits to Cheshire. The 1353 visit was occasioned by "grievous clamours and complaints that have reached him of wrongs, excesses and misdeeds, both against his lordship and between parties which cannot be fittingly redressed without his presence."⁴⁰ The community averted a general eyre by offering a fine of 5,000 marks payable over four years in return for a charter of liberties, granted on 10 September. However, trailbaston sessions began on 20 August under the authority of Shareshull and Roger Hillary. They resulted in fines in excess of £1,000. Over 130 cases were heard in just over three weeks and revealed high levels of official corruption in the administration. Edward's authority was said to be such that he was lord in name only.⁴¹ Since members of the local gentry were particularly influential in the provision of justice, it has been suggested that the large fines imposed in 1353 regulated that control like a system of licensing. Through this and his military operations, the prince established considerable authority in Cheshire. 1353 proved to be a financial high point in Cheshire, revenue was unparalleled and virtually all was collected.⁴²

Customs provided other income and prisage of wine was exacted at the rate of one tun on ships laden with 10-20 tuns and two tuns on those carrying more than 20 tuns. The import of wine into Chester is reckoned as being as high as 250 tuns in 1334-5 and 350 tuns in 1347-8 falling to 50 tuns throughout the 1350s and 1360s.⁴³

ii. Cornwall

The death of John of Eltham on 13 September 1336 gave Edward III the opportunity to create the first English duke and solve a financial problem. Cornwall was usually reserved

⁴⁰ *BPR*, iii, 111.

⁴¹ Booth, "Taxation and Public Order", 27.

⁴² Morgan, *op cit.*, 101-2; Booth, *Financial Administration*, 121-2.

⁴³ Wilson, "Chester Customs Accounts", 4-5, 21-2, 67. Gascon wine was noted in the accounts of 1369-70.

for a younger child but, as the king's second son, William, had died it was granted to the Black Prince. His increasing expenses had necessitated £100 being paid to him in May 1336 and a further £500 in November. £1,000, about a third of the tin revenues, was already assigned to William Montague and Thomas West had been granted a further £100. The king had also acquired £7,200 from the tin revenues in June of that year. Additional income was found for the prince from Exeter, Mere and Wallingford.⁴⁴ Edward III continued to use the duchy and adjoining lands for his own purposes. In 1344 the elder Burghersh was paid the income from the Devon stannary in lieu of a £200 pension.⁴⁵

The Black Death had a great effect on tin mining but also on other forms of income. The annual value of Calstock weir fell from £10 to £6. In 1353, William Stacy, a prominent Tavistock burgess, offered the duchy £8 a year for a seven year lease which was accepted. After nine months however, the abbot of Tavistock offered £10 a year and was granted the lease. Stacy was given £3 compensation for his expenditure on the weir.⁴⁶

Cornish income included revenue from the foreign manors linked to the duchy. These were augmented by estates which devolved to the prince on the death of his grandmother, such as Castle Rising, Norfolk, which recorded receipts of £101 7s. 10d. in 1371-2.⁴⁷ Cheylesmore manor with £98 6s. 8d. of rent in Coventry was also annexed to Cornwall on Isabella's death and £80 of rent of the castle and manor of Mere was granted by the king.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Barber, *Edward*, 19-20.

⁴⁵ Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 155.

⁴⁶ On 1 Oct. 1354 a perpetual lease of the fishery was granted to the abbot and his successors. It covered the stretch of water from Okeltor to Gulsworthy hatch, H.P.R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, Newton Abbot, 1969, 162-3. Stacy leased lands near Calstock (formerly held by Richard Bakhampton), *BPR*, ii, 54, 58, 61, 71.

⁴⁷ SC6/932/28. In the valor it is calculated as £90, Booth, *op cit.*, 175.

⁴⁸ *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327-41*, 423; Wolfe, *Royal Demesne*, 241.

Tin

Tin was a major element in Cornish income. Revenue was exacted through coinage, court fees and *tribulage*, known as black and white rent in Devon. In 1342 the "fine of tin" was introduced.⁴⁹ A number of duchy officials were prominent in buying and selling tin and some held shares in tin works. These included Nigel Loryng, Henry Nanfan⁵⁰ and John Trewyck who both served as bailiffs of Helston-in-Kerrier. Richard Bakhampton, Dabernon and Skirbek also had interests in the coinage of tin.⁵¹

The prince exercised his pre-emption rights in 1346 and exported virtually the whole annual tin production to Flanders presumably to pay for the Crécy campaign.⁵² In 1347, despite protests, the prince turned over the stannaries to Tideman de Limburg, who became receiver of the duchy, in return for an annual rent of 3,500 marks.⁵³ However, the plague devastated tin mining. Only 496 thousand-weight was mined in 1355 as compared with 1,328 thousand-weight in 1337. Revenue from coinage which had realised over £1,600 in 1303 and £3,035 3d. in 1337 fell to £993 7s. 1d. in 1355. Rates had recovered to a level of £1,707 8s. 7d. by 1368.⁵⁴ Efforts were made to revitalise the industry but, in the short-term, John Dabernon was able to farm the Devon stannary for only £80 in 1359.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, 168. *Tribulage* was only paid in the stannaries of Penwith and Kerrier and, after 1342, in Blackmore. In 1349 the yield was 20s. from Penwith and Kerrier and about 10s. from Blackmore. In 1350 6s. 8d. from Penwith and Kerrier was raised. The Black Death caused the rate per capita to be increased. However, by 1369 only 10d. was raised in Blackmore. For a selection of tribulage rates and revenue from court fees in Devon and Cornwall see Lewis, *Stannaries*, 267, 272, 274.

⁵⁰ Nanfan formed a business partnership with his brother and 14 others, *BPR*, ii, 158. In 1379-80 he owned a tin works in Blackmore, Hatcher, *English Tin Production*, 61-2.

⁵¹ E101/263/19; 263/26; Hatcher, *op cit.*, 57 and n. 7, 58 and n. 1.

⁵² *BPR*, i, 27, 66, 92; Hatcher, *op cit.*, 111.

⁵³ Lewis, *op cit.*, 139, 143-4. Tideman was Edward III's leading financier after the collapse of the Bardi and Peruzzi and soon became linked with the Black Prince. In 1346 he was receiver of coinage dues, received tin on the prince's behalf and then farmed the whole revenue, *BPR*, i, 9-10, 23, 29, 32, 33; *CPR*, 1345-8, 373. He suffered enormous losses as a result of the plague, Hatcher, *op cit.*, 106-7; A. Beardwood, *Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377: Their Legal and Economic Position*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, 17-21.

⁵⁴ Lewis, *op cit.*, 39-40, 156, 260.

⁵⁵ *BPR*, ii, 1, 129, 159; Hatcher, *op cit.*, 77.

iii. Wales

In 1343 Edward III granted his son the principality of Wales and in March 1346 he ordered that the corresponding accounts be enrolled at the exchequer but few were sent or survive, especially from north Wales and most of these predate 1345.⁵⁶ Wales was the richest of the prince's estates. By the time of his death it provided nearly half his total income. The majority of this came from the more administratively advanced north Wales. In addition to his estate revenue the prince also received some revenue from the tourn courts. The Caernarfon tourn rolls reveal many incidents of violent quarrelling between all races, sexes and classes. Some of the profits of these cases found their way to the prince's treasury.⁵⁷ In a broader sense "...it was through the exercise of its judicial power that foreign lordship made its greatest profits in post-Conquest Wales." This was achieved primarily through the session in eyre. Far more was derived from upland native Welsh communities than the Anglizied lowlanders.⁵⁸ As elsewhere the prince could prevail on communities to make grants to him. For example, in 1370 the men of Denbigh gave a subsidy of 480 marks.⁵⁹ Massive communal fines were demanded for offences against the lord. As a result of such measures the prince's estates in the principality and Flintshire brought in over £5,000 a year.⁶⁰

The *Quo Warranto* of 1348 is a prime early example of the prince's policy in Wales to increase his influence and to pay for military expeditions, in this case the Crécy campaign. It was also very concerned with ecclesiastical rights and both Delves and Shareshull were

⁵⁶ E101/387/25; 388/12; 389/6, 13.

⁵⁷ "Caernarvon Court Rolls, 1361-1402", ed. G.P. Jones and Hugh Owen, *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Record Series*, i (1951), 9, 66.

⁵⁸ Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 401-2.

⁵⁹ SC6/1183/3.

⁶⁰ Davies, *op cit.*, 402.

extremely influential in the operation.⁶¹ The drive to increase revenue was also notable in 1347 with the audit of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, made prematurely, well before the death of the earl of Surrey.⁶² Financial demands were restricted by the effects of the Black Death but efforts to maintain and even augment income were made in the face of the mounting economic crises. In addition to *quo warrantos*, measures taken included surveys, the use of central officials to counter administrative slackness, heavy criminal fines and subsidies. To ensure the more rapid collection of local revenues, local officials were made responsible to the prince's auditors not the local chamberlain. In Flintshire in 1351, the prince ordered the seizure of all Welsh land purchased in fee without his permission. There was a careful and profitable control of the land market and every opportunity was taken to declare Welsh lands escheat and lease them on English terms for an annual rent, bringing them more firmly under seigneurial control.⁶³ These reforms increased income from the early fourteenth century level of £2,258 (north Wales) and £1,059 (south Wales) to £3,041 and £1,619 respectively. Davies perhaps overstates his case when he describes the policy as the "systematic financial rape of the country"⁶⁴ but it was a vigorous and sometime oppressive process and could result in considerable opposition. FitzAlan warned the prince that some of his commands "seem to the Prince's good men in those parts to be very grievous and damaging to them".⁶⁵

The Black Death entered Wales from the south east and reached Abergavenny and Carmarthenshire by March 1349.⁶⁶ It spread northwards via Whittington and Chirk.

⁶¹ See G.A. Usher, "The Black Prince's 'Quo Warranto' (1348)", *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1974), 1-12. During the investigation only three individuals put forward claims to exclusive rights; Queen Isabella, the bishop of Bangor and Walter Manny (in Merioneth), Given, *State and Society*, 76-7.

⁶² It was valued at 2,000 marks a year, *BPR*, i, 96-7.

⁶³ Davies, *op cit.*, 400-1.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 403 and n. 11.

⁶⁵ *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, 244.

⁶⁶ For examples of increased heriots see E137/77/1. All the tenants died in Llanllwch manor. By 1353 the courts were still suspended and many tenements remained uncultivated. Miscellaneous revenues such as mill tolls and

Flintshire was particularly hard hit and in June 1349 the plague arrived in Ruthin. In Dyffryn Clwyd, 193 died in two weeks. In a fortnight, ten people died in Llangollen, 13 in Llanerch and 25 in Dogfalen. These figures probably soon doubled. Denbigh was also greatly affected. The north of the country probably suffered most. However later outbreaks in 1361-2 and 1369 brought the highest mortality rates to the south and south east, although Flint, Denbigh, Anglesey and Caernarfon were again visited. Effects on revenue were immediate since the mortality rates were especially high among the bondsmen who carried the greatest burden of rents and dues. As a result the burgesses of Rhuddlan were granted a rebate of a quarter on their farm of £40 for certain mills.⁶⁷ In Carmarthenshire rents were not collected until 1351 at which point the "Great Roll of Debts for South Wales" was begun.⁶⁸ Some arable land, particularly in the mid-eastern marches, became pasture. Tenements were amalgamated as the rural population diminished, some remained vacant for a generation and some urban areas were turned over to grazing.⁶⁹ The plague contributed to the virtual abandonment of demesne farming by the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Pastoral resources offered greater opportunities, especially through sheep farming.⁷⁰ Income from mining was also affected. Pre-plague revenue from Englefield was 100s. a year. By 1352 it was non-existent due to the death of the miners.⁷¹ However, escheats increased, as did fees from the chancery seal.⁷² Certain policy changes followed. It may have been thought that the appointment of Welsh sheriffs would increase revenue.⁷³ Anti-Welsh legislation was

fisheries were seriously diminished and fairs could not be held, William Rees, "The Black Death in Wales", *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. R.W. Southern, London and New York, 1968, 185.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 183-4 and n. 1. Griffith ap Madoc, *rhingild* of Uwcholet commote, was allowed £3 2s. 1d. from the customs of the tenants of Barok and Petruel. Many had died and their heirs were unable to buy their inheritance.

⁶⁸ Lloyd, *Carmarthenshire*, i, 246.

⁶⁹ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, 100-2.

⁷⁰ Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 399-400.

⁷¹ Evans, "Notes on the History of the Principality", 83.

⁷² Rees, *loc. cit.*, 186.

⁷³ In Flintshire, 1350-64, three Welshmen were sheriff: Ithel ap Cynwric Sais; Rhys ap Robert ap Gruffydd and Kenwric ap Robert, *The History of Flintshire from Earliest Times to the Act of Union*, ed. C.R. Williams,

reinforced such as Edward I's restrictions on Welshmen holding land in England and the acquisition of property elsewhere through purchase, marriage or inheritance. Trading was also limited as Welshmen were forced to sell their produce in the local borough market. As elsewhere, many were fined in 1360 for taking wages above those prescribed by the Statute of Labourers. Not all legislation was unforgiving of the plague however. In July 1352, a general order from the council to the chamberlain and deputy-justice of north Wales relieved the villeins and men of the advowry of each commote from their obligation to contribute cattle for the munitioning of castles until such time as conditions improved.⁷⁴

iv. Aquitaine

The grant of the principality of Aquitaine compounded the prince's financial difficulties. An analysis of that situation is similarly complicated as the sources available regarding the constabulary of Bordeaux are not as complete for the period of the prince's rule in Aquitaine as for the years immediately before or after. The prince did not enrol accounts in England and the Gascon register has been lost. The main source for the prince's finances in Aquitaine are the accounts of Richard Fillongley. At the end of 1370 Fillongley handed in a summary of the financial administration of the principality.⁷⁵ It does not provide a great degree of detail, payments were combined under a single heading, annuitants and those receiving wages were unspecified and little is known of the lesser officials and administrators. Accounts did continue to be enrolled for revenue due to Edward III for some years into the principality but again do not greatly illuminate the period after 1363.⁷⁶ Some of the results of the prince's policy in Aquitaine is evident in the accounts of the constables

Denbigh, 1961, 101.

⁷⁴ Rees, *loc. cit.*, 196-7 and n. 1.

⁷⁵ E101/38/15, 17, 18.

⁷⁶ E101/175/2; 176/2, 7. Receivers in c.1363-4 were: Angoumois, Bernard Grandin; Rouergue, Hugh Mercier;

who came to office after he had returned to England but they undoubtedly do not show the true extent of the prince's *largesse* to his retinue and household.

Gascon revenue fluctuated throughout the 1350s as a result of plague and war. The financial administration of the duchy during the prince's lieutenancy has been covered in great detail by Pierre Capra and space does not allow any more than a brief resumé. The *chevauchées* of 1355 and 1356, combined with Derby's campaigns had financial consequences for the principality of Aquitaine. The deliberately destructive tactics designed to limit revenue and inspire fear did little to endear the prince and his men to the population and weakened the area as a source of revenue. Financial support from England that was lost in the 1360s had covered about 48% of Gascon expenditure and in 1373-5 contributed over 40%.⁷⁷ Payments from the English exchequer to the constable of Bordeaux fell after 1356 from £3,000 to an average of £1,500. The appointment of Edward as prince absolved the English exchequer of financial responsibility for Aquitaine once it had covered the initial costs of equipping the prince's army. These were recorded as about £2,500 (£2,662 6s. 8d and £2,452 in different accounts).⁷⁸ Just prior to the creation of the principality, during William Farley's constablenesship, 20 September 1361 - 19 July 1362, revenue fell from the levels it had attained under John Streatley's regime.⁷⁹ There were however, financial advantages. "Au temps de Chivereston et de Streatley, l'une des principales préoccupations du gouvernement anglo-gascon, était la défense militaire nécessaire au maintien du duché. En 1361-1362, cette préoccupation a disparu."⁸⁰ Unfortunately it was also a time of plague and famine. The relocation of the prince to Aquitaine in 1363 brought with it an exploitation

Saintonge, Pierre Bernard; Agenais, Guiraud Faure; Bergerac, Guiraud Laurent; Bigorre, Géaud de Menta; Poitou, Pierre le Berton; Limousin, Jean le Berton.

⁷⁷ Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 452; Runyan, "Constabulary of Bordeaux", i, 229, based on E364/16/48-9.

⁷⁸ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 476.

⁷⁹ Capra, *op cit.*, 455-6.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 884.

of landed resources and need to realise certain assets in England. These included the sale of timber,⁸¹ wardships⁸² and lease of land.⁸³ Available finance was to be sent to London.⁸⁴ The king also provided money from a number of sources, particularly customs revenue from various ports.⁸⁵ Supplies were also needed of military and domestic items.⁸⁶

The principality always ran at a deficit. This led the prince to demand extraordinary subsidies from the estates general of Périgord in 1364, of Bordeaux in 1365 and by the estates of Aquitaine in 1366: "Il était déjà presque à bout de ressources quand il entreprit l'imprudent expédition d'Espagne."⁸⁷ It has been suggested that the principality was doomed from the outset and for specific financial concerns unconnected with the Nájera campaign. The prince was granted £15,004 19s. 4d. and the constable of Bordeaux £9,350 for the prince's retinue, totalling approximately £24,000. At the pre-1356 figure of £3,000 annual deficit in Gascony this subsidy should have sustained the prince for eight years, running out, conveniently, in 1371. The only additional revenue the prince received in this period was from the French ransom.⁸⁸

⁸¹ From Kirkbymoorside, 20 Feb. 1363, *BPR*, iv, 483; Sale of wood, underwood and land, 20 Sept./1 Oct. 1363, *ibid.*, 505, see *ibid.*, 506 for references to the sale of wardships, timber and land lease. Walter atte Grene and Thomas Doket sold up to 33 acres of woodland in Bamburgh and Spridlington, 19 Oct. 1363; felled wood was to be sold on 8 Nov. 1363, *ibid.*, 508-9, 511.

⁸² For example that purchased by William Bonde of Harewell, 16 Nov. 1363, *ibid.*, 511

⁸³ Northumberland estates were leased for two years for £10 a year to Robert Tillyol, 18 Oct. 1363, *ibid.*, 509.

⁸⁴ The manors of Torpel, Eston, Upton, Caldecote and Wissenden were to send available money, 23 Feb. 1363, *ibid.*, 487, as was Greetham manor, Lincs. The reeve of Brotelby passed the money to John Tone, receiver of Cottingham. He was also to bring all available funds on his next visit to London, 12 Apr. 1363, *ibid.*, 489-90. This process continued, 1364-5, Lincoln resources were to be sent to John Pryme, 5 Feb. 1364, *ibid.*, 522-3. Funds from Lamarsh and Kerseye were sent to Lacy, 20 May 1364, *ibid.*, 527. Wood was sold in Nettlebed manor, 10 May 1365, *ibid.*, 552.

⁸⁵ London customs provided 200 marks, £900, £1,316 12s. 6d. and £1,570 1s. 4d. between 15 Feb. and 26 July 1362. In July of the same year Boston produced £433 6s. 8d. and £213 6s. 8d. for the prince. Kingston gave him £212 on 26 July. £97 came from other sources, E401/19, 20; Capra, *op cit.*, 916 n. 22.

⁸⁶ On the preparations see *ibid.*, 909ff. 128 letters of protection were made out *ibid.*, 921-2 n. 56 (including 40 knights and seven clerks). See also BL Cotton Julius IV f.291. 400 bows, 1,000 sheaves of arrows and 2,000 bowstrings were purveyed, 23 Feb. 1363. £217 11s. ½d. was paid for purveyed items, 22 May 1363, *BPR*, iv, 488, 495.

⁸⁷ Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 125.

⁸⁸ Musgrove, *North of England*, 161. However, this was partly to discharge debts from the Reims campaign, Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 494.

The policy of maximizing revenue through the profits of justice in the prince's English and Welsh estates was not adopted in Aquitaine, rather there was a reliance on traditional feudal dues. These were named and applied differently throughout the principality. They included profits from manors, urban rents, income from prévôtés and bailliages, rights of escheat, wardship and relief, customs, profits of justice, confiscation of holdings, emoluments of seals and grants by towns.⁸⁹ The *communium pacis*, which had been introduced for the maintenance of the Peace of God, was still collected.⁹⁰ Fillongley's accounts reveal a steady increase in income throughout the period of the principality.⁹¹ The *fouage*, which brought about the prince's downfall in Aquitaine, was exacted on many occasions.⁹² The total *fouage* may have raised 120,808 *l.b.* This however indicates taxpayers' debts and little of this sum probably reached the treasury. It was not an unusual form of taxation and in 1368 was not arbitrarily imposed. In January the Estates of Aquitaine voted at Angoulême for it to be levied at 10 *sous* per hearth for five years. The people apparently submitted without difficulty, the nobles resisted.⁹³

⁸⁹ Moisant, *op cit.*, 110 and n. 2, 111-12, 116-18 and nn. 2-3. Some areas had taxes for investiture, inheritance or acquisition of fiefs, usually paid at the rate of one year's income. There were also fines for exemption from certain feudal obligations and other dues included the *capitagia*, head tax. The *census denarius* was paid by each tenant and was fixed by custom. It appears to have had effect in 20 bailliages of the Rouergue. *Logres* was a tax on a life interest in certain areas. It was not very profitable. There were many forms of revenue from judicial and legal sources. Not all were destined for the prince's coffers. Chandos received the issues from the bailliages of Montarouche, Langon, Saint-Louberg, Samazan, Montpouillan and Bouglon. Garcias Arnaud de Favars received the revenues of Labenne and Cap-Breton. Guichard d'Angles in Rochefort, Gobert de Beauville in Sauvetat-de-Savères and Castelsagrat and others also had rights to profits of justice. In 1368 the rights to the prévôté of Oléron were granted to James Audley. Rights of confiscation and/or the sale of goods of criminals were profitable. The combined income of the various seals increased over the period of the principality due to the development of civil and commercial interests.

⁹⁰ It was not a standard payment and was not mentioned in the accounts regarding the 13 bailliages of the Rouergue it reached its maximum in 1367 in Laguile, Najac, Villeneuve, Roqueceziere, Cassan and Compeyre, *ibid.*, 111-12.

⁹¹ Morgan, "Cheshire and the Defence of Aquitaine", 143.

⁹² In the Limousin it was exacted on four occasions in five years, in Périgord five times in three years, in Poitou, four times in seven years, in Quercy twice in three years, in the Angoumois four times in seven years and in the Rouergue on four occasions in six years, Moisant, *op cit.*, 112 n. 1. In 1364 it was set at the high rate of 1 guyennois d'or (25 *sous*) per hearth which led to resistance; Armagnac did not let it be levied in Rodez, Barber, Edward, 181-2, 185.

⁹³ Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule*, 101. For details of the concessions made by the prince in return for the tax see *Livre des Bouillons* (Archives municipales de Bordeaux), 172-7 no. li; "Le livre noir et les établissements de Dax", *AHG*, xxxvii, 369-76 no. xlix.

Coinage provided another aspect of the prince's income. He introduced a number of gold and silver coins, *léopard* and *guyennois*, from mints at Bordeaux, Agen, Figeac, Limoges and Poitiers.⁹⁴ Profits varied but the return on minting gold was estimated as being four times the cost of production and silver returned three times the minting expense. The prince also had certain rights over the silver mines of Rouergue and there was profit to be made from contraventions of ordinances regarding coinage. Edward III had confirmed the ancient rights and privileges and exemptions of the moneyers but the prince later ignored this, forcing a response from his father.

Wine Trade

Wine was the main source of revenue. The constable of Bordeaux's largest single element of income came from various duties on wine.⁹⁵ Bordeaux was the port for wine of the Bordelais, the Upper Garonne and Bordeaux. To the south, wine was shipped from Bourg and Blaye. Dordogne wines were loaded at Libourne but this site was used much less after the outbreak of the war. Saintonge was active in the trade through La Rochelle. The largest single receipt in the 1360-1 account of Saintonge was 3,000 royals raised from a levy of 10 *sous* per ton of wine and 4d. per *livre* of goods sold in La Rochelle.⁹⁶ Wine customs were of two sorts, "la grande coutume"/*custuma vinorum*, paid on exported Bordelais products, and "le petite coutume"/*custuma yssac Burdegalis*.⁹⁷ Bordeaux customs were very high and although the burgesses, nobles and ecclesiastics⁹⁸ were free from the great

⁹⁴ Capra, "L'apogée politique", 388-9.

⁹⁵ M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453*, Oxford, 1970, 11.

⁹⁶ Robert Favreau, "Comptes de la sénéchaussée de Saintonge, 1360-2" *BEC*, 117, (1959), 82 and n. 2.

⁹⁷ The receiver of the *yssac* was Bernard "de Magistro", Moisant, *op cit.*, 121.

⁹⁸ The archbishop of Bordeaux was a principal wine exporters, Goldsmith, "Crisis of the Late Middle Ages", 435.

custom they still had to pay *Royan*, a tax, as ships passed the town from the sea.⁹⁹ Wine was subject to additional exactions including keelage, levied on the first visit of a ship, *gauge* and a levy on wine sold in Bordeaux taverns.¹⁰⁰

Bordeaux merchants were extremely influential. They “were not unlike the great merchant princes of Italy in their wealth and power and their constant loans to king and government gave them a hold over the public administration of Gascony.”¹⁰¹ The prince’s court may have provided them with an attractive market in the 1360s but their income and consequently, customs revenue was reduced nonetheless.¹⁰² In 1364, a policy was introduced of restricting merchants to trading in only one sort of commodity although Gascons could also deal in fish. In 1369, the prince complained that the prohibition of English merchants meant that much wine remained unsold and consequently receipts from customs were greatly diminished.¹⁰³

Other agricultural exactions included levies on cereal and bean production and harvest, transport and sale. These also were not regular throughout the principality. Flour and wheat carried an indirect tax in Poitou, Bigorre, Gaure, the Agenais and the Rouergue. There were also financial impositions on grazing and moving herds in certain areas and on the cutting and harvesting of herbs. As elsewhere the forests provided an important source of income.¹⁰⁴ Tolls on rivers and bridges and the right to fish also brought in money. Customs on the trade in armour and salt from the pans of Bordeaux, Poitou and Soulac were also

⁹⁹ M.K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. E.M. Veale, Oxford, 1971, 1 and n. 4.

¹⁰⁰ The sire de Mussidan was appointed “gauger” to check the quality of the wine for which the merchants had to pay. After numerous complaints that they had been forced to pay the *gaugetum* several times the prince decreed in October 1365 that only a single check per shipment would be demanded, Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 120-1. See also *Livre des Buillons* (Archives municipales de Bordeaux), 146 no. xxxix.

¹⁰¹ Lodge, *Gascony Under English Rule*, 168. A further tax on wine in 1373 was used to pay for repairs to the walls of Bordeaux, *Livre des Bouillons* (Archives municipales de Bordeaux), 149 no. xli.

¹⁰² James, *op cit.*, 23-4.

¹⁰³ Sargeant, “Wine Trade”, 309. Full Ref. See also Y. Renouard, “L’exportation des vins gascons”, *Bordeaux sous les rois d’Angleterre*, Bordeaux, 1965, 233-66.

¹⁰⁴ The forests concerned were Moulières-la-Chapelle, Colombier, Chauvigny, Montreuil-Bonnin and

profitable. The return trade was predominately corn although there was also wool, cloth and fish, particularly from Devon and Cornwall. Corn imports had increased as more land was turned over to the vine. When the prince had travelled to Gascony in 1355 he reserved corn grown in two of his manors for military use.¹⁰⁵ The effects of the plague in Aquitaine were considerable and whilst the prince did not have to contend with matters there after the first epidemic, the outbreak of 1361 left an impression still evident on his arrival.¹⁰⁶

Expenditure

The primary areas of expenditure were the prince's household and retinue. Edward's personal expenses such as gambling, the purchase of jewels, gifts, alms and other items were paid by the chamber. It was financed through fees on rendering homage, through certain manors such as Watlington, Wisley, Risborough and Byfleet, loans, gifts from the king and through the transfer of money from the exchequer and wardrobe.¹⁰⁷ When military expenditure was the major burden on the prince's pocket his personal extravagance was considerable. Whilst preparing to embark in 1359 it was noted that £387 was owed to his painter and £340 to his embroiderer,¹⁰⁸ although these could have been military expenses for heraldic purposes, such as banners, or even for tent making. Prior to the same, Reims, campaign, a number of Cheshire knights were paid out of funds assigned to the prince's

Montmorillon in Poitou and Braconne in the Angoumois, Moisant, *op cit.*, 122-3.

¹⁰⁵ *CPR*, 1354-8, 482; Sargeant, *loc. cit.*, 257-8.

¹⁰⁶ For a contrary view suggesting that social and economic structures in France were largely unaffected by the plague and that the famines which occurred up to 1348 had little effect on population totals see Goldsmith, "The Crisis of the Late Middle Ages", 446-7.

¹⁰⁷ Tout, *Chapters*, v, 356-60. For an example of purchases for the chamber see *BPR*, iv, 324-5.

¹⁰⁸ *BPR*, iv, 327-8.

wardrobe and chamber, provided that sufficient resources remained for the building programme at Kennington.¹⁰⁹

Military expenses were the largest burden but they were irregular and were partly funded by the Crown. Annuities were, inevitably, a constant expense, usually paid twice yearly at Easter and Michaelmas. Household annuities, as distinct from those granted for military service, tended to be paid from the manor where the recipient was employed and these were often in the form of continuing wages, in effect a pension. Wallingford, the most valuable of the foreign manors associated with the duchy of Cornwall, paid a large proportion of those for which records remain and it is probable that the prince kept a large number of staff there.¹¹⁰ Those annuitants “inherited” from the earl of Kent and those who were similarly rewarded after the prince’s marriage for service to himself and his wife, tended to be financed from the issues of Kent’s manors. With one exception, all the lawyers retained by the prince were paid out of central reserves.

The expenses noted in Fillongley’s accounts of the principality of Aquitaine include alms,¹¹¹ gifts, honorary payments to envoys and messengers, wages of officials, military costs,¹¹² certain extraordinary payments and allocations from the constable of Bordeaux and the prince’s household treasurer. They are indicative of the areas of expense which the prince had to fund throughout his demesne. Public spending, the building and repair of

¹⁰⁹ Letters of protection and half their wages of war were given to: Ralph Mobberley, £11 13s. 4d.; John Daniers, £11 13s. 4d.; William Carrington, 10 marks; Hamo Mascy, 100s.; John Danyers, 100s. (the remainder of his fees were to be taken out of a debt to the prince to the value of £11 13s. 4d.); Thomas Stathum, 100s.; Robert le Bruyn, 66s. 8d.; Robert Legh, 66s. 8d., *ibid.*, iii, 200.

¹¹⁰ The valor calculated Wallingford to be worth £340, Booth, *Financial Administration*, 175.

¹¹¹ Alms do not figure in the Limoges or Périgord accounts, Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 107.

¹¹² These increased towards the start of the Spanish campaign and beyond into the rebellion. In Bigorre the area nearest the hostilities spending doubled, 1366 it was 2,229 *l.g.*, 1367, 4,500 *l.g.* 10s., 1370, 14,028 *l.g.* 13s. 4d. In the Bordelais it rose from 6,119 *l.g.* 14d. in 1367 to 23,322 *l.g.* 10s. 6d. in 1369. In Rouergue spending in 1366 was 3,310 *l.g.* and the following year it rose to 5,611 *l.g.* The more that was spent on military matters the lower the expenditure on public works, *ibid.*, 108 and nn. 2-3.

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fortified sites and civic buildings as well as the prince's own residences and other costs were also included.

The prince's household was lavish and his court in Aquitaine, luxurious.¹¹³ Specific occasions could also be very expensive. In March 1365 a son was born to the prince and princess at Angoulême. If we are to believe the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of Lynn, on 27 April a great tournament was held to celebrate the churching of the princess. At this, 154 lords and 706 knights were present, 18,000 horses were stabled at the prince's expense and 24 knight and 24 lords comprised Joan's retinue. It lasted for ten days and the cost of the candles alone was over £400.¹¹⁴

The prince's and his wife's love of fine clothes and jewellery is well known and only added to this burden.¹¹⁵ In 1355 payments totalling £3,375 13s. 4d. for jewels and £1,829 12s. for embroidery were recorded.¹¹⁶ Such spending was not controlled when the prince gained responsibilities for Aquitaine and its very limited finances. Indeed it was said that between the victory at Poitiers and his arrival in Bordeaux in 1362 much of the prince's personal fortune had been spent on tournaments and other frivolities.¹¹⁷ He tried to allay

¹¹³ The prince's household expenditure remained very high throughout his residence in Aquitaine. It was not reduced in accordance with increased spending in other areas such as during the Nájera campaign. In fact it exhausted the treasury, "...for since the birth of God such fair state was never kept as his, nor more honourable, for ever he had at his table more than fourscore knights and full four times as many squires. There were held jousts and feasts in Angoulême and Bordeaux; there abode all nobleness, all joy and jollity, largesse, gentleness and honour, and all his subjects and all his men loved him right dearly, for he dealt liberally with them. Those who dwelt about him esteemed and loved him greatly for largesse sustained him...", *Chandos Herald*, v. 1607 ff., ed. Pope and Lodge, 148.

¹¹⁴ See Antonia, Gransden, "A Fourteenth Century Chronicle From the Grey Friars at Lynn", *EHR*, lxxii (1957), 276; *CPR*, 1364-7, 180; *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, 236; Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce, vi, 93, 285.

¹¹⁵ For contemporary attitudes to dress see *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, 230-1; Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365*, Woodbridge, 1988. Much is made of the sartorial extravagances of the prince and princess. Gascon suppliers at Saint-Antonin-de-Rouergue, Montauban, Villefranche d'Aveyron and Rodez provided luxurious garments for them as well as their courtiers of velvet, cloth-of-gold and damask. Silk was imported for the ladies' dresses and Joan made use of gauzy materials in shimmering colours. She introduced the fashion of "split bodices" and ermine borders. Girdles of silk were worn with enameled or golden buckles. Garments were fur-lined, cloaks of silk and linen were bought from Lyon, Aleppo and Alexandria, Moisant, *Prince Noir*, 109. See also *BPR*, iv, 324-5, 476, 626.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 151-2.

¹¹⁷ *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, 227.

the fears of his creditors prior to his departure ordering his executors to pay off his debts in the event of his death.¹¹⁸ The situation soon worsened "Tant que le Prince Noir gouverna l'Aquitaine, l'équilibre entre les revenus et les dépenses n'exista jamais."¹¹⁹

Military Finance

Despite such pressures, military campaigns, much more than the prince's extravagant lifestyle, were the cause of his financial difficulties that were brought to a head after the battle of Najera. The administration of his estates was primarily geared for war and in the later 1360s those same estates, particularly Cheshire, paid the price, in equipment, wages and rewards. The increase in the prince's income and authority throughout his demesne served to finance his military campaigns. In a number of ways, and particularly through the work of William Shareshull, the prince mimicked his father's fiscal policy. "From the very outset of his military career Edward III appreciated the contribution which the profits of jurisdiction could make to his war finances."¹²⁰ In terms of sources available for the study of military finances the day book or *journal* of Sir John Henxteworth is unique and not only for the campaigns of the Black Prince.¹²¹ There has been little to add to the comprehensive use of this document by Barber and H.J. Hewitt and the majority of citations, for ease of reference, will be given from *The Black Prince's Expedition, 1355-57*. Henxteworth's role in the 1355-6 campaigns was that of a cashier and he made a number of payments on campaign. The majority of his work was undertaken in Bordeaux both before

¹¹⁸ 26 Aug. 1362, Rymer, III, ii, 676.

¹¹⁹ Moisant, *op cit.*, 106.

¹²⁰ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 401.

¹²¹ Duchy of Cornwall office, Henxteworth.

the campaign began and during the winter of 1355-6. His account was not organised in any real sense; payments were simply recorded with few dates.¹²²

The financial burden engendered by Edward's policy of paying foreign allies was partly responsible for the change in military strategy to the shorter, less expensive *chevauchée*. The remarkable success of the Edwardian war policy was reflected in a high taxation yield for the Crown. Thereafter, for 20 years, direct war taxation became a normal and apparently permanent feature of government.¹²³

The war had serious economic consequences both positive and negative. Individuals could acquire wages, booty and ransoms, the government could benefit through the systematic exploitation of occupied provinces, principally Brittany and Gascony. By contrast, the demand for soldiers could starve agriculture and industry, although the profits of war during the early phases tended to offset the effects of falling agricultural profits. There was also the threat of occupation and/or devastation by enemy forces and markets could be gained or lost with changing territorial control and as the spending power of those involved rose or fell. Trade was also restricted when the requirement for ships affected the merchant fleets. Such factors were particularly apparent during the Crécy-Calais expedition. Over 30,000 troops were involved in the Calais siege, probably equivalent to about 1% of the population.¹²⁴

Military costs did not disappear even during periods of truce. Fillongley's account does not specify the purpose of the payments totalling 171,305 *l.g.* 2s. 10d. (nearly £34,000) made to soldiers during the principality of Aquitaine. These were probably not payments

¹²² Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 81-2.

¹²³ *ibid.*, 313-14.

¹²⁴ K.B. McFarlane, "England and the Hundred Years War", *Past and Present*, 22 (1962), 3-5, 10.

connected to the Nájera campaign but were for border defence against the Free Companies and other potential incursions.¹²⁵

Government Payments

The Crécy-Calais campaign initiated the composition of the registers of the prince's letters but provides relatively little detail about the financial arrangements of 1346-7. The campaigns which were led by the king have tended to leave fewer central records since they were administered "on the spot" by the king's own officials. The prince's preparations for the Reims expedition have provided considerable information which overcomes this. However, this was not the case in 1346 which, while less of a drain on the royal wardrobe than the expeditions of 1338-41, was nonetheless very expensive. In the period 4 June 1346 – 12 October 1347, total wages were £127,201 2s. 9d. and over £16,000 was still owing when Wetewang closed his account in the following month.¹²⁶ The contribution to the prince is not clear. He was paid £3,752 at Easter in 1349 but presumably this was not the only such payment.¹²⁷ As an individual the prince was paid 20s. a day for military service compared with an earl who received 6s. 8d.¹²⁸ As a recruiting captain he received more substantial amounts. The loss of accounts presents problems not only for a financial assessment of the prince's role in the campaign but also for determinations of manpower and periods of service.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Delpit, *Documents français*, 176.

¹²⁶ Harriss, *op cit.*, 332; J.H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster; or, the Three Reigns of Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II., 1307-1399*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1913, i, 352. Wetewang's pay rolls no longer survive. His book of receipts, E101/390/12, is partly transcribed in Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, 205-14 and there is an issue roll, E403/336. Partial transcripts were made in the 16th and 17th centuries, for comments on these and particularly Wrottesley, *op cit.* see Ayton, "English Army", 260-7.

¹²⁷ E403/347; Harriss, *op cit.*, 332 n. 6.

¹²⁸ Ramsay, *Revenues*, 199.

¹²⁹ Ayton, "English Army", 259 and nn. 42-4.

On 6 April 1350 the prince was assigned £2,750 and on 5 May £2,755 to pay the earls of Arundel, Warwick, Huntingdon and Northampton who were accompanying him to Calais.¹³⁰ During the month the prince received £13,000 for his own expenses and those of the captains for a quarter of a year.¹³¹

The economic implications of the Poitiers campaigns were very considerable for the prince and the war effort as a whole. The war restarted in 1355 just as the triennial subsidy expired. On 10 July the Black Prince was appointed the king's lieutenant in Gascony. The prince met part of the cost of the expedition but much of it was underwritten by the Crown. In 1355 and 1359 the prince was granted the proceeds of profits of justice. From Shareshull's 1354-5 sessions in the west country, £1,067 8s. 11¼d. was made over.¹³² Contributions were also made from customs, including 1,000 marks from London and some funds were forwarded from duties on wine in Ireland.¹³³ The balance was provided by the exchequer which paid the prince and his principal commanders more than £19,500. On 8 May 1355, £380 was brought to Southampton by William Wenlok to pay 28 days wages to sailors hired for the fleet assembled to transport the prince and his army. In July a further £400 was taken to the same port.¹³⁴ Wages for the army were paid in the same month.¹³⁵ Prior to sailing more than £7,242 was paid in both wages and supplies.¹³⁶ This included payments to a number of the foreign knights were paid in September 1355.¹³⁷ Provisions were required for the period of the assembly of troops, before embarking for France. The

¹³⁰ E401/401.

¹³¹ E404/5/32.

¹³² *BPR*, ii, 86. They were worth over £2,500 in total, B.H. Putnam, *The Place in Legal History of Sir William Shareshull*, Cambridge, 1950, 39.

¹³³ See 10 July 1357, *CCR*, 1354-60, 368.

¹³⁴ Hewitt, *Horse in Medieval England*, 46.

¹³⁵ Noted in the indenture signed by the prince and his father, *BPR*, iv, 143-5.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 156.

¹³⁷ Hewitt, *op cit.*, 82.

delay at Plymouth prior to sailing increased the financial pressure on the prince and, to pacify his creditors, his executors were empowered to hold his lands for three years in the event of his death.¹³⁸ This extended an arrangement of one year made in August 1350. The bill for provisions while at Plymouth amounted to nearly £1,100. Additional payments included, 10,000 marks to the constable of Bordeaux, £4,000 to the treasurer of Calais and £3,300 was spent on shipping. The total cost of all military operations (1355-6) was over £110,000. The king's messenger, John Padbury, delivered further sums to the prince in Bordeaux from England just prior to his return. In May 1357 parliament granted him additional money to discharge his debts, about £10,500 was assigned to him and his chief commanders from the 1357 lay subsidy.¹³⁹

No general taxation was demanded for the 1359-60 expedition but the king provided his son with some revenue from "irregular" sources. A grant of 500 marks was made from the customs of Great Yarmouth.¹⁴⁰ The profits of justice were again employed, in particular Shareshull's recent assizes of oyer and terminer in Devon and Cornwall.¹⁴¹ The prince received little financial support after he moved to Aquitaine and none for the Spanish campaign, but following the resumption of the war with France in 1369 funds again began to flow from England. On 3 February 1369 £6,200 was paid for wages of war.¹⁴² In total £20,000 was to be sent as well as 60 men-at-arms, and 880 archers.¹⁴³

Estate Resources

¹³⁸ *CPR*, 1348-50, 562; 1354-8, 264.

¹³⁹ Harriss, *op cit.*, 343-5 and nn. 2-3, 344 nn. 2-3, 345 n. 2.

¹⁴⁰ 355 marks of this sum was in arrears on 14 Sept. 1359, *BPR*, iv, 311.

¹⁴¹ 1 Sept. 1359, *CPR*, 1358-61, 265.

¹⁴² *Issues of the Exchequer*, ed. Devon, 192.

¹⁴³ Ramsay, *Revenues*, 252 n. 1.

The prince's demesne contributed to his military expeditions and solely "funded" the Nájera operation. In England and Wales, a number of common economic procedures preceded a campaign. In 1355 and 1359 all available estate resources were sent to London. In 1355 the prince's auditors assessed available revenue and determined that Cheshire could provide £1,383 8s. 2½d., north Wales, £857 16s. 5d. and south Wales, £1,093 13s. 10½d. All sums due were to be levied by the end of September and sent to Peter Lacy.¹⁴⁴ In 1359 John Delves ordered the chamberlains of Chester and north Wales to bringing all available funds including recent fines to London by 9 August.¹⁴⁵ An initial demand for money due from the Cheshire forests had to be rescinded after a report by Wingfield that payment could not be made in time. Escheated lands were to be rented as quickly as possible and wardships and marriages were also sold.¹⁴⁶ As the prince was "in great need of money" in 1359, part of the underwood in the manors of Calistock and Liskeard and elsewhere in the duchy of Cornwall were to be sold. Wood was also to be sold from a number of other sites.¹⁴⁷ Measures were also taken for increasing the profitability of the stannaries.¹⁴⁸

On returning from Gascony in 1357 further revenue was exacted. A Cheshire forest eyre raised £1,000 from the Wirral¹⁴⁹ and £2,000 from Mara-Mondrem¹⁵⁰ and Delamere, in communal fines.¹⁵¹ It met at Chester and Macclesfield under the presidency of Richard

¹⁴⁴ BPR, iii, 214, 215; Hewitt, *op cit.*, 25.

¹⁴⁵ BPR, iii, 349, 354, 355. Delves received 60s. for his costs in connection with this operation transacted at Holt castle and the carriage of the money to London, *ibid.*, 364.

¹⁴⁶ 25 Sept. 1359, *ibid.*, 368.

¹⁴⁷ 11 Apr. 1359, *ibid.*, ii, 155, 158-9.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 157-8.

