

HENRY OF GROSMONT,
FIRST DUKE OF LANCASTER, 1310-1361

HENRY OF GROSMONT,
FIRST DUKE OF LANCASTER, 1310-1361

Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D.
in the University of Leeds, 1961,
by
Kenneth Alan Fowler.

UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
LEEDS

1961

CONTENTS

List of Maps	ix
List of Tables in the Text	x
List of Proposed Illustrations	xi
List of Abbreviations	xii

PART I: THE KING'S LIEUTENANT

I.	FATHER AND SON (1310-1332)	1
	The family inheritance	1
	The family in politics	4
	Henry's youth	10
II.	EARLY CAMPAIGNS (1333-1343)	24
	The campaigns in Scotland and the Low Countries (1333-1340)	24
	Prisoner beyond the seas for the king's debts (1340-1341)	37
	The campaigns in Scotland and Brittany (1341-1343)	46
	The revolution in military strategy	51
III.	THE OFFICE OF KING'S LIEUTENANT (1337-1361)	57
	The lieutenants	58
	The lieutenant's council	82
	The lieutenant's chancery	102
	Military finance and organisation	114
	The competition for allegiances	127
IV.	THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC. I: THE PREPARATIONS (1343-1345)	131
	The state of the duchy (1337-1343)	132
	Diplomatic preparations (1343-1345)	152
	Military preparations (1345)	171

V.	THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC. II: MILITARY COMMAND AND ADMINISTRATION (1345-1347)	185
	The first campaign (1345)	188
	The consequences of the first campaign	205
	The second campaign (1346)	231
	The consequences of the second campaign	238
	Lancaster at the siege of Calais (1347)	248
VI.	THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC. III: CONCLUSIONS	262
	The change in military organisation	262
	The change in financial organisation and the problem of excessive donations	271
	The Gascon council and the formation of policy	280
	The profits of the campaigns	285
	PART II: THE KING'S AMBASSADOR	
VII.	THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. I: THE PERIOD OF THE TRUCES (1347-1355)	304
	The embassies	306
	The mediators	319
	The negotiations	322
	The extensions of the truce	323
	The negotiators	327
VIII.	THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. II: NEGOTIATIONS WITH LOUIS DE MALE (1348)	332
	The Flemish alliance	333
	The negotiations at Boulogne	337
	The two treaties of Dunkirk	346
IX.	THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC, AND IN POITOU (1349-1350)	358
	The extension of the truce	359
	The expedition to Gascony	364
	Raoul de Caours	379
	The battle of Les Espagnols-Sur-Mer	388

X.	THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. III: THE SEARCH FOR ALLIES AND PAPAL ENDEAVOURS FOR PEACE (1350-1354)	398
	Truce negotiations and papal efforts for peace (1350-1351)	399
	Negotiations with Flanders (1351)	405
	Duke of Lancaster (1351)	418
	Further endeavours for peace (1353)	424
	The succession to Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland (1345-1354)	441
XI.	THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. IV: TOWARDS THE BREACH (1354-1355)	455
	Charles of Navarre and Guy de Boulogne	455
	The abortive treaty of Guines	477
	The projected Imperial alliance	527
XII.	THE GENTLE KNIGHT	538
	The tournaments	539
	The expedition to Prussia and the duel in Paris (1351-1352)	546
	The foundations	559
	The Livre de Seyntz Medicines (1354)	576
	The family	587
	PART III: THE KING'S FRIEND	
XIII.	THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1355-1357	594
	The background (1350-1354)	595
	The preparations of 1355-1356	612
	The Norman theatre (1356-1357)	622
XIV.	OFFICERS, RETAINERS AND COUNCILLORS	646
	The officers	647
	The retainers	675
	The councillors	729
XV.	THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN BRITTANY, 1355-1358	734
	The siege of Rennes (1356-1357)	738
	The administration	751
	Army finance and control over the forces	762
	The earldom of Moray (1359)	785

XVI. THE DUKE'S LAST CAMPAIGN (1359-1360)	788
The progress to Reims	796
The march on Burgundy	809
The march on Paris	817
The withdrawal from Paris and the negotiations at Brétigny	824
The negotiations at Calais	836
The duke's last days	841
XVII. THE KING'S 'DEAR COUSIN'	850
The Lancastrian estates	854
The bills for the campaigns	861
Conclusion	880
PART IV: APPENDICES, SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	
A. UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS	1
I. List of the documents	2
II. The documents	6
B. MATERIALS FOR A STUDY OF THE KING'S LIEUTENANTS IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGNS OF PHILIP VI AND JOHN II	77
I. List of the lieutenants	78
II. Itineraries of the lieutenants	86
III. Commissions of the lieutenants	151
C. LANCASTER'S CAMPAIGNS	194
1. The fleet responsible for the transport to Bordeaux of the troops serving under Lancaster's command in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1345-6	195
2. Places occupied by French garrisons on the eve of Lancaster's arrival in Gascony in 1345	206
3. Lancaster's itinerary in Aquitaine in 1345-6 and 1349-50	209
4. Itinerary of the duke of Normandy in 1345-6	213
5. Prisoners taken at Bergerac and Auberoche	223
6. Lancaster's dispatch of his second campaign in Aquitaine in 1346	227

7. Further grants made by Lancaster in Aquitaine	232
8. Places taken by Lancaster's forces in 1345-6, 1349-50 and 1356	233
9. A nominal roll of the men who served in Lancaster's retinue on military and diplomatic missions	240
D. GASCON ARMIES	264
Table A: Troops in the king's pay in the duchy, 1337-1343	265
Table B: Garrisons raised by the Bordeaux administration, 1337-1343	266
Table C: Troops maintained by Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, 1341-1353	267
Table D: Troops maintained by some Gascon lords at sample periods in the years 1337-1343	268
Table E: Troops in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine, 1349-1354	269
Table F: Troops enlisted in the six companies raised to resist operations carried out in the Agenais by troops under the command of the count of Armagnac (lieutenant of King John in Languedoc), and in Saintonge by troops under the command of Jean de Clermont (marshal of France and lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places) in 1354	277
Table G: Retinues in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1348	282
Table H: Captains and castellans in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine, 1337-45 and 1348-54	284
E. GASCON FINANCES	288
Table A: Accounts of the constable of Bordeaux, 1338-1361	289
F. BRETON ADMINISTRATION	290
Table A: Accounts of Giles de Wyngreworth, treasurer of Brittany, 1359-1362	291
Table B: Administrative personnel in the duchy of Brittany	292

G. SUMS PAID FOR PRISONERS TAKEN AT POITIERS	297
H. EXCHEQUER FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, 1372-1377	302
I. LANCASTER'S ITINERARY IN ENGLAND	305
J. LANCASTER'S ANNUITANTS	312
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	321
A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES	322
B. PRINTED DOCUMENTS	329
C. NARRATIVE SOURCES	335
D. MODERN WORKS	341