¹⁴⁹ The forest eyre in Wirral in 1353-4 raised £3,928 compared with average early 14th century Cheshire income of £1,300-£1,800, Bolton, *Medieval English Economy*, 213. On his death-bed the prince asked that the inhabitants of the Wirral be no longer subject to forest law as they had suffered under his officials, Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, 278. William, son of John Stanley of Wirral, was hereditary master-forester acting in 1377, Stewart Brown, *Serjeants*, 119.

¹⁵⁰ Booth, *Financial Administration*, 121-2. Richard Doune was keeper of the forests of Mara and Mondrem, acting 2 Sept. 1348, Brownbill, "Ledger Book of Vale Royal", 24-5.

¹⁵¹ On 30 Sept. 1357 pleas in Delamere forest were made before Willoughby, Stafford, Delves and Brunham. Claims were made that all the lands were deforested and thus outside the authority of forest officials. References were made to an earlier case heard by Thomas Ferrers. It was not solved until 23 Aug. 1359 when a compromise

Willoughby, Stafford and Delves, but Macclesfield refused to pay the common fine.

Individual fines there only amounted to £63 of which no more than £23 had been collected by 1361.¹⁵² The resumption of the war in France was supplemented by finance from elsewhere in the prince's demesne, particularly Cheshire, which at the same time that the *fouage* in Aquitaine was granted gave a subsidy of 2,500 marks payable over two years. In 1373 the palatinate added a further gift of 3,000 marks.¹⁵³

Prior to campaigns loans were called in such as those from the countess of Hainault and dean of Soignies in 1355.¹⁵⁴ The prince also made use of credit, Tideman de Limbergh loaned the prince 500 marks "in his great need at the siege of Calais",¹⁵⁵ £500 was borrowed from Thomas Wogan and the chamberlain of north Wales obtained £100 for the prince prior to the 1355 *chevauchée*.¹⁵⁶ The loans which the prince was forced to take out before the Reims campaign, demonstrate that despite the value of the captives taken at Poitiers he was, by 1359, in a precarious financial position. The 1359 campaign was exceptional in that it was financed without taxation. Due to this and the expenses accrued as a result of the Poitiers campaign, the prince was forced to take on increasing loans. The success of the 1355 and 1356 *chevauchées* may have placated his long-standing creditors but they were clearly worried at the prospect of a further dangerous campaign and an additional extension of time was allowed to Edward's executors to repay his debts.¹⁵⁷

One of his most regular creditors was the earl of Arundel. Their financial association began when the prince began to pay FitzAlan £200 annually for life from the fee-farm of

was reached involving the redefinition of forest boundaries, Brownbill, *loc. cit.*, 138-42.

¹⁵² Booth, *op cit.*, 122-3. For attempts by the prince to prevent the destruction of Cheshire forests see H.J. Hewitt, *Medieval Cheshire*, (Chetham Society, 87) 1929, 90-3.

¹⁵³ Morgan, "Cheshire and the Defence of Aquitaine", 143.

¹⁵⁴ BPR, iv, 139, 143; Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 24.

¹⁵⁵ BPR, i, 29.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, iv, 143; Hewitt, *op cit.*, 124.

¹⁵⁷ Rymer, III, i, 445; CPR, 1358-61, 268.

Chester and the mills of the Dee in lieu of 500 marks Arundel was owed from the accounts of the justice, constable and sheriff of Caernarfon.¹⁵⁸ In 1349 the earl loaned the prince £20 and in 1353-4 £253. In 1349 he had paid the prince 800 marks for the wardship and marriage of John Le Strange of Whitchurch. The sums increased for the Reims campaign and thereafter. £2,000 was advanced by the earl of Arundel on the security of a crown and a jewelled star taken from the King of France at Poitiers.¹⁵⁹ On the following day John Delves was notified that £1,000 would be delivered to him to be brought to the prince. In 1360/1 350 marks were lent and in July 1362 the prince borrowed £1,000 from the earl. 2,000 marks were loaned in c.1371. The link with FitzAlan was enhanced since, in 1364, his daughter, Alice, married Thomas Holland, the prince's stepson. Furthermore, Joan borrowed 1,000 marks in 1376 and John Delves was loaned 500 marks.¹⁶⁰

Arundel was by no means the prince's only creditor. In 1359, 500 marks was made available to the prince by the earl of Hereford and Essex.¹⁶¹ John Wingfield, in association with others, raised the huge sum of 20,000 marks from various sources. He was to be repaid from estate income and out of debts owed to the prince by Edward III, but as he died soon after it is questionable whether he or his estate were ever reimbursed. Part of the sum was lent by Wingfield himself "and others of the prince's friends" and the rest had been raised by Sir John from other unspecified sources.¹⁶² Antony Malebayalla, merchant of Asti and Hugh Provane, merchant of Carignano, loaned 1,000 marks, Ralph Nevill, 500 marks and the

¹⁵⁸ 11 Nov. 1351, *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 8.

¹⁵⁹ 24 July 1359, *BPR*, iv, 302, 333. The chamberlain of Chester was to levy all available funds on 20 May 1360 for payment to Richard FitzAlan for payment on Friday in Whitsun, *ibid.*, iii, 381.

¹⁶⁰ For discussion of Arundel's loans and his wider business affairs see C. Given-Wilson, "Wealth and Credit, Public and Private: The Earls of Arundel 1306-1397", *EHR*, cvi (1991), 1-26; Llinos Beverley Smith, "Seignorial Income in the Fourteenth Century: The Arundels in Chirk", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28 (1979), 443, 451-2 and his "The Arundel Charters to the Lordship of Chirk in the Fourteenth Century", *BBCS* (1969), pt. 2, 153-66.

¹⁶¹ 30 July 1359, *BPR*, iv, 304.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 326.

bishop of Lincoln, 500 marks.¹⁶³ 1,000 marks were borrowed from the bishop of Winchester and £100 each from Henry Pickard and Adam Franceys.¹⁶⁴ John Peche borrowed £1,000 from various London merchants on the prince's behalf as well as repaying 250 marks to William de la Pole for him.¹⁶⁵ Peche was appointed the prince's attorney in a matter regarding the transfer of certain jewels from the sire de Lesparre and Sir Petiton Curton and also received the crown which had been pledged as security for the loan made by the earl of Arundel.¹⁶⁶ Peche's service in these matters may have been responsible for the grant of a licence to hunt and take game in any of the prince's chases, parks and warrens in Devon and Cornwall whilst he was on pilgrimage to St Michael's Mount.¹⁶⁷ The prince had close links to a number of the merchant community in London. Adam and Simon Franceys were active in Cornwall in the 1340s and 1350s and advanced a number of loans to the prince and his tenants as did John Pyel.¹⁶⁸

In addition to money, the prince also required supplies for his expeditions. There was extensive purveyance throughout the southern counties for bows and arrows for the prince's and Lancaster's expeditions in 1355. In Cornwall, the prince's officials were involved in purveying victuals and war materials for which over £1,000 was still owed in 1357 despite an order that the sum be repaid in September 1355.¹⁶⁹ Resources were insufficient and whilst in Gascony the responsibility for keeping the prince supplied was undertaken by merchants

¹⁶³ See *ibid.*, 304, 305, 319, also Manuel "de Malebaille", *ibid.*, 403.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 327.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 321, 327.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 333.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 332.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, i, 65; ii, 58, 79; iv, 284, 327, 402. Simon Fraunceys was also well connected. He was associated with Humphrey Bohun, he was the earl of Pembroke's trustee and his daughter, Maud, married John Montague, 3rd earl of Salisbury. Pyel's brother Henry was clerk to the elder Bartholomew Burghersh, S.J. O'Connor, "A Calendar of the Cartularies of John Pyel and Adam Fraunceys", *Camden Miscellany*, 5th ser., ii (1993), 21, 25. See Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 326-7, 260-2, 367 for details of Nicholas Brembre, Adam Bury, Franceys, Henry Picard, John Pulteneye, Pyel and John Stodeye.

¹⁶⁹ *BPR*, ii, 86, 103, 107, 116.

operating under royal patent.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore a merchant was appointed to buy gold for the prince's use as it served as a universal currency for overseas purchases and expenses.¹⁷¹

The Nájera Campaign

The financial implications and consequences of the Spanish campaign are clear and well known. The failure of Pedro to honour his debts in accordance with the treaty of Libourne (1366) necessitated another *fouage* which, although not rare, and by no means an invention of the prince, encouraged the appeal to Charles V, the re-opening of the war, and ultimately the loss of the principality. "Pour trouver les ressources nécessaires les expédients ne suffisaient plus; il fallait instituer, comme on l'avait fait en France, un regime fiscal qui, par l'aggravation et surtout la permanance des charges, lèserait fatalement des finances traditionelles."¹⁷² But it was not military action alone that brought about the collapse of the principality. The Nájera expedition served only as a catalyst to forces which were already at work. These, in conjunction with the post-campaign taxation policy and the failure of the 1369-70 defence, led to the loss of greater Aquitaine.

Pedro offered at Libourne to pay the prince 550,000 florins for six months' active service. The prince would cover costs up until 10 January 1367 and Pedro would pay for the following six months in two instalments. This was in addition to the 56,000 florins he owed to Charles of Navarre. It must have been clear that he would not be able to repay this or provide the territories offered to the prince and, among others, John Chandos. "As for the land demands of the Black Prince, chosen for their importance to English naval and commercial interests, it would almost appear as if Pedro were smiling up his sleeve at the

¹⁷⁰ Geoffrey Hamby of Kingston-upon-Hull, Thomas Drayton, Hugh Fastolf, Adam Kentish, John Kesteven and Thomas Santon, provided wheat and salt-fish, *CPR 1354-8*, 467-8, 471.

¹⁷¹ Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 24.

¹⁷² Delachenal, *Charles V*, iv, 55.

prince's naivete."¹⁷³ This was particularly so in the case of Biscay where the people elected their own lord and who were fierce commercial competitors of the English. The prince may well have realised the scale of his financial liability and so tried to reduce his wage bill. This may account for the fractious exchange with the sire d'Albret who was contracted to bring 1,000 troops and later ordered to reduce this to 200.¹⁷⁴ In comparison with such sums, revenue from the Cornish stannaries was insignificant. Nonetheless, in 1367, perhaps to meet his military costs, the prince exercised his rights of pre-emption once again purchasing tin at 20s. per hundredweight and selling it to the merchants at an advance rate of 6s. 8d.¹⁷⁵ By the end of April, Pedro's debt had been recalculated at 2,720,000 florins. To ensure this was paid the prince wanted Pedro to cede 20 castles to him. This was refused. On 2 May, at the cathedral of Burgos, Pedro swore to pay the adjusted sum, half in four months and the remainder by the following Easter. The prince planned to keep his army in Castile until the September payment was made but illness forced him to return to Aquitaine and nothing was paid.

Ransoms and Booty

The economic attractions of military service were very considerable. General plunder resulting from campaigns in France in the 1340s meant that there was a great deal of French coinage in circulation. In 1355 the prince's treasurer received 10,000 marks at Plymouth of which all save 252 gold nobles and three silver pennies were in the form of French écus.¹⁷⁶ Such plunder also attracted the members of the prince's retinue. In 1355 the prince's army, "Chevaliers, escuiers, brigants, garchons" were loaded down with "leurs

¹⁷³ Elstow, *Pedro the Cruel*, 233-4.

¹⁷⁴ Labarge, *Gascony*, 159.

¹⁷⁵ Lewis, *Stannaries*, 144.

¹⁷⁶ Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, 238.

prisonniers et leurs richess".¹⁷⁷ Although he was, in many ways, a generous employer the prince did employ some rather harsh conditions of service. The indentures of Thomas Furnival and John Willoughby of 1 May 1347 specify that the prince was entitled to half of any ransom collected.¹⁷⁸ This was still the case in the late 1350s.¹⁷⁹ It was only by the 1360s that the proportion had fallen to the more usual third. This may have been a consequence of the demise of payments of *restauro equorum*.¹⁸⁰

The financial benefits of military service were particularly evident after Poitiers. The Crécy campaign had not resulted in such gains from ransoms, with the notable exception of Thomas Holland who was paid 2,000 marks for the count of Eu, captured at Caen. The prince's personal finances were strengthened after Poitiers as a consequence of the ransoms.¹⁸¹ In 1359 the king acknowledged that he owed his son £20,000 for the purchase of three captives, Prince Philip, the count of Sancerre and the lord of Craon.¹⁸² He also took five others valued at £10,000. The most notable capture at Poitiers was King Jean. Moneys arising from his capture included, after March 1361, payments of £11,666 13s. 4d. to the Black Prince and Lancaster and £2,000 received by Chandos which was paid into the chamber. Ransom receipts from July 1362 to July 1363 included payments of £10,000 to the prince and £5,000 to Chandos for military purposes. Receipts to April 1364 involved a payment of £25,000 partly to discharge the debts accrued during the Reims campaign, and £6,740 to Chandos.¹⁸³ Richard Fillongley, seneschal of Guienne, received £20,767 10s. 9d.

¹⁷⁷ Jean le Bel, *Chroniques*, ii, ed. Viard et Déprez, 222 quoted by Hay, "Division of the Spoils of War", 91.

¹⁷⁸ *BPR*, i, 128-9.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, iii, 251-2, 294-5; iv, 249.

¹⁸⁰ *CCR*, 1374-7, 337-8; Rymer, III, ii, 800. For further discussion see Hay, *loc. cit.*, 91-105; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 123.

¹⁸¹ After the battle some of the other most important captives were held at the archbishop's palace. For details of the ransoms of Jacques de Bourbon see Rymer, III, i, 346; count of Auxerre, E30/1/506; sire de Derval, E404/500/243; Arnaud d'Audrehem, E404/500/241.

¹⁸² He received £3,333 6s. 8d. of this sum on 25 July 1362, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 174.

¹⁸³ Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, 485, 493-4.

from the royal ransom paid via William Felton, John Roches and others.¹⁸⁴ In 1369, the king paid £26,000 from French ransoms to his son.¹⁸⁵ The financial consequences of the ransom were considerable, "I reade that King Iohn of France being taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince, at the bataille of Poyters, paied a raunsome of three millions of Florences, whereby he brought the realme into such pouertie, that manie yeares after they used leather money, with a little stud or naile of silver in the middest thereof."¹⁸⁶

The prince's captains also profited from the capture and ransom of prisoners. John Wingfield received 2,500 marks for the sire d'Aubigny who was sold to the king. Robert Ufford was paid 3,000 florins for a captive.¹⁸⁷ According to Froissart, a mercenary fighting under the capital de Buch took three prisoners at Poitiers. The prince purchased the count of Vendome for 3,000 florins, the count of Joigny for 15,000 florins and 25,000 florins for James de Bourbon.¹⁸⁸ In 1358, the prince ordered his treasurer to pay £8 12s. 6d. to certain Cheshiremen for their share in a silver ship taken at Poitiers.¹⁸⁹ Although otherwise disastrous, the ransoms from the Nájera campaign were profitable. They included 20,000 sueldos for the master of Calatrava, 30,000 gold florins for the marquis of Villena and 100,000 gold florins for Du Guesclin of which Thomas Cheyne, his captor, received £1,483 6s. 4d.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ E101/177/1. See also Capra, "L'administration Anglo-Gasconne", 916 n. 23.

¹⁸⁵ Harriss, *op cit.*, 501.

¹⁸⁶ *A Survey of London by John Stow* ed. C.L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1908, i, 57.

¹⁸⁷ *Issues of the Exchequer*, 167-8.

¹⁸⁸ The capital, Stephen Dax, Menaud de Casaux, Arnald Tuyll de Puch, Levand Raymon, Drostauch, Arnaud de Puy, and Peter de Casaux received half of the 25,000 owed for James de Bourbon on 14 Nov. 1358, *ibid.*, 168.

¹⁸⁹ *BPR*, iv, 254; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lettenhove, xi, 108-9. For ransoms, rewards and pardons accruing from participation in the 1355 and 1356 *chevauchées* see Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 152-65.

¹⁹⁰ E404/6/404; Rymer III, ii, 599, 635.

Rewards

After each important military engagement the prince needed to give rewards. All his estates were used to supply offices, annuities and other favours. Of £2,538 received in Cheshire in 1369-70, annuities accounted for £1,537 7s. 6d., although these were not only grants made for military service.¹⁹¹ Payments fell soon after the collapse of the principality, to about £850 by 1373-4, but increased somewhat thereafter, perhaps to £1,245 2d. in 1374-5 out of a total income of £2,523 17s. 2d. - this also included the payment of annuity in arrears. Financial constraints reduced the value of a number of the Cheshire assignments in 1370.¹⁹² Military expenditure from Cheshire resulted in a lack of investment during the prince's lifetime, particularly following the rewards granted after the victory at Poitiers.¹⁹³ Securing payment once the grant had been made was often harder than acquiring the initial bequest. The *Register* is scattered with references to non or late payment of annuities and grants. As at the royal exchequer, the speediest method of payment was through a cash payment made from available resources, or a particular revenue source decided by the treasurer or, in some cases, the recipient. Available resources were often very limited, so that "office holding might provide the opportunity for the satisfaction of personal claims."¹⁹⁴ In some cases offices were invented, sometimes at the cost of administrative efficiency, such as the creation of the office of master-forester for Chandos in 1353 at a fee of £53 13s. 4d. and many were sinecures.¹⁹⁵

Although he did not pay as much as either his father or Gaunt, in total annuities the prince's individual grants were extremely generous. The source of such rewards was

¹⁹¹ SC6/772/5.

¹⁹² SC6/772/10; Booth, *Financial Administration*, 135-6.

¹⁹³ eg. revenue from Drakelow and £40 from the rents of Rudheath were granted to Chandos for life, *ibid.*, 129.

¹⁹⁴ Harriss, "Preference at the Medieval Exchequer", 23-4, 26.

¹⁹⁵ Booth, *op. cit.*, 136.

somewhat arbitrary but may reflect the favour with which the annuitant was viewed. Two main forms of annuity were granted, an assignment from the exchequer and a payment direct from source. The latter was more popular as they tended to be stable and geographically convenient, although, as many of these were military grants and the annuitants were often abroad on service, the sum would be paid to an attorney. There tended to be a general distrust of the central exchequer. Such annuities were often a long-term substitute for land and/or rent. In this way the prince exerted considerable influence over his servants since they could be dependent on his favour.¹⁹⁶ This process can also be seen as part of a wider bastard feudal development that saw rewards for service changing from grants of land to life annuities.¹⁹⁷

Annuities for military service were paid from at least 25 sources including manors, lordships and central reserves. The bulk of the burden fell on Cornwall, Chester, the receiver-general and, to a lesser extent, Wallingford. These figures are distorted by the paucity of records concerning Aquitaine and Wales. Resources from Cheshire were devoted to those with little or no connection to the county. Roger Swetenham, John Eton and Roger Page were granted land, money and minor office. Larger annuities were also paid out of Cheshire coffers. Robert Neville received 100 marks a year from 1361. After Nájera five life annuities of £40 each were granted and by 1369 25 annuities had been granted to men serving in Aquitaine in addition to a number of petitions for offices and pardons following service in Spain, Aquitaine and Brittany.¹⁹⁸ Cornish income increased over the last 15 years of the prince's life. This may well reflect a recovery from the depredations of the Black

¹⁹⁶ J. Bothwell, " 'Until he Receive the Equivalent in Land and Rent': The Use of Annuities as Endowment Patronage in the Reign of Edward III", *BIHR*, 70 (1997), 149, 157-8, 160, 163-4.

¹⁹⁷ Booth, *op cit.*, 67.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*; SC6/772/3 m. 2d.; 772/5 m. 2d.; 773/6; CHES 2/45 m. 2d.; 2/47 m. 3; 2/48 m. 2d.; 2/46 m. 1d., m. 2; 2/47 m. 1; 2/48 m. 2, m. 2d.

Death which allowed the prince to rely increasingly on the duchy as a source of annuities.¹⁹⁹ In 1360-1 £1,458 17s. 1d. was received.²⁰⁰ In 1365-6 Cornwall produced £1,283 9s. 9d., annuities accounting for £248 11s. 3d. and wages, £118 10d.²⁰¹ This remained fairly constant over the next couple of years. In 1367-8 income rose to £1,363 10s. 11d. with annuities costing £196 17s. 11d. and wages £118 7s. 7d.²⁰² Some increase was achieved over the next five years. By 1374-5 £1,790 1s. 2d. was (theoretically) received and annuities had risen to £733 5s. 11d.²⁰³ Aquitaine also provided resources for payments for annuities and pensions. The value of these is uncertain due to the nature of Fillongley's accounts. The Bordeaux records show amounts of £738, £2283, £1554, £1547 and £1431 before falling to £295 in 1370 (all in *livre guiennois*, sterling equivalents would fall from a high point of £451 in 1365 to only £40 in 1370). These figures were represented the total of wages, fees and annuities.²⁰⁴ While wages for various services are mentioned throughout the accounts the entry for Bordeaux is the only one to mention annuity payments. However, duchy accounts for 1372-3 enrolled by John Ludham shows that nearly 50% of expenditure in this year was in the form of grants, many of which were annuities. A number of these were granted by the prince and were still being paid in 1373-5 as noted in Robert Wykford's account as constable.²⁰⁵ The great majority of these were payments to Gascon knights, nobles and administrators, the exception being a 300*l.* annuity to Mathew Gournay which was to pay his wages and those of the men-at-arms and archers serving under him.²⁰⁶ Most

¹⁹⁹ Cornwall accounts, SC6/812/9, 1360-1, total received: £1,458 17s. 1d.; 812/10, 1365-6, total receipts: £1,283 9s. 9d; total annuities, £248 11s. 3d.; wages, £118 10d.; 812/12, 1367-8, total receipts: £1,363 10s. 11d., total annuities, £196 17s. 11d., wages, £118 7s. 7d.; 812/14, 1374-5, total receipts: £1,789 13s. 2d., total annuities, £732 17s. 11d.

²⁰⁰ SC6/812/9.

²⁰¹ SC6/812/10.

²⁰² SC6/812/12.

²⁰³ SC6/812/14.

²⁰⁴ Delpit, *Documents français*, 136.

²⁰⁵ E364/15/336; 16/48-9; Runyan, "Constabulary of Bordeaux", i, 235-58; ii, 42-83.

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, ii, 70.

of the annuities were granted out of customs revenue, primarily wine, but also “moveables” and charges on the small seal.

Military service was not the only form which required rewarding. Household service and household expenditure was a very considerable drain on the prince’s treasury and, for once, the accounts from Aquitaine may be more revealing than the English sources. Fillongley’s account notes the prince’s household expenses during the time of office of Hugh Berton and Alan Stokes (treasurers of the wardrobe) as being 211,773 *l.g.* (approx. £41,800). This may include a wide variety of household and wardrobe payments but is still an extraordinary amount and accounted for all the foreign receipts for the whole period of the account (192,579 *l.g.* approx. £38,040) and nearly half of all the principality’s income (445,849 *l.g.* approx. £88,070) On this basis the prince’s household expenses were generally in line with those expected of a great magnate, about half his annual income. However, the figures recorded in Fillongley’s account only deal with the period of Berton’s and Stokes’ treasurerships (at most from c.1359-c.1365). It is uncertain if household accounts from before the creation of the principality would be included. If so, and assuming a period of five years for the accounts, average household expenditure in Bordeaux and elsewhere was nearly £8,400 a year and this included only two years when the prince was resident in Aquitaine. Details are not included of the treasurership of John Carleton, from c.1365. Fillongley’s figures only allow him about £8,000 before going into “the red”, less than one year’s expenditure at average levels over the last five years. There seems little doubt that this average was much lower than the true amount the prince spent and that Carleton had to fund annual expenditure on the court at a much higher level.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ Delpit, *op cit.*, 176; Bériac, “Une principauté sans chambre de comptes ni échiquier”, 120-1; Barber’s figure of 30,000 *l.g.* per annum expenditure on the household is presumably based on the totals for Berton and Stokes covering about seven years for the principality. It seems probable that the real figure was far higher, *Edward*, 209.

The prince's financial position was closely connected with his ability to retain and reward. A number of those rewarded were also involved in trying to develop and extend the revenue which was available to the prince. Despite his very considerable wealth and additional finance from other sources, the prince could rarely cover his expenses, a situation worsened by the effects of the Black Death and regular campaigning. Like his father and brother the prince was renowned as a generous employer and the value of the annuities which he granted clearly demonstrate this. The picture of annuity payments is clouded by the large numbers of grants made or extended in the last years and months of his life. These may have gone some way to redress the balance after the return from Aquitaine. Some individuals were found revenue from other sources but many were not and it was at this point that service with Gaunt and others became attractive. There would be no more campaigns and no chance of reward from the prince for military service or from gaining booty on the battlefield. It was also the case that many of the prince's chief retainers died in the last months of the principality. When it too collapsed and was returned to the king, the prince gave financial reasons for its failure. They were true in part and these financial considerations brought to a conclusion a phase in the prince's life and in the nature of his retinue and household.

APPENDIX

Annuities for Military Service (life grants unless otherwise stated)

Name	Amount	Source	Date	Ref.
Sir Richard FitzSimon	£20	Wallingford	1 Sept. 1346	<i>BPR</i> , i, 14.
Sir Edmund Kendale	£20 ²⁰⁸	Cornwall	1 Sept. 1346	<i>BPR</i> , i, 13.
Sir Thomas Daniel	40 marks ²⁰⁹	Frodsham manor		<i>BPR</i> , i, 45.
Hugh Venables		Anderton	1348	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 5.
Sir Henry Eam ²¹⁰	100 marks	Bradinch manor, Devon	28 Jan. 1348	<i>BPR</i> , i, 163; ii, 46.
Sir Stephen Cosington ²¹¹	100 marks £100 + £40 £46 13s. 4d.	Receiver-general Cornwall	25 Mar. 1350 1 Jan. 1357 1375/6	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 178-9, 555; SC6/812/14.
William Welham ²¹²	£10	Besington manor. Wallingford	Feb. 1351 24 Oct. 1351	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 1, 27.
Sir Walter Woodland ²¹³	£10 100 marks	Moresk, Tywomail, Penmayn	21 Feb. 1351 5 June 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 2; ii, 203.
Sir John Byntre ²¹⁴	£40	Dee mills	4 Mar. 1351	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 2; <i>Ches. Chamb. Accs</i> , 166.
Sir Edmund Manchester ²¹⁵	20 marks £40	Wardrobe. Carmarthen convent & Robert Hambury	3 May 1351 25 Apr. 1353	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 12, 91.

²⁰⁸ Until 20 marks of land or rent were provided. Still in receipt, 24 Oct. 1351, *BPR*, iv, 28.

²⁰⁹ Grant for the taking of the chamberlain of Tancarville and "replanting" the prince's banner at Crécy. 40 marks to be provided until £20 of land was available.

²¹⁰ After Eam's death part of his annuity was paid to Sully and the remainder to the prince's household.

²¹¹ 100 mark annuity granted after battle of Winchelsea, increased to £100 on day of battle of Poitiers and to include male heirs + £40 annuity granted after battle, 16 May 1365, *BPR*, iv, 555.

²¹² Sergeant-at-arms. Grant in lieu of 12d. a day wages due to illness. NB a William Wellum, a clerk of the estreats - originally retained at 20s. a year, increased to 40s., 22 Dec. 1351, *BRP*, iv, 36.

²¹³ He was knighted by the prince and granted the sum to maintain the rank.

²¹⁴ Annuity made in recompense for the loss of the constablership of Chester castle. He was granted the same office at Rhuddlan 20 June 1348 on the surrender of William Shaldeford. He was knighted by the prince and from 31 May 1350 held the castle free of the 100s. rent to maintain his rank. He also received £30 as his fee but was to pay a chaplain to celebrate mass daily from this sum, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 77.

²¹⁵ Retained, during pleasure, in peace and war with one esquire, with *bouche a court* or 2d. a day, seven horses at livery, six grooms, 1d. a day for shoeing horses and *restauro equorum*.

Sir Nigel Loryng	£20 £83 6s. 8d. ²¹⁶	Receiver-general, Henry Trethewy ²¹⁷	10 May 1351; 8 July 1354; 1 July 1357; 8 Mar. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 13, 206-7; ii, 61, 136.
John Bradestone	£10	Wallingford	24 Oct. 1351	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 27.
Sir Thomas Brereley	£20	Wallingford	24 Oct. 1351	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 27.
Sir William Aubigny ²¹⁸	50 marks	Liskeard, Grampound, Launceston	31 July 1352	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 34.
Sir John Sully ²¹⁹	£40 (+ 40 marks = 100 marks) + £20 + £20	Bradninch manor; Devon; Exeter; Dartmoor.	27 Jan. 1353, 10 Mar. 1353, 1 Oct. 1356, 24 Nov. 1357, 28 Feb. 1370.	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 80; ii, 45-6, 99, 130; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 193.
Sir John Chandos	£53 13s. 4d. ²²⁰ +600 <i>écus d'or</i> +£40 -£10 ²²¹ (later cancelled) + £20 ²²²	Chester Mirmand toll Rudheath manor Chesterfield manor Chester	19 Sept. 1353, 8 Apr. 1357, 19 July 1357, 22 Jan. 1361 27 Aug. 1362, 10 July 1365, 1369/70	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 122; iv, 358-9, 466; iii, 267, 404, 482; SC6/772/5.
Hugh Marreys	£6	Wallingford	28 June 1355	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 137.
Robert Claydon	60s.	Receiver-general	7 Sept. 1355	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 156.
Sir James Audley	£400 (life + 1 yr.) 600 <i>écus d'or</i>	Stannary of Cornwall. Mirmand toll	6 Dec. 1356, 3 May 1359. 24 Aug. 1360	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 105, 182; iv, 291, 358-9.
Sir Roger Cotesford	40 marks	Wallingford	1 Jan. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 196.

²¹⁶ Grant made for past and future good service. In practice the sum paid was £80 made up in the following manner: £14 6s. 4d. from the free tenants of Calistock, Climesland, Liskeard and Trematon; £10 from the abbot of Tavistock for the rent of Calistock weir; £55 13s. 8d. from the manors of Calistock, Clymeslond, Liskeard and Trematon. On 8 Sept. 1359 £50 was paid from Trematon manor and property in the town of Ash; £20 from Calistock manor and £10 from the abbot of Tavistock, *BPR*, ii, 161-2., 171. 1 Oct. 1370 granted office of surveyor of forests of Macclesfield, Mere and Wirral with 100 marks a year, *CPR*, 1377-81, 264.

²¹⁷ Loryng was granted the arrears of a debt of £1,743 2s. 11¼d. from John Crochard, former receiver of Cornwall, which had been undertaken by Henry Trethewy, 6, 11-12 Apr. 1356, *BPR*, ii, 94, 95.

²¹⁸ Retained for life in peace and war.

²¹⁹ See Jones and Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, xxxii, 73-4. The 40 mark grant was annulled at Sully's "urgent request" in exchange for £20. It was renewed 1 Oct. 1360, *BPR*, ii, 171. On 1 Sept. 1377 Richard Abberbury was granted Delamere forest, he was to pay £20 of the profits to Sully. Richard II confirmed a total annuity of £80 and two tuns of Spanish wine. However, this confirmation gives different dates for some grants, 12 Mar. 1353, 1 Oct. 1360, 1 Nov. 1367, *CPR*, 1377-81, 23.

²²⁰ As surveyor of all Cheshire forest, granted in addition to £10 fee as steward of hundred of Macclesfield and 60s. for a riding-forester. In addition to the later grant of £40 from Rudheath he was granted Drakelow manor at rose rent after Poitiers.

²²¹ After a £10 grant from the prince to William ap Ll', Chandos' esquire, a similar sum was deducted from his Cheshire annuity.

²²² This was originally granted by Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, *BPR*, iv, 537.

Nicholas Bonde	50 marks £86 13s. 4d. + £100 ²²³	Kennington & Vauxhall. Chester	20 Jan. 1357 1 Feb. 1365 5 Mar. 1366. Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 197; <i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 42; <i>SC6/772/5</i> ; <i>CPR</i> , 1377- 81, 375.
Sir Edmund Wauncy ²²⁴	£20 £100	Wallingford Chester	1 Feb. 1357 1369/70	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 198; <i>SC6/772/5</i> .
Sir Alan Cheyne ²²⁵ d. by 1385	£40 + 100 marks + £400	Chester. Rhuddlan	1 Feb. 1357 7 July 1361 3 Oct. 1362 24 May 1364 1 Dec. 1369 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 237, 419, 452, 468-9; <i>Ches. Chamb.</i> <i>Accs</i> , 242-3; <i>Ches.</i> <i>Recog. Rolls</i> , 105-6; <i>SC6/772/10</i> .
Richard Doxeye ²²⁶	10 marks (£10?)	Chester mills & Macclesfield oven	1 Feb. 1357 Still 1374/5	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 234; <i>Ches.</i> <i>Chamb. Accs</i> , 243; <i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 148; <i>SC6 772/10</i> .
William Shank ²²⁷	40 marks	Receiver-general	1 Feb. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 203.
William Harpeden ²²⁸	40 marks	Receiver-general	1 Feb. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 203.
Sir Tiderick van Dale	200 marks £100 ²²⁹	Receiver-general South Wales	1 July 1357. 2 Sept. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 207, 218; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 202.
Sir Thomas Felton	£40	Receiver-general, Haverford	1 July 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 207, 306.
John Sarnesfeld	50 marks	Chester	1 July 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 251; <i>Ches.</i> <i>Chamb. Accs</i> , 243.
John del Haye	£20 + £20	Receiver-general. Various. Risborough	20 July 1357, 1 Oct. 1360 31 July 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 209, 360, 525, 533-4.

²²³ He authorised John Delves to receive the sum on his behalf, whilst he was in Aquitaine. The grant was increased to maintain the status of knighthood. It is uncertain if the total sum was £100 or £186 13s. 4d. as seems more likely from the Richard's confirmation, which made the £100 grant payable from Caernarfon, *CPR*, 1377-81, 159-60.

²²⁴ £200 annually was also granted for the ransom of Prince Philip at Poitiers until 4,800 marks were paid.

²²⁵ This was reward for service at Poitiers "ubi ex assignatione nostra, pro corpore nostro extitit". The grant extended to one year after his death, 22 Oct. 1359, *BPR*, iii, 373 and further extended to include Joan, Alan's wife, 6 June 1363, *ibid.*, 458. The confirmation of 18 Mar. 1381 provided 100 marks from Chester, £40 from Rhuddlan and £40 as wages as constable of the castle. He was appointed constable of Rhuddlan 13 Dec. 1366, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 105. He also received £40 wages as constable of Beeston castle, an office he held until 24 Nov. 1382. Annuity confirmed by Richard II, 18 Mar. 1381, *CPR*, 1377-81, 613.

²²⁶ Baker, reward for service in Gascony and England. The enrollment of the warrant and grant in the recognizance rolls is probably mistaken. He was still in receipt of the grant in 1374, *SC6/772/10 m. 2*.

²²⁷ Yeoman. At Poitiers he was appointed to attend the prince's banner.

²²⁸ At Poitiers he was appointed to attend the prince's banner.

²²⁹ Knighted by the prince. Confirmed by Richard II, cancelled on 29 May 1380 after a payment of 500 marks, *CPR*, 1377-81, 202.

Sir Baldwin Botetourt	Newport manor. £40 (£20 + £20)	Carmarthen convent, Robert Hambury [See E. Manchester]	3 Aug. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 190, 215, 252; (payment of £100 war expenses), SC6/1221/11.
Sir Robert Neville	100 marks	Receiver-general. Chester	20 Sept. 1357 1358-9 1369/70	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 219-20; <i>Ches. Chamb. Accs</i> , 254; SC6/772/5.
Sir Daniel van Pesse	100 marks	Receiver-general	9 Dec. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 234.
Sir Bernard van Zedeles	100 marks	Receiver-general	9 Dec. 1357 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 234; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 209.
Sir Hans Trouer	100 marks	Receiver-general	9 Dec. 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 234.
Henry Berkhamsted ²³⁰	Land and money 2d. a day	Berkhamsted	Poitiers/Gascony 5 June 1376	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 223-4, 279.
William Braaz	20s.	Receiver-general	15 Feb. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 292.
Sir Baldwin Frevill ²³¹	£40 100 marks ? 200 marks?	Cheilesmore manor, Coventry. Coventry ²³² Chester Chester	8 Aug. 1358 25 Mar. 1362 1369/70 1374/5	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 259, 427; SC6/772/5; 772/10.
Sir Richard Stafford	200 marks (£66; £60; £7 6s. 8d.)	Northwich town, Hope Hopedale, Overmarsh ²³³	30 Sept./1 Oct. 1358	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 441.
Henry of Grosmont	100 marks	Fordington manor	[16 Sept. 1359]	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 313.
Richard Punchardoun	40 marks	Receiver-general	1 Aug. 1359	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 304.
Sir Walter Pavely ²³⁴	100 marks (40 & 60)	Risborough, Carmarthen	4 May 1361	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 384.
John Wyken, yeoman	10 marks	Rising manor	7 June 1361	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 358.
Edmund Bradestone ²³⁵	£10 £40 £100 + 40 marks	Wallingford. Chester. South Wales, Dynefwr	15 Sept. 1361 [1 Aug. 1361] 6 Nov. 1368	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 393; iii, 471; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 317.
Sir Nicholas Loveyne	100 marks	Gave up for land in north Wales	21 Oct. 1361	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 396.
Sir Edward Courtenay	100 marks	Fordington manor	7 Nov. 1361	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 404.
Sir Thomas Hereford	£40	Receiver-general	18 Mar. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 425.

²³⁰ 27 Nov. 1356, constable of Berkhamsted castle with 4d. a day wages. Leased land for £10 15s. 10d. from 16 Nov. 1357 and from 25 Dec. 1363 held them rent free. 2d. daily grant in lieu office of porter of castle. 42 acres of land in Berkhamsted + various sums from the lordship; 3d., 23d., 5s., 1½d., 1½d., 3d., 3s., 8d.

²³¹ Retained in peace and war, see Jones and Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, xxxii, 77-8.

²³² This was paid by the prior and convent of Coventry.

²³³ If repairs are necessary they were to be done at the prince's expense.

²³⁴ To be paid 40 mark annuity (Risborough manor) in arrears, 20 Mar. 1363, *BPR*, iv, 489.

²³⁵ Edward III's yeoman.

John Cavendish, ²³⁶	100s.	Receiver-general	1 June 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 440.
Sir William Trussel ²³⁷	60 marks £40 + 40 marks + 100 marks	Receiver-general. Chester.	18 July 1362 (Poitiers). 16 Nov. 1363; 26 Aug. 1366; 1 July 1372.	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 461; iv, 458; <i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 476; SC6 772/10.
John Carelton	100s. £10	Lynn tolls	1 Oct. 1362 31 Mar. 1365	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 469, 550.
Sir Adam Louches	£20 50 marks	Wardrobe. Wallingford (Mayor & burgesses)	11 Nov. 1362 1 July 1365. Confirmed by Ric II	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 480, 489, 558; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 170.
Sir John Gamboun	£10	Wallingford	1 June 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 496.
Sir John Danyel	20 marks	Chester	20 Nov. 1363 1374/5	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 453; SC6/772/10.
John Kentwode	£100 ²³⁸ 10 marks	Cornwall	20 Nov. 1362, Still 1375/6	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 198-9; SC6/812/14.
Bertram St Omer	£40 + 50s. ²³⁹	Chester	4 June 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 458.
John Stratton, yeoman	10 marks	Cornwall	5 June 1363 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 202.
Sir John Henxteworth	£10	Receiver-General	31 July 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 534.
Sir Thomas Hampton	£100 ²⁴⁰	Chester	1 Aug. 1363 1371/2	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 462; SC6/772/5.
Simon Lenguenhull ²⁴¹	10 marks 72s. 6d.	Wallingford	5 Feb. 1364 4 May 1365	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 522, 552.
John Craye	100s.	Receiver-general. Cornwall	5 Feb. 1364 1375/6	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 522; SC6/812/14.
John Montivron ²⁴²	£50	Cheshire	20 Feb. 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 465.
William Lenche ²⁴³	£20	Cornwall	28 Feb. 1364, Still 1366/7	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 206; SC6/812/10.
John Daniel ²⁴⁴	? 2d./day.	[Chester]	Nov. 1363, 14 May 1364, 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 135; SC6/772/5.

²³⁶ Retained "for certain affairs"

²³⁷ Confirmed by Richard II and noted as being £40 (15 Dec. 1363) + 40 marks from Exeter and 100 marks from north Wales for the keeping of Beaumaris castle, 22 Mar. 1378, *CPR*, 1377-81, 153-4.

²³⁸ Payment for capture of Philip of Valois at Poitiers. To be paid until £1,146 13s. 4d. paid. Ransom was 2,000 marks, £186 13s. 4d. was paid out of the wardrobe. On 20 June 1362 he received £25, *BPR*, iv, 442.

²³⁹ 50s. "for his vesture", *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 367.

²⁴⁰ Arrears to be paid by Lacy or "to make him an assignment to receive said sum by the hands of Master John de Brunham, chamberlain of Cestre". By advice of Stafford and Delves, 14 May 1365, *BPR*, iv, 554-5.

²⁴¹ Grant made after "having been maimed in the prince's service." He also received a life grant of the office of gate-keeper of Wallingford castle with 2d. a day wages + fee, 4 May 1365, *BPR*, iv, 552.

²⁴² Marshal of the hall. Confirmed by Richard, 1376/7, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 356.

²⁴³ He also received the keeping of Liskeard manor during pleasure.

²⁴⁴ Archer. Initially granted unspecified pension.

Sir Henry del Haye	£20	Aylesbury	20 May 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 529.
Hugh Streteley	100s.	Wallingford	24 May 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 527.
John Trivet, yeoman & knight	£40 100 marks =200 marks	Cornwall & Fordington manor	31 May 1364; 1366/7; 2 Oct. 1370	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 206; SC6/812/10; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 237.
Geoffrey Hamelyn	20 marks £20 10 marks	Cornwall & Devon	19 June 1364, 1375/6	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 211; SC6/812/14.
Sir Lewis Clifford	£40 £46 13s. 4d. 100 marks + £100	Cornwall	5 Aug. 1364, 1 Sept. 1368	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 208; SC6/812/10; 812/14; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 157.
Sir William Carington	20 marks 40 marks	Chester Longendale manor, ²⁴⁵ Chester	28 July 1364 10 Apr. 1368 Still 1371/2	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 85; <i>BPR</i> , iii, 473; SC6/772/5; <i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 495.
Sir Richard Mascy ²⁴⁶	£10 50 marks	Advowries of Chester. Chamberlain of Chester	13 July 1357 1 Mar. 1365	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 328; <i>BPR</i> , iii, 477.
William Greneway, ²⁴⁷	£10	Chester	1 Mar. 1365	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 475-6.
John Farendon, ²⁴⁸	£10	Chester. North Wales	2 May 1365 (5 June 1365)	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 477. <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 195.
Sir Geoffrey Warburton ²⁴⁹	£40	[Chester]	6 June 1365	<i>Camden Misc</i> , xxxii, 80.
Sir Hugh Calveley	200 marks			<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 80.
John Kendale	? 13s. 4d.?	Cornwall	1366/7 1368/9	SC6/812/10, 12.
Thomas Florak	50 marks £40	Cornwall	1366/7 1375/6	SC6/812/10, 14.
Thomas Kendale	10 marks	Cornwall	1366/7	SC6/812/10.
Peter Cusance	£40	Cornwall	11 Feb. 1366 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 190.
John Sandes	£50	Chester	27 Jan. 1367 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 382.
John Alcyn	£50	Chester	27 Jan. 1367 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 382.

²⁴⁵ William was appointed steward of Langendale in 1368, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 85.

²⁴⁶ The initial grant was for service at Poitiers he was later retained for life.

²⁴⁷ Retained for life in peace and war.

²⁴⁸ Grant made since Farendon was incapable of serving the prince due to "a disease of the eyes".

²⁴⁹ Retained with two esquires.

Sir Aubrey Vere ²⁵⁰	100 marks £100 £140 £150	Newport manor & Chester; Cornwall; Cornwall & Wallingford	1 Oct. 1367; 31 Aug. 1369; 22-3 July 1375.	<i>Camden Misc</i> , xxxii, 80-1, n. 105; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 161.
John Cresswell	40l.g.	Constable of Bordeaux	23 Sept. 1367	<i>Chandos Herald, Life of the Black Prince</i> , ed. Pope and Lodge, 244.
Sir Baldwin Bereford ²⁵¹	£40	Coventry	1 Oct. 1367	<i>Camden Misc</i> , xxxii, 81.
Sir Richard Abberbury ²⁵²	£40	Chester	6 Nov. 1367	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 155.
Sir Robert Roos ²⁵³	£40	Chester	6 Nov. 1367 Still 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 408; SC6/772/5.
Sir Gerard Braybrook ²⁵⁴	£40	Chester	6 Nov. 1367, Still 1369/70, Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 51; SC6/772/5.
Sir William Thorpe ²⁵⁵	£40	Chester	6 Nov. 1367. 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 470; SC6/772/5.
Sir John Golofre ²⁵⁶	£40	Chester	6 Nov. 1367 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 201; SC6/772/10.
Roger de la Warre	£100	Chester	10 Nov. 1367 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 142; SC6/772/5.
Sir Peter Courtenay	£50 + £50	Cornwall; Cornish stannary	11 Nov. 1367; 8 Sept. 1369. Confirmed by Ric II	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 189. ²⁵⁷
John Burley	£40	South Wales	17 Nov. 1367	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 197.
Sir Walter Urswyk	£20 ²⁵⁸ £40	Chester	18 Nov. 1367. 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 278; SC6/772/5.

²⁵⁰ Retained for life in peace and war. He was paid £40 as constable and steward of Wallingford and St Vallery. £10 was later granted to pay his deputy. The grants were confirmed by Richard, 15 Feb. 1377, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 494 gives the date of the initial (50 marks) grant as 31 Oct. 1369, to be paid from the Chester exchequer.

²⁵¹ Retained for life with two esquires. Confirmed by Richard II, grant transferred in 1394/5 to manors of Fortington and Clarendon, *CPR*, 1377-81, 209-10.

²⁵² Retained with two esquires. Confirmed by Richard with grant of manors of Helston-in-Trigg and South Teign as first master to prince of Wales, 18 May 1377. Granted Delamere forest for life rent free but to pay John Sully £20 as granted by the Black Prince, *CPR*, 1377-81, 23.

²⁵³ Retained for life to serve at all times and in time of war with two shields.

²⁵⁴ Retained with two esquires.

²⁵⁵ Retained for life to serve in war with two shields.

²⁵⁶ Retained for life with two shields. On 30 July 1390 he was appointed sheriff of Flintshire, constable of the castle there and raglot of the county, *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 201.

²⁵⁷ Confirmed by Richard II. On 25 Nov. 1383 the king replaced the separate grants with a single sum of £100.

²⁵⁸ Grant for being bearer of the news of the safe delivery of the prince's niece. Richard, prince of Wales confirmed the £20 grant on 1 Mar. 1377, *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 481.

Sir Reginald Malyns ²⁵⁹	40 marks	Chester	18 Nov. 1367 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls.</i> 322.
John Devereux	200 marks	Montgomery + Builth castle	Spain and Aquitaine Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 27-8</i>
Richard Taunton	£20	Cornwall	1368/9	SC6/812/12.
Sir Philip Courtenay ²⁶⁰	£50	Cornish stannary	8 Sept. 1369	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 246.</i>
Sir Edward Berkeley	£50 £40	Cornwall & Devon	1368/9 ²⁶¹	SC6/812/12.
Roger Swetenham	5 marks £40	Chester	1 Jan. 1368 1369/70	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls,</i> 461; SC6/772/5.
Angetil Malory	40 marks	Cornwall	20 Aug. 1368 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 172.</i>
Walter atte Mull ²⁶²	10 marks	Lordship of Moston	26 Oct. 1368	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls,</i> 356.
Thomas Aldrington ²⁶³	£20	Wallingford castle	1 June 1370	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 195.</i>
Sir Roger Mascy	£20	Chester	1369/70	SC6/772/5.
Robert Mascy	£10	Chester	1369/70, 1375	SC6/772/5, 10.
Thomas Chandler ²⁶⁴	£18 5s.	Chester	1369/70	SC6/772/5.
Sir Thomas Guysing ²⁶⁵	£40	Caernarfon	5 Oct. 1371	<i>Camden Misc, xxxii,</i> 85.
Sir William Wasteneys ²⁶⁶	£40	Caernarfon	5 Oct. 1371	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 249.</i>
Sir Stephen Hales	100 marks	Cornwall	13 Nov. 1372	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 413.</i>
David Cradock	£40	Caernarfon	30 May 1373 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 315.</i>
Sir Ralph Davenport ²⁶⁷	50 marks	[Chester]	8 June 1373	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls,</i> 137.
Richard Hampton ²⁶⁸	20 marks	Middlewich	8 June 1373	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 169.</i>

²⁵⁹ Confirmed by Richard, 24 Feb. 1377.

²⁶⁰ 11 Nov. 1377, transferred to Cornish and Devon revenue. Surrendered on 26 July 1393 when Philip and his wife, Agnes, were granted £200 annually.

²⁶¹ The confirmation by Richard II dates the grant from 30 Nov. 1371, *CPR, 1377-81, 232.*

²⁶² Confirmed by Richard as prince of Wales and king, 22 Mar. 1378, *ibid.*, 194.

²⁶³ Household servant, Richard's yeoman. Grant made "in consideration of his having been often wounded in the prince's service."

²⁶⁴ Constable of Chester castle.

²⁶⁵ Retained with one esquire. Confirmed, 5 May 1379, *CPR, 1379-81, 345.*

²⁶⁶ Retained with one esquire. 1 July 1389 the payment was transferred to Worcester.

²⁶⁷ Retained with one esquire. He also received custody of Flint castle. Confirmed by Richard, 29 June 1382.

²⁶⁸ Chandos' esquire became Richard's esquire. 15 Feb. 1377 received Tintagel castle and 10 marks and became havener of Devon and Cornwall with six marks a year and held the offices of pesage of tin and keeper of Lostwithiel gaol, *CPR, 1377-81, 618.*

Sir Edward St John	£100	Conway castle	8 Apr. 1374 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 230.</i>
John Charnels	£10	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
Henry Kirkstede	£10 + 5 marks	Cornwall; Lynn toll	8 Dec. 1371; 1 Oct. 1375 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 171.</i>
Robert Mathol	46s. 8d.	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
John Cary	10 marks	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
Fulk? Corbet	£20	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
John Bretony	46s. 8d.	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
John Morgan, esq.	£10	Cornwall	6 Apr. 1375 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 172.</i>
Roland Destrinch	10 marks	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
William Coely	10 marks	Cornwall	1375/6	SC6/812/14.
Sir John Mascy ²⁶⁹	50 marks	[Chester]	28 Mar. 1373	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls, 329.</i>
Sir Nicholas Vernon ²⁷⁰	50 marks	[Chester]	6 May 1373	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls, 495.</i>
Ralph Standish ²⁷¹	£20	Sutton town		<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls, 443.</i>
Simon Burley	£100	Carmarthen	26 Sept. 1375	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 223.</i>
William Drayton	£20	Whitchurch manor	5 June 1376	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 212.</i>
John Scolehall ²⁷²	£10	Advowries of Chester	5 June 1376	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls, 423.</i>
Roger Cogshall	£10	[Chester]	Confirmed 25 Feb. 1377	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls, 115.</i>

No or uncertain date:

John Esquet, 50 marks, replaced with £20 from Chester, *CPR, 1377-81, 535*

David Hulgreve, £40, Chester, *ibid.*, 492, confirmed, 6 June 1380.

Nicholas Sarnesfield, 150 marks, confirmed, 22 Mar. 1378, *ibid.*, 163. 50 marks granted 5 June 1376, already in receipt of 100 marks from Merioneth.

Bernard Dalem, £400 from Black Money, Aquitaine, wine customs, *ibid.*, 191,

Du Guesclin ransom annuities: William Berland, 500 marks (until £1,427 14s. 6d. paid), north Wales, 11 July 1371, *ibid.*, 199; Thomas Cheyne, 500 marks, (until £1,483 6s. 8d. paid), south Wales, 20 July 1371, *ibid.*, 210.

²⁶⁹ Retained to serve the prince at all times with one esquire. Confirmed by Richard 25 Feb. 1377.

²⁷⁰ Retained for life and in war with one esquire. Confirmed by Richard, 25 Feb. 1377.

²⁷¹ After Edward's death the annuity was assigned to Standish's mother, 16 Feb. 1378, *Ches. Recog. Rolls, 443.*

²⁷² He became escheator of Cheshire and steward of the foreign courts there on 26 Mar. 1365 and on 14 June 1367, sheriff of Chester, *Ches. Recog. Rolls, 423.* Annuity confirmed by Richard 28 Feb. 1377.

Household and "Sustenance" Annuities

William le Irreys	2d./day	Cardiganshire	16 Mar. 1347 ²⁷³	<i>BPR</i> , i, 58
Gilbert Stratton ²⁷⁴	£10	Chester	By 8 Aug. 1347	<i>BPR</i> , i, 109
Margaret Tranemol	½d./day	Chester	20 Sept. 1353	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 122.
John Priour	2d./day	Berkhamsted manor	4 July 1355	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 140
John Wersele	2d./day 3d./day	Wallingford	17 Oct. 1359 30 Sept. 1361 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 320, 394; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 296.
William Gyles ²⁷⁵	10 marks	Cornwall	14 June 1360	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 170.
William Houstiel ²⁷⁶	3d./day	Wallingford castle	20 June 1360	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 352.
William Blackwater ²⁷⁷	20 marks (+ 40s. for clothing)	Receiver-General	10 July 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 454.
Marion Beaunys	1d./day		13 Aug. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 465.
William Cleidon	2d./day	Life grant of Eston park and warren	18 Sept. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 468.
Ralph Ackes	6d./day	Wardrobe	9 Nov. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 479.
Joan Willeye ²⁷⁸	100s.	Wallingford	11 Nov. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 479.
Thomas Dent ²⁷⁹	2d./day	Wallingford	15 Nov. 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 480.
Robert del Heth	2d./day	Berkhamsted	5 Feb. 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 484.
John le Clerc of Tutbury	2d./day	Chester	24 May 1363	<i>Ches. Recog. Rolls</i> , 110.
Thomas Bifleet	2d./day	Byfleet manor	24 May 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 495.
William Gorman	2d./day	Wallingford	24 May 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 495.
Stacy Wisman	3d./day	Cheylesmore manor & Coventry	9 June 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 501.
Henry Keverel	2d./day	Receiver-General	28 Aug. 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 504.
Walter Canoun	3d./day £4 11s. 3d.	Cornwall	1 Feb. 1364 1365, 1375/6	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 205; SC6/812/10, 14.
William Wrotham ²⁸⁰	10 marks	Cornwall	1 Feb. 1364 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>BPR</i> , ii, 206; <i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 326.
William Hale ²⁸¹	2d./day	Wardrobe Wallingford	5 Feb. 1364 1 Oct. 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 522.
Walter Payn ²⁸²	2d./day	Byfleet manor	20 May 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 527.
Richard Watford ²⁸³	2d./day	Berkhamsted	20 May 1364	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 527.
Simon Norton ²⁸⁴	100s.	Exchequer	16 Mar. 1365	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 549.

²⁷³ The original grant was made by Edward III.

²⁷⁴ The prince's wardrober.

²⁷⁵ Yeoman of the buttery. He also received the office of under-forester of the chase of Dartmoor.

²⁷⁶ Yeoman of the pantry.

²⁷⁷ Prince's physician.

²⁷⁸ Former laundress.

²⁷⁹ Yeoman of the saucery.

²⁸⁰ Yeoman of the kitchen.

²⁸¹ Groom of the bakehouse.

²⁸² Groom of the scullery, gift of 13s. 4d. towards his outfit for the move to Aquitaine in 1363, *BPR*, iv, 496. The annuity was granted since he "can no longer serve the prince in Aquitaine because of a grievous sickness".

Despite this he was still alive in 1378 when the grant was confirmed by Richard, *CPR*, 1377-81, 194.

²⁸³ "has now become feeble through old age"

²⁸⁴ Yeoman of buttery, grant for future service.

William Harpeley ²⁸⁵	100 marks	Cheshire	3 Apr. 1365 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 460.</i>
John Broun ²⁸⁶	2d./day	Wallingford	4 May 1365	<i>BPR, iv, 552.</i>
Nicholas Adam ²⁸⁷	10 marks	Berkhamsted	22 June 1365	<i>BPR, iv, 558.</i>
John Chelmesford	2d./day	Receiver-General	28 Aug. 1365	<i>BPR, iv, 561.</i>
Stephen ²⁸⁸	5 marks £10 Cotingham manor	1 Sept. 1365	<i>BPR, iv, 561-2.</i>
Richard Codington ²⁸⁹	2d./day	Wardrobe	8 Sept. 1365	<i>BPR, iv, 561.</i>
John Grey ²⁹⁰	100s.	Cornwall	5 Feb. 1366 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 249.</i>
Thomas Benschef	£20	Berkhamsted	5 Mar. 1366 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 169.</i>
Simon Nottingham ²⁹¹	1½d./day	Coventry	21 Nov. 1367 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 293.</i>
William Halle ²⁹²	2d./day	Wallingford	1 Oct. 1368 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 201-2.</i>
Simon Lengenhull	10 marks	Wallingford	3 Oct. 1368 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 163.</i>
Walter Merle	10 marks	Muston	26 Oct. 1368 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 194.</i>
Philip Walwayn ²⁹³	£10 £10	Cornish stannary Carmarthen	8 Dec. 1371 12 Mar. 1372 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 196, 257.</i>
Richard Wiltshire, esq.	£20	Devon stannary	8 Dec. 1371 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 374.</i>
Lambert Fermer	10 marks + 10 marks + 66s. 8d.	Cornwall	8 Dec. 1371 11 Aug. 1374 5 June 1376	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 193-4.</i>
Anne Latimer ²⁹⁴	£20	Caernarfon	8 Feb. 1372	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 234.</i>
Roger atte Gate	£10	Althurst manor, Cheshire	20 Feb. 1372	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 548.</i>
Thomas Troghford ²⁹⁵	2d./day	Berkhamsted	21 May 1372 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 159.</i>
Thomas Tyle ²⁹⁶	2d./day £10	Byfleet	26 Oct. 1372 5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 214, 216.</i>
Rotelyn Dostry ²⁹⁷	10 marks + 5 marks	Cornwall	24 Jan. 1374 5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 228.</i>

²⁸⁵ Yeoman, Richard's esquire. 3 Feb. 1381 granted Hellwell manor, Lincs, and Stretton manor, Rutland, valued at £40 3s. 2d, part of 100 marks grant, *CPR, 1377-81, 595.*

²⁸⁶ Late porter of Wallingford castle, lost office due to "bodily weakness".

²⁸⁷ Yeoman of the "porterie". 18 Oct. 1366, granted keeping of honour of Berkhamsted. Confirmed by Richard, *ibid.*, 194.

²⁸⁸ Yeoman of the princess' wardrobe.

²⁸⁹ Yeoman of the catery.

²⁹⁰ 7 June 1376, re-appointed rider of forest of Delamere with 3d. a day wages. He had been removed from office by Delves during the period of the principality of Aquitaine.

²⁹¹ At this time he received a house in Cheylesmore as well as an unspecified grant made in Calais.

²⁹² Groom of the bakery.

²⁹³ Usher of the hall, Richard II's esquire. The 2nd grant was exchanged on 28 June 1378 for Ashurst manor.

²⁹⁴ Brought news of Richard's birth to the prince.

²⁹⁵ Life grant of keeping of Berkhamsted park and its venison with 2d. a day wages.

²⁹⁶ Butler and parker of Byfleet. 19 June 1366, granted Taverne ferry, *CPR, 1377-81, 236.*

²⁹⁷ The prince's and Richard's yeoman and keeper of Restormel castle.

Nicholas Pego ²⁹⁸	10 marks	Devon stannary	11 Aug. 1374 Confirmed by Ric. II	SC6/812/13; CPR, 1377-81, 168.
Edmund Noon ²⁹⁹	40 marks	Devon stannary	11 Aug. 1374 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 373.
Richard Exton	£10	Wallingford	1 May 1375 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 173.
William Wyke ³⁰⁰	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	1 May 1375 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 191.
Thomas Hatfield ³⁰¹	2d./day	Wallingford	10 Sept. 1375 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 238.
Roger Hurst ³⁰²	2d./day	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 199.
William Harewell ³⁰³	2d./day	Berkhamsted	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 199.
William Wigmore ³⁰⁴	10 marks	Berkhamsted	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 160.
John Wishele ³⁰⁵	100s.	Berkhamsted	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 160.
Thomas Kendale ³⁰⁶	£10	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 227, 497-8.
John Campe	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 248.
John Bastard	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 248.
John Warde	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 246.
John Clement	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 544.
William Snel	100s.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 246.
Oliver Martin	66s. 8d.	Wallingford	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 246.
Robert Bracy ³⁰⁷	£10	Risborough	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 225- 6.
John Leukenore ³⁰⁸	40s.	Risborough mill	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 214.
William Corby ³⁰⁹	15 marks	Bradninch	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 228.
Lawrence Catewy	£10	Cornwall	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	CPR, 1377-81, 425.

²⁹⁸ Yeoman of the chamber, Richard's esquire. Also received confirmations of offices of controller of wines of prise, wreck of sea and coket, bailiff of Blackmore (30 June 1361), water bailiff of Dartmouth (1 Jan. 1370).

²⁹⁹ Esquire of the chamber, Richard's esquire. On 1 Oct. 1375 he was granted the bailiwick of the water of Wiggenhale.

³⁰⁰ Yeoman of the kitchen.

³⁰¹ Chamber servant, also received keeping of Nettlebed wood.

³⁰² Yeoman of the chamber, Richard's "servitor". 16 Aug. 1375, granted Shillingsford ferry. 5 June 1376 appointed porter of Wallingford castle.

³⁰³ Groom of the wardrobe. Annuity was wages as porter of Berkhamsted castle.

³⁰⁴ Richard's "servitor"

³⁰⁵ "Servitor"

³⁰⁶ Messenger to the prince and Richard. It was probably granted earlier and transferred in 1376 from Whisley manor.

³⁰⁷ Richard's porter, grant transferred to Drakelowe and Rudheath.

³⁰⁸ Groom of the chamber, Richard's "servitor", parker of Risborough, 1 Feb. 1369.

³⁰⁹ Yeoman of the prince and Richard. After the grant to Sully he received £10 from Cornwall until Bradninch became more profitable.

Richard Meaws, esq.	£100?	Cornwall	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 396.</i>
John Stratton	10 marks	Cornwall	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 347.</i>
William Norton	£10	Cheylesmore	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 201.</i>
Stynaux Tydryk	£100?	Caernarfon	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 201.</i>
William Joce	£100?	Lynn tollbooth	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 340.</i>
John Heir ³¹⁰	40s.	Rising Mill	5 June 1376 Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR, 1377-81, 245.</i>

No or uncertain date:

Wilkyn, groom of the kitchen, 2d. a day, confirmed by Ric. II, 22 Mar. 1378, *CPR, 1377-81, 208.*
 John Breton, yeoman of the chamber, 5 marks from Wallingford and St Vallery, *CPR, 1377-81, 247.*
 John Remington, £10, Wallingford & St Valley, *CPR, 1377-81, 214.*
 Cok Ferrour, 10 marks, Macclesfield, *CPR, 1377-81, 225.*

³¹⁰ Groom of the chamber. Porter of Castle Rising, appointed 27 June 1374.

Parliament, Politics and Diplomacy

Unlike John of Gaunt, the Black Prince has rarely been viewed, either by contemporaries or later commentators, as a political animal. It also appears that his retinue was not shaped with such interests in mind. The reason for this can be attributed to the times in which they were formed as well as the preoccupations of those who created them. The Black Prince was seven when war was declared and he became heir apparent to the thrones of England and France. At 16 he won his spurs and was given the glory for the triumph at Crécy. Membership of the Order of the Garter, the stunning victory at Poitiers and finally the grant of the principality of Aquitaine followed. The rise and development of the prince's retinue mirrored the successes of the English in France. Thus the retinue was a chivalric and military order not a political organisation, in so far as they can be distinguished from each other. Parliaments at the time tended to be compliant and supportive and there was little need to exert influence in the Commons beyond the natural authority of the royal family and House of Lords. The prince's political life and the concerns of his retinue involved matters of personal lordship and the control of local society, the extraction of revenue and provision of military support. This was not so for Gaunt whose power-base was moulded by his political concerns at home and dynastic ambitions abroad. The Black Prince believed that one day he would be king and on his coronation his retinue would be augmented with his father's retainers, officials and servants. The retinue was a dynamic association, constantly changing to meet the military demands the prince placed on it and absorbing members from the estates to which the prince was given title. Gaunt sought a crown elsewhere and his affinity was shaped with that object in mind. The changing fortunes of war and increasing

independence of the Commons also shaped the Lancastrian affinity. These were forces to which the prince's retinue was only briefly exposed. However, whether it was a direct concern of the prince himself or of his ruling council or if it was a coincidence and consequence of the prince's standing and that of his retainers, it is the case that he and his followers wielded considerable political authority not only in the localities and at court but also in parliament.

The political community expanded at both a local and national level and in terms of numbers and social diversity in Edward III's reign. The development of a self-defined gentry, extended political society as did the acceptance of mercantile, municipal and legal classes within the polity. Social gradations were becoming more intricate and the developing yeomanry and other members of the peasant elite also had a part to play in political society. The Black Prince's influence at Westminster was curtailed by the anomalous parliamentary positions of Cheshire and Wales. He was however, to have considerable authority at this lower level. He was also very influential at court, which despite the burgeoning power of parliament, remained the centre of high politics.

Many of the prince's retainers and servants had direct links to the court and in many cases served the king personally. Thus, whilst the prince was a very valuable source of patronage and a conduit to the king, in a number of cases there was already a link between the court and members of the prince's retinue. Such associations are demonstrated through witness lists. Members of the peerage were close confidants of the monarch and also his son. These included Ralph Basset of Drayton, Bartholomew Burghersh, elder and younger, Hugh Courtenay and Edward Despenser who all witnessed Edward III's charters.¹ During the minority of Richard II, former retainers of the Black Prince were themselves placed in

¹ Chris Given-Wilson, "Royal Charter Witness Lists", *Medieval Prosopography* 12:2 (1991), 65-71.

positions of great influence at court. This was not always to their benefit. The (undue) influence exerted by Simon Burley as chamberlain brought about his execution. Thomas Trivet, Nicholas Dagworth and William Elmham were also targets of the Appellants in 1387-8.² The court remained the political centre and access to it a major political issue.³ Richard's favouritism contrasted with his grandfather's inclusive policy which incorporated many members of his son's retinue.

The prince also sought to secure influence in the royal courts of law and retained professional judges to control and exploit his rights throughout his lands. He also attempted to exert leverage at the king's exchequer. Soon after he reached his majority the prince retained Hugh Appleby, remembrancer of the royal exchequer, at 40s. a year.⁴ Ralph Hull served for a long time as the prince's attorney and agent in the exchequer⁵ and the prince's interest there expanded considerably in the later months of 1361. This may have been after plans were put into effect for the establishment of the principality of Aquitaine and the prince wished to ensure that he retained some influence in the exchequer whilst overseas. From at least Michaelmas 1361 Roger Charwalton, a remembrancer of the exchequer, was in receipt of a yearly fee of 60s. as was William Hauley who was paid 40s. More importantly, William Skipwith, then chief baron the exchequer, was granted 100s. a year at the same time. The prince also made a gift of 40s. to the ushers of the exchequer on 29 January 1362. These measures may have been undertaken to expedite the grant involved with the transfer to Aquitaine or to ensure a measure of control while the prince was abroad.⁶ However his

² Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy*, London, 1971, 41.

³ Ormrod, *Political Life*, 23. The former retainers and associates of the Black Prince who held important positions at court are again notable in the witness lists to royal charters. Hugh Stafford, Hugh Seagrave, Michael de la Pole, John Devereux, Aubrey Vere, Richard Stafford and others are all evident as witnesses, Given-Wilson, *loc. cit.*, table 6.

⁴ 22 Dec. 1351, *BPR*, iv, 36.

⁵ See 20 Jan. 1361, *ibid.*, 370-1.

⁶ *ibid.*, 414.

interests were maintained chiefly through the actions of Peter Lacy. He received an increase in wages from 5s. to 7s. a day to pay for a clerk and to cover his expenses in the king's chancery and exchequer on 9 June 1363.⁷ Furthermore, John Weye, a clerk of the exchequer, received 20s. and the gift of a doe to pay for his expenses in going to Cornwall "to affeer the estreats of the said Exchequer there, the profit of which belongs to the prince."⁸ William Fulburn was rewarded with 50s. for prosecuting the prince's business in king's exchequer on 15 April 1364.⁹ The exchequer was not the only royal administrative office where the prince maintained individuals. Michael Ravendale provided a link to the chancery. As a clerk there he was granted an annual fee of 20s. just prior to the prince's departure to Aquitaine.¹⁰

Parliament

The importance of Parliament developed in accordance with the fiscal demands of the Hundred Years War. Attention is often drawn to the burgeoning authority of the Commons but this is not to say that the high nobility was distanced from parliament or from political debate.¹¹ The king's advisors were drawn from a broad cross section of military and political society. In a sense, the Black Prince was a part of the new nobility raised to prominence by Edward III. This was not only in a literal sense of being the first English duke, created in March 1337 at the same time as six new earls, and later Prince of Aquitaine, but also in that he formed the most important element in the new cadre of nobles who supported Edward in his aggressive foreign policy. The expansion of the peerage ensured the

⁷ *ibid.*, 500.

⁸ 3 Feb. 1364, *ibid.*, 521.

⁹ *ibid.*, 526.

¹⁰ Michaelmas 1361, *ibid.*, 459.

¹¹ Ormrod, *op cit.*, 32.

support of the House of Lords for the king since many of the peers were dependent on royal favour.¹² In 1341 there were 53 lay peers, this rose to 60 by 1377. During foreign campaigns the number attending parliament could be much lower than this. Absence from parliament was said to imply consent but the king was keen to ensure his peers attended. A few formal exonerations were granted but, in the main, Edward III demanded the personal support of his nobles. It was not always forthcoming and was particularly apparent in the parliament of November 1355 although this was predominately due to absences on military service.¹³ In addition to the earls and dukes, the king summoned 61 new men to parliament. They had not been summoned before and nor had their fathers or grandfathers and were dependent on the king for their new-found position.¹⁴ For example, in the parliaments of January and March 1348 of the 30 lay magnates who were summoned four had never before received parliamentary writs. They were Reginald Cobham, Thomas Bradeston, Thomas Dagworth and Walter Manny all of whom had distinguished war records.¹⁵ This conscious policy of promotion continued with the elevation to the peerage of Ralph Stafford in 1351. Michael de la Pole appeared for the first time in parliament in 1366. Richard Stafford was summoned in 1371 and Guichard d'Angle, as earl of Huntingdon, in 1377.¹⁶ Furthermore, Burghersh and Manny, both mere knights at the time, were raised to be members of the Council.¹⁷

Many of those summoned to parliament were closely associated with the prince. It was in the lords that, to an extent, his "tenurial" parliamentary influence was offset through

¹² Hugh Courtenay received the earldom of Devon two years earlier on 22 Feb. 1335.

¹³ J.S. Roskell, "The Problem of the Attendance of the Lords in Medieval Parliaments", *BIHR*, xxix (1956), 155, 168.

¹⁴ James Bothwell, "Edward III and the 'New Nobility': *Largesse* and Limitation in Fourteenth Century England", *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1112.

¹⁵ J. Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Later Middle Ages: A History of the English House of Lords to 1540*, London, 1968, 355.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 365, 369, 381.

¹⁷ From 1351-6 Burghersh spent an average of 177 days a year on council business. He also held a number of administrative offices and was generously paid 20s. a day, Scott L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*,

the summons of men such as James Audley of Helegh and Reginald Grey. In addition, there was the new and established peerage with links to the prince, Robert Ufford, Ralph Stafford, Richard FitzAlan and representatives of the Bohun, Beauchamp, Courtenay, Clinton and Montague families.¹⁸ The prince himself was first summoned to the February-March Parliament of 1351. During his adult lifetime 21 parliaments and great councils were called (1351-76). Place-date evidence from the *Register of Black Prince* indicates the likelihood of his presence at a number of these, although the usual caution associated with such data must be taken.¹⁹ The prince's campaigning in 1355-7 and his later residency in Aquitaine would only allow him to participate in perhaps nine assemblies, including the council of August 1352. The prince may have returned from Cheshire in time to attend the council of 23 September - 12 October 1353.²⁰ During the parliament of 28 April- 20 May 1354 he spent time at Byfleet, London and Poplar and therefore could have been present at some or all of the meeting. The parliaments of 23 - 30 November 1355 and 17 April - 8/16 May 1357 took place during the prince's time as lieutenant in Aquitaine. He left Bordeaux on 11 April 1357, arrived at Plymouth on 5 May and at London on 24 May.²¹ It seems very likely that the prince took part in the next three parliaments, 5 - 27 February 1358, 15 May - ? 1360, 24 January - 18 February 1361 as he is said to have been in London, Lambeth and Westminster

Cambridge, 1991, 194.

¹⁸ Others summoned to parliament with links to the prince included; the abbot of St Albans, Ralph Basset, Thomas Berkeley?, Thomas Bradeston, Burghersh father and son, John Carleton, Reginald Cobham, Edward Despenser, William d'Eyncourt, William Fifith, John FitzWalter, Thomas Furnivall, Henry Green, Roger Hillary, Warin, Gerard and Robert del Isle?, William Kerdeston, John Knyvet, William Latimer?, Thomas Lodelowe?, Peter Malory, Walter Manny, John Mowbray, John Mohun?, John Molyns, John Neville?, Henry Percy?, Michael de la Pole, Thomas Roos?, John Seagrave, Sharesull, William Skipwith, Hugh Stafford, Richard Stafford, Stonor, John Stretele, Gilbert Talbot, William Thorp, Thomas Ughtred, Roger la Warre, John Willoughby d'Eresby and Richard Willoughby, William Dugdale, *A Perfect Copy of all Summons of the Nobility and Gentry to the Great Councils and Parliaments of the Realm from the xlix of King Henry until these Present Times*, London, 1885.

¹⁹ The prince's participation in the 1351 parliament was noted, *BPR*, iv, 44. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles drew attention to the distinction between parliaments and great councils, "The Parliaments of Edward III", *BIHR*, viii (1930), 65-7.

²⁰ This was called to secure the assent of magnates and commons on a number of issues concerning the wool trade.

²¹ Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii, 54.

throughout. The prince was in the process of embarking for Bordeaux during the assembly of 13 October - 17 November 1362 as his letters were sealed at Plympton. On his return from the principality Edward is said to have been closely involved with the council and parliament. A council met 8 - 17 June 1371 and parliament from 3 - 24 November 1372 and 21 November - 10 December 1373. The prince's illness was too far advanced for him to participate in the Good Parliament of 1376.

The increasing importance of taxation to fund the military operation led to a commensurate rise in the authority of the Commons. A striking comparison may be drawn between 1340 when political remedies for misgovernment were first sought and 1376 when the Commons were in a position to launch a full-scale attack on the king's ministers with little support from the magnates.²² "In a fiscal context at least, there is no doubt that the commons had taken the lead in parliament and reduced the lords to a subordinate role."²³ Royal dependence on taxation forced the crown into political dialogue with its subjects. However, control over taxation was rarely an effective weapon in a power struggle between monarch and subject.²⁴

Taxation was an issue that also greatly affected the lower clergy. Whether the prince had any influence over this element in parliament, which has been shown to have been active for much longer than was previously thought, is uncertain.²⁵ However, particularly in Wales, the prince may have been able to exercise considerable authority over the

²² Michael Prestwich, "Parliament and the Community of the Realm in Fourteenth Century England", *Parliament and Community*, ed. Art Cosgrove and J.I. McGuire (Historical Studies xiv), Belfast, 1983, 14-15.

²³ Ormrod, *Political Life*, 33.

²⁴ G.L. Harriss, "The Formation of Parliament, 1272-1377", *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.G. Davies and J.H. Denton, Philadelphia, 1981, 42.

²⁵ See A.K. McHardy, "The Representation of the English Lower Clergy in Parliament During the Later Fourteenth Century", *Sanctity and Secularity* (Studies in Church History, 10) ed. D. Baker, Oxford, 1973; Jeffrey H. Denton and John P. Dooley, *Representatives of the Lower Clergy in Parliament, 1295-1340*, Woodbridge, 1987.

appointment of clerical representatives from vacant dioceses.²⁶ Such influence would only have been limited, as attendance by the lower clergy never reached double figures after 1340.²⁷ Members of the higher clergy also had a parliamentary role and the prince's influence in parliament may have been extended through such individuals.

A number of the retinue sat as MPs but there seems to be little evidence to suggest that the prince was following a deliberate policy comparable to that of which Gaunt was accused, namely trying to pack the Commons for certain votes. Those claiming the prince's support in the Good Parliament only numbered six. In three sessions, 1358, 1365 and 1369, seven members of the retinue sat in the Commons. There do not appear to have been any sessions from c.1344 until his death that did not contain at least one member of the retinue.²⁸ However, some of these sat in parliament before they had a firm association with the prince. Those sessions when he was best represented were tax granting parliaments.²⁹ But beyond this, parliamentary membership does not seem to have been a major factor in recruitment to the retinue. It may be argued that the prince's authority in the House of Lords and the authority of his friends and others of his father's supporters was sufficient to influence the Commons as they wished.

That the prince had influence in parliament is not in doubt. It is more difficult to judge if he was gaining active support through that influence or if members of the retinue were encouraged to become MPs. The higher nobility used petitions to press claims for

²⁶ For example, Bangor returned representatives from 1344-57, SC10/24/1169, 1191; 25/1237; 26/1296; 27/1323. It was without a bishop and in the prince's control in 1357, 1366, 1375-6, A. Hamilton Thompson, "Medieval Welsh Dioceses", *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, i (1947), 90-111.

²⁷ McHardy, *loc. cit.*, 100.

²⁸ Gaunt's parliamentary representatives were concentrated in a handful of counties. The prince's were widely spread. Members of the retinue represented at least 21 of the 36 counties who returned members. Gaunt had as few as three and as many as 13 MPs in every parliament from 1372 to 1397 (five or six in the 1370s, seven or eight in the 1380s and 10-12 in the 1390s), Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 238-9.

²⁹ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 208-9.

lands, franchises and money. The practice declined over the period, particularly after 1349 when common petitions became more usual. These focussed on war burdens, both purveyance and military obligations, trade regulations and local government, particularly law and order. They often took the form of complaints of maintaining and retaining royal justices, the partiality of oyer and terminer commissions and the ready issue of pardons to criminals.³⁰ In all these the Black Prince was a leading example of bad practice. Petitions could be put forward or suppressed by the member or on behalf of another. There is no evidence of petitions being made directly on the prince's behalf but since they could be proposed orally no record might remain.³¹ Also there are no parliamentary rolls for the later part of Edward III's reign. The prince was influential among those appointed to try the petitions and despite the increasing strictness in admitting petitions these men continued to be appointed.³² In the 1351-2 parliament Shareshull, Roger Hillary and Richard Willoughby were selected to try the English petitions and Shareshull, Richard Talbot, Thomas Bradeston and Ralph Stafford dealt with foreign matters. They were joined by Henry Green in 1354.³³

A comparison with "Lancastrian" MPs is somewhat disingenuous due to the atypical parliamentary positions of Cheshire and Wales where the prince's authority was strongest. Thus his territorial influence in the Commons was restricted to lands held of the duchy of Cornwall. If the prince did wish to have influence in parliament it was to be achieved through the greater authority which he wielded in the later years of his life and through having influence over individuals representing areas where he himself had little land.

³⁰ Harriss, "Formation of Parliament", 50-1.

³¹ J.R. Maddicott, "Parliament and the Constituencies, 1272-1377", *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.G. Davies and J.H. Denton, Philadelphia, 1981, 76-7.

³² Richardson and Sayles, "The Parliaments of Edward IIP", pt. 2, *BIHR*, ix (1931), 3-4.

³³ *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 236, 254. On the role of receivers and auditors of petitions see Richardson and Sayles, "The King's Ministers in Parliament", *EHR*, xlvii (1932), 381-2. They suggest that the receivers were given "an honorary office to ensure their presence in parliament."

A survey of parliamentary members throughout the prince’s adult life is useful but still fails to answer the question of a deliberate “Westminster” policy. The presence of a number of members of his retinue in parliament was not necessarily the consequence of a calculated strategy. The prince recruited widely and among men of high calibre. It is of no surprise that a number of these sat in parliament.

Members of the Retinue Sitting in Parliament

Name	Constituency	Parliament ³⁴
Appleby, Edmund	Derbyshire	12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376
Alveton, John	Oxford	13 Jan. 1352
Banastre, William	Shropshire	7 June 1344, 11 Sept. 1346, 9 Feb. 1351, Nov. 1355, 17 Apr. 1357, 5 Feb. 1358, 15 May 1360, 24 Jan. 1361, 4 May 1366.
Belesby, William	Lincolnshire	9 Feb. 1351
Bere, Richard de la	Herefordshire	23 Sept. 1353, 28 Apr. 1354, 5 Feb. 1358, 15 May 1360, 3 June 1369.
Berneye, John	Norfolk	11 Sept. 1346, 14 Jan. 1348, 17 Apr. 1357, 1 May 1368.
Braybroke, Gerard	Bedford	14 Jan. 1348, 31 Mar. 1348, 9 Feb. 1351, 28 Apr. 1354, Nov. 1355, 17 Apr. 1357.
ii	Buckinghamshire	7 June 1344, 5 Feb. 1358.
Brocas, Bernard	Southampton	3 June 1369, 24 Feb. 1371, 8 June 1371, 21 Nov. 1373.
Brunham, John	Norfolk, Bishop’s Lynn borough	1 May 1368.
Catesby, John	Warwickshire	3 Nov. 1372
Cergeaux, Richard	Comwall	Nov. 1355, 24 Jan. 1361, 6 Oct. 1363, 20 Jan. 1365.
Cifrewast, Robert	Dorset	7 June 1344, 11 Sept. 1346.
Cotesford, Roger	Oxfordshire	3 June 1369, 8 June 1371.

³⁴ References taken from *Returns of Members of Parliament, 1213-1705*, Public Record Office, London, 1878; *Returns of Members of Parliament – Supplementary*, Public Record Office, London, 1878-91.

Dabernon, John	Devon	20 Jan. 1365, 4 May 1366.
Dabernon, Mathew?	Cornwall, Lostwithiel borough	13 Oct. 1362, 20 Jan. 1365.
Felton, William	Northumberland	16 Aug. 1352, 23 Sept. 1353.
Fifhide, William	Sussex	12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376.
Gerveys, Thomas	Bucks, Wycombe borough	7 June 1344, 17 Apr. 1357, 5 Feb. 1358, 15 May 1360, 24 Jan. 1361, 3 June 1369.
ii	Cornwall, Helston borough	15 May 1360.
Gissing, Thomas	Norfolk	12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376.
Golofre, John	Berkshire	7 June 1344, 13 Jan. 1352, Nov. 1355, 5 Feb. 1358.
Hakelut, Edmund	Herefordshire	28 Apr. 1354, 5 Feb. 1358.
Henxteworth, John	Hertfordshire	3 June 1369.
Hoghton, Adam	Lancashire	14 Jan. 1348, 6 Oct. 1363, 20 Jan. 1365.
Hungerford, Thomas	Wiltshire	13 Oct. 1362.
Kendale, Edward		
Kendale, Richard	Cornwall, Launceston borough	3 June 1369.
ii	Cornwall, Lostwithiel borough	20 Jan. 1365.
Kentwode, John	Berkshire	12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376.
Malyns, Reginald	Oxfordshire	21 Nov. 1373.
Mussingden, Thomas	Buckinghamshire	6 Oct. 1363, 20 Jan. 1365.
Nanfan, Henry	Cornwall, Lostwithiel borough	24 Jan. 1361.
Petyveyn, Thomas	Herefordshire	24 Jan. 1361, 6 Oct. 1363.
Ughtred, Thomas	Yorkshire	7 June 1344, 16 Aug. 1352.
Upton, John	Shropshire	9 Feb. 1351.
Verdon, John	Staffordshire	9 Feb. 1351, 3 June 1369, 21 Nov. 1373, 12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376.
Wakebridge, William	Nottinghamshire	13 Jan. 1352.
Walkefare, Richard	Norfolk	5 Feb. 1358.
Wauncy, Edmund	Suffolk	6 Oct. 1363, 20 Jan. 1365, 4 May 1366.
Wingfield, William	Suffolk	12 Feb. 1376, 28 Apr. 1376.

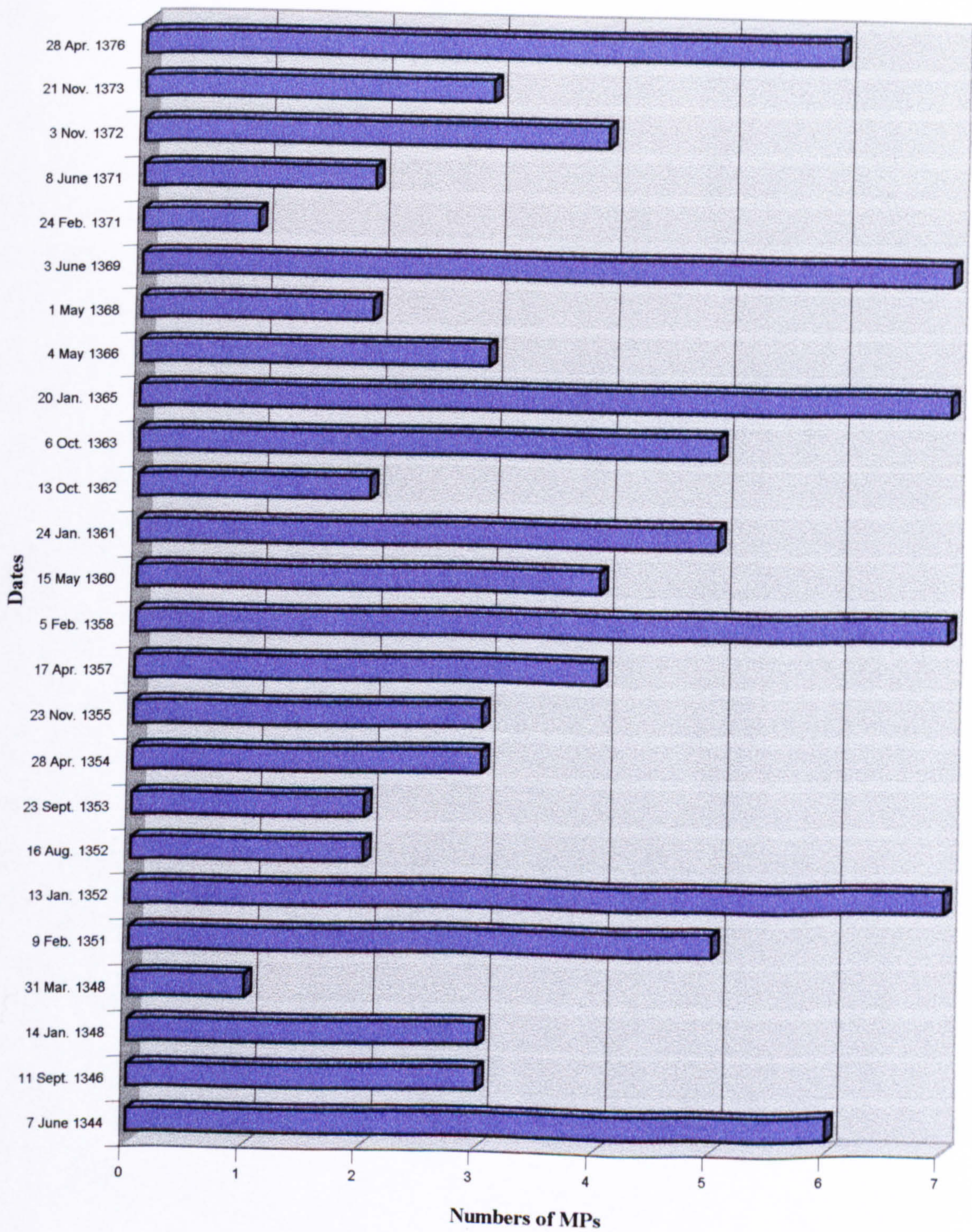
On the basis of this evidence the prince retained or had links to men who sat in constituencies throughout the country. He does not appear to have “swamped” any particular regions with his familiars although Norfolk, Herefordshire and Cornwall tended to return members who can be associated with the prince on a fairly regular basis, the latter areas being under his control or adjoining his lands. As duke of Cornwall, the prince was linked to many of the leading figures of the duchy. The majority, although by no means all the appointments, are dated to the last decade of the prince’s life. This may indicate an increasing interest in domestic politics but there is little evidence to corroborate this. More probably these years marked a period in which the members in question were older, more respected in county society, less militarily active and thus more likely to take up seats in the commons. However, if the prince was trying to develop parliamentary influence it would happen after his return from Aquitaine. “...neither king nor particular magnates tried to have their own men returned to parliament with any regularity...Evidence of politically motivated meddling in elections...begins to appear only in the 1370s.”³⁵ John of Gaunt does not appear to have had a great deal of influence over the choice of parliamentary representatives even in Lancashire. County communities were difficult to manipulate and wanted a say in the appointment of local officials especially MPs, JPs and justices of labourers.³⁶ However, he may have been able to exert influence at particular times of crisis. In addition, the size of the Lancastrian affinity made it inevitable that a large number of members had links to the duke.³⁷

³⁵ Maddicott, “Parliament and the Constituencies”, 74.