MAPS

I.	Garrisons in Gascony, 1337-1345	facing page 133
II.	Lancaster's first campaign in Aquitaine, 1345	204
III.	Lancaster's second campaign in Aquitaine, 1346	237
IV.	Lancaster's third campaign in Aquitaine, 1349-50	368
V.	Location of places in the Pays de Retz and the Charente valley	384
VI.	The Norman campaign, 1356	632
VII.	Fortresses taken by Lancaster in 1356	643
VIII.	The Reims campaign, 1359-1360	837

TABLES IN THE TEXT

I.	Grants in Aquitaine	274
II.	Lancaster's retainers (tables 1-3)	681
III.	Lancaster's retainers (table 4)	682
IV.	Lancaster's retainers (table 5)	708
V.	Lancaster's retainers (tables 6-8)	710
VI.	The bills for Lancaster's campaigns	873
VII.	The bills for Lancaster's diplomatic missions	879

PROPOSED ILLUSTRATIONS

I.	Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, in the robes of the Order of the Garter (British Museum, Stowe MS. 594, fo.8)	frontispiece
II.	Grosmont castle, Monmouthshire	facing page 3
III.	Bergerac: the bridge over the Dordogne	189
IV.	Edward III in old age, from the effigy by John Orchard in Westminster Abbey	255
V.	Louis de Male, count of Flanders (Bibliothèque nationale, Recueil d'Arras)	354
VI.	Louis de Male, count of Flanders, his wife Margaret of Brabant, and his daughter Margaret of Flanders, from a sketch of his tomb (Bibliothèque royale, Brussels, Mémoires de Succa)	405
VII.	Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, from a sketch in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, collection d'Estampes, volume I, p.73, no.79)	558
VIII.	Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, from the brass of Sir Hugh de Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk	579
IX.	The Livre de Seyntz Medicines, from the MS. in Stonyhurst College Library, Lancashire	583
X.	The Black Prince, from the effigy in Canterbury Cathedral	612
XI.	The seals of Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, from MSS. in the Public Record Office	648
XII.	John of Gaunt, from a picture ascribed to Lucca Cornelli	790
XIII.	Leicester: the river Soar and the church of Saint Mary de Castro, showing the castle and mound	842

ABBREVIATIONS

A. ARCHIVES

Arch. comm.	Archives communales, France.
Arch. dép.	Archives départementales, France.
Arch. mun.	Archives municipales, France.
Arch. nat.	Archives nationales, Paris.
Bibl. mun.	Bibliothèques municipales, France.
Bibl. nat.	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
BM	British Museum, London.
PRO	Public Record Office, London.

B. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Public Record Office Reference Numbers

C 47	Chancery Miscellanea.
C 49	Chancery Parliament and Council Proceedings.
C 61	Chancery Gascon Rolls.
C 71	Chancery Scottish Rolls.
C 76	Chancery Treaty Rolls.
C 81	Chancery Warrants.
C 146	Chancery Ancient Deeds, series
C 148	Chancery Ancient Deeds, series CS.
C 202	Chancery Writs and Returns.
DL 25	Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds, series L.
DL 26	Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds, series LL.
DL 27	Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds, series LS.
DL 28	Duchy of Lancaster Accounts, Various.
DL 29	Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts.
DL 37	Duchy of Lancaster Chancery Rolls.
DL 40	Duchy of Lancaster Returns of Knights' Fees.
DL 41	Duchy of Lancaster Miscellanea.
DL 42	Duchy of Lancaster Miscellaneous Books.
E 36	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) Miscellaneous Books.
E 40	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) Ancient Deeds, series A.

E 41	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)	Ancient Deeds, series AA.
E 42	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)	Ancient Deeds, series AS.
E 43	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)	Ancient Deeds, series WS.
E 44	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)	Ancient Deeds, modern series A.
E 101	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Accounts Various.
E 159	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Memoranda Rolls.
E 163	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Miscellanea.
E 202	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Writs.
E 210	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Ancient Deeds, series D.
E 212	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Ancient Deeds, series DS.
E 213	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Ancient Deeds, series RS.
E 326	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series B.
E 327	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series BX.
E 328	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series BB.
E 329	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series BS.
E 330	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, modern series B.
E 354	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series P.
E 355	Exchequer (Augmentation Office)	Ancient Deeds, series PP.
E 358		
E 364	Exchequer (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer)	Enrolled Foreign Accounts
E 372	Exchequer (King's Remembrancer)	Enrolled Foreign Accounts.
E 401	Exchequer	Receipt Rolls.
E 403	Exchequer	Issue Rolls.
E 404	Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)	Writs and Warrants for Issue.

LR 14 Exchequer (Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue) Ancient Deeds, series E.
 PRO 31/8 Transcripts.
 SC 1 Ancient Correspondence.
 SC 8 Ancient Petitions.

2. Archives Nationales Series Numbers

J Trésor des Chartes: Layettes.
 JJ Trésor des Chartes: Registres.
 K Monuments Historiques: Cartons des Rois, Copies de Chartes, Histoire Étrangère - Negotiations, etc.
 KK Monuments Historiques: Comptes.
 P Chambre des Comptes de Paris.
 X1a Parlement de Paris, Parlement Civil: Registres.
 X1b Parlement de Paris, Parlement Civil: Minutes.
 X1c: Parlement de Paris, Parlement Civil: Accords.
 X2a Parlement de Paris, Parlement Criminel: Registres.

3. Archives Départementales Series Numbers

AA
 B Chambres des Comptes.
 CC
 E
 F
 FF

C. PRINTED DOCUMENTS

Arch. hist. Archives historiques.
 CCR Calendar of Close Rolls.
 CChR Calendar of Charter Rolls.
 CDRS Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland.
 CFR Calendar of Fine Rolls.
 CIPM Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.
 CPL Calendar of Papal Registers: Letters.
 CPP Calendar of Papal Registers: Petitions.
 CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls.
 Rot. Parl. Rotuli Parliamentorum.
 Rot. Scot. Rotuli Scotiae.
 Rymer T.Rymer, Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, etc.

D. PERIODICALS AND WORKS OF REFERENCE

BEC	Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Revue d'Érudition.
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
BJRL	Bulletin of John Rylands Library.
DKR	Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography.
EcHR	Economic History Review.
EHR	English Historical Review.
GEC	The Complete Peerage, by G.E.Cokayne.
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

E. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

arr.	arrondissement.
cant.	canton.
dép.	département.
Froissart	Except where otherwise indicated the edition referred to is that of S.Luce.