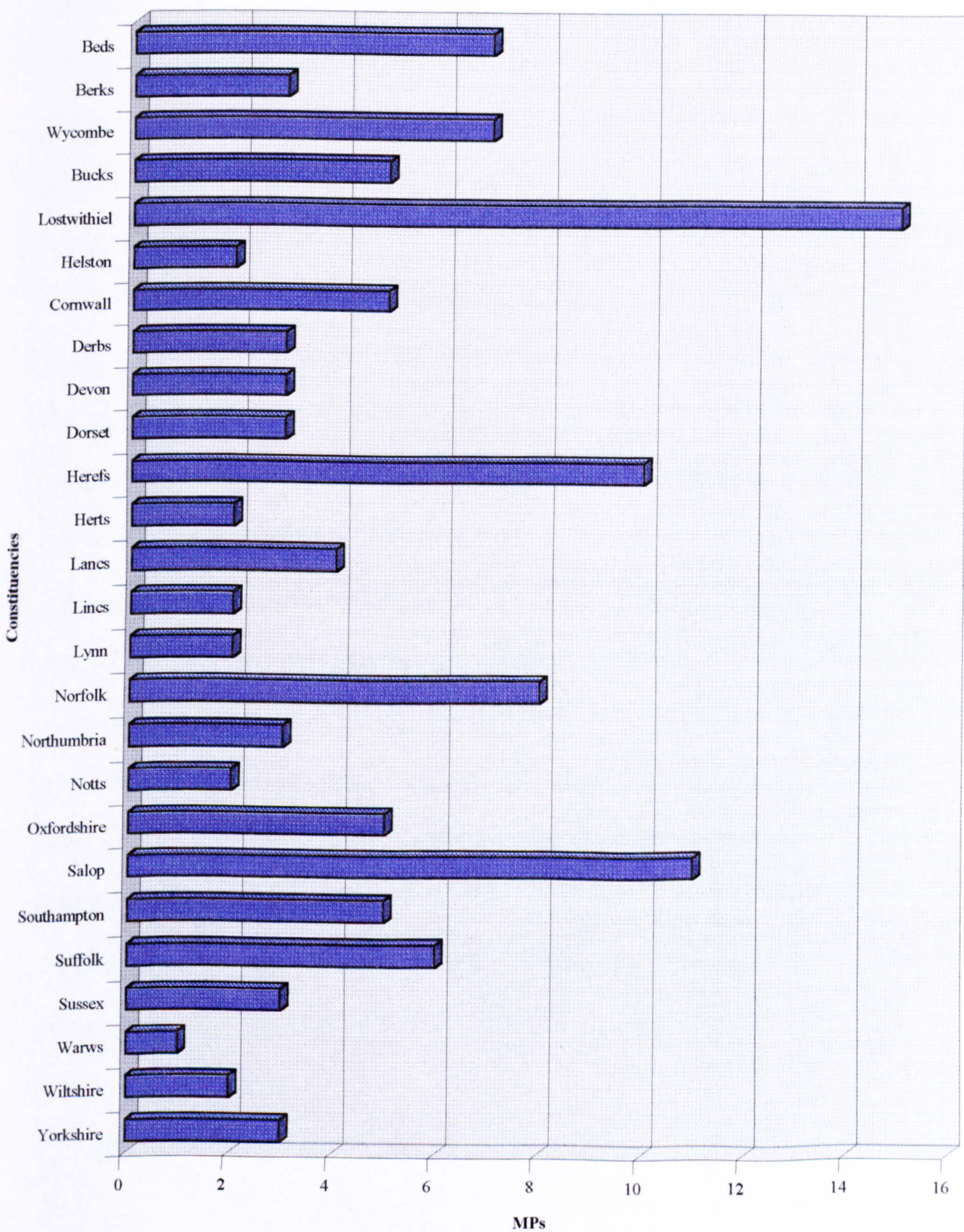
³⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 136, 238, 257, 277, 286, 333; Maddicott, *loc. cit.*, 71-2.

³⁷ Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 148-9, 196.

Retinue Members Sitting in Parliaments and Great Council



Constituency Representation 1346-76



The prince most famous political role, in the Good Parliament of 1376, has probably been overstated. He was very ill by this time and if his support was implied by a number of the Commons knights, it was not expressly given. After his return from Aquitaine the prince presided over meetings of the royal council from 1372-4. The parliament of 1373 showed the ill feeling towards the government that would become manifest three years later. As in that gathering a number of those with associations with the prince were pitted against the government including William of Wykeham, the earl of March and John Harewell.

The exaggerated role of the prince in the Good Parliament was based on the supposed hostility between himself and his younger brother. Wilkinson stated that ill feeling developed after Gaunt had superseded the prince in Aquitaine.³⁸ While the prince certainly mishandled his Gascon subjects, he was in no condition to deal with the situation which developed in Aquitaine after his return from Spain and apparently handed over the reins of power to Gaunt out of necessity if not relief. It is difficult to find any evidence of hostility between the king's eldest sons.³⁹ It has been suggested that although relations between the brothers did not break down, there is evidence for a "clerical" party nominally led by the prince and a "court" party led by Gaunt and that hostility developed between these groups.⁴⁰ There are indications of co-operation between a group of sympathetic lords and the Commons, "Undoubtedly the knights who presented the accusations depended on certain lords for political support".⁴¹ The Commons knights claimed that the prince supported them in 1376. Seven of them had fought with the prince in 1355-6 namely

³⁸ Wilkinson, *Chancery*, 125.

³⁹ The brothers exchanged gifts after the end of the principality on 23 Nov. 1372, 24 Dec. 1372, 13 Apr. 1373 and on 8 Jan. 1375 the prince was given "le couvercle ove un pomel esnamillez de noir ove plume d'esterych", *John of Gaunt's Register*, i, 96, 112-13, 191-3, 278.

⁴⁰ J. Dahmus, *William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396*, Philadelphia, 1966, 23.

⁴¹ Harriss, "Formation of Parliament", 58.

Edmund Appleby, Thomas Blount, Thomas Gissing, John Kentwode (the accuser of Alice Perrers), John Ludlow and John Wood.⁴² Their belief in the prince's support was "confirmed" by Walsingham.⁴³

That the prince was associated with a large proportion of the House of Lords and a smaller, though still a significant number of the Commons, is to be expected. Many of the lords were closely linked to the prince and served with him, often on more than one occasion and some were in receipt of annuities or undertook administrative offices. It is uncertain if the prince used his authority in the Lords to influence attitudes throughout parliament. It is even more uncertain if the prince's influence could be used counter to the wishes of the king. It may be that some personal authority might be brought to bear in the later years of the reign but there is little to suggest that the prince had a political agenda of his own beyond assuming the Crown himself and later ensuring that it would pass to his son. This, it appears, was an agenda much in keeping with Edward III's own. The recent discovery of the King's entail for Richard to inherit the throne may reveal concerns about Gaunt's ambitions.⁴⁴

The Retinue and Minority Rule

In the prince's later years and during the reign of his son a number of his former retainers came to prominence. Following the prince's decline and after his death, Joan acted as a steadying influence in English politics.⁴⁵ Furthermore, "...there seems to have

⁴² Holmes, *Good Parliament*, 134-5, 137-8.

⁴³ "extincto Principe extinctus est cum eo profecto Parliamenti praesentis effectus. Nam communes, cum quibus ipse tenebat, dicti Parliamenti sorti non sunt talem exitum qualem pro meliori habuisse sperabant", Walsingham, *Hist. Angl*, i, 321.

⁴⁴ Michael Bennett, "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1376-1471", *EHR*, cxiii (1998), 580-607.

⁴⁵ Saul, *Richard II*, 11.

been a personal movement on the part of the King's mother to secure her influence in the government by bringing into office dependants of the King's father, the late prince of Wales (some of whom had been on the popular side in the late crisis) as a counterpoise to the influence of her brother-in-law."⁴⁶ Cobham, Richard Stafford, Richard FitzAlan, John Devereux, Hugh Segrave, John Knyvet and Hugh, earl of Stafford, all had links to the prince, some closer than others and all served in the minority council of Richard II. John Harewell, the bishop of Bath and Wells, William Ufford, the son of the prince's companion-in-arms, and Aubrey Vere were drafted into the council in October 1378.⁴⁷ The "continual councils" were intended to be representative of the body politic across its whole spectrum. Comparisons may be drawn with the Black Prince's own childhood. His political concerns were, naturally, very limited. Nonetheless his political influence, even if only as a figurehead, should not be underestimated. The Black Prince served as guardian of the realm on a number of occasions. Those who advised him formed, in essence, a regency council. Whilst not having the temporal or spiritual authority which his son was to wield in his own minority, in the 1330s and early 1340s the prince was at the centre of national politics.

Local Politics

The role and influence of the prince and his retinue in local politics formed part of a reciprocal relationship. On the one hand there was the issue of how those in the prince's employ could further his designs, on the other, how the prince's personal influence and patronage could promote the careers and fortunes of his retainers. Patronage gave the

⁴⁶ N.B. Lewis, "The Continual Council in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80", *EHR*, xli (1926), 249.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 247-8, 250-1.

prince influence throughout his demesnes despite rarely being resident away from London when in England. Patronage gave control over his servants who depended and relied upon him for their position and income. The extent of his influence reaching from Kennington or Berkhamsted to the depths of Cornwall or Wales is uncertain. It is also difficult to distinguish between the authority of the prince and that of his council which was responsible for daily administration and in maintaining control over local officials. It also had patronage to dispense particularly when the prince was abroad.

Litigation

The prince's extensive estates often brought him into litigation over various matters for which he retained a number of justices and others to plead on his behalf. Officials were employed to undertake legal duties and to be a part of and advise the prince's council. It was important that a litigant understand the administrative routines, how they might be circumvented if necessary, and how to influence a jury.⁴⁸ The prince sought not only to influence juries but also judges.

By the prince's association with William Shareshull he secured influence in London and the central courts. Shareshull was chief justice of the King's Bench from 1351-61⁴⁹ and the prince's relationship with him predated this. Shareshull was paid wages of £20 for his services in the Easter term of 1346.⁵⁰ Shareshull was closely involved with the Cheshire sessions of 1353.⁵¹ He and Richard Willoughby were rewarded for their services in this

⁴⁸ J.R. Maddicott, "Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century England", *Past and Present*, Supplement 4 (1978), 1.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 21-2.

⁵⁰ *BPR*, i, 35.

⁵¹ See Booth, "Taxation and Public Order", 16-31.

matter with grants of £40.⁵² Willoughby was again involved in legal duties on the prince's behalf in 1358 and 1359.⁵³ John Stonor, chief justice of the Common Bench, 1336-40 and 1342-54, sat on the prince's council in the late 1330s.⁵⁴ Henry Green, a king's justice, was retained at 20 marks a year to sit on the council on 4 September 1355.⁵⁵ A number of other lawyers and justices were also employed. Gilbert Debenham was retained to sit as part of the council in return for 100s. a year on 15 July 1359.⁵⁶ Thomas Lodelowe was retained at 50s. a year on 25 November 1363.⁵⁷ Thomas Tochewick served from at least 1354 as the prince's agent and attorney in the court of Common Bench receiving 40s. a year and 20s. for a robe as well as expenses.⁵⁸ He was replaced in 1360/1 by Clement Spice on the same terms and conditions.⁵⁹ Spice was joined as an attorney by Richard Wythmersh before 20 May 1370.⁶⁰ Roger Wombwell was commissioned to prosecute business in royal courts during the prince's absence in Gascony, 1355-7. The prince clearly had many legal matters to be dealt with. Wombwell was paid £26 9s. for 529 days of service.⁶¹

Annuities for Legal and Financial Service

Sir Ralph Spigurnell ⁶²	£10	Wallingford & St Vallery	20 Nov. 1351	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 33.
Henry Green	20 marks	Receiver-general	4 Sept. 1355	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 152

⁵² 3 Dec. 1353, *BPR*, iii, 136-7
⁵³ *ibid.*, 298, 338.
⁵⁴ Maddicott, *loc. cit.*, 37-8.
⁵⁵ *BPR*, iv, 152.
⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 301.
⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 513.
⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 115-16.
⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 376-7.
⁶⁰ *CPR*, 1367-70, 406.
⁶¹ *BPR*, iv, 207-8.
⁶² Late farmer of Wallingford and St Vallery, remitted £10 of £210.

William Banaster ⁶³	100s.		20 July 1357	<i>BPR</i> , iii, 268
Robert Thorp ⁶⁴	20 marks	Receiver-general	3 Oct. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 264.
John Longesdon ⁶⁵	£4	Receiver-general	12 Nov. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 266.
William Fifhid ⁶⁶	50s.	Receiver-general	30 Nov. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 266.
John Knyvet ⁶⁷	50s.	Receiver-general	30 Nov. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 266.
William Finchenden ⁶⁸	50s.	Receiver-general	30 Nov. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 266.
William Wichingham ⁶⁹	50s.	Receiver-general	30 Nov. 1358	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 266.
Gilbert Debenham	100s.	Receiver-general	15 July 1359	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 301.
Richard Stokes ⁷⁰	10 marks, 2d. a day	Receiver-general	25 Oct. 1359	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 328.
Walter Aldebury ⁷¹	40s.		Michaelmas 1361	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 459.
Thomas Lodelowe	50s.	Receiver-general	25 Nov. 1363	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 513.
John Cary	10 marks	Cornwall	15 Feb. 1372	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 207.

There is no obvious pattern concerning the areas of legal expertise of the lawyers and officials in the prince's retinue. This is true both of specialist knowledge and the estates in which they worked. The examples of John Moubray and William Skipwith demonstrate this. Both were royal serjeants in the court of Common Bench and were retained by the prince "to be of his counsel and to plead for him in all places" on 20

⁶³ Of Hadenhale. Retained to be the prince's councilor and plead for him in Chester and Flint. He later also heard cases in Denbigh, 16 Feb. 1361 *BPR*, iii, 406.

⁶⁴ King's justice, retained to be a member of the council.

⁶⁵ Recently retained to be the prince's attorney.

⁶⁶ King's sergeant, retained to be a member of the council and plead on the prince's behalf where required.

⁶⁷ King's sergeant, retained as a member of the council to plead on the prince's behalf as required.

⁶⁸ King's sergeant, retained to be a member of the council and plead on the prince's behalf as required.

⁶⁹ King's sergeant, retained to be a member of the council and plead for the prince as required.

⁷⁰ Retained as auditor.

⁷¹ Clerk of the pipe [exchequer]. He later received regular gifts of venison: three does, 5 Dec. 1363, *BPR*, iv, 517; three does, 3 Feb. 1364, *ibid.*, 521; three does, 27 Oct. 1364, *ibid.*, 536; two bucks, 25 May 1365, *ibid.*, 557.

⁷² Retained to be of the council for legal business.

September 1355.⁷³ This was true also of William Fifhid, William Fincheden, John Knyvet and William Wichingham who were all retained at annual wages of 50s. on 30 November 1358.⁷⁴ They are recorded as acting on the prince's behalf in London in 1360.⁷⁵ Others were employed to serve in specific areas, particularly Cheshire and Flintshire although they were not restricted to these areas. John Davenport, who had already seen legal service with the prince, was retained to plead in Cheshire, Flintshire, Wales and elsewhere.⁷⁶ John Delves, as part of his administrative duties, was appointed to hear cases in Denbigh with Richard Stafford and/or William Banastre on 16 February 1361.⁷⁷ In the same way Thomas Ferrers, as justice of Chester, held an eyre in the manor of Macclesfield⁷⁸ and an assize of novel disseisin concerning tenements in Crewe.⁷⁹ Banastre had been retained some years before under similar conditions to Davenport.⁸⁰ Shareshull and Henxteworth were particularly involved in Devon and Cornwall as was Dabernon and, surprisingly, Delves despite his concerns in Cheshire and Wales. Shareshull was involved in a number of commissions of oyer and terminer and also made inquiries into tin forgeries. A further commission was ordered on 7 March 1358 to inquire into crimes against tanners in Devon.⁸¹ The value of the stannaries to the prince and his retinue ensured that they received legal support and defence. Shareshull also held an assize in Devon.⁸²

⁷³ They were paid 50s. a year, *ibid.*, 168-9.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 266.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 357.

⁷⁶ He was rewarded with 40s. for pleading at sessions on 29 Nov. 1355. This was in addition to his wages of 100s. a year. He also received the gift of three oaks for timber on 16 Feb. 1361, *BPR*, iii, 219-20, 406.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 406.

⁷⁸ He received 40s. (his lieutenant, 20s.) a year above his costs for holding the eyre, 20 May 1351, *ibid.*, 27-8.

⁷⁹ The case involved William Hamelyn, Elizabeth Praers, Thomas Brereley, John Delves and William Flecher, 24 Oct. 1352, *ibid.*, 79.

⁸⁰ 20 July 1357, *ibid.*, 268.

⁸¹ Paid expenses, 30 July 1358, 8 Aug. 1358, *BPR*, ii, 135, 146. Shareshull, Dabernon and Henxteworth were involved in a further commission ordered on 27 Feb. 1358, *CPR*, 1358-61, 66, as were Delves and Henxteworth on 29 May 1367, *ibid.*, 1364-7, 444.

⁸² 12 Mar. 1351, *ibid.*, 1350-4, 81.

The retaining of judges by individuals had been illegal since 1345 but many magnates continued to do so. The prince was able to instigate judicial commissions, particularly of oyer and terminer, to investigate particular cases and instances of wrongdoing both on his own behalf and for members of his retinue. Such commissions often took place after a period of service abroad. They were the most effective means of protecting the prince's rights in the localities.⁸³ The system allowed the plaintiff to choose the justices. With John Wingfield, Robert Eleford and Robert Thorp, Shareshull was the most active of the prince's servants involved in such cases concerning Edward and his retinue. The prince's interests were not confined to areas where he wielded great territorial authority. John Nessefeld became the prince's attorney in the Yorkshire county court at a fee of 20s. a year on 20 February 1362.⁸⁴ A number of the retinue and associates of the prince or his retainers were involved in a case in Norfolk. They included John Wingfield, Robert Thorpe, Henry Green, John Knyvet, Thomas St Omer and John Berneye.⁸⁵ Wingfield, Richard de la Pole and Robert Eleford were ordered to a commission of oyer and terminer investigating assaults on the king's and the prince's ministers in Buckinghamshire.⁸⁶ Shareshull, Richard Willoughby, William Aubeney, Robert Thorpe and Robert Eleford were involved in a similar case in Bedfordshire.⁸⁷ Where possible, it seems that the commissions were given to men with very close associations to the prince who would be likely to give a favourable verdict⁸⁸ such as the commission in Devon which

⁸³ John of Gaunt used very similar measures. He instigated nine commissions in the 1360s and eight in the 1370s, Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 121.

⁸⁴ *BPR*, iv, 483.

⁸⁵ 20 Nov. 1358, *CPR*, 1358-61, 159.

⁸⁶ 24 Nov. 1352, *ibid.*, 1350-4, 289.

⁸⁷ 15 Oct. 1353, *ibid.*, 519-20.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 289, 519-20; 1354-8, 291, 391, 401; 1358-61, 66; 1364-7, 70, 72, 73.

included Shareshull, Dabernon and Wingfield.⁸⁹ On 14 July 1347, John Brunham, Philip Eggerton, Richard del Hogh, Hugh Hopwas, Roger Hopwell and William Prarers were appointed to a commission of oyer and terminer in Bromfield and Yale.⁹⁰ Shareshull was involved in a commission in Cornwall on 7 March 1358.⁹¹ Delves and Henxteworth were involved in a commission in the duchy in 1367.⁹² On the prince's return from Aquitaine, conditions, particularly in Cornwall, seem to have deteriorated. This may be attributed to the earlier absence of the prince and a large number of his retinue overseas or to an opportunistic exploitation of the profits of justice on his return. In any case, he made three complaints accusing very large numbers of people of assault and theft in Cornwall.⁹³

Members of the prince's retinue could also benefit in this way. A commission of oyer and terminer was granted to Thomas Peytevyn who reported stolen goods. The commissioners were to be Nicholas Audley, John Moubray and Richard de la Bere.⁹⁴ Thomas Gissing "of the prince's company" was also granted a similar commission after his wife was raped and his goods stolen from Kingston, Cambridgeshire.⁹⁵

Other sorts of legal investigation were undertaken with direct financial motivation. John Clone, Richard Stafford, Peter Gildesburgh, Roger Hillary, Roger Hopwell, John Le Strange and Shareshull made forest eyres in north Wales.⁹⁶ They were also held in

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 1358-61, 159.

⁹⁰ *BPR*, i, 95-6. Hopwell was appointed steward of Bromfield and Yale on 13 July 1347.

⁹¹ He was paid expenses on 30 July 1358, *ibid.*, ii, 146.

⁹² *CPR*, 1364-7, 444.

⁹³ *ibid.*, 1370-4, 170-3.

⁹⁴ 17 Mar. 1371, *ibid.*, 105 (pos. see also 5 Aug. 1371, *CCR*, 1368-74, 242-3.)

⁹⁵ 10 Mar. 1371, *CPR*, 1370-4, 104-5. This was prior to his being formally retained by the prince on 5 Oct. 1371.

⁹⁶ 1 Sept. 1347, *BPR*, i, 119, all were justices in eyre for common pleas and oyer and terminer appointed on the same date, *ibid.*, 124.

Cheshire by Thomas Ferrers and John Macclesfield,⁹⁷ William Banastre, William Wakebru,⁹⁸ William le Criour,⁹⁹ and Richard Willoughby.¹⁰⁰

It is difficult to see the prince as being actively engaged in national and local politics. He was inextricably linked to the political scene through his role in the war and his local position in his estates. Relations with the nobility throughout his lands were often strained. This was particularly so in the Welsh marches and obviously in Aquitaine where relations broke down to such a degree that appeals were made to Paris, initiating the resumption of the war in 1369 and the loss of all the territorial gains which had been made from Crécy to the treaty of Brétigny. Therefore, to say that the prince and his retinue were politically unimportant would be quite wrong. However, on a personal level it seems that the prince was uninterested in politics, at least in the political arena at Westminster. The administrative and fiscal policy that his regime initiated had considerable implications for local politics, but it was not the prince's desire to influence the local political system, rather it was to ignore it. He sought to increase his own authority and that of his regime while extracting increasing amounts of revenue. The constraints of local politics and society were forces not to be cajoled or worked with but bludgeoned into submission.

Relations with the Nobility

Wales

Edward I had imposed a new governmental structure as part of the military occupation of Wales and made substantial changes to legal process through the Statute of

⁹⁷ 26 Oct. 1347, *ibid.*, 134.

⁹⁸ They were granted £8 for services in the Cheshire forest eyres, 8 July 1358, *ibid.*, iii, 304.

⁹⁹ He was paid 6s. 8d. above his annual wages of 10s. for assisting in the forest eyre, 8 Sept. 1358, *ibid.*, 308.

¹⁰⁰ He was commanded to hold forest eyres in Cheshire on 26 June 1353, *ibid.*, 111. He received a grant following these sessions of £33 6s. 8d. on 3 Dec. 1353, *ibid.*, 136-7. He was again justice of eyre in the prince's Cheshire forests on 28 Feb. 1358, *ibid.*, 298 and again in the following year, 26 May 1359, *ibid.*, 338.

Rhuddlan.¹⁰¹ A measure of stability had developed in Wales from the turn of the century although threats of revolt remained common. This was demonstrated very early in the prince's administration by the murder of Henry Shaldeford.¹⁰² This was the "climax of anti-English violence in north Wales in the 1340s".¹⁰³ It cannot wholly be attributed to the prince's administration, which was in its infancy and before Edward's appointment there were considerable disturbances in the marches, particularly in Chepstow and Newport.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, there was suspicion and resentment at recent reforms implemented by his council and local members of the retinue. It was not a situation which improved with time. In 1362 a proclamation forbade anyone to go about the country armed. This was in response to roaming bands of men said to be committing assorted crimes and misdemeanours.¹⁰⁵

The widescale use of the retinue, in both military and administrative offices, alienated certain members of the local community who were excluded from positions of trust and responsibility. Shareshull was particularly influential after the adoption of his policy of maximizing the profits of justice. Whilst profitable, it was a crude instrument and

¹⁰¹ R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Co-Existence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*, Oxford, 1987, 364-5, 368-9.

¹⁰² Shaldeford, one of the prince's attorneys, was murdered on St Valentine's Day 1344 *en route* to Caernarfon. This highlighted racial tension in the region and resulted in panic among the English burgesses. In Caernarfon and Conwy, and the communities of Denbigh and Rhuddlan they wrote to the prince asking for protection and action to be taken "against the rebellious Welsh and other evildoers", Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, 230-2. There was also an anti-English riot at a fair in St Asaph in the same year and in 1345 John Huntingdon, acting-sheriff of Merioneth, may also have been assassinated whilst holding the county court, *ibid.*, 231. The murder at the county court would probably have seemed highly appropriate. The English judicial system created unpopular burdens and in 1361 the people of Denbigh complained that they were no longer able to settle disputes by the traditional system of negotiation due to the local ministers' desire for amercements, *BPR*, iii, 410.

¹⁰³ Davies, *op cit.*, 410.

¹⁰⁴ William Dernford and his son Robert, Howell Moartel and Robert ap Ivor were outlawed after going about armed with a group of followers whilst the king was out of the country in 1340. They were accused of inciting a band of Welsh and Englishmen to enter a park belonging to Mary, widow of the earl of Norfolk, where they killed the parker and stole deer. They also attempted to capture the town and castle of Chepstow, *CPR 1337-47*, 92-3; A.C. Reeves, *Newport Lordship, 1317-1536*, Michigan, 1979, 28. There had been disturbances in Bromfield and Yale in 1333 after the garrison had been stripped from the lordship for service in Scotland. The king was forced personally to intervene, D. Pratt, "Wrexham Militia in the Fourteenth Century", *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, (1963), 66-7.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. Recog. Rolls*, 36, 93.

potentially very corrupt. Similar methods were later employed in Aquitaine, although by no means to the same degree. Richard Fillongley's accounts as constable of Bordeaux show almost half the number of entries to be concerned with judicial revenue.¹⁰⁶

The increasingly efficiency and profitability of the prince's administration brought it into conflict with the Marcher lords who, as they had to the pretensions of Edward I in the 1290s and the younger Despenser, closed ranks against the Black Prince.¹⁰⁷ The Marcher lords were, and were seen as, the real authority in their lordships in terms of power, wealth and justice, of which, like the nobility in Aquitaine, they were the final arbiters. This situation created a number of administrative and judicial anomalies that were later highlighted in the Glyn Dŵr revolt.¹⁰⁸ The reaction of the Marcher lords shows the extent of the prince's attempt to increase his personal authority to a level comparable with the last native prince of Wales and, more recently, the supremacy of Roger Mortimer. The nobility were alienated by threats to their traditional liberties just at the time when Edward III was anxious not to irritate his magnates.¹⁰⁹ For example, the prince wrote to the earl of Hereford threatening that if he continued with plans to hold a judicial eyre "to the diminution of his [the prince's] lordship and against the dignity of his coronet [he would] need to take other means for the salvation of the rights of his lordship."¹¹⁰ From the outset, the prince's administration had sought to increase its authority. Very soon after his assumption of the principality an inquisition post mortem, held by Richard Stafford and

¹⁰⁶ E101/177/1; 177/10; 179/9.

¹⁰⁷ For the acrimonious exchanges between the prince and the Marcher lords see Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 271-2.

¹⁰⁸ R.R. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, 67, for the fiscal exploitation of Wales see *ibid.*, 71; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ Magnates were also seeking to exert their own authority and influence within and beyond their estates. Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Brecon, stripped boroughs of rights and privileges, enforcing his officials, exploiting his jurisdictional supremacy and consolidating his lands. He often worked in association with his brother William, earl of Northampton. The use of purchase, force, establishment of judicial rights and other means were adopted to apply Marcher influence particularly over the Welsh population, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 92-7.

¹¹⁰ *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*, ed. Edwards, 225-6. The dating of the letter is uncertain and was given as 8

Hugh Berwick, determined that the lordship of Denbigh was held of the prince of Wales and not the king.¹¹¹ However, this situation did not last for long and Edward was not able to dominate the marches from the principality. The Marcher lords jealously guarded their own rights. For example, the earl of Hereford as lord of Brecon upheld his authority to demand tolls throughout his lordship from his mesne tenants and any passing through.¹¹² The conflict quickly came to the attention of Edward III and resulted in the 1354 statute stating that Marcher lands were held directly of the king.¹¹³ His father realised that “the March was too important and too delicate an area to be abandoned to the insensitive expansionist designs of the Black Prince and his councillors”.¹¹⁴ The prince lost little in real terms by the 1354 statute and indeed retained wardships linked to lands of the former principality of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd and thereby authority over the lands and the heirs to those estates. Furthermore, after the death of Roger Mortimer in 1360, Ceri, Cydewain and Denbigh were determined to be held of the prince.¹¹⁵ The 1354 Statute was applied to older lordships not necessarily the newer ones of Edward I. The principality of 1360 was comparable to Llywelyn’s.¹¹⁶

July 1343, *ibid.*, 53.

¹¹¹ *CIPM*, viii, 388.

¹¹² Davies, *op cit.*, 219 n. 14. For the prince’s protest see *BPR*, i, 31.

¹¹³ After the conquest of Gwynedd by Edward I the western sections of the region became part of the principality of north Wales whilst eastern Gwynedd was incorporated into the Marcher lordships and there divided into Englishries and Welshries. The principality consisted of the five counties of Anglesey, Merioneth, Caernarfon, Carmarthen and Cardigan. Flintshire was also included although it was administratively linked to Cheshire and there were a number of royal lordships which were not part of the principality proper nor of the March such as Montgomery, Builth, Newcastle Emlyn and Haverford, Davies, *op cit.*, 6, 16. The government of Crown lands was on an English model. The Welsh commote was treated as a hundred and the *rhaglawiad* and *rhingylliad* were charged with the tasks of hundred bailiffs and as such were subject to the sheriffs, Given, *State and Society*, 44-5.

¹¹⁴ Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 273.

¹¹⁵ Denbigh had a chequered history of ownership with the prince, Montague and Roger Mortimer all striving for title to the lordship. After the marcher protest it passed to William Montague, the heir who had come of age some time before but the prince had managed to retain control. Montague lost the support of Edward III in 1355 who granted Denbigh to Mortimer. Mortimer in turn enfeoffed Richard de la Bere and Ralph Spigurnel with the lordship and they re-granted it to him. They were not to benefit from this after Mortimer’s death in 1360 when the prince simply retook control of the lordship, D.H. Owen, “The Lordship of Denbigh, 1282-1425”, Unpub. PhD thesis, Aberystwyth, 1967, 74-5, 79-80. For Montague’s homage for Denbigh see SC1/40/122.

¹¹⁶ *CCR*, 1360-4, 32-3, 80-2; J. Goronwy Edwards, *The Principality of Wales, 1267-1967. A Study in Constitutional*

Nonetheless, there was some attempt to establish a *modus operandi* with the marcher lords.¹¹⁷ The March was no longer the disparate selection of lordships that it had been after Edward I had granted a number of lordships to his supporters after the conquest of Gwynedd. By the mid fourteenth century, with the exception of Dyffryn Clwyd, all those new lordships had become part of the estates of the earls of Arundel and March. In the course of the fourteenth century the number of lords of the March had fallen from 25 to 15 and lordships were often amalgamated. Many of the Marcher lords fought with the Black Prince, played a role in his administration and lent him money. They co-operated in the Crécy campaign and the Calais siege in which a large proportion of the army was made up of troops from Wales, both the March and the principality.¹¹⁸ William Montague was one such military companion. He received the lordship of Denbigh in 1331 and six years later secured a reversion of the Montalt estate from the Queen Mother.¹¹⁹ The Beauchamp family were also close associates. They acquired Elfael through marriage in 1337 and in 1354 were granted the lordship of Gower. Ralph Stafford was also an important figure in the prince's administration and a military associate. In 1347 he was bequeathed a share of the lordship of Caus and acquired it all ten years later. Newport and Gwynllwg were inherited through his wife. The Hastings family held Abergavenny, Cilgeran and a third of St Clears. The Valence claim to Pembroke fell into their hands in 1339. In 1372, John, then earl of Pembroke, acquired a 40-year lease of Chepstow. The family however did not exercise the influence and authority commensurate with its lands due to a succession of minorities. The Mortimer family regained much of their influence during this period. By

History, (Caernarvonshire History Society), 1969, 34.

¹¹⁷ *BPR*, iii, 149, 490.

¹¹⁸ 3,500 men from the March were called up for the Crécy campaign.

¹¹⁹ The Denbigh grant was a reward for his assistance at Nottingham in 1330. Denbigh had a gross income of £1,000 a year. Until Isabella's death Montague rented Montalt for £600 a year. It should be noted that royal favour did not transfer to the next generation as Roger Mortimer received Denbigh in 1354, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 50-1.

the 1350s the family estates resembled those of 1322. In 1368 to these were added the estates of Elizabeth Burgh. By 1373 over 16 lordships were under Earl Edmund's control.¹²⁰ The FitzAlans were also highly influential. The lordships of Oswestry and Clun were supported by assorted Shropshire manors. The noted wealth of the family was exercised in purchasing a number of estates and further lands fell to the earls through inheritance, particularly the Warenne properties in 1347.¹²¹

Parts of the March were, for considerable periods, ruled by women.¹²² Elizabeth Burgh was lady of Usk, Caerleon and Trelech for 33 years.¹²³ The prince seems to have been on good terms with her. During her summer visit to London in 1358 she entertained him at least four times and he was remembered in her will.¹²⁴ Agnes, the widow of Laurence Hastings, earl of Pembroke (d. 1348), held Abergavenny as dower for 20 years and added to it the county of Pembroke in 1351.¹²⁵ Chepstow was ruled by, or on behalf of, women from 1339-99, firstly as jointure of Mary, countess of Norfolk, and secondly as the inheritance of her daughter, Margaret, who survived two husbands and her son-in-law to control Chepstow from 1372-99.

¹²⁰ These included: Cwmwd Deudlwr, Blaenllyfni, Radnor, Narberth, Ceri, Cydewain, Ewyas Lacy, a moiety of Ludlow, Geneville, Clifford, Glasbury, Usk, Trelech, Caerleon and Montgomery and Builth on lease. Builth had been an area of dispute with the Black Prince while Edmund's father, Roger, was still alive. The lordship fell to the prince until Edmund came of age, *CPR, 1358-61*, 262, 447.

¹²¹ For the Marcher lords and their estates see Davies, *op cit.*, 50-7.

¹²² *ibid.*, 42. In addition, Peter Corbet's widow managed to retain control of Caus from his death in 1322 to 1347. Caus separated the FitzAlan lordships of Clun and Oswestry, *ibid.*, 28, 45.

¹²³ Holmes, *Estates*, 35-8, 58-9, 86 ff.

¹²⁴ In addition she entertained Lionel of Antwerp, Joan de Bar, the earl and countess of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, the mayor and sheriffs of London, a number of king's justices, the bishops of Armenia and the nuns of the Minoresses. They visited, with the prince, on 15 Aug. 1358. £12 4s. 10½d. was spent on the feast. The large total was due to the many varieties of fish which were on offer including porpoise which cost £1 19s. Elizabeth was also related to the Fair Maid of Kent although she died before the prince married Joan. Jennifer C. Ward, "Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d. 1360)", *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, London and Rio Grande, 1994, 41-3.

¹²⁵ Her rights of custody were confirmed after the death of her second husband John Hakelut in 1357, Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 42 and n. 28. She vigorously defended her rights to her estates, see SC8/159/7948.

Despite their influence and the close links that existed between many of them and the prince, he continued to infringe on the rights of the Marcher lords. He secured the custody of Denbigh in 1344 and 1360,¹²⁶ Bromfield and Yale in 1347,¹²⁷ Laugharne in 1349, Dyffryn Clwyd in 1353 and Ceri and Cydewain in 1360.¹²⁸ In addition he interfered with the affairs of Brecon and attempted to make Gower dependent on the Carmarthen administration.¹²⁹ In 1354 the earl of Warwick successfully challenged John Mowbray's right to the lordship of Gower. In turn the Black Prince contested the status of the lordship. However, Edward III, looking to maintain Warwick's allegiance, granted him full Marcher status.¹³⁰ On the death of Hugh Audley, earl of Gloucester, the lordship of Newport was taken into the prince's hand. This was a considerable extension of his rights. After instituting an *inquisition post mortem* he granted Newport, on 17 November 1347, to Ralph Stafford.¹³¹

Aquitaine

A constant theme runs through the prince's life, "he plainly did not have his father's gift for dealing with the magnates."¹³² A useful comparison may be made between the prince's "British" lands and those he acquired after Brétigny. In Wales, Cornwall and Chester there were few noblemen of consequence to be antagonised by the prince. In the Marches there was conflict and friction despite the intervention of the king. The prince of

¹²⁶ *BPR*, i, 31; iii, 351.

¹²⁷ It was said, perhaps optimistically, to be worth 2,000 marks a year, *ibid.*, i, 96-7. By Feb. 1367 the lordship was in the hands of the earl of Arundel.

¹²⁸ In 1372 owing to the dispute over Ceri and Cydewain the prince allowed Edmund Mortimer seisin of the lordship without securing his homage and fealty, Davies, *op cit.*, 270, 272 n. 93.

¹²⁹ On the general "weakness" of Gower see *ibid.*, 30.

¹³⁰ Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, 152.

¹³¹ *BPR*, i, 144; 147; Davies, *op cit.*, 271.

¹³² Prestwich, *op cit.*, 280.

Wales had little authority over the March although he sought to increase his influence there. This was not the case in Aquitaine, the distinction being that the Marcher lords were subject to the king, despite the proximity of the Black Prince they did not live on his lands or owe him homage. The nobility of the principality of Aquitaine, whilst having an appeal to Edward III, and as it proved Charles V, were to all intents and purposes the prince's subjects.¹³³ Distance and perhaps waning interest did not allow Edward III to restrain his son's arrogance and lack of diplomacy. This may have extended to his administration and officials particularly after the Spanish campaign.¹³⁴ However, it is questionable whether the long-term situation in Aquitaine was tenable. Local centres of power resisted and resented the expansion of the prince's jurisdiction.¹³⁵ "The feuding of the great lords, most obviously the long-term though intermittent rivalry of the houses of Foix and Armagnac and the often conflicting interests of the other great Gascon noble families like the Albret, Comminges, Durfort and L'Isles Jourdain added to the mayhem."¹³⁶ This was compounded by the strength of local military defences. Saintonge, for example, was very heavily fortified with more than 70 castles and almost 90 fortified churches.¹³⁷ After the Capetian expansion into the south in the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade the French monarchy had encountered similar problems to those faced by Chandos and subsequently the Black

¹³³ "In Languedoc political authority remained widely diffused; in the Principality of North Wales it was concentrated in the hands of alien rulers." Given, *State and Society*, 67. What was true for the late thirteenth century remained so for the mid to late fourteenth century.

¹³⁴ Favreau refers to a "régime d'occupation" stating that English garrisons conducted themselves as if in a conquered land. New taxes were introduced, goods and supplies were requisitioned and corrupt officials made money out of the situation particularly through the profits of justice, *Histoire du Poitou, du Limousin et des pays Charentais*, ed. Edmonde-René Labande, Toulouse, 1976, 205.

¹³⁵ The prince was not only content to approve the encroachment of his officers' rights in judicial and fiscal areas to the prejudice of noble prerogatives he also demanded oaths of loyalty from the episcopacy in violation of the privileges conceded by Louis VI and VII, Boutruche, *Crise d'une société*, 244.

¹³⁶ Michael Jones, "War and Fourteenth Century France", *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. Curry and Hughes, 106. Also on the Gascon nobility and the background to the Foix-Armagnac feud see Vale, *Angevin Legacy*, 80-139 and Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, 225-60.

¹³⁷ For a map of the fortified sites see Jones, "War and Fourteenth Century France", 111.

Prince. "Faced with such a powerful, locally dominant class, it is not surprising that the [French] monarchy was careful to conciliate and placate it."¹³⁸ The prince did not follow this example. Faced with the diplomatic skill and intrigue of Charles the Bad of Navarre, Charles V of France, Gaston Fébus and Pedro the Cruel it is not surprising that the military-minded prince found he was quite out of his depth. This was without the threat of Du Guesclin and the uncertainty of his Gascon subjects. Who could he trust when even, albeit briefly, the capital de Buch gave an oath of French allegiance in return for lands? Armagnac and Périgord were French at heart and Albret had been offended by the prince during the muster of the troops for the Nájera campaign. What has been said of the Glyn Dŵr revolt is also, in some measure, true of the Gascon rebellion. It "has been interpreted in many ways - as a noble conspiracy,...as an anti-colonial uprising and as a national rebellion; but in contemporary terms it may be and should be explained structurally as the collapse of the relationship between lordship and community."¹³⁹ In general, both in Aquitaine and Wales, unless there were direct advantages in having a local sovereign, the nobility preferred him to be absent. The prince personally never visited Wales although his administration was powerful there. His presence at Bordeaux and Angoulême may have been the final straw.

Diplomacy

The exception to the prince's apparent disinterest in politics is in the international arena. Both he and particular members of his retinue were closely involved in diplomatic affairs particularly in the period from the victory at Poitiers to the establishment of the

¹³⁸ Given, *State and Society*, 169. After the 1369 rebellion Aymeri IX viscount of Narbonne was appointed admiral of France, Armagnac was rewarded with the counties of Bigorre and Gaure, *ibid.*, 168 n. 57, 169.

¹³⁹ Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 465.

principality of Aquitaine. Before Poitiers, on 1 August 1356, the Black Prince had been given authority to open peace negotiations with France.¹⁴⁰ They were available to him to use on the eve of the battle when the cardinals of Périgord and Capocci tried to broker a peace on the plains of Maupertuis. These powers were renewed on 15 December and the prince was later charged, through a message carried by Nigel Loryng, to determine how Jean's capture might affect negotiations particularly in the context of the abortive treaty of Guines.¹⁴¹ A truce was agreed at Bordeaux on 23 March 1357.¹⁴² The negotiations which followed¹⁴³ eventually became the treaties of London (May 1358, March 1359)¹⁴⁴ and, following the Reims campaign, the treaty of Brétigny, in which a number of the retinue were involved.¹⁴⁵ While Brétigny is often seen as a failure for the English, the prince cannot be held responsible, despite his presence there, for the failure to ratify the sovereignty clauses at Calais and thus later leave Charles V with a legal opportunity to involve himself in Gascony in 1369.¹⁴⁶

A number of the retinue were royal ambassadors such as Ivo Glinton who served in the prince's early household,¹⁴⁷ Bartholomew Burghersh, the elder, was also involved in diplomatic negotiations with the French council while serving in the prince's household.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ Rymer, III, i, 333.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 334; Friedrich Bock, "Some New Documents Illustrating the Early Years of the Hundred Years War (1353-1356)", *BJRL*, xv, Appendix 6, 97; George Peddy Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, Indiana, 1985, 91.

¹⁴² Rymer, III, i, 348-51.

¹⁴³ Stephen Cosington was involved in diplomatic activities in Normandy and elsewhere, Léon Mirot et E. Déprez, *Les ambassades Anglaises pendant la guerre de cent ans*, Paris, 1900, 27, 28.

¹⁴⁴ See J. le Patourel, "The Treaty of Brétigny, 1360", *TRHS*, 5th ser., 10 (1960), 24-5, 28-30. The second treaty was decried as "Lequel traité fut moult déplaisant à tout le peuple de France", *Grande Chronique*, vi, 154.

¹⁴⁵ Le Patourel, *loc. cit.*, 31; Cuttino, *op cit.*, 93-4; Miles Stapleton and Loryng traveled as ambassadors to France 13 Aug. - 7 Dec. 1360, Mirot et Deprez, *op cit.*, 29.

¹⁴⁶ The prince was sent to Calais, "pro tractatu pacis ibidem habito inter reges Francie et Anglie, anno xxxiiii, ibidem morando et exinde redeundo usque Londonias". He was paid expenses of £200 and wages of £10 a day, *ibid.*, 29.

¹⁴⁷ Ivo, or Yves, travelled to Hainault and throughout Flanders in 1345, Germany in 1345, 1346 and 1348, Calais in 1349 and to Flanders in 1350-1, *ibid.*, 19-23.

¹⁴⁸ 29 June - 21 July, 4 Aug. - 1 Sept. 1351, *ibid.*, 23.

Richard de la Bere travelled to the papal court at Avignon in 1354.¹⁴⁹ Richard Stafford, after being replaced as seneschal of Aquitaine, was involved in a number of diplomatic missions for the crown to Avignon, Scotland and Flanders.¹⁵⁰

The prince was also concerned with the settlement of the civil war in Brittany and was a close associate of Jean de Montfort who became increasingly dependent on him after his return to Brittany in 1362. De Montfort accompanied the prince on his *tournee d'hommages* of the new principality and this may have brought Jean into contact with Chandos who became the leader of de Montfort's army at the battle of Auray (1364). Edward's attempt to resolve the succession in the winter of 1363-4 failed because of the position taken by Joan de Penthievre. But he did manage to bring the two parties (Montfort and Blois) together at Poitiers on two occasions. After this proved to be a failure Edward provided more direct and militant support. There was a substantial number of his military associates who fought at Auray and probably did so with his blessing. This is particularly so because, in the following year, the Anglo-Breton alliance was formalised and strengthened by the marriage of Joan Holland, the prince's step-daughter, to de Montfort on 26 March 1366.¹⁵¹

A number of the prince's other diplomatic decisions were considerably less successful both personally and for posterity. The Breton civil war may have been an area in which the Black Prince came into conflict with his father. It was not the only such instance. His marriage to Joan of Kent was a lost political opportunity and a liability for his son, although Joan was to prove herself an able politician after the prince's death. 'No English king (or his heir) had married a widowed mother since the mid-twelfth century; whenever

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 35, 41-2.

¹⁵¹ ALA E119 no. 5; Jones, *Ducal Brittany*, 18-19, 45 and nn. 2, 4

it did occur, it almost always caused political or dynastic trouble.”¹⁵² The need for a dispensation for the marriage may have been the reason Nicholas Lorraine was dispatched to Avignon between 12 June and 28 July 1361 “pour affaires touchant le prince de Galles”.¹⁵³ The marriage no doubt angered Edward III but it is difficult to see the creation of the principality as a form of exile for an undutiful son. The transfer of territory and authority was handled with discretion by a number of the prince’s retinue, particularly John Chandos, ably assisted by Richard Stafford as seneschal, Nigel Loryng and Adam Houghton, in the annexation of Bigorre. However, the conduct of the prince himself left more than a little to be desired. The situation may well have been untenable but matters were brought to a head by the financial demands occasioned by the Nájera campaign.

The treaty of Libourne, 1366, which formalised Anglo-Gascon support for Pedro the Cruel was a disaster and it can only be assumed that the prince knew full well that Pedro would be unable to fulfil his side of the bargain and hoped to exploit the situation once his ally was reinstated in Castile.¹⁵⁴ Either that or it demonstrates extreme political naivety. It was rescued initially only by the action of Hugh Calveley whose raids on Miranda and Puente-le-Reina forced Charles of Navarre to return to the allied fold after having given his support to Trastámara in January 1367.

The political nature of the retinue is to an extent uncertain. It may be the case that as the heir apparent he already had great political authority and as king would have more. Politics were based on military might and the ability to extract finance to underwrite that power. Nonetheless, despite there being no MPs sent from Cheshire and Wales the Black

¹⁵² Ralph A. Griffiths, “The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England”, *King and Country. England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1991, 2 n. 7.

¹⁵³ Mirot et Déprez, *op cit.*, 30. He was regularly sent to the papal curia throughout the 1360s and was presumably an experienced diplomat, *ibid.*, 31, 32, 33.

¹⁵⁴ 23 Sept. 1366, Rymer, III, ii, 800.

Prince was represented by about the same number of members of parliament as his younger brother yet there is no evidence to indicate that he wished that this was the case or if those members followed his lead or those of his allies in the Lords. Local concerns may well have been uppermost on their agendas. Where there seems to be most organisation is in what might be described as the financial sector of politics, in those areas in which money might be made through political or judicial influence. It is particularly apparent in the exchequer in the early 1360s when the prince appears to have taken steps to ensure that his concerns would be looked after while he was abroad.

The prince was well served by politicians and diplomats, although it is difficult to separate master from servant, the influence of the Black Prince from the possibly independent actions of his retinue. If the difficulties in the March and to a much greater extent the foolishness in Aquitaine were the responsibility of his ministers and not himself then the prince must take responsibility for not paying closer attention. It seems more likely that the point at which the prince became personally involved in political matters was the point when matters tended to become difficult. In particular, his personal relations with the Gascon lords seems to have been very poorly handled. He was not a diplomat and although the conditions in Aquitaine may have been impossible for anyone to maintain a principality of such size and such internal divisions, there seems little doubt that the Black Prince was himself a contributing factor to its failure.

Religion: Patronage and Belief

The household of the Black Prince provided a forum for worship as well as military endeavour and chivalric display. The prince had some responsibility for the spiritual needs of his servants and retainers just as he had for their material well being. As the bastard feudal structure provided a reciprocal military, legal or political service arrangement, so the provision of a religious framework and environment offered the late medieval lord spiritual support through the religious devotions of his servants. Furthermore, acts of collective worship did much to enhance the unity of the household as did common attitudes to religious devotion and favour for particular institutions and orders. These are all evident in the Black Prince's retinue. In many ways they are characteristic of national trends but a number of aspects in the household are unusual. The prince's own beliefs may well have influenced members of his retinue and those resident within the household were no doubt exposed to such attitudes on a regular basis. However, opinions can only be judged through an examination of the "external" elements of his worship, to which institutions and orders and individuals he gave patronage, and who found service in his household and wider administration. As in many other aspects of the prince's household and retinue, it is not possible to view the religious element in isolation. Religion was political, religious staff were often employed in estate administration and elsewhere and religious trends were often set by military men who, through the wealth gained in the war with France, proved to be the most significant patrons of the mid fourteenth century.

The chapel was the centre of devotion within which seating and ritual demonstrated the hierarchy throughout the household.¹ One of the oldest chapels in the country was in the keep at Castle Rising, Norfolk, which the Black Prince inherited after the death of his grandmother. The chapel received a great deal of attention as part of the development towards domestic comfort in manorial and military architecture. It became a principal area for the demonstration of wealth and status and, in many cases, replaced the chantry as the chief focus of religious expenditure.² Chapels became increasingly elaborate, with choirs, singing masters, expensive furniture, books and vestments.³ The prince maintained chapels in several different locations at some cost as necessitated by his peripatetic lifestyle and extensive and geographically disparate estates. For example, there were numerous religious personnel at Wallingford, Berks., with chaplains, a dean and clerks. John Wendout was chaplain from at least 1352⁴ and in 1359 he was joined by William Clobho.⁵ Robert Walsham, the prince's confessor, was dean by 1359⁶ when John Gormondchester⁷ and John Cristemess⁸ served as clerks there. In addition, John Ipswich held a collation of the deanery

¹ K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule*, Oxford, 1988, 147-8.

² "By the end of the thirteenth century as the acquisition of a domestic chapel began to be regarded as a mark of gentry, lesser gentry began to include private chapels in their manor houses..." J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries. Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, Woodbridge, 1988, 10.

³ Jeremy Catto, "Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century", *History and Imagination. Essays in honour of Hugh Trevor-Roper*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones, V. Pearl and B. Worden, London, 1981, 46. Henry of Grosmont engaged one of the first choirs outside the royal house. In 1360 he was employing six adult singers, Mertes, *op cit.*, 144. 8 marks were to be paid for the purchase of a missal by the prince on 10 Feb. 1358, *BPR*, iv, 239.

⁴ On 4 July 1362 payments of £10 were made to the clerks and chaplains of Wallingford chapel, *ibid.*, 41, 292, 449.

⁵ He was serving as chaplain by 5 May 1359 and received letters of presentation to the church of All Saints by Wallingford castle on 3 Dec. 1361, it is uncertain whether he retained both offices, *ibid.*, 292, 406.

⁶ Walsham was appointed rector of Haseley by the prince who had the advowson on 3 Dec. 1360. He later received Harewell manor, Berks, to maintain six chaplains, six clerks and four choristers on 6 July 1361, *ibid.*, 320, 369, 388.

⁷ Gormondchester became the prince's almoner, a canon of Chichester and held "Chunnoslend" church, in the diocese of Exeter which he resigned in 1363 after the prince petitioned for a benefice in Chichester, *CPapR, Petitions*, 454.

⁸ In 1366 Cristemess had benefices in Belstone, Devon, a canonry and chaplaincy in London, *Register of Simon de Sudbria*, ii, 161.

of the free chapel of St Nicholas in Wallingford castle in 1351, as John Stene was to do in 1365.⁹ Furthermore, there was, within the castle a cell dedicated to the Trinity, held of the abbey of St Albans, to which the prince granted a licence to acquire 40s. of land in mortmain within his estates.¹⁰ The dedication to the Trinity may be significant in the context of the prince's interest and favour for the cult. It has been said that "The list of parish churches is far the best evidence one can hope to have of local cults and devotions in the central middle ages."¹¹ This may well hold true for monasteries in the later period.

As well as staff in particular lordships, there was also a household chapel that was presumably peripatetic. This also had a considerable number of personnel. Thomas Madefray was keeper of vestments, relics and other ornaments in the prince's household chapel for some time before c.1359 when he was retained for life.¹² William Wikkewane and Reynold, both described as a "child[ren] of the prince's chapel" were paid 26s. 8d. for expenses and received two coats and hats every year in addition to linen, cloth, hose and shoes.¹³ Hugh Bridham, clerk of the prince's chapel, received wages of 40s. in 1353, robes and gifts on many occasions and was retained for life in October 1359.¹⁴ He may later have found service with the Courtenay family.¹⁵ In May 1351, orders were issued for the payment of wages and costs of Peter Brumpton, who served the prince as a chaplain, totalling £15 9s.

⁹ BPR, iv, 36, 563.

¹⁰ 20 May 1363, *ibid.*, 494. They were later granted 10 beeches, 5 June 1363, *ibid.*, 498; Knolles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 79.

¹¹ Christopher Brooke, "Reflections on Late Medieval Cults and Devotions", *Essays in Honor of Edward B. King*, ed. Robert G. Benson and Eric W. Naylor, Tennessee, 1991, 38.

¹² BPR, iv, 321, 329-30. Madefray's will included a bequest of two coasters painted with the history of the prince of Wales, Husting Roll 104 (63).

¹³ BPR, iv, 238, 281.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 132, 205, 329-30, 385, 408; *Registrum Simonis Langham*, 26. On 24 Dec. 1361 he received a land grant in High Wycombe, where he was also warden of St John's hospital

¹⁵ He may have been related to the Courtenay's receiver-general, Baldwin "Brigham". Before 1371 he was appointed to a benefice at Sutton Courtenay, Bucks, which he later exchanged for the archdeaconry of Totnes in Exeter cathedral. In 1385 this was exchanged for benefices outside Devon, Robert W. Dunning, "Patronage and Promotion in the Late Medieval Church", *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. Ralph A. Griffiths, Gloucester, 1981, 169.

2½d.¹⁶ William Doxewick, as the dean of the prince's chapel, received wages of 1d. a day for the prince's oblations.¹⁷ There were a number of other chaplains whom the prince paid directly or found patronage or benefices.¹⁸

Religion was not only an "internal" activity within the retinue. Charity, hospitality, grants and endowments to religious institutions, devotion to saints and observance of the liturgical calendar were all aspects of piety and expenditure which were assumed of the late medieval nobility and the household and retinue of the Black Prince clearly reflect this expectation. Associations with popular, fashionable and politically suitable institutions reflected status and became increasingly important in the context of deteriorating relations with the papacy. The mendicant orders and individuals within them were recipients of regular gifts and grants. On 11 July 1360 the gift of a 50s. Bible to the Friars Minor of Chester was recorded.¹⁹ Later that year, a grant involving the Friars Minor and the rector of Tatenhall, Cheshire, was considered.²⁰ The Friars of Coventry were given access to quarrying facilities.²¹ The Friars Preachers also received a gift from the prince. John Gedding, a London glazier, was paid 100s. for a window made for their church at Chelmsford.²² Richard Leominster, a member of the same order, was closely involved with the prince. He travelled with him to Gascony during the 1355-7 campaigns and was the recipient of a £20 life annuity as well as other small gifts.²³ Another friar, Richard Savage,

¹⁶ *BPR*, iv, 15.

¹⁷ He served from at least 1357-61, *ibid.*, 205, 379.

¹⁸ eg. Roger Shipbrook (free chapel of Flint, appointed, 7 Oct. 1358); Robert Upton, chaplain (serving, Dec. 1360); William Walsingham, chaplain, (presented for admission as rector of Bunbury church in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 20 July 1360), *ibid.*, iii, 324, 392, 402.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 386. The prince received information that Brunham had agreed to buy the Bible from the bailiff of Wiche hundred. The Bible had been taken from the friars without their leave at some time previously. Brunham was to pay the bailiff 50s. and return the book to the friars as a gift.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 386.

²¹ 18 Oct. 1362, *ibid.*, iv, 471.

²² 29 Sept. 1361, *ibid.*, 394.

²³ *ibid.*, 239, 255, 352.

was granted a 20 mark annuity for as long as he remained with the prince. After his death in 1360, arrears were paid to his companion Brother Thomas Leche.²⁴ In addition, the prince's patronage of Roger Cradock, a Franciscan friar from Nantwich, helped to secure his appointment as bishop of Llandaff.²⁵ The mendicant orders were also the regular recipients of grants and bequests from members of the retinue. Roger Swetenham left money to the Friars minor of Chester²⁶ and Nigel Loryng left bequests to the four mendicant orders in London and in Oxford for them to say a thousand masses for his soul and his wife's. Additional sums were to be distributed to the Franciscans at Reading and Bridgewater and a number of mendicant communities in Devon and Cornwall.²⁷ Edward Despenser also left bequests to the Friars of Cardiff, as well as a chalice to Tewkesbury abbey which he had been given by the king of France.²⁸

Mendicants were by no means the sole beneficiaries of the prince's religious patronage and further examples of payments and associations with many other institutions will be detailed below. They are predominantly to male orders and individuals. There are few grants to women religious to compare with that made by Simon Collegh who released the nuns of Studley, Oxfordshire, from paying him a pension of 10 marks in return for the prince providing him with the next available benefice.²⁹ A gift of two tuns of wine was also made to the abbess and convent of Minoreesses near Aldgate in London.³⁰ Agnes Paynel, a

²⁴ *ibid.*, 355.

²⁵ Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, 205.

²⁶ "A Collection of Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, 1301-1752", ed. William Fergusson Irvine, *Lancs and Ches. Rec. Soc.*, 30 (1896), 7.

²⁷ Lincoln Archives Office Reg. xii, fo. 320.

²⁸ *ibid.*, fo. 163.

²⁹ 28 June 1359, *BPR*, iii, 349.

³⁰ 26 Aug. 1359, *ibid.*, iv, 307.

nun from Sopwell, near St Albans, received a five mark annuity from the prince in 1362 which later increased to five pounds.³¹

Like his father, the prince maintained family traditions of patronage. At Vale Royal, founded by Edward I in 1277 and supported briefly by Edward II, he granted the monks 500 marks in 1353 and a similar sum in 1358. In the following year he contracted William Helpeston, the king's mason, to complete the work begun by his great-grandfather.³² The design, involving the construction of a *chevet* of 12 chapels at the east end of the abbey, which was completed by 1374, involved a style which had been rare in England for a century and appears to have been influenced by European models, and in particular Toledo cathedral.³³ The building was in part financed by the fine of 5,000 marks exacted from Cheshire after the "revolt" of 1353. Excavations have shown that Vale Royal was 11 feet longer than Fountains Abbey and thus the longest Cistercian church in England. However, it appears never to have attracted the projected figure of 100 resident monks. In addition, the prince made gifts of wine³⁴ and, more valuably in 1359-60, organised the appropriation of the rectory of Llanbadarn Fawr in south Wales as well as the chapels of Castelwater, Llanelar and Kellonod.³⁵ The advowson of Llanbadarn was granted to a number of his long-standing administrators in November 1362; Peter Lacy, receiver-general, Richard

³¹ *ibid.*, 469, 564.

³² Helpeston was to be paid £860 in installments, 5 June 1359, *BPR*, iii, 344, 361-3.

³³ On 3 Mar. 1367/8, William Helpeston, Walter Greuden, Henry Helpeston, Richard ap Atha and John Pigot were authorised by the prince to hire masons and workmen in Chester and Flint for the works at Vale Royal, F.H. Crossley, "Chronological Data of Churches of Cheshire", *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lvii (1943-4), 133. The contract indicates either a hemicycle of chapels or a number of radiating chapels were suggested. Excavations showed seven hexagonal chapels alternating with six quadrilateral chapels. There are a number of French analogues as well as the Toledo example of 1226-36. For a conjectural plan of the chapels, details of the excavation and further discussion, see F.H. Thompson, "Excavations at the Cistercian Abbey of Vale Royal, Cheshire, 1958", *Antiquaries Journal*, xlii (1962), 183-207, 185 pl. xxiv.

³⁴ eg. *Ches. Chamb. Accs*, 216, 255.

³⁵ *Rot. Parl*, iii, 182; *CPR*, 1358-61, 296-7, 547-9; *CPapR*, i, 371; iv, 88; "The Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey", ed. John Brownbill (*Lancs and Ches. Rec. Soc.*, lxviii), 1914; A. Hamilton Thompson, "Medieval Welsh Dioceses", *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, i (1947), 106 and n. 38.

Wolveston, keeper of the privy seal, William Spridlington, chief auditor and John Lues.³⁶ Lacy, Spridlington, Wolveston and John Delves, governor of the prince's business, were also granted the advowson of Lampeter church in February 1361.³⁷ Edward also had some involvement in the financial business of the abbey, providing licences for land and monetary transfers and allowing annuities to be granted to John Buckingham and Nicholas Ivingho.³⁸ After the prince's death, Richard II maintained the patronage of the abbey.³⁹ The prince also supported institutions at Ashridge, Edington and elsewhere. He was patron of the convent of St Werburgh in Chester and during his absence on the Reims campaign left certain safeguards against any action being taken against it.⁴⁰ In association with Henry of Lancaster, Isabella, the queen mother, and the earl of Warwick, the prince supported the monastery of St Evroul in the diocese of Lisieux.⁴¹

The prince also supported the Order of Bonhommes. The monastery or college of the Precious Blood at Ashridge had been founded for seven priests in 1283 by the prince's great-uncle, Edmund, earl of Cornwall. In 1376 the Black Prince augmented the endowments and the number of priests was increased to 20. He appears to have had little direct contact with this house of the order until this time when he became the "second founder".⁴² In 1346, a

³⁶ *CPapR, Letters*, 1362-1404, 88.

³⁷ *CPR*, 1358-61, 547.

³⁸ Buckingham and Ivingho received 350 and 10 marks a year respectively, 10 Sept., 20 Oct. 1360, *BPR*, iii, 393, 395.

³⁹ On 26 Apr. 1392, Richard ordered timber to be delivered for building and repairs to Vale Royal. On 24 Jan. 1396/7, a warrant was issued by the king to John Donne, forester of Mara, for the delivery of six oaks for further repairs, Crossley, "Churches of Cheshire", 133.

⁴⁰ The mayor and sheriff of Chester were not to indict the abbot or servants of any crime without consulting Delves or Brunham, *BPR*, iii, 400. "The religious life of Chester, and indeed its economic life, was dominated by the richly endowed Benedictine monastery of St Werburgh's. The monastic church with its cloisters and offices was the largest and most imposing edifice in the city." Douglas Jones, "The Church in Chester 1300-1540", *Chetham Soc.*, 3rd ser., 7 (1957), 5.

⁴¹ *CPapR, Petitions*, 177.

⁴² "After many changes of ownership and some decay, Berkhamsted castle was repaired and occupied by Edward III soon after 1336; in 1361 Edward duke of Cornwall, the Black Prince, settled there with his bride for nearly eighteen months; and the prince became the second founder of Ashridge", H.F. Chettle, "The Boni Homines of Ashridge and Edington", *Downside Review*, 62 (1944), 47.

chantry had been founded in the conventual church for the soul of Bartholomew Burghersh after the appropriation of the church of Ambrosden.⁴³ The foundation had been built on duchy land a short distance from Berkhamsted and endowed with Ashridge park and manor.⁴⁴ Royal approval for the institution was demonstrated by the grant of a charter on 20 September 1359 and was confirmed on the accessions of Henry IV, his son and grandson, in which rights were granted to the goods of felons, fines arising from trespass and other offences and the claim to take stray animals within the estates of the house.⁴⁵ The institution was also granted the right to free warren in its demesne lands and freedom from certain dues and royal exactions. The most important exemption was that of payment of all tenths and fifteenths granted by the laity and tenths granted by the clergy. There was however, no exemption from feudal dues.⁴⁶

The house at Ashridge was the first of the order but it was not the first house of Bonhommes with which the prince was connected. The order had expanded in the 1350s when two brothers from Ashridge were sent to Edington of which one, John Aylesbury (d. 25 March 1382), received a licence from the bishop of Lincoln in 1358 permitting him to take up office as the first rector.⁴⁷ The Ashridge statutes were repeated at Edington and the unusual azure habit became uniform. However, after the transfer of brethren in 1358 there seems to be little evidence of any real enduring link between the two. There is little agreement as to the actual nature of the observance carried out at the houses.⁴⁸ Certainly there is little obviously distinctive, apart from their habit, about them to attract patronage.

⁴³ *VCH*, Bucks, 387.

⁴⁴ G.E. Chambers, *The Bonhommes of the Order of St. Augustine at Ashridge and Edington*, 2nd ed., pamphlet, 1979, 4.

⁴⁵ Janet H. Stevenson, "The Edington Cartulary", *Wiltshire Record Society*, xlii (1986), 15-17.

⁴⁶ J.L. Kirby, *The Estates of Edington Priory* (Report of the Friends of Edington Priory Church, 1966), 7.

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, xv-xvii.

⁴⁸ See Chettle, *loc. cit.*, 43-4.

They followed the Rule of St Augustine, or a very close variant, and normal monastic service was conducted according to the Use of Sarum. Despite the association of William Edington and the Black prince, they had little or no political influence.

The foundation at Edington was converted into a house of Bonhommes, not founded as such. It had been created as a college of the Blessed Virgin, St Katherine and All Saints by William Edington, bishop of Winchester, in 1351 as one of the last purely regular religious foundations. The conversion into a monastery of the Bonhommes in 1358 probably occurred at the insistence of the Black Prince, and served “to free [the] priests from onerous parochial duties”.⁴⁹ A charter was given by Robert Wyvill, bishop of Salisbury, in March confirming that it was to become a house of “fratres de ordine sancti Augustini, Boni Homines vulgariter nuncupati”.⁵⁰ Leland, using for the first time the appellation “Blak Prince”, recounted the role of the prince in the conversion and his name was added to the list of those prayed for from the moment of conversion.⁵¹ A number of individuals with other connections to the prince can be found among records of the order as witnesses to charters and the like.⁵² It is surprising that with such luminaries as the prince of Wales and the bishop of Winchester as patrons, the order failed to gain a great deal of support. It was handsomely endowed by the prince who sought little material benefit and indeed handed over control over elections to the brethren.⁵³ Edington Priory is also renowned for its glazing constructed

⁴⁹ Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, xiv.

⁵⁰ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 536. See Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, 9-14 for letters patent dated 29 Mar. 1358.

⁵¹ J.R.L. Highfield, *William of Edington* (Friends Festival Lecture, 16 June 1962, church pamphlet), 6-7. A gift from the prince to Edington’s clerk, Philip, on 27 Feb. 1359 may have been connected with the conversion, *BPR*, iv, 280.

⁵² The charter of 28 Oct. 1351, granting property to William Scarlet and the chantry, was witnessed by William FitzWaryn and John Pavely among others (see also 12 Apr. 1353 and 5 July 1354). Other transactions were witnessed by Hugh Camoys, Bernard Brocas, John Inkepenne, Warin L’Isle, Richard Abberbury and Peter Escudamore, Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, 36, 108, 119-20, 128.

⁵³ In his will, 50 large pearls and his great table of gold and silver, set with precious stones and full of the most valuable relics were left to Edington, Harvey, *Black Prince and his Age*, 160-5.

c.1358-61.⁵⁴ The order may also have included a house at Ruthin which was founded in 1310 for at least seven regular priests by John Grey.⁵⁵ An association is certainly possible since the principal seat of the Grey family in England was at Bletchley, north west of Ashridge.⁵⁶

Canterbury cathedral also held a special affection for the prince. This may have been due to its association with the cult of the Trinity established by Becket on his consecration in 1162. On his return from the victory at Poitiers with the captive king of France the prince stopped at Canterbury to make offerings at Becket's shrine. He was a regular patron throughout his lifetime and in his will requested to be buried there. His resting place however, did not have the prominence it was felt he deserved, so instead of lying in the Lady Chapel in the crypt he was placed in a splendid tomb in the Trinity Chapel. Relations with archbishops tended to be friendly but the wisdom of the prince's highly controversial marriage was questioned by Islip on the basis that any offspring from the union might be considered to be of uncertain legitimacy. This was proved to be the case as Richard's birth was challenged by Bolingbroke.⁵⁷ A papal dispensation was required before the marriage could take place due to consanguinity. In return for this, the pope required the foundation of two chantries. They were established in a pair of chapels, one dedicated to the Trinity, the other to the Virgin and housed in Canterbury cathedral. Two southern bays of the east transept were enclosed to form a separate chapel. This was endowed by a grant from the prince's manor of Vauxhall, land in Lambeth and four quays on the Thames.⁵⁸ Matins and

⁵⁴ *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 145.

⁵⁵ "Edington was the second house of the Order and there were no more" *VCH*, Wilts, 321.

⁵⁶ D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: English and Wales*, Harlow, 2nd ed., 1971, 203.

⁵⁷ Only in the 1330s/early 1340s was it decided by law that royal offspring born abroad had same inheritance rights as those born in England, Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England", *King and Country. England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1991, 46.

⁵⁸ Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, ed. *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford,

the canonical hours, vespers, compline, placebo and dirge were to be said there. The chaplains, who were provided with accommodation, were to “celebrate daily for our [the prince’s] good estate and the prosperity of our marriage while we live, and for our souls when we shall have been withdrawn from the light.”⁵⁹ The chantry was richly decorated and included the prince’s and his father’s arms and the bust of a head reputed to be the Fair Maid of Kent. The work was probably undertaken by Henry Yevele.

The prince’s own religious predilections may well have had an impact on the attitudes of certain members of the retinue and it appears likely that Joan created an unorthodox element in the prince’s later years and after his death. Substantial changes took place in the religious attitudes of the lay upper-classes in the later fourteenth century. The nobility became better educated and their patronage of religious houses reflected an increasing interest in and support for particular devotional forms and attitudes while retaining the basic requirement of intercession on behalf of a deceased soul to aid the journey through purgatory.⁶⁰ The character of endowments also changed, moving away from traditional Benedictine, Cistercian and Augustinian foundations. In Yorkshire for example, the only new houses established were those of the Carthusian order. However, the older orders did retain an important economic role in the community, especially in those areas where sheep farming and the wool trade were important. Nonetheless, many noblemen preferred the perpetual chantry which required a smaller endowment allowing those of lesser means to become founders and which could be completely devoted to intercession.⁶¹

1995, 569.

⁵⁹ *Litterae Cantuariensis*, ii, ed. J.B. Sheppard, 426, cited by K. Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, Cambridge, 1965, 38, 236-7 and n. 1.

⁶⁰ Catto, “Religion and the English Nobility”, 43-4.

⁶¹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 37, 38-9.

The prince was subject to a variety of general influences which may have affected his devotional preferences. In addition, a number of individuals may have played a particular role. Churchmen certainly played a part in his upbringing and were influential in his early years. Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, was his godfather and the prince was involved in a pious family gathering in the cathedral there in 1343.⁶² William Edington, bishop of Winchester, was a close friend with whom the prince was closely involved in the collegiate foundation at Edington in Wiltshire. He served on the prince's council from 1347 until his death in 1366 and was responsible for affairs during the prince's absence overseas in 1355-7. Edington had been keeper of Edward III's wardrobe (1341), treasurer of the exchequer (1344-56) and chancellor of England (1356-63). He also drew up the statutes of the Order of the Garter and was its chancellor.⁶³ William Courtenay (bishop of Hereford, 1370-5, of London, 1375-81 and archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-96) was assisted in his early career by the prince and also William Bohun. The friendship was such that Richard II had the late archbishop buried near the Black Prince in Canterbury.⁶⁴ The prince maintained a close friendship with Thomas de la Mare, Abbot of St Albans, and his monastery.⁶⁵ This relationship was such that in 1396 Richard II wrote to Boniface IX concerning St Albans

⁶² *Chaucer Life Records*, ed. M.M. Crow and C.C. Olson, Oxford, 1966, 92.

⁶³ *VCH*, Wilts, 320. Edington was a collegiate chapel and converted into a monastery of Bonhommes in 1358. For biographies of William see *DNB*, vi, 386-7; John Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*, London, 1856, i, 251-3. Edington may have lent the prince 1,000 marks for the Reims expedition which was ordered to be repaid on 25 Oct. 1359, *BPR*, iv, 327.

⁶⁴ Joseph H. Dahmus, *William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396*, Pennsylvania, 1966, 2, 228-9.

⁶⁵ When Thomas became abbot in 1349 the prince defended him against Gerard Wytherington in a violent argument concerning Hawkslowe manor. The intervention caused Wytherington to give up his claim and ask the abbot's pardon. Thomas later became a member of the king's privy council. The monks of Christchurch Canterbury refused to attend a general chapter in 1351 called by Thomas as president of the chapter. His servant was imprisoned and the prince rebuked the prior of Christchurch for the disrespect shown to Thomas. As a result a payment was made to Thomas and the servant to make amends, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani A Thomae Walsingham*, ed. H.T. Riley (Rolls Ser.) London, 1867, ii, 377-8, 390, 403-4. For a discussion of this incident in which the loyalty of the prince to Canterbury and St Albans was tested see *Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, Ramsay and Sparks, 100-1. The prince also intervened over the matter of three St Alban's men; Simon Romain, John Bower and Roger Greenford who, while on a pilgrimage to Rome, were captured in France. The prince was a generous patron noted as donating 100 marks, *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 382, 408-9. He also made a gift of "waxlights" to Peterborough and St Albans, *BPR*, iv, 508.

expressing a desire to follow his father's example who bore "a special affection for the said monastery".⁶⁶ Joan maintained her late husband's friendship with abbot Thomas and made a supplication to the pope on behalf of St Alban's.⁶⁷ Nigel Loryng, the prince's chamberlain, was a benefactor of the building of a cloister there,⁶⁸ Robert Knolles was also a patron and Robert Walsham, the prince's confessor, gave the abbey 400 marks.⁶⁹

Political consequences or potential benefits were rarely far from the minds of religious patrons. Edward III's "personal religion was imbued with a strong and confident nationalism".⁷⁰ The "Englishness" of many of the institutions of which he was a patron indicates that Edward's personal affiliations were constructed to promote patriotism and elicit support for his foreign policy.⁷¹ His son's religious preferences, whilst leading him to support mainly English institutions, do not appear to have been motivated by the same impulse. As Ormrod indicates, the king's was a conservative and traditional religion, maintaining support for the older monastic and mendicant orders and a devotion to the Virgin rather than the newly fashionable cult of the Trinity of which his son was a fervent advocate.⁷² Religion and politics were inextricably intertwined. The prince regularly received papal letters encouraging him to look for a peaceful settlement in the French wars, requesting restitution for damage done in the course of the war and asking for assistance against the Free Companies.⁷³ Similar letters were sent to the captal de Buch and John

⁶⁶ *CPapR, Letters*, 1362-1404, 26 Sept. 1396, 293.

⁶⁷ Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, ii, 151-3, 154-5; Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England*, London, 1984, 205.

⁶⁸ Beltz, *Memorials*, 65-8.

⁶⁹ Platt, *op cit.*, 205; *VCH*, Herts, iv, 396 and on Thomas de la Mare, David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Cambridge, 1955, ii, 39-48.

⁷⁰ W.M. Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III", *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 860.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 859; Peter Heath, *Church and Realm, 1272-1461*, London, 1988, 102-48.

⁷² Ormrod, *loc. cit.*, 858.

⁷³ For example, 6 Oct. 1356, 19 Oct. 1356, *Register of John de Trillek*, 249-51.

Chandos. Joan also received letters requesting her help in encouraging the prince to seek peace and, in February 1366, to mediate in the Spanish affair.⁷⁴

As products of a similar religious and social ethos, the prince's character may have been subject to influences like those that shaped Henry of Grosmont. The Black Prince has been described as "a man of vaguely puritanical religion" and this was compounded by anti-clerical tendencies created by their anti-war feelings.⁷⁵ The duke of Lancaster's religious attitudes can be seen in his *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, written in 1354 possibly as a task set by his confessor.⁷⁶ It details his weaknesses, pride, lust and gluttony. This self-denigrating note was echoed, to an extent, in the prince's funerary epitaph. It is a strange, almost jarring association of apparently contradictory values: the trappings of war on one hand and the denigration of the body on the other.

...Mais je sui ore poevres et cheitifs
Parfond en la terre gis
Ma grande beauté est tut alée,
Ma char est tut gasté...⁷⁷

Lancaster's own funeral, of which the Black Prince, amongst others, was to be notified, also reveals something of his spiritual attitudes. The *cortège* was to be very simple with no armed guards or trappings on the horses.⁷⁸ This penitential spirit was also demonstrated in the tombs of Roger Kerdeston, a kinsman of William, and Oliver Ingham in Norfolk on which the effigies lie oddly contorted on a bed of pebbles.⁷⁹ Humphrey V, earl of

⁷⁴ 8 May 1365, *CPapR, Letters*, 1362-1404, 16, 21.

⁷⁵ Saul, *Richard II*, 9, 298.

⁷⁶ *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, ed. E.J.F. Arnould, Oxford, 1940.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of the source and three different versions of the epitaph, the earliest being the *Disciplina Clericalis* by Petrus Alphonsi, see D.B. Tyson, "The Epitaph of the Black Prince", *Medium Aevum*, 46 (1977), 98-104.

⁷⁸ Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 192-5, 217.

⁷⁹ Juliet and Malcolm Vale, "Knightly Codes and Piety", *History Today*, 37 (1987), 13, see also M.G.A. Vale,

Hereford (d. 1361) also wished to be buried without pomp as did Walter Manny and Richard, earl of Arundel, who both rejected the use of military accoutrements at their funerals.⁸⁰ Manny was buried before the steps of the high altar in the church of the London charterhouse, known as the “House of the Salutation of the Mother of God” which he had founded.⁸¹ This attitude was by no means universal and one has to look no further than the splendour and magnificence of the prince’s own internment to demonstrate the continuing support for an ostentatious military funeral, although this was balanced by his self-denigrating epitaph.⁸² This perhaps is not surprising as he had been very ill for the last eight years of his life and often bed-ridden after a strenuous and active life. On a lesser note the example of Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger, demonstrates a more common attitude to funerals. He was buried at Walsingham before the image of the Virgin, a dirge was said, torches were carried alongside the body and were lit when passing through any town. The chariot in which he was to be carried was covered with red cendall emblazoned with his arms and his helmet was to be laid at the head.⁸³

The tendency towards funeral austerity has been used as a criterion to establish Lollard sympathies⁸⁴ and it is clear that such attitudes were not unknown in the prince’s retinue. The terminology used in wills which demanded such burials reveals a trend of austerity and disgust with the corporeal world. In many cases however, funerals continued to be opportunities for display. Heraldry was a typical medium for this. Coats of arms left a

Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480, (Borthwick Papers, 50), York, 1976, 11-14.

⁸⁰ Catto, “Religion and the English Nobility”, 50-1. For Bohun and Manny’s wills see, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 66-8, 85-6.

⁸¹ E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, London, 1930, 173.

⁸² For details of the prince’s tomb see, *Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, Ramsay and Sparks, 494-8 and for the prince’s funeral achievements see Janet Arnold, “The *Jupon* or coat-armour of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral”, *Journal of the Church Monuments Society*, viii (1993), 12-24.

⁸³ *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 76-7. For details of the burial excavation see, Charles Green and A.B. Whittingham, “Excavations at Walsingham Priory, 1961”, *Archaeological Journal*, cxxv (1968), 255-90.

⁸⁴ McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*, 210-17.

familial signature on those institutions to which the deceased were benefactors and provided a demonstration of social prestige more than piety. Armorial designs were demonstrations of collective family honour which was passed down the generations.⁸⁵ Other conspicuous memorials were left to the dead such as the Bradeston/Berkeley east window of Gloucester abbey commemorating the fallen of Crécy and Calais in an innovative architectural style.⁸⁶

Salvation was to be achieved by good works, especially benefactions, charity and the founding of institutions, particularly chantries in which masses could be said for the dead. Death was clearly a matter of preoccupation for many in the fourteenth century. Plague became endemic and was commonly believed to be divine judgement. Within the military retinue this combined with the perils of battle and the other hazards of campaigning. With increasing lay education it is not surprising that devotional trends tended to be set by career soldiers and that they were regular benefactors of institutions. Hugh Calveley, for example, began remodelling Bunbury church as a college of priests.⁸⁷ There were also a number of hospitals founded by soldiers close to court including Robert Knolles.⁸⁸ John Dabernon, in 1352, purchased Week manor and gave it to Tavistock abbey in exchange for free quarters in the abbey precinct during his lifetime and a chantry in the parish church after his death.⁸⁹ Dabernon's will left nothing to chance with regard to the best foundation to secure his salvation. Bequests were made to 26 religious houses in Devon and Cornwall, male and female, Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, Carmelite, Dominican, Franciscan and Premonstratensian. Hospitals at Exeter, Lamford and Bodmin, parish churches and parish

⁸⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 18.

⁸⁶ *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 145.

⁸⁷ Crossley, "Churches of Cheshire", 88.

⁸⁸ Catto, "Religion and the English Nobility", 46-7.

⁸⁹ H.P.R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, Newton Abbot, 1969, 18.

priests as well as Exeter cathedral also received bequests.⁹⁰ Support for the Carthusians also became popular, at least partly because of the interest in and respect for the contemplative life. They were one of the few orders to remain free of criticism from such commentators as Langland and Wyclif. Amongst those close to the Black Prince, Walter Manny and Michael de la Pole founded the Charterhouses at London and Hull respectively.⁹¹ At London each individual cell, marked alphabetically, had a benefactor. Manny founded the "A" cell, Adam Fraunceys the "E, F, L and M" cells after 1374 and Robert Knolles with his wife, Constance, founded the "P" cell after 1389.⁹² Manny's interest in the order may have been prompted by his association with Grosmont and Gaunt both of whom had dealings with Beauvale priory, Notts, and he was assisted with the foundation costs by the bishop of London, Michael Northburgh.⁹³ Previously Manny had provided a graveyard for plague-stricken Londoners and founded a college for 12 secular priests to pray for the dead.⁹⁴ One of those who requested their prayers in his will was William Lord Latimer. De la Pole's motives for founding the charterhouse in Hull are clear. His father had been the first mayor of the town in 1331-5 and had represented it in parliament. Michael was granted the custody of the town and the manor of Myton in 1366.⁹⁵ Peter Veel, in 1387, granted the advowson of Norton FitzWarren, Somerset, to the London charterhouse. Such gestures may well have had origins

⁹⁰ M. Webster, "John Dabernon and his Will", *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 36 (1989), 178.

⁹¹ London was adumbrated in 1361 and established in 1371. Hull was founded in 1378-9, Catto, *loc. cit.*, 52.

⁹² This was one of many donations made by Knolles. Others included almshouses in Pontefract, grants to the Carmelites of Whitefriars and rebuilding the churches of Sculthorpe and Harpley in Norfolk, David Knowles and W.F. Grimes, *Charterhouse: The Foundation in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, London, 1954, 27; *DNB*, xi, 281-6.

⁹³ Northburgh left £2,000 to the London Carthusians in his will of 1361, William F. Taylor, *The Charterhouse of London*, London, 1912, 3, 17.

⁹⁴ W. Hope St. John, *History of the London Charterhouse*, London, 1925, 6. A papal bull of Clement VI, 14 Mar. 1350-1 authorized the foundation of the chapel. See also Knowles and Grimes, *op cit.*, 6.

⁹⁵ *DNB*, xvi, 49-50. His mother, Katherine (d. 1381) was buried in the Hull charterhouse although his father, William, rested in the Trinity Chapel, Hull, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i, 76-7, 119.

in a group mentality.⁹⁶ Richard II gave the institution a tun of Gascon wine annually after 1382 and was associated with the foundation of the Coventry charterhouse. The prince himself granted the Selwood charterhouse, five marks a year on 6 August 1362. The prior and order of Hinton received 10 marks a year in lieu of one tun of wine on 3 March 1362 and the prior of Witham, five marks.⁹⁷ The prince also maintained a hermitage at Bentlewood in the parish of Den in Wiltshire. In 1361 John Sutton of Holderness was granted permission to live there for the rest of his life.⁹⁸ It was not the only such institution in the prince's patronage. John Walcote was granted the hermitage at Hessle on Humber in 1363.⁹⁹

Religious patronage was important for the prince who used his position and influence to gain benefices for members of the retinue and for his friends and their servants. "The creation of a network of interests in ecclesiastical affairs was an important factor in the armoury of many political figures, no less important than in secular courts and local government institutions."¹⁰⁰ The prince appears to have made more petitions to the papacy to secure benefices than either his father or John of Gaunt. These petitions were governed by an availability of prebends and benefices but it is interesting to note in which dioceses the prince and close members of the retinue sought to gain offices for themselves and their servants and in which areas their officials already held a post. Worcester, Hereford, Canterbury, Winchester, St David's and Coventry and Lichfield¹⁰¹ each were the subject of a

⁹⁶ Saul, *Richard II*, 298 n. 13.

⁹⁷ 3 Mar. 1362, 19 Feb. 1363, *BPR*, iv, 423, 462, 488.

⁹⁸ *BPR*, iv, 380. See Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 64-126 on the eremitic movement in the diocese of York.

⁹⁹ 5 Dec. 1363, *BPR*, iv, 518.

¹⁰⁰ Dunning, "Patronage and Promotion", 167

¹⁰¹ During his lifetime the prince presented only two of his clerks to canonries of St John's, Chester; Stokes in 1360 and Ashton in 1363. He obtained provision for a third, Andrew Gerard, in 1363. Alexander Dalby, a papal providee of 1355, owed his provision to the prince's patronage. Edward III held indirect but considerable

small proportion of the total number of petitions. London, York and Chichester received a little more with Salisbury and Lincoln receiving the greatest percentage. Clearly the size of the diocese must be taken into consideration and the necessity for the prince to present petitions in those western areas where his influence was strongest, particularly Coventry and Lichfield and St David's. Nonetheless, the figures could be interpreted to show an attempt by the prince to establish some sort of ecclesiastical influence outside those areas where he held tenorial power; the South and South East.¹⁰²

Even within the prince's demesne, his influence over appointments could be circumscribed. The bishop of Lichfield had the patronage of prebends in the cathedral church and in the collegiate churches of Gnosall, St Chad's, Salop and St John's, Chester. Parochial patronage was monopolised by the religious houses and private patrons. The king controlled the royal chapels and the prince and Lancaster exercised rights over these in their respective counties. Some alien priories had patronage rights, including Evreux, as did corporations such as the Knights Hospitallers and St George's chapel, Windsor. Where possible the prince provided for his own¹⁰³ and Joan also used her position to further the ecclesiastical careers of her servants.

influence over St John's (consisting of a dean and seven canons) through the bishop of Lichfield and the pope. However, during the prince's lifetime the chapter usually included a number of clerks who had done him loyal service in Chester and/or Gascony. Through this combined influence at least a third of the deans and canons of St John's were civil servants. Alan Stokes became keeper of the great wardrobe and he and Dalby (dean in 1355) were both important in the Gascon administration. John Newenham (1361) was an exchequer clerk and John Wodehouse (dean in 1370) was chamberlain of Chester and North Wales, Jones, "Church in Chester", 16-18.