Abbreviated titles have been given in reference to most of the chronicles which have been used, and to a number of printed works. Full details of these may be found in the bibliography.

PART I

THE KING'S LIEUTENANT

I

FATHER AND SON

When Edmund Crouchback, youngest son of King Henry III, died at Bayonne on 5 June, 1296, he left his second wife, Blanche, the widowed queen of Henry, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, with three sons, Thomas, Henry and John, all under age.¹ As earl of Lancaster and Leicester, he left them an inheritance, widely scattered, in a manner typical of baronial holdings, from the North Sea in Yorkshire to the coasts of Lancashire, from Dunstanburgh in the northern marches to the south of Wales, with the more concentrated holdings in the midlands, in the counties of Derby, Stafford, Leicester and Northampton and the Trent valley where he was the greatest lord.²

1. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, 15 & 17.

2. Ibid., I, 11-12.

The bulk of these estates came to his eldest son, Thomas, who greatly added to them by marriage to Alice de Lacy, heir to the lands of the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury.¹ To the youngest brother, John, came the lordships of Beaufort and Nogent-sur-Marne in France, which Edmund had acquired through his second marriage.² But when John died in 1317 these interests in Champagne and Brie came to Edmund's second son, Henry, who went to France in 1318 to do his homage and take over the lordships, from one of which he assumed the title of lord of Beaufort.³

As his part of the inheritance Henry had already acquired estates in South Wales and the Welsh marches, notably Monmouth honor and castle, the three castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and Whitecastle (also situated in Monmouthshire), all his father's lands beyond Severn,

1. Ibid., I, 18-19 & 22.

2. Ibid., I, 17.

3. Ibid. He had other continental interests through his grandmother, Eleanour, who had settled the county of Provence on Thomas and Henry and their heirs in equal portions with the reversion of the whole to John. Thomas's rights were confirmed on 5 June, 1319, and the title to the county subsequently descended to Henry (ibid.).

and Rodley and Minsterworth in Gloucestershire.¹

By marriage to Maude, daughter and heiress of Patrick Chaworth, he acquired further Welsh lands in the counties of Glamorgan and Carmarthen which lay round the castles of Kidwelly and Ogmere, and, besides these, a number of manors in Hampshire and Wiltshire.² Maude bore him six daughters - Blanche, Mary, Isabel, Maude, Eleanor and Joan³ - and an only son, also called Henry, born around 1310,⁴ probably at Grosmont castle.⁵

1. Ibid., I, 18.

2. Ibid., I, 17-18.

3. GEC, VII, 401, note b.

4. The precise date of his birth is not known, and has been alternatively placed at around 1300 and 1310. The latter date seems the most probable, since it is difficult to understand the relative obscurity surrounding his life until after 1330 if he was by then 30 years of age, and one can hardly credit that his father would not have made any provision for him before 1332 (CPR, 1330-34, 265). The royal grant to him in this year (ibid.), and his entry into official documents around 1333, suggest that he had only recently attained his majority. In Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines, ed. E.J.Arnould, 94, written in 1354, he himself says "j'ai demurree einz plus qe quarant aunz", an improbable admission if he was then 54. Cf. on this point, E.J.Arnould, Étude sur le livre des Saintes Medecines du Duc Henri de Lancastre, ix, n.1, and, by the same author, "Henry of Lancaster and his Livre des Saintes Medicines", BJRL, XXI (1937), offprint, 6, n.2.

5. He is referred to as "Sir Henry de Grosemound" in the accounts of the mayor of Leicester for 1324 (M.Bateson, Records of the borough of Leicester, I, 345).

Of the early life of this Henry, known in his youth as Henry of Grosmont,¹ there is very little to say; but his young manhood must have been quite eventful. The family could not but be involved in his uncle Thomas's manoeuvres and his ultimate rebellion in 1322, while his father took so large a part in the revolution of 1327 and the removal of Mortimer in 1330,² that Edward III might well feel that he almost owed his throne to him.

Born into a reign of civil war and upheaval, young Henry's opportunities and fortunes were inextricably bound up with the tragic events of these years. By birth and wealth, and as the greatest subject of the realm, his uncle Thomas had been cast for great achievement, but lacking the necessary qualities and purpose he had failed in that part. His ambition was satisfied by the exercise of influence in the affairs of state, mostly in a negative sense. He had made a sorry mess of his public career and succeeded only in ruining himself and, more than anyone

1. Ibid.

2. For a recent narrative of these events, see M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399, 83, 85-7, 90-91 and 100-102.

else, in ruining King Edward II's reign too. The fatal end of his career - he was beheaded outside Pontefract in 1322 - resulted in the forfeiture of his estates.

Henry's father might well have suffered a similar fate. He was among those barons who forced Edward II to agree to the appointment of the Lords Ordainers in 1310, and, along with other adherents of Thomas, he had a hand in the execution of Gaveston.¹ As a marcher lord he was no friend of the Despensers, and joined a confederacy against them in 1320, when civil war raged for a time in South Wales.² But, as chance had it, he was on the king's service in France in 1322,³ and so took no part in his brother's rebellion in that year.⁴

Three months after Thomas's execution he began the process of recovering to himself and his heirs the family fortune which his brother had so recklessly thrown away.⁵

1. GEC, VII, 397.

2. Ibid.

3. CPR, 1321-4, 69.

4. GEC, VII, 397.

5. Somerville, op.cit., I, 31.

In 1324 he was allowed to have the county and honor of Leicester and won back the title of earl of Leicester.¹ When, two years later, Isabella and Mortimer landed with an army of invasion, he threw in his lot with them and headed the baronial opposition, which led to a general desertion of the king's cause.² It was he who captured Edward II, along with the Despensers, at Neath, and took him to Kenilworth, where he was responsible for his custody.³ Through this association with Isabella and Mortimer he was given the honors of Lancaster, Tutbury and Pickering, together with these castles and some other of the family estates, and the same year he took the title of earl of Lancaster and Leicester.⁴

Edward III's reign thus began with Lancastrian influence once again in the ascendant. Earl Henry was present at the young king's coronation, he knighted him, was appointed his guardian and chief of the council of regency, where he had the support of friends and relatives,

1. Ibid.

2. T.F.Tout, Chapters in the administrative history of mediaeval England, III, 4; GEC, VII, 398.

3. GEC, VII, 398.

4. Somerville, op.cit., I, 32; GEC, VII, 398-9.

like John Stratford, his chief clerical friend, his son-in-law Thomas Wake of Liddell, and the northern barons Henry Percy (who also married one of his daughters) and John Ros.¹ It was, then, hardly unexpected that when, in the first parliament of the new reign, he petitioned for a reversal of the judgement on his brother, he was reinstated in the inheritance.²