¹⁰² The advowsons held by the duchy in Devon and Cornwall were noted in the caption of seisin of 1337. They included two priories, a free chapel, eight churches and a further six churches held by the duke due to minorities, "Caption of Seisin" ed. Hull, 140-1. For later presentations to these and other benefices see *The Register of Thomas Brantingham, 1370-94*, i, 11, 17-18, 20, 31-2, 37-8. In Surrey, for example, the prince had the patronage of Wisley church to which he presented Thomas Whitchurch, chaplain (17 July 1346), John Vily/Virly, chaplain (5 Feb. 1363), John Kildale (25 Feb. 1365) and John Hale (1370), *BPR*, i, 3; iv, 485, 549; *Register of Simon de Sudbria*, i, 273 n. 6. John Wynchecombe, chaplain, was granted a collation to the chantry of St Leonard, Brookwood, (28 June 1363), *BPR*, iv, 502.

¹⁰³ Simon Collegh was presented as rector of Beckley church, Oxon, 4 Sept. 1351. Walter Patyn, parson of Elcigh Monks, Suffolk was presented to North Stoke church, Oxon, 28 Oct. 1362, *ibid.*, 26, 473.

The prince's interest was even greater when bishoprics fell vacant. The prince became involved in the "traditional" struggle between the crown and papacy to control episcopal appointments. This was particularly so in Wales. Edward III reserved the see of St David's for himself but all other dioceses were handed over to his son. However, the prince interfered in St David's affairs in 1347 on the death of Bishop Gower. His council seized the episcopal temporalities, instituted clerks to vacant benefices and levied troops from the estates. The question of authority over appointments was not fully resolved for ten years when it was definitely reserved for royal appointees. However, in 1361 that appointee was Adam Houghton, an associate of the prince, who remained bishop until 1389. The prince opposed the authority of Avignon with regard to the other Welsh bishoprics. He did not have his father's influence and failed on a number of occasions to get his man appointed. When in 1345 at St Asaph, Richard Stafford pressurised the canons to select a particular candidate, he failed. In 1347 the prince's council interfered in all three Welsh dioceses to which he had some claim. Appointments were made of the prince's clerks at Bangor, St Asaph¹⁰⁴ and at Llandaff.¹⁰⁵ In 1357 the prince tried to have William Spridlington appointed to Llandaff. He did not succeed and Spridlington was compensated with a deanery although he did later become bishop of St Asaph (1377-82). In 1366, the appointment of Alexander Dalby as bishop of Bangor was rejected by the pope on the basis of his inability to speak Welsh.¹⁰⁶ The Welsh clergy were often opposed to the prince and most notably in their involvement in the Shaldeford murder. This may have well been due to the prince's use of ecclesiastical patronage. "No one exploited this power more blatantly or irresponsibly than the Black Prince: he presented his clerks to local churches such as Llan-faes (Anglesey); he promoted

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, i, 27, 47, 118, 119, 138.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 69, 83, 91, 122.

¹⁰⁶ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, Cardiff, 1962, 121-8.

others to be canons, archdeacon, and precentor in the cathedral churches of Wales; he even managed to foist two of his closest confidants - John Gilbert, his confessor, and William Spridlington, one of his auditors - on the bishoprics of Bangor and St Asaph respectively.”¹⁰⁷ Only one Welshman was appointed to a Welsh see after 1370 until the Glyn Dŵr revolt and such a policy may have contributed to the rebellion.¹⁰⁸ If he could not have his own man installed as bishop it was in the prince’s interests to keep sees vacant so as to control patronage.¹⁰⁹ At Lichfield, Hugh Hopwas exerted considerable influence after 1359 until 5 December 1360 when Robert Stretton, the prince’s confessor, became bishop.¹¹⁰

The prince’s efforts in this field meant that men in his employ had a very good chance of finding preferential benefices where, it was hoped, that they would care for his interests. After the pattern set by his great-grandfather, the main beneficiaries were hard-headed ambitious clerks who were probably responsible for the policy in the first place. These were not only the great ecclesiastical offices but parochial appointments of all types. Andrew Gerard, yet another of the prince’s chaplains, was presented to the church of Great Henny, Essex, in 1361. In the following year, as rector of the church he received a gift from the prince of four wind-fall oaks.¹¹¹ Ralph Kynt, chaplain, received letters of presentation to the church at Byfleet on 28 September 1361.¹¹² He was succeeded by John Short and William Valerian.¹¹³ The prince and his clerks were often very successful in acquiring

¹⁰⁷ Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 398.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 439.

¹⁰⁹ Bangor was vacant, 1357, 1366, 1375-6, A. Hamilton Thompson, “Medieval Welsh Dioceses”, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, i (1947), 90-111.

¹¹⁰ On 16 Oct. 1366 Hopwas was a canon and residentiary of Lichfield cathedral holding the prebend of Curburgh (worth 10 marks), and Clifton Camville church, (worth 25 marks), William Salt Archaeological Society, Historical Collections. Staffordshire, new ser., x, pt. 2, 1907, 221.

¹¹¹ BPR, iv, 407, 432. The prince had the advowson of Great Henny due to the wardship of Ralph FitzWilliam, *Register of Simon de Sudbiria*, i, 230.

¹¹² BPR, iv, 393.

¹¹³ 9 May 1364, *ibid.*, 526.

benefices and there were numerous accusations of pluralism levelled against them. Peter Brompton, the prince's confessor and almoner, had benefices in Brantham, Norfolk, two prebends in London and a free chapel in Bangor. John Ludham was also noted as a pluralist in 1366 as were John Cristemass (Belstone church, and a canonry and chaplaincy in London) and Peter Lacy (Northfleet church, Kent, a canonry and prebend of St Martin's, London).¹¹⁴ Royal clerks and some in the prince's employ, were uniquely placed to receive benefices from confiscated alien priories¹¹⁵ which were extremely valuable¹¹⁶ providing both ecclesiastical patronage and financial reward for laymen.¹¹⁷ The priories were restored after Brétigny but retaken in 1369 when the war resumed. Richard Pembridge, as a royal knight of the chamber, received £40 a year from Ware priory and Simon Burley had a considerable income from manors and property owned by the abbey of Fécamp.¹¹⁸ Hugh Calveley purchased Steventon priory which he subsequently sold to Westminster abbey.¹¹⁹ Lewis Clifford was granted the priory of Préaux (Normandy) by Richard II¹²⁰ and John Devereux held Newent priory which was linked to Cormelles abbey.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ *Register of Simon de Sudbria*, ii, 161-2, 174.

¹¹⁵ Robert Pollard, chamberlain of north Wales, was one such beneficiary, *CPR*, 1341-3, 399, 493-4; A.K. McHardy, "Some Patterns of Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Middle Ages" *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, ed. David M. Smith, (Borthwick Studies in History, i), York, 1991, 30 and n. 55.

¹¹⁶ In Wales these included: Abergavenny, Chepstow, Goldcliff, Llangenydd, Monmouth, Pembroke and St Clear's, Williams, *Welsh Church*, 137.

¹¹⁷ In the summer of 1337 all alien religious and secular property was seized. The monks then had to pay a farm on their priories which, if not paid, were offered to the king's clerks, Donald Mathew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, Oxford, 1962, 90-1. On 28 Oct. 1339 the prince, as keeper of the realm, ordered the bishops of Bath and Wells and Worcester to value alien property in their dioceses (original order was made on 6 July 1337), *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 387; *Register of Wolstan de Bransford*, 287.

¹¹⁸ *CPR*, 1358-61, 539; 1370-4, 461; 1377-81, 223, 371; A.K. McHardy, "The Effects of War on the Church: The Case of the Alien Priories in the Fourteenth Century", *England and her Neighbours*, ed. Jones and Vale, 282-3.

¹¹⁹ *CPR*, 1388-92, 6; 1399-1401, 260-1; Marjorie M. Morgan, "The Suppression of the Alien Priories", *History*, xxvi (1941), 207.

¹²⁰ This, in addition to the manors of Tofles (Norfolk), Warmington (Warwick), Spettisbury (Dorset), Mere (Wilts), Risborough (Herts) and Aston (Berks), was revoked by Henry IV, 15 July 1404, *CPR*, 1401-5, 263, 399, 402.

¹²¹ *Register of Henry Wakefield*, 52, no 373.

Another form of “confiscation” which provided the prince with patronage rights was wardships. For instance, the heir of John Orreby had patronage of a chantry in St John’s, Chester to which the prince presented Alexander Bayton for institution on 4 May 1370.¹²² Ecclesiastical patronage was cheap compared with costs of retaining especially when the prince held a wardship and custody of lands or vacant benefice. It served to increase his own influence and authority at little or no cost, either financial or political, to himself.¹²³

Patronage was a reciprocal system and the prince could receive as well as grant. On 4 August 1360 the prince presented William Walsham to Bunbury church. He was able to do this due to a grant of one presentation made to the prince by Richard Stafford, John Wingfield and John Brunham who had acquired a moiety of Bunbury manor, including the advowson, from John St Pierre.¹²⁴ Patronage among the members of the household was also possible and particularly common within families. Thomas Delves received a mediety of Malpas church on 10 December 1364. He was presented by Henry Delves, John’s general attorney. John received the advowson together with the lordship of Malpas from the Black Prince and John Sutton.¹²⁵ Philip Courtenay was patron of a number of benefices in Devon and Cornwall.¹²⁶ Other regular patrons included Richard de la Bere, John Chandos, Stephen Cosington, James Audley of Helegh, Ralph Basset, Bartholomew Burghersh, Nicholas

¹²² Jones, “Church in Chester”, 21-2.

¹²³ Prestwich, “Royal Patronage Under Edward I”, 48. Simon Makeseye was presented to Lansallos church by Polruan, due to the minority of Thomas Basset, 18 Sept. 1362. Peter Thetford, chaplain, was presented to Ashwell church, Lincs due to the “nonage” of John Tuchet, 17 Feb. 1365. This was revoked on 24 Feb. in favour of Simon Knight, *BPR*, iv, 468, 548.

¹²⁴ “Historical Coll. Staffordshire”, 17.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, 165. Reginald Cobham was patron of Lullingstane, *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, 1319-52*, ed. Charles Johnson (Canterbury and York Society), 1948, ii, 857, 879. He also presented John Piykerel to Langton Maltravers, *The Register of Bishop Waltham Bishop of Salisbury, 1388-1395*, ed. T.C.B. Timmins, (Canterbury and York Society), 1994, no. 467, see also nos. 548-9, 580, 662, 783. John Devereux was patron of the churches of Bincombe, Bettiscombe and Frampton, *ibid.*, nos. 529-30, 586. He also had rights at Beckford, Newent and Martley, *Register of Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester, 1375-95*, ed. Warwick Paul Marett, (Worcester Historical Organisation) ns 7, 1972, 50, 52, 121. Mathew Gournay was patron of Kington Magna church, *Register of Bishop Waltham*, no. 463.

¹²⁶ Lyford, Whitstone, Bradnich, Honiton, *Register of Thomas Brantingham, 1370-94*, i, 119, 123-5. Courtenay

Dagworth, Robert Ufford, Reginald Malyns, Walter Pavely and William Trussell, Baldwin Bereford, Hugh and Nicholas Stafford, Thomas Bradeston and Peter Veel.¹²⁷

Trends of patronage and devotional patterns are discernible in testamentary bequests. In many cases these were seen as ideal opportunities to found perpetual chantries for the benefit of the testator's soul. Other bequests often seem to have been made to institutions within a relatively small geographical area close to the family *caput*, often the parish church and many were made to less wealthy houses.¹²⁸ The prince's bequests included church plate, a jeweled reliquary of the True Cross, vestments and manuscripts. These were left to Canterbury cathedral, the Bonhommes foundation at Ashridge and to Wallingford chapel. Other items were left to his wife and son.¹²⁹ Hugh Hastings left bequests to many individuals and churches near his place of burial at Elsing church, Norfolk. £40 was left for the fabric of the church and bequests were also made to the Friars Minor of London and Doncaster. Henry of Lancaster was an executor.¹³⁰ John Dabernon's made many bequests in Devon and Cornwall. John Wingfield left instructions for the building of a chapel near his home in Suffolk and Ralph Basset of Sapcote was buried in 1370 in his own chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.¹³¹

Changing religious attitudes were evident in the period but the prince's veneration for the Trinity showed devotion to a cult which was by no means new in the fourteenth century although it seems to have regained some momentum at this time. In late Saxon times

probably gained control over Bradninch after the prince's death. It was held by Thomas Madefray until his death, *Register of Thomas Brantingham*, i, 38.

¹²⁷ See Biographical Appendix for details.

¹²⁸ "The richest houses only attracted the patronage of the wealthy, and even they seemed to have been afraid that their generosity would not be appreciated enough to inspire grateful and conscientious prayers from the monks." Hughes, *op cit.*, 48. See also Nigel Saul, "The Religious Sympathies of the Gentry in Gloucestershire, 1200-1500", *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 98 (1980), 103.

¹²⁹ *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 476.

¹³⁰ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i, 38-9.

¹³¹ Husting Roll 89 (183); , *VCH*, Suffolk, ii, 152. Eleanor, widow of John Wingfield and Thomas, his brother, as

All Saints and Holy Trinity had become popular dedications. “...devotion to the Trinity - manifest still in innumerable paintings and sculptures - flourished greatly until and through the reformation...”¹³² The prince’s devotion to the Holy Trinity is well-known and well-attested not least by his funeral effigy in which the eyes are fixed on a tester bearing an image of the Trinity.¹³³ Other Trinity images associated with the prince can be seen on the frontispiece of a Chandos Herald manuscript,¹³⁴ a funerary lead badge,¹³⁵ and another showing him worshipping the Trinity within the Garter. It is also evident from the document granting the prince custody of Aquitaine and his foundation of a chantry with two priests to say masses in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity in Canterbury. The prince had been born within the quindene of Trinity Sunday and died on the feast itself, at three in the afternoon having been prince of Wales for 33 years. Joan was 33 when he married her.¹³⁶ Whether or not the prince influenced friends and associates in advocating the cult of the Trinity, examples can be found of retinue members giving patronage to and founding institutions with links to the Trinity. Miles Stapleton in c.1360 received a licence to found a perpetual chantry in honour of the Holy Trinity in the parochial church of Ingham, Norfolk. John Willoughby d’Eresby, who fought at Crécy and died three years later, founded a Trinity chapel in Spilsby church, Lincolnshire.¹³⁷ John Wingfield, the prince’s steward, by the terms of his will had a chapel built and similarly dedicated in 1362.¹³⁸ Richard FitzAlan, a military companion, long-standing creditor and official in Wales and the border counties,

executors of his will, founded a college of priests in Wingfield parish church - a provost/master and three priests.

¹³² Brooke, “Reflections on Late Medieval Cults”, 38-9. Lincoln Archives Office Reg. xii, fo. 170.

¹³³ The distinctive iconography of the Canterbury tester is known as a “Gnadenstuhl” Trinity, Vale and Vale, “Knightly Codes”, 12.

¹³⁴ *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, 478-9.

¹³⁵ Inscribed with “the trynyty (and seynt geor)g: be at: oure: endyng”, *ibid.*, 222.

¹³⁶ *Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, Ramsay and Sparks, 495 n. 192.

¹³⁷ Arthur Mee, *Lincolnshire*, London, repr. 1992, 349.

¹³⁸ Husting Roll 89 (183). Arabic arches stand over the family tombs and the Black Prince’s arms were included in the stained glass. The church was later developed by the de la Pole family.

began the building of a Trinity chapel at Arundel and left provision in his will for its completion. In Cheshire the sisters and fraternity of the Blessed Trinity were associated with Adam Wheteley, the mayor and escheator of Chester, in a petition requesting a licence from the prince to acquire and hold certain lands in perpetuity.¹³⁹

The clerks in the Black Prince's employ were not only concerned with spiritual matters, many served in administrative offices. Peter Gildesburgh, the prince's chief financial officer until 1349, was rector of Great Doddington and a canon of Lincoln.¹⁴⁰ William Peykirk, controller of the household (1349-c.1352) and treasurer of the chamber (c.1357-c.1360), was rector of Donnington and held canonries of Dublin and Ludington in Shaftesbury.¹⁴¹ Robert Pollard was chamberlain of North Wales whilst holding a canonry of Exeter and the church of St Creed.¹⁴² The prince's clerk, Randolf Bockenhale, was steward of Brattleby manor, Lincs, steward and receiver of Cottingham and other lands in York and Lincoln.¹⁴³ John Clay, in addition to his duties as chaplain, was receiver of all the issues of the lordship and honour of Berkhamsted and occasionally the prince's attorney. When the captured King Jean was due to stay at Berkhamsted, Clay was one of those instructed to prepare for his arrival.¹⁴⁴ It seems he was replaced soon after by William Haddon who in November 1360, was recorded as receiving six marks a year in the office, four marks from the prince and two marks from the rector of St Peter's, Berkhamsted.¹⁴⁵ William Lindsay also served in Berkhamsted as a chaplain of the hospital of St John the Evangelist where

¹³⁹ *BPR*, iii, 408-9.

¹⁴⁰ 1366, *Registrum Simonis Langham*, 51.

¹⁴¹ The Dublin canonry was granted without informing the Pope that he held the benefice in Ludington. When this came to the Pope's attention he was forced to resign it "because you were silent", *CPapR, Petitions*, 292, 455, 459.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, 153.

¹⁴³ *BPR*, iv, 412, 420, 429, 430.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 79, 211, 345-6.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 365. William Wenlock was parson of St Peter's in 1351. On 12 Dec. the prince gave him three beech trees for fuel, *ibid.*, 35.

William Roket another chaplain was collated to the wardenship of the same institution.¹⁴⁶

Hugh Hopwas, escheator of Cheshire, was a canon of Lichfield and became, on 23 March 1359, guardian of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the see.¹⁴⁷ Most importantly, Peter Lacy, the prince's receiver-general, held benefices at Northfleet, Kent, worth 100 marks and a canonry and prebend in London worth £20 in 1366.¹⁴⁸ The prince could also combine necessary legal and judicial duties with patronage by granting commissions of oyer and terminer. This allowed those granted the commissions an opportunity to increase their own influence and take a percentage of the profits.¹⁴⁹

Some of the most influential of his religious servants accompanied Edward to Aquitaine when he moved to the principality in 1363. Among the 19 clerks and clerics were Robert Walsham, Alan Stokes, Thomas Madefray, Hugh Bridham and John Gurmonchester.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, a number of the prince's clerks achieved episcopal rank including William Spridlington at St Asaph, John Harewell at Bath and Wells (both served as executors of the prince's will), John Fordham at Durham (1382-8) and Robert Stratton, who was described as the prince's clerk in 1360, became bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1365-85). Simon Islip, former vicar-general of Bishop Burghersh and archbishop of Canterbury (1349-66), was in the prince's service in 1343 and a member of his council in 1347.¹⁵¹

Chaplains and other ecclesiastics in the retinue were not only expected to serve in Britain although provision might be made if they could not travel abroad as in the case of

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 365, 405.

¹⁴⁷ "Historical Coll. Staffordshire", v.

¹⁴⁸ *Register of Simon de Sudbria*, ii, 174.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Prestwich, "Royal Patronage under Edward I", *Thirteenth Century England*, i. *Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, Woodbridge, 1985, 49.

¹⁵⁰ Cotton Julius C.IV, f. 291. See also *CPapR, Petitions*, 457-8.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, i, 57; *BPR*, i, 41, 42, 113; Emden, *Oxford*, ii, 1006-8.

William Claydon who could not accompany the prince on the Reims campaign and so stayed with the bishop of Winchester. As clerk of the chapel he received a yearly fee of 100s.¹⁵² Nicholas Markle, rector of Cray St Paul's, was permitted to receive his stipend for three years while in service to the prince or to John Hale, the keeper of his privy seal.¹⁵³ The prince secured the services of John Bondeby, rector of Chilton Caunterloo, for two years, presumably to assist in Aquitaine.¹⁵⁴

Religious Annuities and Alms

Name	Amount	Source	Date	Ref.
Brother Eustace ¹⁵⁵	50s.	Cornwall	31 Oct. 1347	<i>BPR</i> , i, 138.
Richard Leominster ¹⁵⁶	£20	Risborough manor	5 July 1358; 17 June 1360	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 255, 352.
Richard Waterden ¹⁵⁷	100s.	Receiver-general	20 June 1362	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 441-2.
Agnes Paynel ¹⁵⁸	5 marks 100s.	Bushey manor, Herts	1 Oct. 1362 8 Jan. 1366	<i>BPR</i> , iv, 469, 564.
Pierre de Montardit ¹⁵⁹	50 <i>li</i>	Bordeaux customs	pre-1372	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i> , 36 (1974), 246.
Adam Ipswich, hermit	3d. a day	Kent?	? Confirmed by Ric. II	<i>CPR</i> , 1377-81, 18.

The closest religious confidants were private confessors who had become customary by 1350. The prince was served by Robert Stretton from at least 1349 to 1353¹⁶⁰ and later by Robert Walsham, probably in 1357, who was also dean of the castle chapel at Wallingford

¹⁵² *BPR*, iv, 331.
¹⁵³ 30 Sept. 1348, *Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, ii, 851.
¹⁵⁴ 6 Apr. 1362, *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 760.
¹⁵⁵ Hermit of the Trinity residing in Restormel park.
¹⁵⁶ Friars preacher. Annuity firstly for term of the prince's life then extended to own life.
¹⁵⁷ Clerk of the prince's chapel. Recently began receiving yearly fee.
¹⁵⁸ Nun of Sopwell.
¹⁵⁹ Monk of the monastery of "Cairaco", Cahors.
¹⁶⁰ *CPapR, Petitions*, 155, 245.

and held other benefices elsewhere.¹⁶¹ The Dominican friar, John Gilbert also served the prince in this office in addition to being treasurer of England (1386-9) and a papal chaplain.¹⁶² Peter Brompton was both confessor and almoner to the prince.¹⁶³ Papal letters gave approval for many confessors, including in December 1372 for the prince and princess of Wales and their household. Confessions could be heard by their chaplains or any fit priest, regular or secular.¹⁶⁴ Baldwin Bereford, one of the prince's knights, petitioned for the right for himself and his wife to choose their own confessor to give absolution,¹⁶⁵ as did Walter Bray, the prince's esquire and later Joan's butler.¹⁶⁶ William de la Chambre served in the same capacity for Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger¹⁶⁷ and John Lyons attended Chandos in a like manner. He was a papal chaplain who had "laboured in making the treaty touching Brittany, Anjou and Sens". He later served in the principality of Aquitaine where either the prince or Chandos petitioned for the right for him to hear the confessions of certain persons as, "...in Aquitaine there are many English in the service of the prince of Aquitaine and Wales, who being ignorant of the language have died imperfectly confessed...".¹⁶⁸ Philip Courtenay and his wife Anne Wake received a licence for a confessor in 1390.¹⁶⁹ Confessors were often friars such as William Monkland who served Humphrey, earl of Hereford, and became closely involved with household matters. This increasingly "personal" relationship with God which occasioned the greater use of confessors also manifested itself in the use of

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, 381.

¹⁶² Christopher Harper-Bill, "The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death", *The Black Death in England*, ed. Mark Ormrod and Philip Lindley, Stamford, 1996, 105-6.

¹⁶³ He had benefices in Brantham, Norfolk, two prebends in London and the free chapel in Bangor in 1366, *Register of Simon de Sudbria*, ii, 161-2.

¹⁶⁴ *CPapR, Letters*, iv, 1362-1404, 179.

¹⁶⁵ *CPapR, Petitions*, 483.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 484.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 292.

¹⁶⁸ *CPapR, Petitions*, 522, 536.

¹⁶⁹ *Register of Thomas Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, 1370-94*, ii, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, London, 1901, 708.

portable altars. Among the military retinue, men regularly on campaign where there would be few opportunities for worship, petitions for such altars were very common. Licences were also often granted to members of the retinue that they might hear mass in their own homes.¹⁷⁰ This coupled with a “mood of introspection, even morbid austerity” and it has been observed that “...private devotion could encourage deviation from the path of orthodoxy.”¹⁷¹ After about 1370 a sense of depression and introversion does appear to have developed in England. There are many probable and complementary causes, failures in the French wars, repeated outbreaks of plague, the deepening illness of the heir-apparent and the increasing personal malleability, if not senility, of the king. In religious terms this led to an enhanced concern for contemplative life and interest in mystical works such as those produced by John Clanvowe and a sense of spiritual asceticism later prevalent in the writings of Margery Kempe, who was related to the Brunham family.¹⁷²

Crusading provided the career soldier with opportunities for salvation but few of the Black Prince’s retinue were involved. The crusades continued to demonstrate the quintessential religious aspect of the martial life. Clanvowe and William Neville died on crusade or pilgrimage in Constantinople in 1391.¹⁷³ The visit of Peter of Cyprus to the prince’s court in Aquitaine was a recruitment exercise for his own crusade. He failed to gain

¹⁷⁰ Richard de la Bere, 19 Dec. 1361, *Register of Lewis Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, 1361-9*, 3; Miles Stapleton obtained a licence in 1388 permitting him to celebrate mass in his oratory; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 10; Richard Baskerville was given leave to celebrate mass at his home of Erdesley castle, 11 Feb. 1373, *Register of William Courtenay, Bishop of Hereford, 1370-5*, ed. William W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc.), 1913, 11; John Segrave received licence to have his chaplain, Henry Crisp, celebrate mass in the chapel at Kingswood manor for a year, 4 Jan. 1346, *Register of John de Trillek, Bishop of Hereford, 1344-61*, 59, 98; Edmund Hakelute, 17 July 1345 was granted a licence to hear mass at his oratory at Crookbarrow, Worcester, for 1 year, *Register of Wolstan de Bransford*, 123.

¹⁷¹ Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550*, Oxford, 1995, 203, 208.

¹⁷² See *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V.J. Scattergood, Cambridge, 1975.

¹⁷³ They may have been involved in Louis of Bourbon’s north African crusade of 1390 or on pilgrimage to Rhodes or Jerusalem with Lewis Clifford (or his son who bore the same name). Hugh Hastings made a pilgrimage to Rhodes some time before 1386, Siegrid Düll, Antony Luttrell and Maurice Keen, “Faithful Unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople, 1391”, *Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 178-80.

much support other than Warwick. The expedition by the Free Companies to Spain led by Du Guesclin was initially disguised as a crusade against the Moors and the captal de Buch accompanied Gaston Fébus to Prussia.¹⁷⁴ Virtue could be accrued by participating in a Just War designated by a sovereign prince. "Where is a holier, juster or more perfect thing than to make war in your rightful title?"¹⁷⁵ The chivalric aura which surrounded the prince and his household carried with it inescapable religious connotations. Chivalry had been born out of a symbiosis of religious and military constituents and spiritual factors remained self-evident. They were vividly demonstrated in the dubbing ceremony and were absorbed into the liturgy. Christ was often depicted as a knight, jousting with the Devil for the prize of mankind's souls.

Elements of the religious and military spheres also came together in the Order of the Garter. The Garter regulations resembled strictures of the military orders and required religious orthodoxy, courage in battle, loyalty and the provision of masses for deceased members. The Order had developed from an earlier Arthurian model and retained principles such as the pentecostal vow dedicating oneself to the search for the Holy Grail. However, a number of the Garter knights also had Wyclifite tendencies.¹⁷⁶

Such attitudes were not unknown in the prince's retinue. Many of the so-called Lollard Knights were associated in some way. It is tempting to attribute this "infiltration" of the retinue to Princess Joan. "Il est certain que plusieurs des chevaliers de la Princesse partageaient les nouvelles doctrines..."¹⁷⁷ Many of those attributed Lollard sympathies by

¹⁷⁴ There were crusaders in the Ufford, Montague, Holland, Courtenay, Percy and Neville families. On the state of English crusading see Keen, "Chaucer's Knight", 45-60.

¹⁷⁵ *The Boke of Knyghthode*, ed. E. Warner, London, 1904, 3, cited by Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 25.

¹⁷⁶ The Garter knights Montague, Clifford and Cheyne had Lollard sympathies, Hughes, *ibid.*, 34.

¹⁷⁷ Colonel Babinet, "Jeanne de Kent. Princesse de Galles et d'Aquitaine", *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest*, ii (1894), 20.

Walsingham¹⁷⁸ found service with Joan and Richard as prince of Wales and king but it is not possible to ascribe their offices and positions to their religious sympathies. With authority and influence however, they were able to dispense patronage of their own¹⁷⁹ just as John of Gaunt favoured Wyclif and gave protection to Lollard preachers, although this was probably to make political capital rather than out of a sense of piety.¹⁸⁰ A touching moment regarding Gaunt's relationship with his elder brother is highlighted by Goodman who notes that the only books bequeathed in Gaunt's will of 1399 were his missal and prayer-book, "doubtless especially dear to him as they had been his brother's."¹⁸¹

Joan's position with regard to Lollardy is uncertain. Like Gaunt she may have been a useful ally of Wyclif at court and a number of Lollard sympathisers were members of her household and executors of her will, but Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, and William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, also oversaw her testamentary bequests.¹⁸² Walsingham recorded that she intervened on Wyclif's behalf, through a message sent by Lewis Clifford, opposing the episcopal sentence against him.¹⁸³ Wyclif's sustained and organised literary effort provided a solid base for his evangelisation. This was assisted by a number of Joan's retainers and household knights. William Neville, the brother of the archbishop of York, served Robert Knolles in 1370 and in the household of Richard as prince of Wales and probably had links to the family prior to 1376. John Clanvowe fought under Walter Hewitt and later with Chandos and was present at the skirmish at Lussac where the latter was killed.

¹⁷⁸ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 159, 216.

¹⁷⁹ See McHardy, "Patterns of Ecclesiastical Patronage", 34-5.

¹⁸⁰ It has been suggested that Joan did likewise see Catto, "Religion and the English Nobility", 53.

¹⁸¹ Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 37.

¹⁸² Other executors were: John Lord Cobham; Simon Burley; Richard Attebury, John Worthe, Joan's steward; John le Vache; William Falburn, chaplain; William Harpele and William Norton, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 14-15.

¹⁸³ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 356.

He also was an executor of Joan's will.¹⁸⁴ It has been suggested that Reynold Hilton, mentioned by Knighton, may have been a priest of the diocese of Lichfield who began his career in the prince's service and later became controller of Richard's wardrobe.¹⁸⁵ It has been strongly argued that William Beauchamp, one of the prince's councillors and Richard's chamberlain and another executor of the princess of Wales, was a Lollard sympathiser.¹⁸⁶ There may also be family links which associate John Cheyne and Philip de la Vache with the Black Prince.¹⁸⁷ Lewis Clifford had a long tradition of service in the duchy of Cornwall. He was the prince's esquire from at least 1360 and was granted an annuity which rose to the value of £100. After the prince's death, he served both Richard II and his mother who gave him the custody of Cardigan castle.¹⁸⁸ He was also one of her executors and had landed interests in Salisbury where it has been suggested that he may have spread Lollard ideas.¹⁸⁹ In his will he described himself as an unworthy knight and a traitor to God demanding the most simple funeral for his "stinking carrion".¹⁹⁰ Thomas Latimer maintained unorthodox preachers. His house at Braybroke was a haven for Bohemian admirers of Wyclif. He may have been a member of the retinue. He certainly saw service in the first Gascon *chevauchée* and later in Spain although this may have been in a freelance capacity. John Montague maintained the Lollard preacher, Nicholas Hereford, in his house at Shenley.¹⁹¹ As early as 1354 he was a knight in the Black Prince's household and was Richard's steward from

¹⁸⁴ W.T. Waugh, "The Lollard Knights", *Scottish Historical Review*, xi (1913-14), 75-6.

¹⁸⁵ McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*, 151, 164-7. A payment was authorised to "Reynold Hulton" on 2 June 1363, *BPR*, iv, 497.

¹⁸⁶ J.I. Catto, "Sir William Beauchamp between Chivalry and Lollardy", *The Ideals and Practices of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, Woodbridge, 1990.

¹⁸⁷ Alan Cheyne was pardoned half of a debt of £200 to the prince in 1353 and later fought in Gascony and at Poitiers for which he received a £40 annuity to be paid for 1 year after his death, *BPR*, iii, 123, 237.

¹⁸⁸ Waugh, *loc. cit.*, 58.

¹⁸⁹ *VCH*, Berks, iv, 137; Brown, *Popular Piety*, 209-10. He was the patron of Newbury church, 26 May 1394, *Register of Bishop Waltham*, no. 846.

¹⁹⁰ McFarlane, *op cit.*, 207-26.

¹⁹¹ Jeremy Catto, "Dissidents in an Age of Faith? Wyclif and the Lollards", *History Today*, 37 (1987), 49-50.

1381-6. Richard Stury¹⁹² received certain small gifts from the prince in 1353. He served as custodian of Glamorgan 1375-6 and according to Walsingham was present at the prince's death-bed at which time a particular enmity was evident and the prince refused to be reconciled with him over some matter.¹⁹³ He later served as one of Princess Joan's executors. Whatever the case regarding her Lollard sympathies, Joan showed touching concern for one of her *damselfs*, Margery Mere, who it is said could never eat fish. Joan petitioned the pope that she be allowed to have milk, cheese and eggs in Lent. This was granted if it could be shown that medical opinion considered pottage to be "insufficient for her weakness".¹⁹⁴ It is probable that Lollard sympathies were more widely dispersed than among the few who had attention drawn to them. However, having similar beliefs may not have been tantamount to heresy. The growth of lay piety, particularly of a "puritanical moral fervour", could, in its most extreme form, lead to Lollardy.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, there was a considerable "grey area" between the orthodox and the heretical and the Black Prince's retinue included many whose beliefs fell into this category.

The religious aspect of the retinue served to compound the cohesion and loyalty engendered in military conflict and reinforced through the bastard feudal relationship. A bond was created through shared religious observance and allegiance to particular religious houses and a devotional style. It closely mirrors the pattern that existed in John of Gaunt's affinity in which the retainers are said to have "combined an ascetic tendency towards funeral austerity and penitential rhetoric in wills with a new social awareness, manifested in

¹⁹² He was probably the son of Sir William Stury (d. c.1357) a Shropshire landowner and marshal of the household from 1338-40, seneschal of Calais in 1347 and governor of the Channel Islands, Waugh, *loc. cit.*, 64 nn. 1-7.

¹⁹³ Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, vol. i, Cardiff, 1972, 118.

¹⁹⁴ *CPapR, Petitions*, 456.

¹⁹⁵ Saul, "Religious Sympathies of the Gentry", 99-101.

their interest in the foundation of hospitals and poor houses.”¹⁹⁶ As Gaunt’s retinue included a number of figures who saw earlier service with the Black Prince, so the evidence holds good for the retinue of the elder brother as well as the younger. Knolles, Loryng, Andrew Lutterell¹⁹⁷ and the Lollard Knights demonstrate such attitudes as well as the examples given above. The similarity of many of the attitudes among the followers of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt suggests that while they were part of a wider trend they also exhibited more extreme attitudes.

The distinction between matters of “show” and personal belief may be limited and it is often difficult to be certain of the difference between the two. Religion was both political and personal. The Black Prince was clearly devout, at least in his final years and yet was equally concerned with religious patronage and he devoted much time and effort to such matters. The benefits of this are difficult to evaluate precisely but they undoubtedly served to reinforce his authority within his demesne and in those areas where his territorial authority was limited. Secular patronage brought men to him for military service but the prince also required clerks and administrators and he ensured that provision was made for them. Religion was one of the bonds that tied the retinue and household together in service to the Black Prince and in the war effort and it also served to associate members of the retinue in ways beyond that common service.

¹⁹⁶ Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 99-100.

¹⁹⁷ Lincoln Archives Office, Reg. xii, fo. 369.

Links within the Retinue

Relations between individuals and groups, beyond those created simply by service to the same man, are evident in the retinue of the Black Prince. These associations were formed and strengthened in a variety of ways. Family ties, regional links, economic and military alliances and friendships served to tie the retinue more closely together within a chivalric atmosphere and environment of shared religious beliefs. Such connections did not necessarily make the retinue more loyal to the prince, indeed it may have been quite the reverse, since local issues and matters of family were often considered more important than bastard feudal associations. An analysis of such links may serve to demonstrate a number of issues about recruitment and the fate of the retinue after the end of the prince's military career and his death. Links of dependence and co-dependence within the retinue will also be examined and thereby demonstrate the nature of the association as distinctive and separate from the Black Prince himself.

The prince's retinue was an amorphous association whose members were drawn from a variety of social, geographical and professional backgrounds. There is no doubt that the bond to the prince gave those who served him a certain cachet and created a group identity. However, this was not a static body, but a dynamic association, constantly reforming in order to cope with the demands that the prince placed upon it. This was true not only in military service but estate administration and the court which developed in Aquitaine, with all the chivalric and religious display which was demanded of a prince, sovereign in all but name.

The prince's birth rank, military reputation and generosity marked him out as a master

worthy of serving. This was particularly so after the victory at Crécy, generously attributed to his son by the king, which established a reputation that was to grow and draw increasing numbers to his service. The opportunity for military service, potentially so very profitable in the early stages of the Hundred Years War, under the command of the heir apparent was extremely attractive. He swiftly established a distinction for *largesse* which combined with a chivalric reputation and his status as the future king. A link with the prince was bound to be beneficial.

Retinues were usually recruited from the lord's area of territorial influence.¹ Men would be drawn from further afield only if the influence, status and potential reward offered by the lord in question merited such a move, as it often did in the case of Edward of Woodstock. However, even if a knight was in receipt of a fee he remained very concerned with the maintenance of his local influence and interests. Such concerns could overshadow the influence of even such a great landowner as the Black Prince.²

The diverse origins of retinue members is in keeping with a lordship with estates throughout England, Wales and eventually Aquitaine.³ The preponderance of the prince's land in Britain was in the west; Wales, Cheshire and Cornwall and many members of the retinue were drawn from these areas. More surprisingly a large number came from East Anglia, particularly Norfolk and Suffolk. The prince did hold some land in the region such as the honour of Eye, held of the duchy of Cornwall, and following the death of his grandmother in

¹ For example see Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, on the Gloucestershire gentry and the Berkeley retinue.

² See Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 111-15, for the importance of local issues among members of Gaunt's retinue.

³ The officials appointed to care for various estates reveal the extent of the prince's demesne. For example John Horaud was the prince's steward in the Ixworth area. He became steward in Essex and Suffolk on 23 Oct. 1361, *BPR*, iv, 397. He was steward of Layham, Kersey and Lamarsh by 26 Mar. 1362, *ibid.*, 430. He was replaced by William Berard on 24 Nov. 1362, *ibid.*, 481, who was appointed steward of all the prince's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk on 3 June 1363, *ibid.*, 496. He became steward of North Weald Bassett manor on 8 Feb. 1364, *ibid.*, 523. He was given a buck for auditing accounts in the Rising area on 25 May 1365, *ibid.*, 557. Thomas Stanydelf was keeper of fees in Oxford, 8 Sept. 1361 *ibid.*, 393. He became keeper of fees in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk on 1 Feb. 1362, *ibid.*, 414. Richard Stratton was appointed keeper of all fees linked to Wallingford, St Vallery, Berkhamsted and Chester in Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk, on 29 July 1358, *ibid.*, 258.

1358, he inherited the Castle Rising estates.⁴ His lands did not compare with the extensive landed interests of John of Gaunt in the region towards the end of the fourteenth century. However, Gaunt was rivaled in influence, during the reign of Edward III by his elder brother.⁵ That influence was maintained by his retainers and servants. For example, in 1358 a commission of oyer and terminer demanded by the prince was given to John Wingfield, Robert Thorpe, Henry Green, Thomas St Omer, John Knyvet and John Berneye, all directly or indirectly associated with the prince and who could be assured to care for his interests.⁶ Such commissions were not uncommon and were made all the more likely by the local knowledge and influence of the men that undertook them. Many of Edward's most trusted officials originated in Norfolk, Suffolk and the adjoining counties. John Wingfield from Suffolk was steward of the prince's lands and his business manager,⁷ Thomas Felton, steward of the household, seneschal of Aquitaine and chamberlain of Chester, had manors at Litcham and elsewhere in Norfolk.⁸ William Kerdeston, the elder, was a knight banneret of the household.⁹ Stephen Hales, Thomas Gissing, William Elmham and Edmund Noon were among the prince's retainers.¹⁰ Gissing sat for Norfolk in the Good Parliament. William Wingfield, John's cousin, who also saw service with the prince, represented Suffolk. Elmham was witness to a quitclaim involving Wingfield in 1377 and in 1380 both were part of a group who received a charter

⁴ John Berneye took control of Castle Rising on Isabella's death, 28 Aug. 1358, *ibid.*, 261. Soon after this he was appointed steward of all the prince's lands in Norfolk at a wage of 100s. a year to be paid from the lordship of Rising, 1 Oct. 1358, *ibid.*, 263. He was described as the "former steward of Rising" on 11 July 1364, *ibid.*, 532.

⁵ See E.L.T. John, "The Parliamentary Representatives of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1377-1422", Unpub. MA thesis, University of Nottingham, 1959, 22-3.

⁶ *CPR, 1358-61*, 159.

⁷ He also had estates elsewhere see W.H. Edmunds, "*The Derbyshire Times*" *Guide to Winfield Manor*, Chesterfield, undated.

⁸ Felton was ordered to distribute game to people living in and around the chase of Rising due to damage caused by game there, 23 July 1362, *BPR*, iv, 459.

⁹ *ibid.*, i, 80; Tout, *Chapters*, v, 432-3, 440.

¹⁰ Elmham was to use his local knowledge and contacts while assisting in the recruitment for Despenser's crusade which also involved Thomas Trivet, Ralph Shelton, John Aleyn. I am grateful to Jim Magee to pointing out a number of East Anglian connections to me and for the opportunity to discuss some others.

concerning a number of Norfolk manors. Wingfield acted as one of Elmham's attorneys when he went on crusade in 1383 and in 1386 both men witnessed a charter and served on a commission of array in Suffolk.¹¹ Richard II maintained the links to his father's retainers and his support may have influenced the returns to parliament in the years after the prince's death. Hales and Hamo Felton, the elder brother of Sir Thomas, were returned in the first parliament of 1377 and Thomas was re-elected in the following October. There was also a Duncan Felton who travelled to Aquitaine to join the prince in November 1367.¹² Kerdeston's son was among the Norfolk knights of the shire in 1378 and sat in the next eight parliaments. Robert Carbonel, MP for Suffolk in October 1385, was the half-brother of John Wingfield. On 30 August 1380 Carbonel made an enfeoffment of his lands, his feoffees included William Elmham and William Wingfield.¹³

On his acquisition of the Castle Rising estate the prince also acquired a number of his grandmother's servants such as Robert Flemming, the constable¹⁴ and John Herlyng, surveyor of the chase.¹⁵ Herlyng also had links to the late earl of Kent who had granted him an £8 annuity, which was confirmed by the prince.¹⁶ Thomas Stirston had been granted 4½d. a day by Isabella, which, at her request, the prince had extended to a life grant.¹⁷ Philip Pinchon was receiver of the lordship by 1 October 1358.¹⁸ He retained his office and was responsible for various repairs and the enclosure of the park at Rising.¹⁹ He was still receiver on 11 July

¹¹ C76/67/8; *CCR*, 1377-81, 193; 1385-9, 139; 1392-6, 236; *CPR*, 1385-9, 176.

¹² *CPR*, 1367-70, 56.

¹³ John, "Parliamentary Representatives", 199-200.

¹⁴ Fleming was granted 6s. 3d. rent, for good service to Isabella, 2 Aug. 1359, *BPR*, iv, 304.

¹⁵ The grant was made by Isabella on 6 Nov. 1352 and ratified on 21 July 1353, *ibid.*, 98.

¹⁶ The annuity was paid from Ormesby manor, Norfolk, *ibid.*, 460.

¹⁷ 20 Feb. 1359, *CCR*, 1354-60, 549.

¹⁸ *BPR*, iv, 264.

¹⁹ He arranged the "sure and safe keeping of the castle in consultation with Roger de Saham", the constable, 14 Feb. 1360, Repairs were made to the bridge, other areas and the castle on 26 Mar. 1360 and 9 Aug. 1362. £81 14d. was spent repairing a tower at Rising called "Nightegale" on 8 July 1365. Saham was still constable on 3 May 1365, *ibid.*, 344, 346, 463, 471, 552, 559.

1364.²⁰ Robert Carlel, keeper of the gate of Castle Rising, may have had the same office under Isabella.²¹ The estate also provided Edward with additional patronage, both secular and ecclesiastic. Baldwin Botetourt was given a life commission of keeping the chase.²² Richard Walkefare was granted the same office, during pleasure some years later.²³ He was linked to Thomas Felton through the marriage of his daughter and it was Felton's influence which insured he gained the office in 1362. Felton named Walkefare as his attorney in 1362.²⁴ Simon del Hay was forester of the estate by 15 October 1362 and became keeper of the chase.²⁵ John Rougham was presented to Rising church on 27 October 1361²⁶ and replaced by William Langham of Wighton soon after.²⁷ By the gift and grant of lands and offices in East Anglia to his retainers the prince ensured the maintenance, and hopefully the extension, of his influence to areas where he was not territorially dominant. Further influence could also be achieved by other means. For example, on the death of Thomas Sandwich in 1360/1 the prince acquired further landed interests in Essex as Thomas had been in debt to the prince.²⁸

A number of other associates had links to East Anglia. Robert Knolles, the Cheshire-born *condotierre*, held Sculthorpe manor in Norfolk and was also the chief benefactor to Harpley church in the same county. In Suffolk, Robert Ufford, the earl, was titular head of the prince's council and a close military associate. Bartholomew Burghersh married the daughter of Richard Weyland of Fenhall and the Botetourts, Segraves, Dagworths and Despensers all had

²⁰ *ibid.*, 532.

²¹ 14 Feb. 1360, *ibid.*, 344.

²² 8 Dec. 1358, *ibid.*, 270.

²³ 13 Oct. 1362, *ibid.*, 470.

²⁴ *CPR*, 1361-4, 232.

²⁵ *BPR*, iv, 471; 24 Apr. 1363, *ibid.*, 492. He presumably lost his office fairly soon after as he was to be reinstated as keeper with his former wages of 3d. a day on 3 May 1365, *ibid.*, 552.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 400. He was later presented to Henton Wallery church, the advowson of which the prince held due to the minority of the heir of the earl of Northampton, 10 Apr. 1362, *ibid.*, 430-1.

²⁷ 30 June 1362, *ibid.*, 443.

²⁸ 15 May 1361, *CCR*, 1360-4, 188. Sandwich had been a purveyor for the prince's household. For a description of his lands in Essex see *C.Inq.Misc.*, iii, 1348-77, 138-9 no. 385.

interests in Suffolk.²⁹ John Willoughby d'Eresby held extensive estates in Lincolnshire.

Geoffrey Warenne was a tenant in South Wooton, Norfolk,³⁰ Sir John Dargentem in Hallesworth, Suffolk,³¹ and Edmund Soterlee in Sotterly manor, Suffolk.³² Reginald Hokere, yeoman of the chamber, was given a life grant of the water of Wiggenghall, Norfolk.³³ John Carleton, one of the prince's yeomen, was granted, with John Lancaster, all the lands in Chosle, Norfolk, which formerly had been held by Robert Holewell, who was later to be the sheriff of Caernarfon.³⁴ He later purchased Iklingham manor, Suffolk, for £100.³⁵ Carleton was later granted a life annuity of 100s., rising to £10, from the Lynn tollbooth.³⁶ Carleton was responsible for auditing Castle Rising accounts.³⁷ Ralph Shelton also had interests in Norfolk. During the Poitiers campaign, action against him in the county was delayed until his return.³⁸

Cheshire

The military community of Cheshire and the administration of the palatinate have both been the subject of intense scrutiny.³⁹ Such studies provide a picture of the environment from

²⁹ *VCH*, Suffolk, ii, 169-70, 172.

³⁰ 9 Feb. 1361, *BPR*, iv, 375.

³¹ The manor was held of the honour of Chester, 29 July 1355, *ibid.*, 143.

³² He did homage (and fealty on 5 Feb. before Loryng) by service of finding a man on horseback armed with *aketon*, bascinet, iron gauntlets, knife and sword, to go with the earl of Chester to the Welsh wars for 40 days. He held the manors of Stoke and Wirral under the same conditions, 6 Feb. 1353, *ibid.*, 81.

³³ 18 Feb. 1363, *ibid.*, 486.

³⁴ 15 July 1358, *ibid.*, 259. Carleton had been resident in Norfolk for some time prior to this. A commission was ordered in the country in Mar. 1356 following an assault on and theft from him, *CPR*, 1354-8, 391.

³⁵ The prince had title to the manor through the wardship of the heir of John Berners, 1 Aug. 1362, *BPR*, iv, 461. The lease was extended, 24 Aug. 1362, *ibid.*, 465, 482.

³⁶ 1 Oct. 1362, *ibid.*, 469; 31 Mar. 1365, *ibid.*, 550. Thomas Clerc of Ely was the farmer of the tollbooth. He was notified of the 100s. grant to Carleton on 24 Nov. 1362, *ibid.*, 481-2 and of the increase, *ibid.*, 550.

³⁷ His wages for 24 Apr. - 15 Aug. 1362 were £11 8s., 2 Nov. 1362, *ibid.*, 474. He was given £10, to be taken off the rent of Iklingham on 9 May 1364, *ibid.*, 527. It is uncertain if he was the same John Carleton who illuminated the charter granting Edward the principality of Aquitaine, for which he was paid 18s. 8d., 13 Feb. 1362, *ibid.*, 484. There was also a clerk of the privy seal by the same name whose wages increased to 12d. a day on 1 July 1363, *ibid.*, 502.

³⁸ *CCR*, 1354-60, 334.

³⁹ For example Hewitt, *Cheshire Under the Three Edwards*; Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*; Morgan, *War and Society*; Booth, *Financial Administration*.

which the prince was to draw a number of his most important servants and many of his soldiers. The military community of the palatinate had a deserved reputation, fostered in cross-border conflicts with Wales. This community was enhanced and underpinned by a network of gentry affinities. However, this was not to provide the prince directly with a willing retinue. The link between the earl and gentry leaders was tenuous. It was the influence of the prince's household and the administrative machinery that it introduced which bridged this divide. In association with the move towards contract armies and the delegation of responsibility for recruitment being placed in the hands of indentured retainers, Cheshire was to provide a highly significant element in the prince's army and a number of important individuals. Despite this, Cheshiremen were relatively few among the prince's permanent retainers as is demonstrated by the 1369 Northampton muster roll.⁴⁰

There was a large Cheshire presence among the troops in the prince's division at Crécy. These included Alexander Venables and Richard Baskerville, who also fought at Poitiers while his son fought with the prince in 1359-60. William Brereton and Thomas Danyers brought reinforcements to the siege of Calais. Alexander Wasteneys, Ralph Stathum, Ralph Oldington and Richard del Hogh also received orders to provide troops for the siege. In 1355, Robert Brown, Hugh Golbourne, John Griffyn, Robert Legh, John Hide and Hamo Masey led contingents. Ralph Mobberley also brought troops on the 1355 campaign as did John Daniers, William Carrington and Thomas Stathum. Many of these were involved in finding reinforcements in 1356. John Griffin of Barderton, near Nantwich was also paid for his service in Gascony. Letters of protection were issued for Alan Cheyne of Nantwich, Simon Grimsditch, John Starky, John Merebury, John Neuton, Geoffrey Stanley, William Chorley and Richard Bowere. Thomas Arderne fought in Richard Stafford's company. Numerous pardons and

⁴⁰ E101/29/24; Morgan, *op cit.*, 105-6, 109.

rewards were given to Cheshire soldiers following the victory at Poitiers and the earldom also provided lands and offices for some of the higher ranking members of the retinue. Chandos received, what was for him, the largely irrelevant and faintly spurious post of forester of Macclesfield. The Reims campaign also drew heavily on Cheshire for its manpower and again involved William Carrington and John Daniers. John Fitton also took part. Considerable numbers of Cheshire troops accompanied the prince to Aquitaine in 1363 and reinforcements were brought from the palatinate to the defence of Aquitaine in 1369 including Richard Fitton, Richard Winnington, and William Bulkylegh.

Core personnel were in office when the prince was granted the earldom in 1333 (although he had been receiving income from it since birth). It had to operate without his influence for a number of years due to his minority. The basis of the "administrative retinue" was already *in situ* well in advance of the prince's first requirement to develop a military following in 1345-6. Cheshire servants such as Delves and Brunham were to rank highly in the administrative hierarchy of the prince's estates. The region also provided valuable administrative offices, often treated as sinecures, for military men. Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger, Thomas Ferrers, John de la Pole, Chandos, Audley, Thomas Wetenhale, David Cradock, Alan Cheyne, Nicholas Vernon, John Leicester and John Mascy all held offices in Cheshire.⁴¹ Cheyne was constable of Beeston castle and later keeper of Rhuddlan castle, where he succeeded John Byntre.⁴² Cheshiremen were also prominent among those who received offices in the principality of Aquitaine and may have contributed to the ill-feeling which developed throughout the 1360s. Richard Roter became constable of Bordeaux, Wetenhale,

⁴¹ Bennett notes the high proportion of Cheshire soldiers amongst those receiving wages or annuities from the Black Prince at the time of his death, *Community, Class and Careerism*, 177. See also Morgan, "Cheshire and Aquitaine", 151-3.

⁴² Bennett, *op cit.*, 167, 177. Byntre was in office, 27 Dec. 1356, *CPR*, 1354-8, 429.

steward of the Rouergue, Cradock held a variety of offices in Aquitaine, Wales and Cheshire and Richard Baskerville was seneschal of the Agenais

Cheshire was also home to a number of *routiers* who, whilst not of the prince's inner circle, played an important role in the French campaigns and a vital one in the Spanish expedition. Hugh Calveley and Robert Knolles stand out in particular in this regard. Both had command of companies at Poitiers and afterwards in the prince's service. Walter Hewitt and others were part of the large mercenary presence in the Spanish campaign.

Further down the social scale, Cheshire men also found service in the prince's administration and household. John Legh, as yeoman of the buttery and purveyor of the household, John Hale as clerk and keeper of the privy seal, Robert Legh was bailiff of Macclesfield manor and Richard Mascy, bailiff of the advowries in Cheshire. In addition to these was the host of lesser officials who were involved in the daily business of the earldom. Local men proved to be the most effective in maintaining law and order and extracting the revenue and finance which was of such importance to the prince.

Cornwall

The prince's predecessor and uncle, John of Eltham, left a fully-fledged administrative system in place on his death and this was to provide the prince with a number of valued servants. For example, John Kendale, his receiver, was also keeper of the park and castle of Restormel. Eltham also left Richard Bakhampton in office and Thomas FitzHenry as havener of Cornwall for life.⁴³ The duchy was also home to a number of military servants, particularly Peter and Philip Courtenay who came to prominence in the later years of the principality of

⁴³ Elliot-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, 164. Bakhampton held the first life tenancy in the duchy on his death John

Aquitaine. Other members of the family also had links to the prince; Sir Edmund, Hugh, earl of Devon, and Sir Thomas Courtenay.⁴⁴ However, the area was one of great wealth or influence. In the period 1324-47 only nine conventional tenants can be traced leasing lands worth in excess of 40s. of rent annually. Many of these, from 1337, were duchy officials.⁴⁵ One of the leading officials, John Dabernon, was at the centre of the Cornish administration with influence elsewhere in the prince's demesne by virtue of the numerous foreign manors. He served as sheriff, steward and keeper of the prince's fees in Devon and Cornwall.

Members of the Kendale family were also important in the administration of the duchy. In addition to John,⁴⁶ Richard Kendale became receiver of all moneys from the prince's lands and coinage in Cornwall.⁴⁷ Edmund Kendale was the prince's bachelor and steward of his lands in the early household. He was granted a £20 annuity at the outset of the Crécy campaign and may well have been related to the receiver.⁴⁸ Edward Kendale was involved in a number of commissions with Henxteworth and others of the retinue.

A considerable proportion of the annuities granted by the prince came from Cornwall. Lewis Clifford, for example, was a local man in receipt of a Cornish annuity.⁴⁹ But the region did not only provide finance and patronage for men with links to the duchy. The Hainaulter Sir Henry Eam was granted an annuity of 100 marks from Bradninch manor, Devon.⁵⁰ William

Dabernon assumed some of his land in Calstok, Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society*, 70, 236-7.

⁴⁴ Edmund was paid war expenses of £55 on 8 Mar. 1359, *BPR*, ii, 155. Hugh granted the prince the marriage of his son and heir, to Maud, daughter of Thomas Holland, on condition of the grant of a papal dispensation. Maud would gain the manors of Sutton Courtenay and Weddesdon (to the value of 200 marks). The prince was to obtain a royal licence and pay Hugh 1,000 marks, 3 Oct. 1362, *ibid.*, 194. Thomas was given a hart on 3 May 1362 (see 1 May), *ibid.*, 190.

⁴⁵ Hatcher, *op cit.*, 235.

⁴⁶ He was restored to the office on 5 Sept. 1354, *BPR*, ii, 65.

⁴⁷ 30 Sept. 1365, *ibid.*, 213. He was given a hart on 8 July 1365 and a doe on 28 Nov. 1365, *ibid.*, 212, 215.

⁴⁸ 1 Sept. 1346, *ibid.*, i, 13.

⁴⁹ This was valued at £40 increasing to £46 13s. 4d., SC6/812/10, 14; *BPR*, ii, 208.

⁵⁰ 28 Jan. 1348, *ibid.*, i, 163.

Aubigny was also retained and paid from revenue from Liskeard and elsewhere.⁵¹ Bartholomew Burghersh was granted the stannary of Devon.⁵² Sir John Trevaignoun and Sir John Arundel were both retained by the prince in the aftermath of the Crécy war but the associations were terminated after reports that their bearing “has been and still is so outrageous and offensive to us, our subjects, ministers and tenants, as well as to your other neighbours in the parts of Cornewaille, as to be improper and unsuitable for a man of your order, so that we are advised not to have any such person in our company...”⁵³

Cornwall, by virtue of the stannaries and its other natural resources, provided a great deal of patronage for the prince not only in terms of annuities and gifts but also administrative offices and other rights. John Baketon, yeoman of the prince’s buttery was also bailiff of the stannary of Blackmoor.⁵⁴ Cornwall provided extensive hunting grounds and these were often placed in the care of military servants as rewards. At a lower level, although still valuable, William Lenche, the prince’s porter, was granted the ferry rights at Saltash as a consequence of his service at the battle of Poitiers, where he lost an eye.⁵⁵

Wales

The status of Wales as a conquered territory and the racial restrictions imposed on Welshmen meant that few were to be found among the most prominent members of the prince’s retinue, although there were a few notable exceptions. Englishmen held the important offices of “state” in Wales almost uniformly, although as a result of the administrative reforms instituted by the prince’s council more Welshmen came to be in positions of authority. This was

⁵¹ *ibid.*, ii, 34.

⁵² *ibid.*, ii, 84.

⁵³ 11 June 1351, *ibid.*, iv, 9-10.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁵ Saltash ferry was the most important in the duchy and was appended to Trematon manor. In 1301 it had been

not undertaken with any thoughts of equality in mind but in the belief that the use of Welsh nationals would increase revenue. A number of these men were very zealous in the exploitation of their countrymen such as Rhys ap Roppert, sheriff of Flintshire. Welshmen were very important in the Crécy campaign and Calais siege, but they became less militarily significant in later operations. Rhys ap Griffith led a large force to Portsmouth in 1346 and also brought reinforcements to Calais. By contrast, Gronou ap Griffith led only 60 men from north Wales and David ap Blethin Vaghan 30 from Flintshire in 1355. Rhys was also involved in 1355 along with Sir Hywel ap Griffith (Hywel “of the Axe”), Sir John Griffith and Sir Gregory Sais.⁵⁶ Wales also provided a great deal of patronage in the form of administrative posts and particularly religious patronage. The few known Welsh retainers in the prince’s retinue is probably not a consequence of lack of evidence since there were only two Welshmen in Richard II’s affinity.⁵⁷

Aquitaine

Gascon relations, established by the prince in 1355, and founded on older traditions, provided Edward with many followers. Tradition should perhaps have taught him that they were not entirely trustworthy. A number of nobles such as Guichard d’Angle remained loyal in the revolt against the *fouage* but even the capital de Buch wavered for a time in the face of very generous terms offered by Charles V. The administration of Gascony provided the foundations for the government of the new principality, although the presence of the prince altered the balance of authority among the officials. “Foreigners” took many posts and although this was common practice there is no doubt that it caused a measure of unrest and dissatisfaction.

leased for £10 a year, Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society*, 192-3.

⁵⁶ Carr, *Medieval Wales*, 91-2; Evans, “Notes of the History of the Principality”, 62.

⁵⁷ Given-Wilson, *King’s Affinity*, 220.

Whilst the extant records of the principality are extremely limited, the survival of a small number of documents reveals a great deal about the personnel in Edward's employ throughout the 1360s. The prince brought with him a great number of servants when he relocated to Aquitaine in 1363. Letters of protection reveal at least the intention of accompanying him. There is also what appears to be a composite list of followers comprising what may be termed a "military household".⁵⁸ The records regarding the Nájera operation are poor. However, the only extant retinue roll for the prince's life details a muster of troops in 1368/9. It details some 369 men-at-arms and 428 archers. These are by no means all Gascons, indeed there are very few among the names, but it does reveal an approximation of the prince's military retinue in 1369. 100 men-at-arms and 240 archers were raised in Cheshire.

The number of Gascons who served with the prince over an extended period was limited and does engender questions about the nature of the retinue. Armagnac for example, was the target of the 1355 expedition, he became an unwilling vassal after Brétigny, was financially assisted by the Black Prince and fought at Nájera. He was thereby, albeit briefly, a member of the prince's military retinue. However, he was to lead the rebellion against Edward and may have been planning the alliance with Charles V for some time before it came to light. The focus of interest has tended to fall on the Gascons who turned against the prince and those officials Edward imposed in the principality. Despite this, it sure be remembered that the majority of administrative tasks were undertaken by natives of the principality, and government, albeit uncertain and inefficient government, would have been impossible without their collaboration.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions about the retinue on the basis of geographical

⁵⁸ BL Cotton Julius C IV ff. 288-91.

origin, at least as far as direct relations with the prince are concerned. He had a very wide catchment area. His estates were concentrated in the west but were by no means only restricted to Cheshire, Wales and Cornwall. The foreign manors of the duchy spread across the country and others were drawn to the prince's service simply because he was the prince. Thus men were in the retinue from East Anglia and like William Felton, seneschal of Poitou, from Northumbria. Elsewhere, from the Oxfordshire/Berkshire area for example, Richard Abberbury, John Golafre and Baldwin Bereford were drawn to the prince's service. From Herefordshire came Simon and John Burley, John Clanvowe, Philip Walwayn, Nicholas Sarnesfield, Thomas Peyteveyn and John Devereux.

Origins of Service

The early household of the future prince was not distinguished. The administrators appointed by the king to serve the interests of his son were often men drawn from the royal service, competent certainly but hardly celebrated. This is perhaps not surprising. Edward III was himself a young man, recently come into his inheritance when his son was born and was establishing a retinue and administration of his own. Also the prince's bureaucracy was under the control and auspices of the queen's household and there was thus, initially, little need for a highly developed administrative system and very experienced staff. The earldom of Chester and duchy of Cornwall had their own pre-existing personnel. Thus the early administrative servants were those appointed by the king from among his own junior aides and those who were already in positions of authority, appointed by the prince's predecessors.

The prince also found servants from other retinues when age, death or other causes brought these associations to an end. Outside central royal service the foremost employers of

the day were the prince of Wales and the duke of Lancaster. There was some fluidity of service between the two groups. On the death of Henry of Grosmont some of his servants were retained by the prince rather than the earl of Richmond and, similarly after the demise of the Black Prince, some sought service with the duke of Lancaster rather than his nephew or sister-in-law. There were also those such as Sir Ralph Paynel who was retained by Gaunt, served the Black Prince and was also an annuitant of Thomas Lord Roos. Those who turned to the prince after Grosmont's death included Thomas Hereford, Nigel Loryng, Stephen Cosington and William Trussel.⁵⁹ Gaunt attracted men from the prince's retinue as well as from that of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and the earl of Hereford. Among those who had previously served the prince were John Kentwood, Andrew Lutterell,⁶⁰ Robert Roos, Nicholas Sarnesfield, Walter Urswick, Paynel,⁶¹ Walter Paveley and Hugh Hastings. Hastings' father is buried at Elsing church in Norfolk and his tomb bore the effigies of Edward III, Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont, Ralph Lord Stafford and Lawrence Hastings, earl of Pembroke, who also had links with the retinue.⁶² It is likely that the Robert Neville, who found service with Gaunt in 1369, was the son of the keeper of the prince's horses. In addition to these abrupt distinctions there was much transitional service due to the nature of the many short-term military contracts which provided the manpower for the campaigns of the early stages of the war in the prince's retinue or that of one of the dukes of Lancaster.⁶³ The number involved shows the fluidity of military

⁵⁹ Paynel was the prince's surveyor of game in Yorkshire, Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 29, 258-9.

⁶⁰ Lutterell had served with Grosmont in 1345-6 in Aquitaine and during 1347 in Calais, K.A. Fowler, "Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1361", Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1961, 254.

⁶¹ Walker, *op cit.*, 104 and n. 135.

⁶² Fowler, "Henry of Grosmont", 579, 726-7.

⁶³ Richard Abberbury, James Audley, William Berton?, Bernard Brocas, Thomas Cok, William Cornwall?, Thomas Courtenay, Hugh Cressy, Hugh le Despenser, John Erceleanke, William Felton, Richard FitzSimon, Baldwin Frevill, Thomas Furnivall, captal de Buch, John Grey of Codnore, John del Hale, Hugh Hastings, Thomas Hereford, John Holland, John Inkepenne, Warrin del Isle, William Kingston, Roger Le Strange of Knockin, John Lovel, Ralph Lovel, Edmund Manchester, William Middleton?, John Moubray, Robert Neville, Walter Paveley, Robert Roos, William Roos, John St Pierre, Theobald Trussel, William Trussel, Richard de la Vache, John Verdon, the son, Thomas Walrond?, John Warde?, Thomas Wasteney, and John Weston? The names are based on lists in K.A. Fowler "Henry of Grosmont", ii, 244-63. There are undoubtedly many more.

service between contracting captains of whom Lancaster and the prince must be considered of the most worthy.

By his marriage to Joan the prince also “inherited” a number of the servants of the late earl of Kent. He continued to pay a number of annuities and, as Holland/Wake estates were absorbed into his demesne, some of these servants retained their offices or went on to serve in different parts of the administration. Joan also brought her own servants and this must have given a feminine touch to what had been an almost exclusively male environment. In addition, Joan retained a number of household knights, some of whom continued to serve her after Edward’s death, or were also associated with her son as prince of Wales and later as king. For example, Richard Abberbury, the elder, was a retainer of the prince and served as “first master” to Richard. He was not of the prince’s innermost circle and appears to have had closer links to Joan. He acted as steward of Richard’s lands during his brief time as prince of Wales and was later a knight of Richard’s chamber.⁶⁴

Henry Aldrington, the prince’s tailor, also found an increasing workload placed upon him after Edward’s marriage, as Joan’s passion for clothes matched or surpassed the prince’s own.⁶⁵ His work clearly found favour as he was appointed surveyor of works in Wallingford castle⁶⁶ and received regular gifts of game.⁶⁷ Leon the Goldsmith also served the prince and his wife. He travelled to the principality and was housed at the prince’s expense in Bordeaux, to be on hand for service “in all manner of goldsmithing”.⁶⁸

Those marked with a question mark simply have the same name as persons known to have had dealings with the Black Prince but there is no further corroborative evidence to suggest they are the same person.

⁶⁴ S. Walker, “Sir Richard Abberbury (c.1330-1399) and his Kinsmen: The Rise and Fall of a Gentry Family”, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxxiv (1990), 113, 120.

⁶⁵ Schedule of items of cloth etc received in chamber. Allowed 6¼d. a day for each furrier and tailor working for the prince and Joan from Midsummer 1361 and thereafter, 9 Aug. 1362, *BPR*, iv, 463.

⁶⁶ 28 June 1363, *ibid.*, 502.

⁶⁷ Gift of six live does and a “priket” towards stocking of his park at Elvedon, 2 Nov. 1363; gift of six live fawns, towards stocking park, 9 May 1364; gift of six live fawns, 24 May 1364, *ibid.*, 515, 526, 528.

⁶⁸ The prince agreed to pay Leon’s expenses, including the costs of two horses and grooms for the journey from

Military Associations

The household and retinue were of an essentially military character and it was that nature which bound many of their members together in their service to the Black Prince. In the case of the Order of the Garter this provided the select members with a clear communal identity. The Garter was founded to support the war with France and, in particular, to commemorate the victory at Crécy. It was foremost a testament to Edward III's claim, but by its association with Crécy (the prince's victory) and the choice of founder members who had nearly all seen service at the battle, the Garter was also an association inextricably linked to his son. The recruitment of Garter knights by the prince and the inclusion of his retainers in the Order is described elsewhere and demonstrates the clear association of the retinue of the Black Prince with the fellowship of the Order. The symbiotic relationship between retinue and Order developed throughout the prince's life as the reputations of individuals and institutions continued to grow. Those members of the retinue who found stalls in St George's chapel were provided with the identity of the "order" and a common bond. Through the chivalric milieu of the prince's household, echoes of this were disseminated to those outside the Order and the prince's inner circle.

Military service also provided a common bond between members of the retinue although the prince's three major campaigns were separated by 20 years. Thus rates of re-service are relatively low, particularly among the soldiery. At higher levels of command there are a number of individuals who saw service with the Black Prince throughout his life and formed, for the most part, a highly effective military command structure. This was strengthened by positions in the household of which the prince's bachelors must be seen as a significant group. Those with indentures of retainer were given household rights such as livery and *bouche*

London to Bordeaux, where he was to be housed in Bordeaux. He was also to receive livery as an esquire, 1 Sept. 1362, *ibid.*, 467.

a court in the same fashion as was received by the prince's bachelors. The great majority of the bachelors were military men, the most significant of whom were also in receipt of annuities.

In addition to this, there were more specific military bonds. Sir James Audley was almost always inseparably linked by chroniclers with Chandos and it would not be rash to assume some sort of brothers-in-arms relationship. Chandos began his career as an esquire in Edward III's retinue. He instructed the prince in arms and their early friendship is shown by the incident when the prince lost 12d. to him playing dice at Byfleet in 1339. In 1346 he was indentured to accompany the prince to France and remained a close companion thereafter despite a quarrel in 1368 that caused him to resign his post as constable of Aquitaine. Chandos was one of a group of professional soldiers who rose to prominence after Crécy. Others in the prince's service included Calveley, Knolles, Nigel Loryng and the captal de Buch. Loryng was retained by the prince for life in peace and war for £50 a year and became his chamberlain some time before October 1356.⁶⁹

Brotherhood-in-arms tended to be a financial relationship based on the potential profits and costs of warfare, particularly ransoms. Such relationships could cross national boundaries. Bertrand Du Guesclin and Hugh Calveley are perhaps the clearest example. Calveley was a Cheshire knight who had seen service at Poitiers and in Brittany including in the battle of Auray in which John Chandos led de Montfort's army. He fought under Du Guesclin in support of Henry of Trastámara in 1365-6 but was recalled by the Black Prince to serve in his own expedition across the Pyrenees. Du Guesclin was captured at Najera and Calveley was instrumental in securing his release and paying part of his ransom. John Chandos and James Audley had a similar relationship. Also in the same way William Neville and John Clanvowe, two of the Lollard knights, were buried together in Constantinople possibly after joining a

⁶⁹ CPR, 1354-8, 468.

crusade led by Louis, duke of Bourbon or whilst on pilgrimage to Rhodes or Jerusalem. Louis Clifford another of those in the prince's employ may have travelled with them.⁷⁰

Family Associations

Familial links, particularly among the aristocracy, in an organisation of the size of the Black Prince's retinue were hardly surprising. To demonstrate this is, to an extent, a fruitless exercise since all that it proves is that the gentry and nobility had a tendency to intermarry. However, it does show the retinue as very much a part, indeed a significant component, in the national aristocracy and the prince himself a part of that aristocracy and his own retinue. Furthermore, certain traditions of service can be established which serve, if nothing else, to show the attraction of service to the Black Prince. The Staffords are perhaps the prime example of a noble family in service to and having associations with the prince. Ralph, first earl of Stafford, fought with the prince in the first "battle" at Crécy and served on his council. Richard Stafford, his brother and later an earl in his own right was a highly important figure in the administration serving as steward and surveyor of the prince's lands. He fought alongside the prince on a number of occasions and was seneschal of Gascony just prior to, and in the first months of, the principality of Aquitaine. He later performed diplomatic duties for the crown and became a royal councillor. Richard's illegitimate son, Nicholas, also found a place in the military retinue in the campaigns of 1355-6 and returned to serve in Aquitaine in the retinue of the earl of Pembroke in 1369.⁷¹ Hugh, second earl Stafford, may have accompanied Edward on the Reims campaign. He certainly was part of the prince's retinue in 1363 and fought with him

⁷⁰ Siegrid Düll, Anthony Luttrell and Maurice Keen, "Faithful Unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391", *Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 175, 178-80, 183-4.

⁷¹ *CCR*, 1368-74, 78-9; J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1386-1421*, Stroud, 1992, 442.

at Nájera.⁷² A William Stafford was employed as “rider” of the forest of the Wirral.

The family of Berkeley, who served the prince, was linked to the Botetourts of whom Bartholomew Botetourt served as master of the prince’s great horses. There are also family connections to the L’Isles. Warin held lands of the Black Prince in Cornwall, Wiltshire and Buckinghamshire and John commanded a major force during the 1355-6 campaigns. The Mortimers, earls of March, also can be linked into this association. Roger was knighted with the prince in 1346, marking the re-acceptance of the family after their disgrace and thereafter they had a close military association.

The Burghersh family served both the king and his son. The elder Bartholomew served as *magister* of the prince’s household and his uncle, Henry bishop of Lincoln, baptised Edward. Burghersh’s son, also named Bartholomew, fought with him at Crécy and Poitiers and was steward of Wallingford. Walter Paveley, cousin of the younger Bartholomew, was retained for military service. Paveley and Burghersh were both founder members of the Garter and both intended to go to the Holy Land but it does not seem that either actually made the journey.⁷³ They regularly served as each other’s attorneys.

When an individual joined the prince’s retinue, particularly in a military capacity, it was probable that others would accompany him. Retainers were often joined by esquires or other knights according to the terms and conditions of their employment. Major figures who became linked to the prince also, in some cases brought administrative servants to the prince’s attention, who were subsequently employed by the prince. John Gildesburgh served Burghersh, the elder as steward of Ponthieu. He joined the retinue of Bartholomew Burghersh, the younger, in which he fought in the company of the Black Prince in the Poitiers campaign. He later became

⁷² Cotton Julius CIV f.288; 28 July 1363, *CCR*, 1360-4, 473.

⁷³ *CPR* 1354-58, 55.

speaker of the House of Commons.⁷⁴ Peter Gildesburgh, his uncle, followed Lord Burghersh into the Black Prince's household when he became *magister*. Peter rose to become one of the prince's most prominent officials. Hugh Calveley and Robert Knolles were probably uncle and nephew, Calveley's sister being Knolles' mother. They regularly fought together and were often in the employ of the Black Prince. The Knolles family arms are to be found on Calveley's tomb.⁷⁵ He is also one, with Knolles, of a group of Cheshire knights who rose to prominence in the prince's service along with Walter Hewitt who served at Nájera, in Aquitaine and at the siege of Limoges. The Cobham family had marital and familial links to the Beauchamp, Courtenay and de la Pole families which all had members who were part of the retinue. The kinship of Walter and Simon Burley has been said to explain the inclusion of the latter in the prince's retinue and his subsequent rise to power under Richard II, however there is no evidence to show any relationship between the two. Different branches of the Felton family were in service to the prince. The Norfolk branch has been mentioned above. In addition, William Felton, seneschal of Poitou, was joined in the retinue not only by his kinsman, Thomas, but also by his brother, John, who inherited his lands after William's death in Spain.⁷⁶ The Hakelut family was also associated with the prince. Walter had been the prince's justice at Carmarthen,⁷⁷ and Edmund was escheator of Herefordshire.⁷⁸ Other family members may also have fought with the prince. Genealogical, military and retinue links may serve to explain other associations that leave evidence of a financial and legal nature.

⁷⁴ Roskell *et al.*, *History of Parliament*, 185-7.

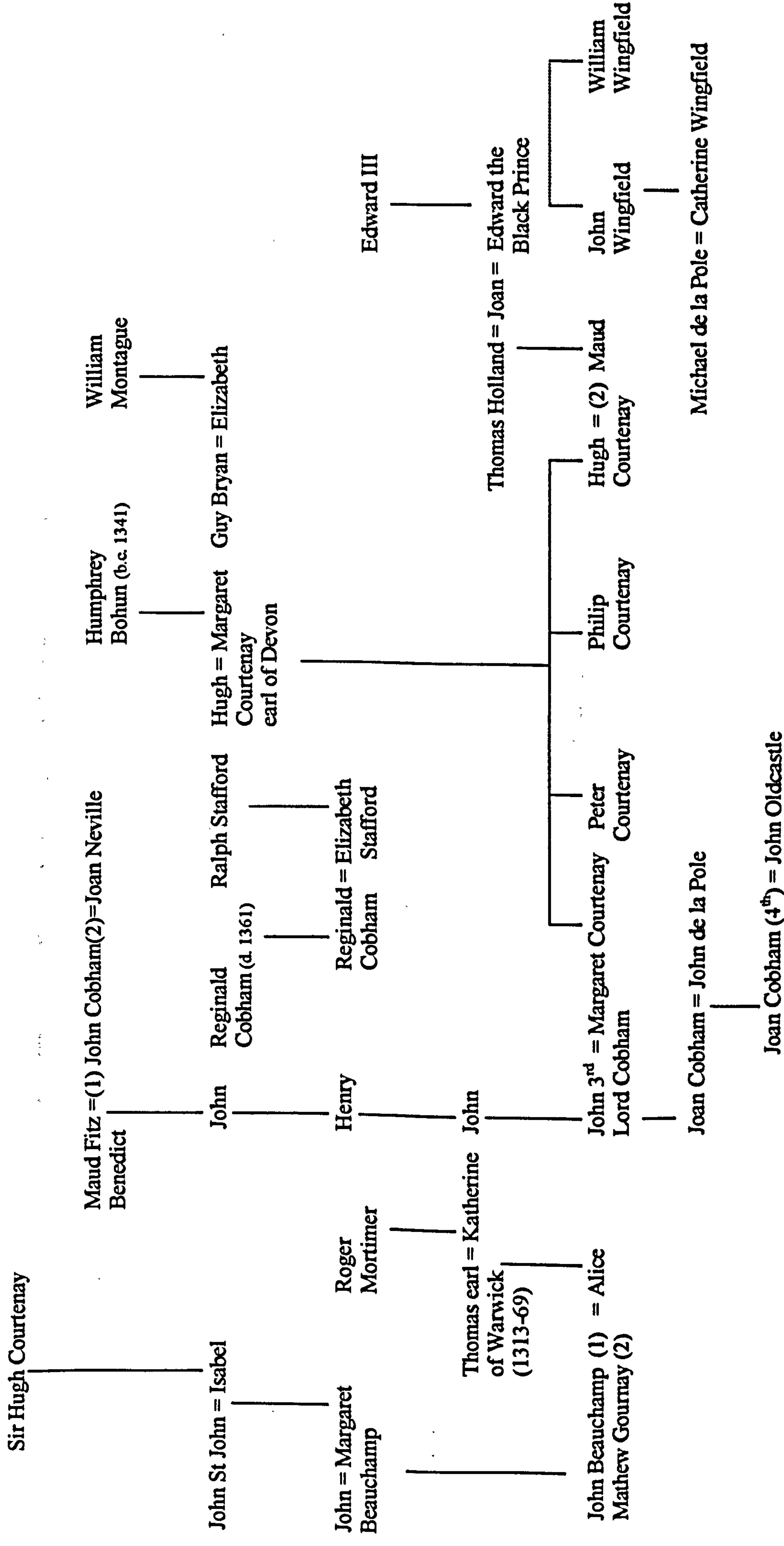
⁷⁵ For Calveley and Knolles see J.C. Bridges, "Two Soldiers of Fortune: Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir Robert Knolles", *Journal of The Chester and North Wales Archaeological, Architectural and Historical Society*, 14 (1908), 112-231.

⁷⁶ 6 Nov. 1367, *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68*, 358.

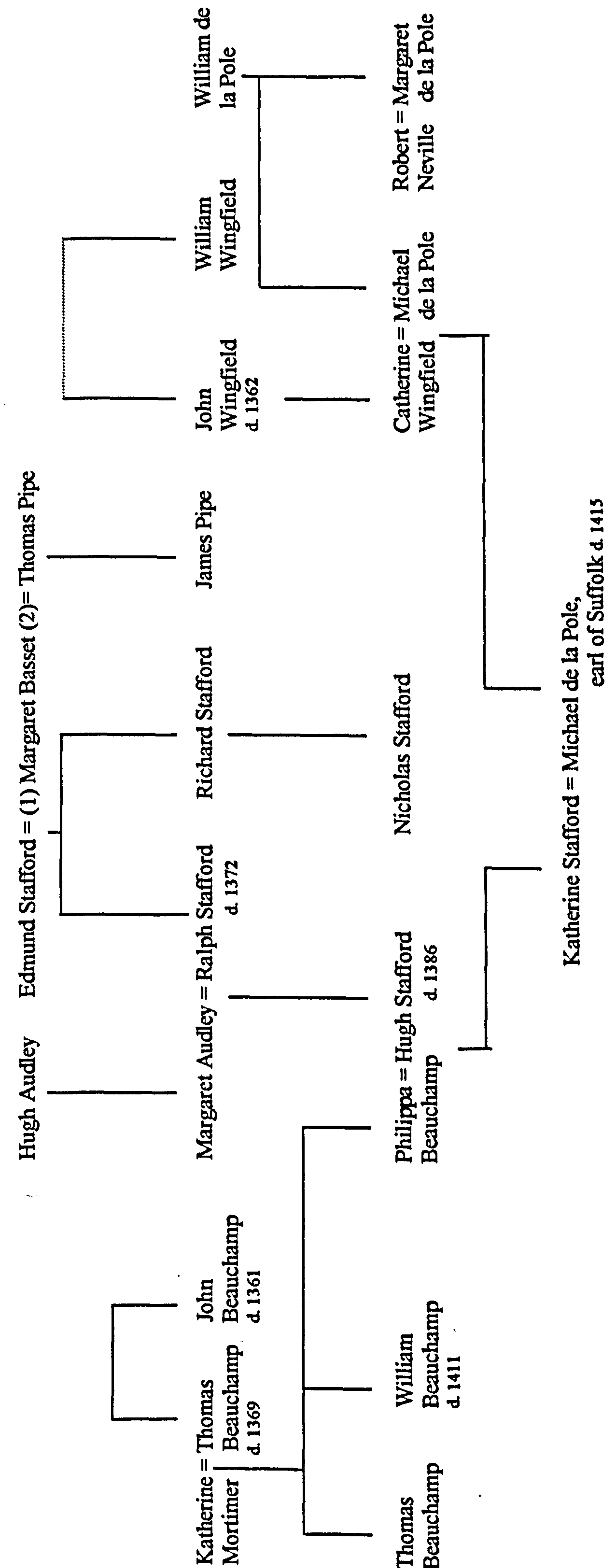
⁷⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1341-1417*, 263.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1356-68*, 28-9.

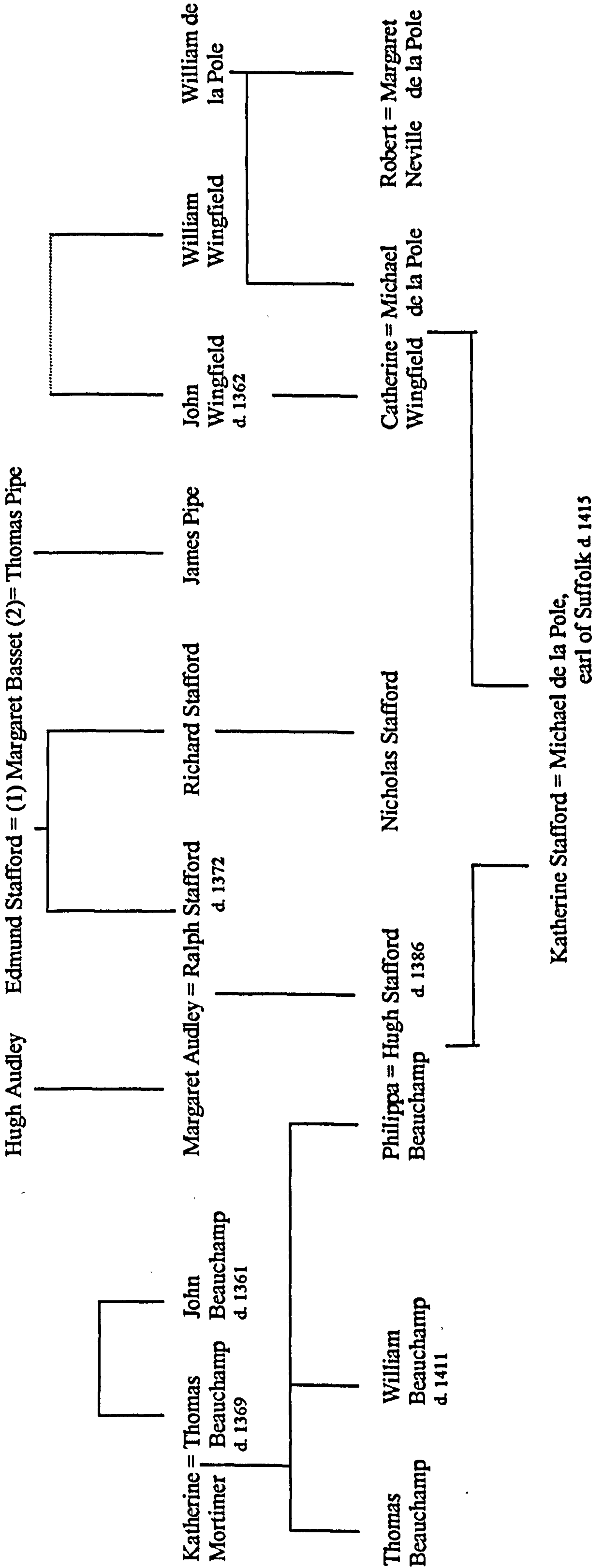
Genealogies



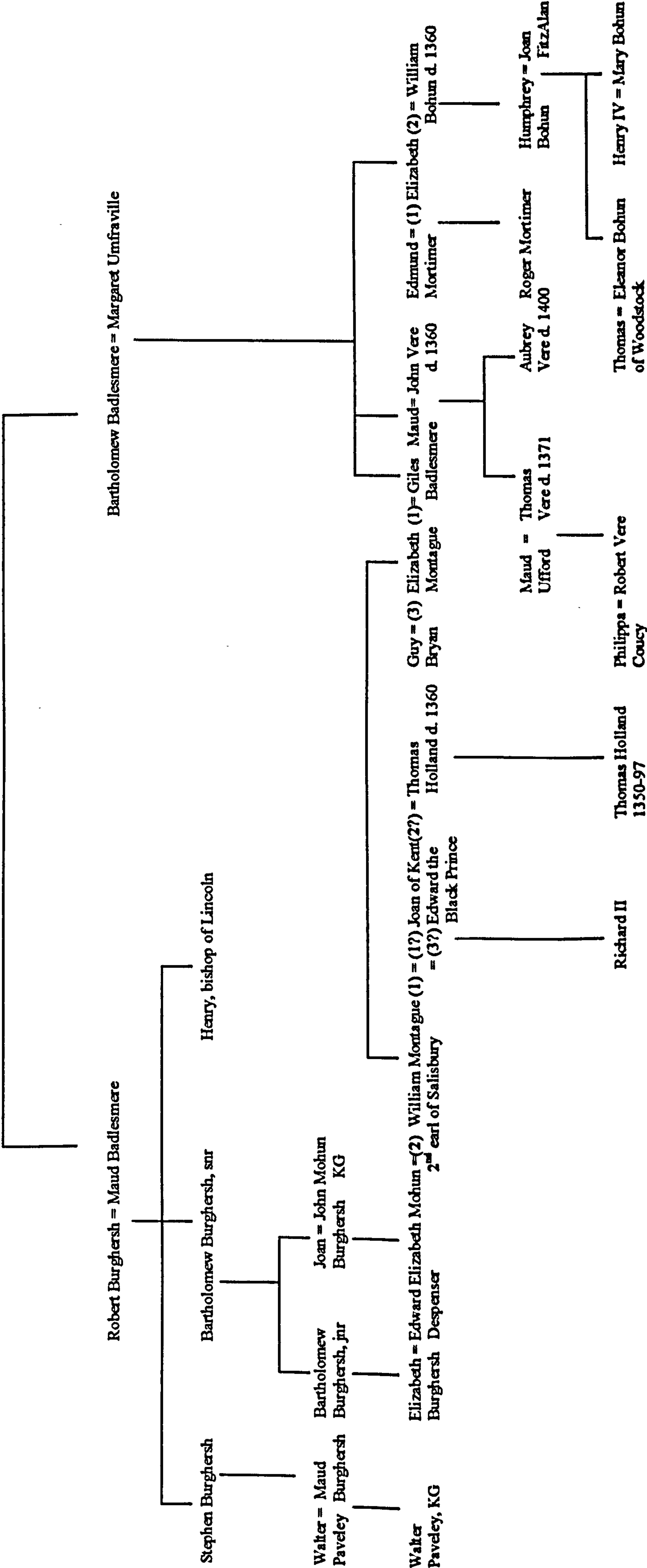
Audley, Stafford, Wingfield



Audley, Stafford, Wingfield



Burghersh, Vere



Financial Associations

Financial links, evident among many members of the prince's retinue, demonstrate a group mentality and circles of friends and business associates and also shows that the knightly community was very small. It was very likely that individuals would know each other whether or not they found service in a particular retinue or affinity. There were clearly a considerable number of individuals within the retinue who were involved in a wide variety of financial activities. John Delves and Hugh del Hagh engaged in a number of transactions.⁷⁹ On 2 July 1346 Burghersh, snr, Thomas Ferrers, Simon Islip (then canon of St Mary's, Lincoln) and Peter Gildesburgh acknowledged a debt to Anne, widow of Edward Despenser, of 400 marks.⁸⁰ John Delves had recognizances showing that he owed Peter Veel, £550 and Walter Paveley, John Gildesburgh and others, 1,000 marks. Both debts were repaid. It is uncertain if they were taken out on the prince's behalf.⁸¹ Prior to his association with the prince, Reginald Cobham had links with other future members of the retinue including Stephen Cosington,⁸² Thomas Bradeston and Maurice Berkeley.⁸³ He also lent money to one John Alveton who may have been the same man who became the prince's steward of Wallingford.⁸⁴ John Danyers had financial links with William Carington, Hamo Mascy of Puddington and Adam Tabley with whom he made a recognisance with Richard Wolveston for £106 13s. 4d. He made a recognisance for 40 marks with John Dokenfeld and William Danyel to John Brunham, the younger, and four others.⁸⁵ Richard Stafford had financial and other links with certain members of the prince's retinue.