However, when the queen and Mortimer strove to deprive him of the authority with which he had been invested by general assent of the magnates, when they replaced Lancastrian officials with their own men, when the earl found himself unable to control or advise his young charge, he was once again forced into opposition and rebellion once more raised its ugly head.³ He and his friends complained that the council of regency was being disregarded, that the king had not enough to live of his own, and that the queen should enjoy her dower

1. GEC, VII, 399; Tout, op.cit., III, 10. For the marriages to Wake and Percy, vide infra., pp. 14-15.
2. Somerville, op.cit., I, 32; GEC, VII, 399.
3. GEC, VII, 399; Tout, op.cit., III, 15 & 23.

and not burden the people.¹ Together with Wake and others he refused to attend the parliament which met at Salisbury in October 1328, when Mortimer was created Earl of March, and his supporters, including some of the bishops, withdrew from it without licence.² Lancaster gathered troops at Winchester and it looked as though the country were threatened with a renewal of civil war; but, after the failure of some attempts at negotiation, Mortimer invaded the earldom of Leicester in January 1329, occupied the town, and forced Henry to patch up a peace near Bedford.³ According to Knighton, who says much of the ravages committed by Mortimer's troops, the desertion of the earls of Kent and Norfolk was the cause of the Lancastrian defeat.⁴ Amongst the rebels who made large recognisances in accordance with a rather humiliating oath which they were compelled to

1. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, I, 68-9 & 81.
2. Murimuth, 58; Knighton, I, 448. Cf. W. Stubbs, Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, I, cxvii.
3. G. A. Holmes, "The rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9", BIHR, XXVIII (1955), 84-9.
4. Knighton, I, 450.

swear on submission were Henry himself, Hugh d'Audley, Wake, the earl of Atholl, Henry de Ferrers and many other lords.¹ Henry de Beaumont, Thomas Rosselin, William Trussel and Thomas Wyther, who had been specifically excluded from the pardon offered by the king on 29 December,² were obliged to flee the country.³

But that was not the last Mortimer was to hear of Lancaster, and when, in spring of the following year, the earl of Kent was executed for treason, it must have been clear to Henry that unless he took prompt and vigorous action he and his friends would suffer a like fate. By some means he must regain the ear of the king. To this end he secured the support of two members of the royal household - Richard Bury, keeper of the privy seal,

1. For the oath and the recognisances, see CCR, 1327-30, 528-30, also CPR, 1327-30, 472, 484, 519, 546, 547 & 553, 1330-4, 26, 97 & 177. Henry alone bound himself in the huge sum of £30,000.
2. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, I, 85.
3. Knighton, I, 450. Rosselin, Trussel and Wyther were retainers of Lancaster (G.A.Holmes, The estates of the higher nobility in fourteenth-century England, 68-9; vide infra., p. 723 and Appendix J, p. 316). Whilst he was in exile, Rosselin's fee was paid from the earl's French estates (J.Viard, Documents Parisiens du regne de Philippe de Valois. 1328-1350, I, 84-5, no.LVI). Shortly afterwards Beaumont's daughter, Isabella, was married to Lancaster's son, and his son, John, to one of the earl's daughters (vide infra., p.14).

and a yeoman of the household, named William Montagu. Encouraged by both pope and king, secure in the goodwill of Lancaster, and aided by some of his own contemporaries, Montagu laid a plot.¹ Mortimer was captured in Nottingham castle in October, hustled with all speed to London, and a few weeks later sentenced to be drawn and hanged as a traitor. The young king had joined the conspirators, and although the coup was largely carried out by Montagu, it would not have been possible without Lancastrian support.

*e. the subject of the thesis
son of Henry the first Mortimer
the transition from father to son
is not very clear confirmed.*

In 1322 young Henry was heir to no more than the lordships of Beaufort and Monmouth. By 1327 he could look forward to the greater part of the Lancastrian inheritance. But, even after the removal of Mortimer in 1330, he could not have felt sure of it. No one could tell that the next two decades would be any less turbulent than the last, although a shrewd contemporary might have foreseen that in the years that lay ahead the family's relations with the king promised to be harmonious. For not only had the

1. The best account of the coup that I know of is to be found in R. Douch, The career, lands and family of William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, 1310-44 (unpublished M.A. thesis presented in the University of London, 1950). Cf. McKisack, op.cit., 100-101.

elder Henry taken a leading part in the revolutions and scuffles that had put Edward on his throne, but his son and the king were of much the same age.¹

Of young Henry's upbringing we know very little. It is not possible to say who his tutors were, but his education was doubtless orthodox. John Hardyng, who was born of a respectable northern family in 1378 and admitted to the family of Henry Percy, eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, in 1390, gives an illuminating picture of what such an education involved.² At the age of four, the son of a mediaeval knight was taught his letters, at six he was set to learn a foreign language and his table manners, at ten or twelve to learn dancing, singing and conversation, at fourteen to cultivate bravery in hunting and intelligence in the tracking of game, and at sixteen (when he was considered fully grown) to begin his career of jousting, riding, besieging of castles, skirmishing, and 'knight' in the full Chaucerian sense of that word.

1. Edward was born on 13 November, 1312 (J. Barnes, History of Edward III, 1; McKisack, op.cit., 29).
2. The Chronicle of John Hardyng, ed. H. Ellis, i & ii. For the manners, and especially the table manners, of the time, see the amusing collection by F. J. Furnivall, The Babees Book (Early English Text Society, 1868).

In the fourteenth century there was a natural bias towards the arts of war because the mediaeval notion of knighthood connoted generalship and personal bravery; there was a natural under-emphasis on scholarship because the mediaeval scholar was assumed to be a priest; but there was also a liberal allotment of time and energy to the graces if not to the arts of living - it was an apprenticeship rather than an education, vocational rather than cultural training.

Henry's education was to produce a knight true to his period, endowed with both ability and charm, conventional, yet in some ways in advance of his time. In the Livre de Seyntz Medicines, written when he was in his early forties, and in itself an illuminating commentary upon the man, he tells us that he was a good looking youth (we know that he was tall, fair and slim), that he was fond of hunting and jousting, and proud of his dancing and his armour.¹ But he also says that he was a poor writer, having learnt late and by himself, and that, being English, he had little acquaintance with French.²

1. Ed. E.J.Arnould, 15-16, 67, 72, 94, etc. Vide infra., pp.579 & 582.

2. Livre, 239; but vide infra., p.584.

He is said to have spent much of his youth abroad, fighting the paynim wherever he was to be found, but the sole source for this early crusading appears to be the sketchy biography by Capgrave,¹ who, writing a panegyric for Henry VI on illustrious men who bore the name of Henry, was inclined to attribute pious and knightly exploits to young Henry fitting the chivalric concepts of his time. None of the fourteenth-century chroniclers, including Froissart, so much as mention these early campaigns.

It is probable that Henry spent the greater part of his youth in England. He could not have been much more than twelve when his mother died and was buried at Mottisfont Priory, which lay close to the old Chaworth lands in Hampshire, and of which she was patron.² He first appears on record at Leicester in 1324.³ Six years later he was married to Isabella, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont,

1. J. Capgrave, Liber de Illustribus Henricis, ed. F.C. Hingeston, RS, VII, 161-4.
2. GEC, VII, 400. She was living on 19 February, 1317, but died before 3 December, 1322 (ibid.).
3. Bateson, op.cit., I, 345.

a foreigner who had been rewarded for his services to Edward II with considerable grants of land, chiefly in Lincolnshire, a friend of his father, and who had been forced to flee the country for his part in the earl's rebellion of 1328-9.¹ It was in 1330 that his sister, Eleanour, was married to Beaumont's son and heir, John.² By that time all but two of his sisters had been married off to his father's friends and supporters, Blanche to Lord Wake of Liddell,³ Maude to William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster,⁴ and Joan to John

1. They were certainly married by 24 June, 1330 (DL 41/10/34, m.44). Cf. CPL, II, 343. On Beaumont, see GEC, II, 59-60, and *supra.*, p.9.
2. They do not appear to have been married in September 1330 (DL 41/10/34, m.40), but were by 6 November following (DL 40/1/11, fo.46v). On John de Beaumont, see GEC, II, 60-61. He died in May 1342 (*ibid.*, II, 61), and she re-married on 5 February, 1345, at Ditton, to Richard, Earl of Arundel, with whom she had intrigued during Beaumont's lifetime (*ibid.*, I, 243). She died on 11 January, 1372, and was buried at Lewes (*ibid.*).
3. Before 9 October, 1316 (GEC, XII, ii, 304). She died between September 1379 and July 1380, and was buried in the church of the Friars Minor at Stamford (*ibid.*).
4. By 16 November, 1327 (DL 41/9/1, m.13). His marriage was granted to her father on 3 February, 1327 (CPR, 1327-30, 8), and a papal dispensation for it to take place was issued on 1 May following (GEC, XII, ii, 179). William was murdered at le Ford (now Belfast) on 6 June, 1333, and she re-married to Ralph de Ufford before 8 August, 1343 (*ibid.*). Ufford died on 9 April, 1346, and she became an Augustinian canoness at Campsey, Suffolk, in the following year (*ibid.*). She died on 5 May, 1377, and was buried with her second husband at Campsey (*ibid.*).

Lord Mowbray.¹ Shortly afterwards Mary was married to Henry Lord Percy.² The sixth sister, Isabella, became a nun.³

Nevertheless, all the children were still dependent on their father for money, and they continued to be, at least until 1332. The earl's accounts show that Henry received advances from his father, besides having many of his own expenses paid from his father's revenues.⁴ Unfortunately, only two comprehensive central accounts appear to have survived for all the years of both Henrys;⁵ but these, together with a number of warrants for payment issued by the earl on behalf of his wardrober,⁶ give us some idea of his activities in the years 1328 and 1330-1332.

1. By 4 June, 1328 (DL 41/9/1, m.19). His marriage was granted to her father on 28 February, 1327 (CPR, 1327-30, 26). She died on 7 July (? 1349), and is said to have been buried before the high altar at Byland (GEC, IX, 383).
2. In or before September 1334 at Tutbury castle (GEC, X, 463; cf. CPR, 1334-8, 6). She died on 1 September, 1362, and was buried at Alnwick (GEC, X, 463).
3. At the alien priory of Amesbury, Wiltshire, by 1337 (CPR, 1334-8, 430). She was prioress there by 1344 (*ibid.*, 1343-5, 225), but died between 30 January, 1348, and 4 February, 1349 (CCR, 1346-9, 428; 1349-54, 5). GEC, VII, 401, note b, erroneously states that she was married to Henry de la Dale.
4. DL 40/1/11, fos.46r-v & 52v.
5. *Ibid.*
6. DL 41/9/1; 41/10/34.

It is possible, although we cannot be sure, that his father took him on Edward III's first campaign against the Scots, and he may have been present at the young king's marriage to Philippa of Hainault in York Minster in January 1328. In the following month he went to see a tournament at Blyth with his brother-in-law, William de Burgh,¹ who was of much the same age,² and who appears to have been brought up in the Lancastrian household.³ Together, they paid a short visit to Hereford from Kenilworth at the end of May, and spent some time at Grosmont with Henry's father in June.⁴ We know nothing of his movements during the earl's rebellion of October 1328 to January 1329, but he may have accompanied him to France on the occasion of Edward's homage to Philip of Valois.⁵

1. DL 41/9/1, m.18. Blyth, Northumberland, or Blyth, Nottinghamshire.
2. He was born on 17 September, 1312 (GEC, XII, ii, 178).
3. Cf. CPR, 1327-30, 8.
4. DL 41/9/1, n.14.
5. Froissart, I, ii, 94; Chronographia, II, 12.

He next appears on the scene at the beginning of June 1330, when he was at Leicester with his sister Blanche.¹ The same month he joined his wife at Tutbury, and together they paid a short visit to Bolton.² He was constantly on the move about his father's estates during the course of that year, travelling from Witney, near Oxford, to Kempsford in Gloucestershire, then awaiting his father at Leicester.³ He was still at Leicester in September, but paid a short visit to Melbourne in Derbyshire during the course of that month.⁴ Also in September his wife, Isabella, and his sister, Eleanour, travelled down to Leicester from York.⁵ His sisters, Maude, Joan and Blanche, although married, still spent most of their time at one or other of their father's favourite castles, at Tutbury, Kenilworth, Higham Ferrers or Leicester.⁶ The Blounts stayed with

1. From 31 May until 19 June (DL 41/10/34, m.42).
2. From 24 June until 2 July (DL 41/10/34, m.44).
3. DL 41/10/34, m.44.
4. DL 41/10/34, m.45.
5. DL 41/10/34, m.40.
6. DL 41/9/1, ms.19, 20 & 34; DL 41/10/34, ms.41-3.

them, and Simon Simeon, or 'Simkyn' as he was known by his friends, Henry's future chamberlain and most trusted servant, hunted with the earl's hounds at Duffield and Needwood, together with John le Blount.¹

Of Henry's movements during the coup of October 1330 we know nothing, save that he was involved in journeys up and down the country, whilst his wife, and his sister Eleanor, were staying at Kenilworth.² But it was about this time that his father became blind,³ and as a result he was given added responsibilities. He now took an active part in the earl's council, and represented him in parliament.⁴ It was during the course of this year that he was knighted.⁵

His journeys also took him further afield than the family estates, to Peterborough, Cottingham, Lichfield,

1. DL 41/10/34, ms.41-3 & 45. On Simeon, vide infra., pp.687-90.
2. His father paid his expenses for staying in 'diverse places' during the period 29 September, 1330, to 2 February, 1331, and for his wife and sister at Kenilworth during the period 6 November, 1330, to 2 February, 1331 (DL 40/1/11, fo.46v).
3. Le Baker, 106, says in 1329, but Knighton, I, 460, says in 1330.
4. DL 40/1/11, fos.46v & 52v.
5. Ibid., fo.46r.