⁷⁹ *Deputy Keeper Reports*, 28, Appendix, Welsh Records, Deeds, Inquisitions, etc., 52.

⁸⁰ *CCR*, 1346-9, 86.

⁸¹ 1 Mar. 1369, *CCR*, 1368-74, 75. It is likely that some of these were loans for the prince since they also included 2,000 marks from John Chaddesley.

⁸² With him Cobham, in February 1342, was appointed to take all the revenue received by the abbot of Faversham for "procuration of cardinals to repay various debts" *CCR*, 1341-3, 390.

⁸³ 18 Oct. 1345 (see 16 Oct.), *CCR*, 1343-6, 659. Also on 29 July 1346 with Thomas and Maurice Berkeley, Cobham became a mainpernor for the earl of Desmond, *ibid.*, 140.

⁸⁴ On 2 Oct. 1341, John Alveton acknowledged a debt of £200. This was cancelled, *CCR*, 1341-3, 277.

⁸⁵ *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 136.

With Hugh Hopwas and Henry Tynmor he was involved in acquiring land without licence.⁸⁶

Loryng held land in Somerset of Hugh Courtenay.⁸⁷ Stephen Cosington made a recognizance with him for 240 marks to be levied in Kent.⁸⁸ He also had dealings with John Mohun, making recognizances for £80 and £120⁸⁹ and he later acquired from him a quarter of Luton manor which was rented to Edward Kendale.⁹⁰ John Wingfield's financial importance in the retinue may have made him a liability or promising partner depending on one's point of view. He had a licence to grant Lee manor to Mabel Calveley and Henry Neuton on 1 May 1354 and William and Joan Montague granted the castle and honour of Hawarden and various manors to Wingfield and others in 1348.⁹¹

Buildings

The household provided the foundation of the military retinue and estate administration. The location of that household and the buildings in which it was housed was also extremely significant. The physical focus of the prince's retinue was his great houses and manors, Berkhamsted, Restormel, Wallingford and particularly Kennington in England and then the splendid court at Bordeaux and Angoulême described in such glittering terms by Froissart and others. In this context, an association with the prince gave access to the luxurious environment in which he lived as well as a link to his military and chivalric reputation. Members of the household, particularly the prince's bachelors, were frequently estate officials, key members of

⁸⁶ 23 Oct. 1357, *CPR*, 1354-8, 630.

⁸⁷ *CIPM*, xiv, no. 325, 320.

⁸⁸ 20 June 1349, *CCR*, 1349-54, 87.

⁸⁹ 9 May 1366, *ibid.*, 1364-8, 269.

⁹⁰ *CIPM*, xiii, n. 241, 223. He was fined 100s. for this. He also acquired a licence to enfeoff the land to John Loryng, clerk and William Loryng, clerk, 4 June 1375, *CPR*, 1374-7, 118. On 23 Apr. 1387 William Loryng was given a licence for 50 marks to alienate in mortmain a quarter of Luton manor, to the prior and convent of Dunstaple in return for celebration divine service daily for the souls of Loryng, the prince and others, *ibid.*, 1385-9, 314.

⁹¹ *Ches. Recog. Rolls*, 530; *DKR*, 28, Appendix, Welsh Records, 49.

his military retinue or fulfilled other political or diplomatic functions. They were also, presumably, regularly present in the household and as such very close to the prince, at the centre of his affinity.

The retinue was first and foremost a military institution. It also had financial and administrative concerns in addition to a political role. That role was, in part, fulfilled by the image and ethos which was displayed in the household. Therefore, the milieu in which this took place was highly significant and the prince spent considerable sums on building. It is uncertain where he resided in Aquitaine from 1363, he may have returned to the archbishop of Bordeaux's palace as he had in 1355-7.⁹² During his lieutenancy he also resided at Blanquefort and Lormont and he had a pavilion at Talence. He also spent time at Libourne, La Réole and Montflaquin. In England a great deal was spent on his manor at Kennington and there was further expenditure elsewhere. Domestic projects were not the only building schemes in which he was involved. There were in addition, religious, military and civic operations.

The principal area of expenditure on religious architecture was at Vale Royal, however Wallingford, as well as being a domestic residence, served a number of religious functions and the institutions there received the patronage of the prince and they reflected his own religious predilections. The priory was dedicated to the Trinity and its history was bound up with the abbey of St Alban's. In 1356 Edward III granted a licence for the appropriation of Harewell church, Berkshire, to the dean of the free chapel of St Nicholas within Wallingford castle. This was at the gift and behest of the prince to provide for six chaplains, six clerks and four taper-bearers. In 1361 the college received the gift of the manor in entirety.⁹³ In 1361-2 repairs were

⁹² Pierre Capra, "Le séjour du Prince Noir, lieutenant du Roi, à l'Archevêché de Bordeaux (20 septembre 1355 – 11 avril 1357)", *Revue Historique Bordeaux et Département Gironde*, ns 7 (1958), 241-52.

⁹³ *VCH*, Berks, ii, 77, 104.

made at the prince's expense.⁹⁴ In Cheshire, in addition to sums spent in the building and rebuilding of Vale Royal abbey, the prince paid for repairs to the Roman bridge at Chester over the River Dee. At Launceston, the *caput* of his Cornish duchy, the prince paid for Launceston church tower. He also had the north gatehouse of the castle built and probably a large stone hall in the bailey.⁹⁵

Military building could have been a very significant cost. The castles of Wales and Cornwall were in a poor state of repair when the prince was granted them. It does not appear that full repairs were undertaken but money was spent on some restoration and there were other means of offsetting the costs. In Wales the 1343 survey undertaken by William Emeldon estimated the total repair bill at £4,317 13s. 4d.⁹⁶ The costs to the prince were reduced since a number of castles were alienated and granted to others who were then responsible for their maintenance such as Emlyn in 1349 and Haverford in 1367. Harlech was under the authority of Walter Manny from 1332-72.⁹⁷ None of the repairs, priced at £341 in 1343 had been undertaken in Dryslwyn, south Wales by 1353 when it was granted to Rhys ap Griffith who was then made responsible for maintainance.⁹⁸ The prince surrendered his rights to Montgomery to the earl of March in 1359. The prince employed a small permanent staff of workmen to undertake repairs and it was the responsibility of his officials to check that repairs were made. In 1354 the chamberlain of north Wales was authorised to spend 100 marks a year

⁹⁴ *BPR*, iv, 387, 426, 449.

⁹⁵ D. Mountfield, *Castles and Castle Towns of Great Britain*, London, 1993, 86.

⁹⁶ E163/4/42. For a discussion of the nature of the repairs needed see *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, London, 1963, i, 298, 308, 318, 326-7, 332, 350, 365, 367, 389, 394, 465-9; ii, 591, 601, 642, 643-4, 647, 671.

⁹⁷ *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, i, 465. Emlyn was granted to Richard de la Bere, the prince's chamberlain, for life in 1349. It remained in private hands almost continuously thereafter, *ibid.*, ii, 647. The prince held a reversion of Haverford of which he took control in 1358 after the death of his grandmother. In 1367 it was granted to the seneschal of Aquitaine, Thomas Felton, *CCR*, 1354-60, 583. It was granted by Richard II to John Clanvowe in 1385, *CPR*, 1385-9, 8, 14, 33. For an archaeological survey of the castle see Charles Parry, "Survey and Excavation at Newcastle Emlyn Castle", *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 23 (1987), 11-27.

⁹⁸ SC6/1221/9. Rhys died in 1356. In 1359-60 work costing £25 and £39 was undertaken. This may have been in response to a feared French invasion, SC6/1221/12-13; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 642.

for three years on such work and in 1359 his counterpart in the south was given leave to spend a similar annual amount.⁹⁹ However, repairs costing such amounts cannot have done much more than maintain the buildings. Extensive repairs were undertaken in Cheshire.¹⁰⁰ At Beeston castle repairs were undertaken in the 1330s.¹⁰¹

The prince also held numerous castles and buildings in the duchy of Cornwall and the foreign manors associated with it. He had castles at Launceston, Restormel, Tintagel and Trematon and a fortified manor house at Liskeard. Lydford castle in Devon, which came under Cornish control in 1337, functioned as a prison as well as playing a part in the administration of the stannaries and the forest of Dartmoor.¹⁰² Edmund, earl of Cornwall, who also refurbished Restormel, built the duchy palace at Lostwithiel in c.1290. The prince received Exeter castle for life in 1348.¹⁰³ He also held Mere castle in Wiltshire. A survey of the castles made when the prince inherited the duchy in 1337 revealed that, as in Wales, they had been neglected for some time.¹⁰⁴ Repair work however, appears to have been much more systematic and concentrated in Cornwall. Launceston was in considerable disrepair in 1337. Much of the repair work had been completed by 1345.¹⁰⁵ Restormel also received considerable investment as did Tintagel, where the prince rebuilt the great hall.¹⁰⁶ Trematon was, unusually, in a state of good repair,

⁹⁹ SC1/58/35; SC6/1221/12; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, i, 466.

¹⁰⁰ BPR, iii, 209-10. This involved repairs to the great hall and other houses in Macclesfield, the tower of Frodsham, the walls and exchequer building in Chester, the prince's chamber at Shotwick and repairs to Flint castle. For a list of the workmen involved in maintaining, repairing and developing the prince's buildings in Cheshire and elsewhere see *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 1056-8.

¹⁰¹ Plantagenet Somerset Fry, *Castles of Britain and Ireland*, London, 1996, 125.

¹⁰² Andrew Saunders, "Administrative Buildings and Prisons in the Earldom of Cornwall", *Warriors and Churchmen in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter, London and Rio Grande, 1992, 204. For plans of the castle see, 206-7.

¹⁰³ CPR, 1348-50, 47. Repairs to the walls were authorised in 1352, BPR, ii, 28.

¹⁰⁴ E120/1; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, i, 470-2.

¹⁰⁵ BPR, ii, 2, 48, 185; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 693-4.

¹⁰⁶ For the reports of 1337 see E120/1 mm. 5 [Tintagel] 8, 29 [Restormel]. For repairs see E101/461/11; BPR, ii, 168, 185; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 805, 846.

maintenance was only estimated at £3 a year.¹⁰⁷

The prince's main domestic dwellings, which also served as the physical focus of his retinue, were in or near London. The prince's chief residence was Kennington manor, Surrey. It was two miles south of London Bridge along the Roman Stane street. Within the city at the upper end of Fish street there was "one great house, for the most part built of stone, which pertained sometime to Edward the Black Prince,...who in his lifetime lodged there."¹⁰⁸ He also resided, from time to time in the prince's wardrobe which he enlarged and Pountney's Inn which he owned from 1349-59.¹⁰⁹ Before the Black Death, the prince's master-mason was Nicholas Ailyngton and Henry Snelleston acted in Chester and north Wales.¹¹⁰ He probably died of the plague. Work was undertaken at Kennington throughout much of the prince's life. The manor was one of his residences whilst keeper of the realm. Work carried out in 1351 was undertaken by John Tyryngton and John Pouke who died c.1357 leaving work unfinished at Kennington. This involved a new hall with a pantry, a buttery, other chambers, a kitchen and the tiling of the stables in 1355.¹¹¹ In March 1358 Henry Yevele undertook a contract for £221 4s. 7d. to build a number of walls, chimneys and staircases at Kennington, the project was completed by September the following year. By this time, Yevele held a post as the prince's mason and as such he received £60 on 25 October 1359 from the receiver-general. In this capacity, Yevele designed the prince's chantry at Canterbury, although John Boxe probably did the work.¹¹² In 1358 John Heyward was also contracted to build a bake-house at

¹⁰⁷ E120/1/m. 26; *History of the King's Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 846-7.

¹⁰⁸ Stowe, quoted in John H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele. The Life of an English Architect*, London, 1944, 21-2.

¹⁰⁹ Mary D. Lobel, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns. The City of London*, Oxford, 1989, 84-5, map 3.

¹¹⁰ Snelleston was appointed 29 Sept. 1346 although he had been in the prince's employ since 1343. He died in the plague and was succeeded by Henry Huntingdon, Harvey, *The Black Prince and his Age*, 76.

¹¹¹ *BPR*, iv, 150. £1,575 5s. 5½d. had been paid on 4 Sept., leaving £270 owing.

¹¹² Harvey, *Henry Yevele*, 22, 27. Yevele was also the architect for Walter Manny's cell and cloister at the London charterhouse and may have conceived the whole original plan and design. His other religious work may have included the prince's tomb and that of John Beauchamp (d.1360), *ibid.*, 31, 34, 66.

Kennington.¹¹³ Berkhamsted and Wallingford castles, the manor houses of Byfleet and Kennington in Surrey and the “Prince’s Palace” in Westminster¹¹⁴ and the Wardrobe between Old Jewry and Ironmonger Lane¹¹⁵ were associated with the duchy of Cornwall. Berkhamsted and Wallingford were also used on occasion for royal purposes including the confinement of the king of France.¹¹⁶ Berkhamsted was in considerable disrepair in 1337 when repairs were estimated at £765.¹¹⁷ It was a favoured residence of Queen Isabella and thereafter of the Black Prince partly due to its proximity to St Albans where the prince was a frequent visitor.

According to Froissart, it was at Berkhamsted that the prince and princess took leave of the royal family before travelling to Aquitaine. However, since this was the Christmas of 1361 and the prince and his bride did not set sail for Bordeaux until June 1363 it is most unlikely that the prince did not see the king and queen again before his departure.¹¹⁸ Wallingford underwent extensive repairs both during the prince’s lifetime¹¹⁹ and afterwards when in the hands of the Fair Maid of Kent; she died there in 1385.¹²⁰

¹¹³ 12 May 1358, *BPR*, iv, 250. The contract was worth 250 marks. For an investigation of work undertaken at Kennington see Graham J. Dawson, “The Black Prince’s Palace at Kennington, Surrey”, *British Archaeological Reports*, 26 (1976).

¹¹⁴ The exact location of the palace is uncertain. It was probably located in the precinct of the king’s palace close to the wall separating the palace from Westminster abbey. Repairs to the palace of the prince or duke are occasionally mentioned, eg. E101/470/7; 471/6. It was maintained out of the prince’s revenue and probably contained a chapel and the prince’s exchequer, *History of the King’s Works*, ed. Colvin, i, 537-8.

¹¹⁵ The wardrobe included a hall, great chamber, chapel, rebuilt in 1356/7, a kitchen and storehouse. Building work and repairs continued throughout the prince’s life and afterwards it was given to Joan as dower, *BPR*, iv, 150, 236, 285, *History of the King’s Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 981-2.

¹¹⁶ *BPR*, iv, 243, 244, 256, 265, 342, 400, 411-12; *CPR*, 1358-61, 341; *CCR*, 1360-4, 11.

¹¹⁷ *CPR*, 1334-8, 366; *History of the King’s Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 562-3.

¹¹⁸ Barber, Edward, 243; *VCH*, Herts, ii, 13-14.

¹¹⁹ 1343, *BPR*, i, 151; 1353, wall repairs; iv, 83; 1359, new kitchen, prison and hall built, *ibid.*, 299, 302; 1361-2, college of St Nicholas repaired at the prince’s expense, *ibid.*, 387, 426, 449; 1363-70, repairs to great tower, great chamber and other buildings; *ibid.*, 502, 542, 562; *CPR*, 1361-4, 501, 523; 1364-7, 235; 1375, £200 was spent on great hall, great chamber and chapel, E101/490/3; *History of the King’s Works*, ed. Colvin, ii, 851. It has been estimated that about £500 was spent on general repairs as well as work on the great tower between 1363 and 1370, Fry, *Castles of Britain*, 188.

¹²⁰ *CPR*, 1374-7, 375; 1377-81, 376.

The Black Prince's retinue was linked in a number of ways. Often the individuals knew each other prior to service with the prince and certainly many of them became closely associated in "extra curricula" activities which did not involve him. Such links are indicative of a recruiting policy based on mutual associations and these were no doubt drawn on in time of war when the indentured retainers and others were called upon to bring troops to fight with the prince. The household in peacetime is more difficult to analyze but there is no doubt that it was of critical importance in maintaining the prince in "necessary magnificence". This was undoubtedly achieved in Aquitaine and to a lesser extent in the household in England, particularly in Kennington. As in many other fields, the prince did not match Gaunt's expenditure on building. Kennington was no Kenilworth, but again the prince had only to wait. His father had spent a great deal of money at Windsor and Sheen and many other houses, they would be his soon enough.

Conclusion

The household and retinue of the Black Prince in its widest form appears to have many of the criteria of an affinity, in size, scale, and expense, although perhaps not in purpose. If the prince's retinue did not conform to the unusual model of John of Gaunt's affinity it is not to say that there are not analogues among his Lancastrian predecessors. A comparison with Henry of Grosmont may be more instructive since the military and political conditions under which Lancaster operated at the height of his authority coincided with the expansion of the prince's retinue in the aftermath of the Crécy campaign. The structure and forms of retaining and patronage also bear more comparison with the first duke of Lancaster than the second. Only five men are known to have drawn up indentures with Grosmont and one of those, Richard Felstede, was a London carpenter.¹ The composition of Grosmont's retinue has been determined by an analysis of certain associates; annuitants, those who regularly fought with him on campaign, witnesses to charters and household and estate officials. Only a small nucleus of his *comitiva* were donees but they provided a core around which temporary servants could collect. Administrative tasks and estate duties were often undertaken by military men. On these criteria the prince's retinue appears to have much more in common with Grosmont's entourage than Gaunt's affinity. However, the prince's retinue was significantly larger than that of the first duke of Lancaster, with over three times as many indentured retainers and many more annuitants. The Black Prince maintained a household and retinue which was, in size, closer to Gaunt's than Grosmont's. It is in the means of

¹ Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 181.

patronage and retaining that the significant difference arises between the sons of Edward III. Furthermore, as the future king, his retinue as prince of Wales and Aquitaine was not the final product. On his accession it would be augmented with the royal household of his father and thus, while many of the retinue, particularly administrators, served with him for long periods, the retinue was a constantly evolving institution which reformed itself to meet changing conditions, often on an *ad hoc* basis and with little vision of the long-term future.

Such concerns were reflected in the means of retaining that the prince adopted. An indenture of retinue was a specific and limited contract, the grant of an annuity was awarded for services done in the past and which would be performed in the future. An annuity provided the Black Prince with a follower whose service could be relied upon across a range of duties, whereas an indentured retainer was constrained, theoretically, by certain conditions of employment. The annuity was a more generous grant since it “was absolute in law for the life of the recipient and not even his open disobedience or disloyalty could justify the termination of a payment, a fact that did not apply to an indenture of retinue.”² However, in practice, it was most unlikely that an individual would go to litigation against the prince. Thus, he provided very generous sums giving him a highly flexible retinue without the necessity for the constraining strictures of an indenture.

Why then did he retain at all? Two early examples, those of Henry Eam and Edmund Manchester, indicate that early in his career the prince experimented with a different practice of recruitment and retaining. Eam was, in essence, a life retainer without an indenture, and Manchester was retained during pleasure not for life. The latter

² Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, 14, 17.

case corresponds to that of William Greneway in 1365 but this may have been because he was only of yeoman status. The intention may have been to give the prince flexibility and lessen his responsibilities. These are exceptional cases however, and the majority of contracts followed more typical practice. The retainers were, in part, to be the military nucleus of the prince's wider retinue and expeditionary forces as Bean indicated.³ Nonetheless, the small number and the occasions when these contracts were made out suggests that this cannot be the whole story.

A case in point is the block of indentures made early in the winter of 1367. In addition to wanting to reward a number of those who were with him in Spain there may have been more prescient concerns. The prince returned to Bordeaux from Castile early in September. The first tranche of the recalculated sum owed by Pedro was due to be paid on the 6th of that month. The treaty of Aigues-Mortes between Enrique and Louis of Anjou had been signed on 13 August giving the following March as the date for the resumption of the war. Furthermore, the disintegrating situation in Aquitaine necessitated that the prince have a body of soldiers on stand-by for rebellion or to respond to French incursions. It may be that he did not feel he could rely on many of those who had campaigned with him in Spain but had not been paid. It would therefore appear that indentures were used by the prince in this case for very specific reasons. Also the conditions of the contracts, which specified that there would be no further war payment in addition to the fee, presumably reflects the disastrous financial position in which the prince found himself at this point. However, in almost every other instance, the granting of an indenture of retainer seems to have little direct military context, the exception being the case of Baldwin Frevill, retained in advance of the Reims campaign.

³ *ibid.*, 58.

It has been asserted that "It is reasonable to assume that the Black Prince's attitude towards the making of indentures...did not change after 1361 and the indentures that have survived for...John of Gaunt, belong to a different generation."⁴ This does not appear to be the case. Only six individuals were retained before 1361 and more specifically before 1365. In the next eight years 15 received indentures. Changing political conditions, the acquisition (and defence) of the principality of Aquitaine and the aftermath of the Castilian campaign may have necessitated the recruitment of specifically military assistance. In many cases, these men had fought with the prince previously and as such were known and trusted. The purpose of the 1371 and 1373 indentures is less certain. Perhaps the prince was seeking to augment his household which was depleted after the return from Aquitaine or it may be that they fulfilled a particular role which was of especial value to him at that time. Financial concerns may again have played a part. A life annuity would have to be continued to be paid for many years, an indenture would only remain legally binding for the prince's own lifetime. However, this also seems unlikely as the large numbers of annuities were granted in the prince's last years and Richard confirmed a very large number of them, including the annuities linked to indentured retainers.

Much military service was based on short-term contracts, either on a yearly basis or for the duration of a campaign. This is particularly evident prior to the Reims expedition. The few campaigns in which the prince was involved and the long periods of time between them precluded there being a large body of regular support from identifiable individuals. Retaining with solely military factors in mind would have been, perhaps even for the prince, an unnecessary expense. Recruitment was never a problem, the general factors that encouraged participation in the French wars in most military companies, mercenary and

⁴ Bean, *op cit.*, 59.

otherwise, were brought into sharp relief in his case. As Bean suggests, "his retaining practices may embody relics of a time when such arrangements were looser and the indenture of retinue had not evolved into its conventional form."⁵ The *familia principis* was a military household and it fulfilled that role in the campaigns of 1355 and thereafter. The size of the prince's household, the number of his bachelors and other attendants, meant that he did not need to retain to ensure a more than adequate following.

The household had a particular role to play in the retinue in addition to those already mentioned. The prince's bachelors were conspicuous among his military servants. In many cases they were also annuitants and many of them were involved in a number of campaigns with the prince and/or accompanied him to Aquitaine in 1363 or were part of the 1369 Northampton muster. They also numbered among them the most important administrative and estate officials, such as Chandos, Thomas Felton, Richard Stafford and Edmund Wauncy. The prince maintained a much larger group of bachelors than the great majority of his contemporaries and thus draws comparison with a royal model rather than a noble one. This is evident in the sheer numbers of bachelors associated with the prince as compared to Gaunt whose 1372-6 register noted 21 bachelors, and 1379-83 register included 27. The Black Prince's register gives the title to 72 individuals which closely equates to the average of 70 knights of the royal household in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁶ These were not always military figures, as in the case of William Shareshull, although it may indicate why Shareshull was not in receipt of an annuity or was retained in any other way. He may simply have received the privileges of a bachelor

⁵ *ibid.*, 62.

⁶ Given-Wilson, *King's Affinity*, 211.

in the prince's household. However much it was ignored, it was, after all, illegal to retain a judge.

The comparison with Gaunt is again skewed by legal developments in the reign of Richard II, when retaining, other than for life, was outlawed. Among Edward's other brothers there is more correlation. In Thomas of Woodstock's proposed Irish expeditionary force there was apparently only one life retainer and this was also common practice among many of the great nobility.⁷ The Black Prince's retinue does not conform to either the Lancastrian model of Henry of Grosmont, or that of John of Gaunt. Can, therefore, a comparison be drawn with the royal household, if, as has been suggested, this was for what the Black Prince himself and his affinity were preparing?

The expectation that the prince would assume the throne was, of course, natural and shared among contemporaries. He was often referred to as Edward IV and his impending coronation and reign were thought "destined" to be glorious. According to Thomas Walsingham, the Black Prince rediscovered the holy oil presented to St Thomas by the Virgin for use in the coronation ceremony.⁸ This had great significance for his putative reign. Nonetheless, the structure of the prince's household and retinue was not such that it was immediately apparent as a court in waiting. There is no real evidence of a cadre of chamber knights or esquires although Thomas Wales was described as "one of the bachelors of the prince's chamber"⁹ and John Sully was retained to be a part of the prince's "especial retinue". If they were the only knights so designated, presumably certain bachelors and others fulfilled a similar function to the royal knights of the chamber, without

⁷ McFarlane, *Nobility*, 103-4.

⁸ Noted by J.R. Lander, *The Limitations of the English Monarchy in the Later Middle Ages*, Toronto, 1989, 41-2.

⁹ *BPR*, iv, 136.

the title. The lack of central and household accounts again prevents anything more than supposition on this matter. It may be significant that a large proportion of Richard's chamber knights and esquires had previously seen service with his father and therefore may have undertaken similar duties. Furthermore, at the royal level, the transformation from knights of the household to knights of the chamber happened gradually in the period 1350-65 and a comparable situation may not have occurred in the prince's retinue until the transfer to Aquitaine. The scarcity of evidence which followed does not allow for more than speculation. It is possible that the role of these bachelors compared, in some cases, with that of the "king's knight" during the reign of Richard II, individuals not part of the household but nonetheless closely associated with the king.

Despite differences in retaining practice, it is possible to see the prince's retinue as forming a core and model among the great bastard feudal associations of the day. The interrelation of the royal household under Edward III and Richard II, the Lancastrian affinities under both Grosmont and Gaunt and the retinue of the Black Prince shows the fluidity of service between these institutions. This is in no way surprising especially if the Black Prince is viewed as the future Edward IV. However, while the retinue of the Black Prince may be best defined as the king's household in waiting, there were many who stayed resolutely in one camp, royal, Lancastrian or that of the heir-apparent. It must be remembered that the knightly community was a small one and closely connected on a number of levels and in a variety of ways. If, as has been suggested, recruitment was a matter of "word of mouth", local influence, nepotism and military and administrative experience, then the opportunities for overlapping service among the great affinities and retinues of the days were very great.

Did the prince have an affinity? Can it be said that his influence was widespread but not so overtly political as his brother's? Was a large retinue and luxurious household sufficient for his needs and inclinations, knowing that an affinity would come with the

Crown? Perhaps so, but it was also true that the nature of the prince's demesne meant that a significant element in any affinity would be limited in his case. Wales, Cornwall and Cheshire were not overly endowed with significant members of the nobility and, therefore, the prince's tenants were not, on the whole, of the same standing as those who comprised the affinities of other great men. Equally, the changing nature of feudal obligations meant that less reliance was placed on a lord's tenants as other sanctions and forms of encouragement came into play. Certainly land in return for service was not a common arrangement in the prince's bastard feudal association and he preferred his servants to be dependent on him for a considerable proportion of their income. The nature of "feudalism", the relationship of overlord, fief and vassal has been hotly debated.¹⁰ The concept has been exiled in some quarters but, while the "parent" has been cast out the "child" has emerged untouched and perhaps legitimated. This debate and other discussions concerning bastard feudalism itself, have, to a greater or lesser extent, bypassed the retinue of the Black Prince. While it is possible to place the retinue in such a context, the focus should remain on the basic nature of his association with the members of his retinue whatever their link to him. "From the beginning, from a kind of primordial soup of property, rights and influence, ephemeral structures formed and dissolved: 'feudal' relationships, 'affinities', clientèles. What has to be seized upon is what is essential in each of these structures, service in return for reward."¹¹

In spite of its size, the prince did not bequeath a sizeable retinue to his son. The actions of Richard, particularly in the late 1380s and 1390s, reveal his lack of political

¹⁰ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, Oxford, 1994.

¹¹ P.S. Lewis, "Reflections on the role of royal clientèles in the construction of the French Monarchy (mid-xivth/end xvth centuries), *L'état ou le roi. Les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France (xiv^e-xvii^e siècles)*, ed. Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon et Alain Guerreau, Paris, 1996, 56.

support. There were a number of important individuals who went on to serve the Black Prince's son and a significant number of those who sat on the continual councils during Richard's minority had begun their careers with the young king's father. The chamber knights in the first six or seven years of Richard's reign were mainly his father's former servants.¹² Nine out of 19 of Richard's esquires of the chamber also formerly saw service with the Black Prince.¹³ Indeed, it was many of these who were the focus of attack by the Appellants in 1388. Simon Burley suffered execution but a number of others were required to absent themselves from court including Richard Abberbury, Baldwin Bereford, Nicholas Dagworth and Aubrey Vere. As Given-Wilson says, "Those who would criticise the courtiers of the 1380s must also wonder whether the Black Prince was a better judge of men than his son." Although they were prominent at court, the remnants of the Black Prince's retinue which went on to serve his son did not constitute a very powerful body of support. The failure of the Black Prince was therefore not only the loss of Aquitaine but the failure to establish a secure retinue and a body of support for Richard.

The extended period between most campaigns and conflicting demands for service prevented many of the wider retinue from maintaining links with the prince over the duration of his career in arms. The prince's administrative retinue was more static and stable than its military counterpart although there was some overlap of service. This was

¹² They included Richard Abberbury, Baldwin Bereford, Nicholas Bonde, John and Simon Burley, Lewis Clifford, Peter Courtenay, John del Hay, Nicholas Sarnesfield, Aubrey Vere and Bernard van Zedeles. Among the former servants of Edward III who served as chamber knights to his successor Nicholas Dagworth, Robert Roos and Richard Stury all had dealings with the Black Prince as did the new men, William Beauchamp, John Holland and William Neville, Given Wilson, *Royal Household*, 161-2.

¹³ John Breton, Roger Coghull, Lambert Fermer, Richard Hampton, John Peytevyne, Adam Ramsey, Philip Walweyn, snr, Richard Wiltshire and William Wyncelowe, E101/398/8; Given-Wilson, *op cit.*, 306 n. 128.

particularly so in Aquitaine where a multiplicity of offices were created, predominantly for military men.¹⁴ Many men held office for an extended period and/or exchanged offices within the administration. This was also extended to the religious benefices which the prince acquired for them or presented them to. It was common practice for benefices to be exchanged on a regular basis. The administration in Aquitaine was particularly notable for those who found high ecclesiastical office after serving the Black Prince. These included William Spridlington, who joined the prince in Aquitaine in 1365¹⁵ and became bishop of St Asaph, John Streatley was dean of Lincoln, William Farley, canon of Salisbury, Bernard Brocas, canon of Chichester and Wells, Adam Hoghton, bishop of St David's (1361-89), John Harewell, bishop of Bath and Wells (1366-86) and Robert Wickford, archbishop of Dublin (1375-90).¹⁶ The administration also had considerable links with the Crown through royal service before or subsequent or concurrent with service to the prince. This was also evident in the manner in which the prince's estates were administered, using a royal model as would be expected from clerks, of whom many had served their apprenticeships in royal circles. The prince's judicial and legal associates and retainers were also often men with royal connections, judges of the royal courts, serjeants at law and so forth.

Nevertheless, the nature of the administration was not unwavering, subject, as it was, to changing political conditions. Administrative practice also varied with individual lordships. The accepted picture of the prince as a brutal overlord extracting everything that he could squeeze out of his tenants is simply untrue with regard to the duchy of Cornwall. It was not always true in Cheshire and it may be that the case has been overstated even in

¹⁴ Yves Renouard, "Les institutions du duché d'Aquitaine", *Histoire des institutions Françaises au Moyen Age. I Institutions seigneuriales*, ed. Ferdinand Lot et Robert Fawtier, Paris, 1957, 179-80.

¹⁵ C61/78/12.

¹⁶ Bériac, "Une principauté sans chambre des comptes ni échiquier", 118.

Wales. Aquitaine was another matter; the prince did not understand or concern himself with the mass of differing political agendas at play in the principality. His financial policies probably did not differ wildly from those of many of the previous French lieutenants of the Languedoc. The implementation was perhaps rather crass and his attitudes to his chief vassals almost certainly haughty. However, just as many of them were instinctively opposed to him, so he too had faced them in battle - little love was lost on either side.

There is little doubt that the prince's retinue was an extremely efficient military unit. This was achieved through a mixture of effective recruitment and a number of talented commanders who implemented tactics which had proved devastating in Scotland and France, particularly at Crécy, where many of the retinue were blooded and had formative military experiences. There was also a measure of good fortune in the prince's victories. In both 1346 and 1355-6 the level of various rivers played their part. The ford at Blanchetaque became impassable just in time to prevent Philip pursuing the English and allowed them to establish themselves at the battleground in Ponthieu, and the Black Prince took risks in crossing a number of waterways during his expeditions which few of the locals thought possible. On the other hand, the flood conditions also prevented the prince being able to join forces with Lancaster. In Spain in 1367, strategic planning was significant only in its absence. Crossing the Pyrenees in February was foolhardy and its success does not make it any less so. The route of the army leading to Nájera was equally foolish and its consequences potentially as damaging. Indeed, as a result, the prince brought a weakened army to the banks of the Najerilla where Enrique gave up the option of starving the Anglo-Gascons into submission or retreat and compounded his error by giving up a highly defensive position. He crossed the river, which would claim many victims, to meet the prince on his own terms and Edward took full advantage, although the vanguard,

commanded by Gaunt and Chandos, was put under heavy pressure by Du Guesclin's battalion.

The tactics implemented by the retinue, the *chevauchée*, the use of dismounted troops and archers in a highly defensive formation, making use of the terrain to its best advantage, flew in the face of chivalric tradition, as did some of the actions of the Free Companies, whose members were to be an increasingly significant part of the prince's retinue as his military career proceeded. Chivalry however, was important, as a banner under which Edward could fulfil his role in his father's war, as a standard of behaviour and as a forum for the foremost knights of the day. As the first knight of the Garter (after the founder) "le prince était placé comme à la tête d'un nouveau tenté par la société aristocratique, la plus en vue de l'époque."¹⁷ In effect, chivalry was important, not for what happened on the battlefield but for what happened off it, after the conflict and in the lulls in the fighting. Chivalry was political and propagandist and, although examples can be found of traditional chivalric recklessness among the members of the prince's retinue, the implementation of its strictures in combat did not win any battles and was probably responsible for the failure of the French in 1346 and 1356 and the Spanish in 1367. Despite his reputation, the prince won his battles, not because he was chivalrous, but because he was disciplined and prepared. Equally, the chivalrous impulse after Nájera released Du Guesclin and others who would return to Spain to depose Pedro a second time and thereby place a French ally on the borders of Aquitaine and a powerful navy in the Channel, and who would soon be retaking the principality from Edward while he lay broken by illness and Gascony was wracked by revolt. It was unfortunate that the late 1360s and early 1370s marked, for both the prince and

¹⁷ Capra, "Le séjour du Prince Noir", 242.

his father, the demise of many of their companions-in-arms. The loss of English possessions in France cannot be attributed to the death of any one man, just as Du Guesclin was not single-handedly responsible for their recapture, but Chandos, Audley, the Black Prince himself and many others died or were forced to retire at this time and their replacements were not of the same calibre. These were, in a number of cases, also the men who would go on to serve Richard and who were to become the focus of attacks by the Lords Appellant. The retinue cannot be divided into the “good” servants of the 1340s to 1360s and the “bad” servants of the 1370s and those who left Edward after the failure of the principality to pursue careers with Gaunt and others, but there was a distinction if only because, as in earlier periods, the retinue was reshaped in accordance with the requirements of the prince and the political and personal condition in which he found himself.

The Black Prince’s retinue was drawn from across a wide social and geographical spectrum. In Wales the fragmentation of political society served to concentrate service and patronage relations. The lord was sole source of territorial authority and thereby the natural focus of loyalty and service within the lordship. This was very different from England where baronial estates tended to be scattered and authority was diluted by other powers.¹⁸ It was not a situation of which the prince took great advantage and there were few Welshmen among his chief retainers. Indeed, after Crécy there were few Welshmen in the prince’s expeditionary forces. The decline of the native aristocracy reflected this. After c.1330 the wholesale granting of offices to absentee Englishmen reduced the influence of natives in the administration, and the attitude of Welsh troops also shows this decline. In 1345 Roger Trumwyn wrote to the Black Prince informing him that the troops he was

¹⁸ Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 394.

levying wished to be led by an Englishman.¹⁹ “The importance of Welsh troops gradually declined as the century progressed and the king came to rely on smaller, more compact and more mobile armies and placed greater emphasis on hobelars and mounted archers.”²⁰ Some however did managed to hold very high office. David Cradock’s family originated in Ystrad Tywi although they had long settled in Pembrokeshire. From 1373-81 he served the Black Prince and Richard II as chamberlain of north Wales, justice of north and south Wales, constable of Beaumaris and Conwy and steward of the royal lordship of Haverfordwest.²¹

Cornwall never provided the prince with a substantial number of soldiers but was the home of a number of significant individuals and did provide the prince with considerable patronage which gave a number of others interests in the duchy. It was also the prince’s “grain store” for his campaigns and, in addition, to foodstuffs was a chief focus for purveyance of all sorts of items required by the retinue on expedition.

The retinue in Aquitaine remains uncertain in terms of complement, personnel and cost. A little light is shed by later accounts made in Gascony by subsequent constables such as John Ludham and Robert Wykford, but only scraps can be deduced from the confirmations of annuities made by Richard as prince of Wales and king. That the Black Prince had Gascon servants there is no doubt, but they do not appear to have been numerous, the captal de Buch, Guichard d’Angle and assorted members of the Free Companies are the exceptions. Available source material for the 1367 campaign

¹⁹ A.D. Carr, “An Aristocracy in Decline: The Native Welsh Lords after the Edwardian Conquest”, *Welsh History Review*, 5 (1970-1), 118-20.

²⁰ Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 398.

²¹ Glyn Roberts, “Wales and England. Antipathy and Sympathy, 1282-1485”, *Welsh History Review*, i (1960-3), 386.

undoubtedly alters the balance, this is particularly so in Chandos Herald's account which shows the considerable role played by the prince's Gascon subjects. This was probably an isolated incident. The administration of the principality relied on Gascon support at varying levels although they rarely achieved high office. Whilst the court was undoubtedly "continental" in atmosphere, the retinue, in its personnel, did not reflect this.

The prince's retainers were well rewarded with money and official positions in the household and administration and in addition the prince took great pains to ensure religious benefices were available to his clerks. While strange, it appears to be the case that it was in those fields where one would expect little personal interest from the prince that the greatest evidence of a structure and policy in the recruitment and rewarding of the retinue emerges, in the provision of benefices, through patronage available to the prince and through petitions to the papacy and in the perhaps incidental construction of parliamentary influence the Commons. Although he was an ill man by the time he returned to England in 1371, the prince tried to assist his ailing father and secure a throne for himself or, should his own health fail, his son. Influence in the Commons would have helped in this although there is no evidence to indicate that knights in his service or former companions in arms were directly following a lead from the Black Prince. He had great authority and influence in the House of Lords and it is more likely that it was there and through his position at court that the prince wielded his greatest political power.

The retinue was bound together both by common service to the prince and by personal, regional, religious and other factors. National religious attitudes were to be found in microcosm, through support for the Carthusians, founding of chantries and hospitals, the support of particular Saint cults, especially the Trinity, and patronage of local institutions. The evidence for heresy within the retinue is by no means irrefutable but it is compelling and there seems no doubt that Princess Joan's household contained a

significant number who were Lollards or Wyclifite sympathisers. During the prince's lifetime and throughout his retinue, a measure of disillusionment with traditional forms of worship and religious attitudes did appear, and, whilst perhaps not heretical, many held beliefs which lay in a grey area beyond traditional orthodoxy.

Such common attitudes to worship and group mentalities regarding patronage compounded feelings of a common identity created through links, local, familial and forged in battle. The limited size of the knightly community ensured that, to a degree, this was so but the prince's retinue had more in common than service to the same man. Despite such close links within the retinue and to the prince himself, they were not bound exclusively to him and it was not uncommon for them to be found under arms in the service of someone other than the prince although it was often, but not always, with his blessing. In many ways the retinue conformed to royal and Lancastrian models although not on the same scale. It was, however, an example for both those institutions as the prince was an example, arguably not a very good one, for both his younger brother and his son. The prince's military personnel were the king's household in waiting and they were soldiers. There was some continuity of service to Joan of Kent and Richard II but in the main the retinue dissolved and its members went their separate ways when there was no more soldiering to be done and no chance to serve a king.

The household and military retinue of Edward the Black Prince was, in a sense, a transitional element in the bastard feudal evolution. It was a looser association than the Lancastrian affinity, its loyalty secured in a traditional manner, *largesse*, victory in battle and by the magnificence of the court and household. The majority of the retinue were bound to the prince by financial links in the form of annuities and through their status in the household. The increasing use of life retainers throughout the prince's career does not follow a national trend but changing political conditions which required him to make use

of particular means of retaining. The war governed the prince's life, it shaped him even as he and his retinue shaped it on the fields of Crécy, Poitiers and Najera and at the negotiations at Brétigny and in the court at Bordeaux. The retinue shaped itself around such events and around the changing requirements of the prince. It was not a complete turn of the wheel, but at his death the retinue was returning to the form it had first taken: a long minority stretched before it, the members of the retinue chosen by the father, the administration already in place, and Joan was to guide her son as Philippa had guided Edward from 15 June 1330 when he had been born at Woodstock.

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| Add. Ch. 74378, 74379 | Grants in Conway, 1350, 1370. |

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| Add. Mss. 5758 f.233 | <i>Gesta belli de Nazareth</i> , (poem regarding Poitiers). |
| Add. Mss. 6032 f.35v. | Petition to the prince from Peter Legh (no date). |
| Add. Mss. 5758 f.254 | Edward III's household book, 1344-8. |
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| 137, 494/10. | Philip Courtenay, admiral of the west, war payments, 1372-4. |
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Cotton

Caligula

- | | |
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| D.III.30 | William Trussel, recorded the loss of six horses in the prince's service and requested payment of arrears, 1358. |
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Julius

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| C IV ff. 288-91 | 1364 retinue/household roll. |
|-----------------|------------------------------|

Nero

- | | |
|----------|---|
| D.ii.306 | Fragment of chronicle of Nájera campaign. |
| D.vi.31 | Copy of grant of the principality of Aquitaine. |

Cotton Charters

- | | |
|--------|---|
| XI, 61 | Regarding grant of annuity to William Montague, earl of Salisbury, of £1,000 from Cornish tin revenue, later exchanged for 600 marks a year with Isabella, the Queen Mother, for the castles and manors of Hawarden and Mold with the advowson and appertenances of Mold church. Held by Isabella for life and granted to Montague in reversion. Confirmed and witnessed by the Black Prince on 16 July 1338. |
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|--------------|---|
| Eg. Ch. 2130 | Licence from Joan to Michael de la Pole to alienate land in Kingston-upon-Hull, 1383. |
|--------------|---|

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