Northampton, Cambridge, Savernake, Bedford, Stafford, Dartford, Newmarket, and to a council meeting in London.¹ In April 1331 he accompanied the king to France when Edward, disguised as a merchant, had a secret meeting with Philip of Valois at Pont-Sainte-Maxence.²

We have a very clear picture of his movements in 1331-2. In September of the former year, together with his sisters and some of his father's retainers and councillors (William le Blount, John de Sapy, William de Walkington and others), he attended the jousts at Cheapside,³ when the grandstand collapsed and the queen narrowly escaped injury.⁴ He was present at the parliament which commenced at the close of that month (30 September

1. He was paid £125.11s.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. expenses for the same, for 97 days in the financial year to Michaelmas 1331 (DL 40/1/11, fo.46v).
2. He was paid £17.1s.2d. for his expenses "in partibus Francie cum rege mens' april" for 3 weeks (ibid.). He was also paid his expenses for travelling from Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, to Whitwick, Leicestershire, during the same month (ibid.).
3. They were paid £82.16s.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d for 16 days (ibid.). On Blount and Sapy, see Somerville, op.cit., I, 82, n.2; on Walkington, see Holmes, op.cit., 67.
4. See Barnes, op.cit., 38, for the story.

to 9 October), travelled to Hampshire in December, attended parliament in London in January (20th-26th), travelled to Deeping with his sister Eleanour in February, attended parliament in March (16th-21st), and spent some time at Grosmont with his wife (who had travelled down from Leicester to join him) in the same month.¹ During the course of that year he went abroad - to Brabant and elsewhere - but was back in September 1332 for the parliament held at the beginning of that month (9th-12th), when other members of his father's council were also present.² Around the same time he visited Abingdon, Deeping, Uppingham, and Woodstock when the queen gave birth to her first daughter, Isabella.³

During the course of that year (to Michaelmas 1332) his father had paid all his expenses, which amounted to no less than £666.8s.1¼d., including £158.3s.9½d expended on his household.⁴ There is no mention of this in the

1. DL 40/1/11, fo.52v.

2. He was paid £105.11s.0d for expenses in Brabant, £101.17s.3¼d foreign expenses, and £49.4s.3½d for expenses in attending parliament (ibid.).

3. Ibid. Cf. Le Baker, 173.

4. DL 40/1/11, fo.52v.

account for the previous year, but the bills were up some £200, mainly due to his journeys abroad.¹ Yet even this had not been enough to meet his needs, and in March he had been granted 500 marks at the Exchequer 'for the special affection which the king bore him, and because his father had not yet made such provision for him as became his estate, and also for his better maintenance in the king's service'.²

However, in the following year his father gave him a large part of the family lands in South Wales (the castle and town of Kidwelly, lands in Carnwyllion, Ogmore, Grosmont and Skenfrith castles and Ebboth manor), two Yorkshire manors (Kilburn and two thirds of Barlow with reversion of the other third), and the profits from

1. DL 40/1/11, fos.46r-v & 52v.

2. CPR, 1330-4, 265. On 1 January following, on Henry's request, the sum was to be received from Roger de Grey, who paid the same for the custody of Abergavenny, to which he had been appointed during the minority of the heir of John de Hastings (*ibid.*, 397). He appears to have been in receipt of this annuity until his creation as Earl of Derby in 1337 (Cf. orders for payment, payments, and acquittances for payment, recorded in E 403/267, m.6, and sub 17 June; 271, m.3; 297 sub 16 July; and E 43/699, nos.1-3).

Pickering forest eyre.¹ In writs and warrants of the next and later years he styled himself lord of Kidwelly.²

At the great distribution of honours to the younger baronage, in March 1337, he was created Earl of Derby and invested.³ He was, moreover, to enjoy during his father's lifetime an annuity of 1,000 marks on certain customs, and this was very soon partly converted to a grant of the manor of Wighton and the hundred of North Greenhoe in Norfolk, and the manor of Laughton-en-le-Morthen in Yorkshire.⁴ He also had a pension of £20 a year from the sheriff of Derby in lieu of the old 'third penny'.⁵

In the following August his father granted him, his wife, and their heirs in tail the Chaworth manors of

1. Somerville, op.cit., 38 & n.2.
2. Ibid., n.2. In a royal mandate of 1343 he is styled "Henry de Lancastria, earl of Derby, lord of Kedewelly, Karnewolthin and Skennen" (C.Ch.R., V, 1341-1417, 15).
3. Report on the Dignity of a Peer, V, 31; C.Ch.R., IV, 1327-41, 390 & 401.
4. CPR, 1334-8, 400 & 538. The lands, granted to him in September 1339, were valued at £72.7s.6d (ibid., 538). He had only received 3605 marks, 10s. of the 5488 marks 8s.3½d. due to the time of his father's death, and the remaining 1,441 marks 8s.11¼d. still remained unpaid on 20 November, 1353 (CPR, 1350-4, 524-5).
5. CCR, 1339-41, 136.

Hannington, Inglesham, Longstock, Hartley Mauditt and Weston Patrick, and a rent from King's Somborne manor; ^{who?} they had re-granted the premises to the elder Henry during his life.¹ From February 1342 he was in possession by lease of Pontefract honor.² Whilst he was at Roxburgh with the king in 1334 he was given the custody of lands of Isabella of Hastings during the minority of Laurence de Hastings, notably of Abergavenny castle and lands.³ On 17 February, 1342, the castle, town and county of Carmarthen and the lordship of Cantref Mawr were committed to his keeping for ten years.⁴

1. DL 42/2, fo.179v. Cf. CPR, 1334-8, 473 for the licence.
2. Somerville, op.cit., 35.
3. This appears from a letter under the privy seal, given before Calais on 30 January, 1347, in which the king states "...nous lui grantasmes la garde...en temps que nous estoient a Rokesburgh..." (C 81/316/18058). This and other documents (E 159/123, ms.124d & 170d) make it clear that he was not expected to render anything to the Exchequer for the same. Cf. Somerville, op.cit., 38, who, however, gives no reference.
4. CPR, 1337-47, 263-4 & 335. There is a receipt from the chamberlain of Wales (John Pirye) dated 8 December, 1344, for £103.0s.6d. for the farm, etc. (Somerville, op.cit., 38, n.6).

II

EARLY CAMPAIGNS

In 1333 the war with Scotland was recommenced. Berwick was invested and on 19 July the Scottish force which attempted to relieve it was decisively defeated at Halidon Hill.¹ Lancaster was almost certainly with the king on this occasion. His seal was affixed to the articles of surrender of Berwick and he was one of the smaller number of magnates who consented to Edward's charter to the town.²

In the following year, after Balliol had once again been driven out of Scotland, he accompanied the king on the abortive winter campaign of 1334-5 with a retinue

1. On this campaign see A.E.Prince, "The army and the navy", in The English Government at Work, 1327-36, I, 333-4, and J.H.Ramsay, The Genesis of Lancaster, I, 226-32.
2. Rot.Scot., I, 253 & 764; Rymer, II, ii, 864-5.

of 60 men-at-arms and 100 mounted archers, and was doubtless with him when he returned south in February.¹ In that month he was summoned to the council held at Nottingham, for Edward was determined upon a more ambitious campaign, and in March he was called upon to be at the assembly point at Newcastle by 4 June with both men and horses for a new invasion of Scotland, and was separately summoned to raise men in his Welsh lands and in Derbyshire, and to bring them there for the same date.² His retinue in this campaign was made up of 113

1. Wages were due to him for 60 men-at-arms from 14 November, 1334 (on which day he left Newcastle for Roxburgh) to 11 February, 1335, and for 100 mounted archers from 27 October, 1334 (on which day they were received at Newcastle), to 4 February, 1335 (BM, Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, Cotton Nero C VIII, fos. 233v & 252v). On this campaign see Prince, op.cit., 334, and Ramsay, op.cit., 235-6.
2. GEC, VII, 401; Prince, op.cit., 334; Rot.Scot., I, 330-2 & 337-8.

men-at-arms, including himself, another bannaret and 19 knights.¹ On 1 July Edward mustered his forces on the border and, dividing them into two, marched north through Annandale with one army, whilst Balliol was sent along the east coast, where a fleet was co-operating, with the other.² To which force Lancaster belonged it is difficult to be sure; but we know for certain that in late September, the two armies having crossed the Forth and re-united at Perth, he was among

1. Wages were due to him for himself and this retinue from 23 June to 15 October "...quo die rediit usque Berewicum de equitatura regi Scocie facta ultra montes Scocie..." (BM, Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit. supra., fo.236).
2. Ramsay, op.cit., 237-9; H.S:Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, 1326-47, 183.

the cavalry who raided northwards "ultra montes Scocie" with Balliol, before returning to Berwick in mid-October.¹

The following year (1336) it proved necessary to send a force ahead, before the king had assembled the main body of his army, and Lancaster was sent to take command of Perth until Edward came north and took over. On this occasion he was in full command of the English forces in Scotland for a month or so. Appointed captain and leader of the king's army in Scotland by the king and council in April, he was given full disciplinary powers over its members and all the royal ministers in Scotland and Northumberland, as well as over those troops to be raised in Scotland and the border counties in England.² He was also empowered to receive enemies into the king's peace and grant them letters of pardon.³ It is clear, however,

1. Vide supra, p.26, n.1.

2. He was appointed "...capitaneum et ductorem.." of the king's army destined for Scotland (Rot.Scot., I, 414-5; Rymer, II, ii, 936), and is referred to as "...capitaneo et duci exercitus domini regis per ipsum regem et consilium assignato, ipso rege existente in partibus australibus Anglie.." (BM, Ferriby's Wardrobe Bokk, cit. supra., fo.240).

3. Rymer, II, ii, 936.

that, although he was in command of some 500 men-at-arms and 1,000 mounted archers as well as his personal retinue of 100 men-at-arms and 70 mounted archers,¹ the appointment was only temporary and had been made until such time as the king could assume command himself.²

Lancaster moved north with his forces by way of Monkland and Dunfermline, and reached Perth during the first two weeks of June.³ Meanwhile, Edward made his way

1. Wages were due to him for 100 men-at-arms (including himself, another bannaret and 16 knights) from 1 May (on which day their horses were appraised) to 8 September following (when half of this force returned to England). A further sum was due to him for the remaining 50 men-at-arms (including himself, another bannaret and 11 knights) from 8 September to 16 November following (on which day they all arrived at Berwick). Wages were also due to him for 70 mounted archers from 1 May to 14 August, less the wages of 1 archer for 9 days within this period (BM, Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit. supra., fos.240 & 259). For the entire forces under his command, cf. *ibid.*, fos.240-60, and for the campaign and Lancaster's part in it, Prince, "The Army and the Navy", *op.cit.*, I, 335, and "The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III", EHR, XLVI (1931), 358, n.1.
2. It is said to have been made "*..ipso rege existente in partibus australibus Anglie..*", whilst Lancaster is referred to as "*..capitanei et ducis exercitus domini regis ... in absentia domini regis praedicti..*" (Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit. supra., fos.240 & 243).
3. He claimed compensation for a number of horses of his retinue lost by Monkland on 27 May, by Dunfermline on 2 June, by Perth on 16 & 20 June, 2, 9 & 26 July, and on 31 August, and by Bothwell on 4 November (E 101/15/12, which is wrongly attributed to Edward II's reign in the PRO List and Index of Various Accounts, XXXV, 12).

north, left Newcastle for Scotland with a small escort on 14 June, and joined Lancaster at Perth on 1 July.¹ From this moment the king may be said to have assumed the command of his army. On 12 July he started out from Perth on his most daring and romantic Scottish expedition, his destructive dash into the Highlands.² Lancaster may have been with him; whatever the case he had assumed a secondary rôle.³ By 28 July Edward had returned to Perth, and it was only at the beginning of September, when he returned south to hold parliament at Nottingham, that he left Lancaster oncemore in command, this time at Stirling, until, having re-joined him there at the beginning of November, he sent him back to England to

1. The date of his departure from Newcastle is given in Ferriby's *Wardrobe Book*, cit. supra., fo.241. He was at Kelso on 15 July (T.F.Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England, IV, 99, n.1). For the date of his arrival at Perth and the small nature of his escort, see Ramsay, op.cit., I, 243-4, and Prince, "The army and navy", op.cit., I, 335.
2. Cf. the dispatch of the expedition in H.Ellis, Original Letters Illustrative of English History, series III, I, 33-9, and the accounts in Ramsay, op.cit., I, 243-4, and Prince, "The army and navy", op.cit., I, 335.
3. He appears to have been at Perth on 9, 12 & 26 July, but could well have accompanied Edward in the interval (Vide supra., p.28, n.3 & CDRS, III, 221, no.1209).

organise measures for the defence of the south coast.¹ He was instructed to hold a conference in London with the archbishop of Canterbury, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey and Sussex, William de Clinton, constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, and John de Hampton to discuss defence arrangements.² The city of London and some 44 ports west of the Thames were to send representatives.³ A similar conference was to be held at Norwich for the ports and other towns north of

1. He was at Elgin on 18 July, back at Perth on 28 July and 2 August, and at Berwick on 14 September. He opened the council at Nottingham on 22 September, and had returned to Newcastle by 14 October, when he left for Bothwell. He was at Peebles on 18 October, Bothwell on 21 October and Stirling on 2 November (Tout, op.cit., IV, 99, n.1; Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit.supra., fo. 24lv; Prince, "The army and navy", op.cit., I, 335; and a letter of Edward dated at Perth on 2 August, 1336, SC 1/37/170). Lancaster claimed wages for 50 men-at-arms (including himself) staying at Stirling from 9 September to 12 November. One of his retainers lost a horse by Bothwell on 4 November. On 16 November he arrived at Berwick with his retinue and came off pay in the Scottish army (E 101/15/12 & Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit.supra., fo.240). On the measures for the defence of the south coast, see Rot.Scot., I, 473 & Rymer, II, ii, 953).
2. Rot.Scot., I, 472.
3. Ibid., 474-5.

the Thames.¹ During the first two weeks of December Edward himself withdrew from Scotland; the formal demobilization from active service took place at Berwick.²

If, however, a show of military force was required when the king was too preoccupied with other matters to lead his army in person, he might, for the occasion, give independent command to one of his earls. This was the case in 1337 when he appointed the earl of Warwick leader and captain of his army in Scotland and its march, and when he found that, owing to his preoccupation with affairs across the Channel, he was unable to assume command himself, he formally constituted the earls of Arundel and Salisbury captains and leaders of the English army in Scotland, and gave them a distinct and separate

1. Ibid., 475.

2. Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit.supra., fo.24lv, and Prince, "The army and the navy", op.cit., I, 335.

force with a treasurer of war of it's own.¹ On this occasion Edward only made a flying visit to the Scottish front between 17 and 26 January, 1338, and in the following spring, still too pre-occupied with preparations for war in north-eastern France, he re-appointed Arundel captain and leader of the English army in Scotland.²

It is doubtful ~~that~~ Lancaster had any part in this campaign.³ He may, however, have been among those

1. Warwick was appointed "..duci et capitaneo exercitus domini regis in partibus Scocie et in marchia eiusdem.." (E 101/388/5, m.19). He drew pay for himself and his retinue from 31 August until 19 November (ibid., ms.19-20). Arundel and Salisbury were appointed "..capitanei et ductores exercitus Anglici in Scotia.." on 6 October 1337 (Rot.Scot., I, 503). They drew wages for themselves and their retinues for the period 7 December, 1337 (when they arrived at Newcastle), to 13 June, 1338 (E 101/20/25, m.2; 2D/26, m.1; E 101/388/5, m.20). Walter Weston was appointed paymaster of the troops under their command, and William de Kellesey his controller, as distinct from the household troops who were paid by Edmund de la Beche, keeper of the Wardrobe (E 101/20/25 & 26; E 372/188, m.33d).E 101/20/33).
2. On Edward's presence on the Scottish front see Prince, "The strength of English armies", cit.supra., 360. Arundel was appointed "..capitaneus exercitus Anglici in Scotia.." on 25 April, 1338 (Rot.Scot., I, 524-5 & Rymer, II, ii, 1029).
3. Murimuth, 77, says he was sent to Scotland with Warwick and Arundel "post Pascha", and he was party to an indenture at Berwick on 15 May, 1337 (DL 25/330). At the beginning of October he was commissioned to raise men and archers in his lands in Wales, and in counties Derby and Staffs, and to bring them to the assembly point at Newcastle (Rot.Scot., I, 501, 506 & 509), but there appears to be no record of payments due or made to him for the expedition.

in the escorting fleet taking the wool convoy to Dordrecht who made a raid on Cadzand, although it is doubtful if he was in joint-command of the expedition with Walter Mauny.¹

In July 1338 he accompanied the king to Antwerp² with a retinue of 93 men-at-arms and 50 mounted archers, and endured the long and frustrating winter and spring of 1339 there, when Edward could neither

1. He drew wages for 50 mounted archers for the period 17-30 August, 1337, sent 'overseas' from London, by order of the king's council (Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit.supra., fo.263). Lucas, op.cit., 240-2, who gives the whole story, says Mauny was admiral of the escorting fleet. Mauny was, in fact, one of the standing admirals (Rymer, II, ii, 988). According to Froissart, I, ccxiv-ccxv, 135-7, both Lancaster and Mauny were in charge of the expedition, and he makes no suggestion that the raid was carried out by the escorting fleet. Murimuth, 80, almost suggests that the raid was distinct from the convoying.
2. Knighton, II, 4; Anonimale Chronicle, 13; Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, 200. He was amongst those with the king at the manor of Walton on 6 July (Rymer, II, ii, 1047; CCR, 1337-9, 519). Edward left Walton for Harwich port on 12 July and set sail on 16 July (Rymer, II, ii, 1050; CCR, 1337-9, 522), and Lancaster appears to have been in charge of the fleet assembled at Great Yarmouth which joined up with the royal fleet at sea (ibid).

pay nor induce his Netherlandish allies to move.¹

In the summer of 1339, when Edward found himself running into debt in the Low Countries, he appointed "his cousin the earl of Derby, the greatest of his blood who was with him" to cross to the council in England with John de Moleyns, William Fitz Warin and Robert de Askeby "to explain that the king can no longer endure and that his entire purpose is on the point of being lost" unless "he is otherwise speedily

1. Wages were due to him for himself, 2 bannarets, 16 knights and 52 men-at-arms from 12 July, 1338, to 21 July, 1338; for the same men-at-arms and a further 23 esquires who had newly arrived from 22 July, 1338, to 22 October, 1339, as well as for a bannaret, a knight and 10 men-at-arms within this period; for himself, 2 bannarets, 23 knights (of which 7 were newly created) and 68 men-at-arms from 23 October, 1339, to 16 November, 1339; and yet another sum "...pro expensis suis et totius familie sue morancium in partibus Brabancie et Flandrie in comitiva domini regis..." from 17 November, 1339, to 19 February, 1340. Wages were also due to him for 50 mounted archers from 22 July, 1338, to 16 November, 1339 (Norwell's Wardrobe Book, E 36/203, fos.131 & 142). He was at Antwerp on 18 August, 10 November and 15 December, 1338; at Ghent on 23 January and 3 February, 1339; Antwerp on 9 April, 6, 10 & 15 May, 1339; Brussels on 22 June and 4 August; Marquion on 27 September; Brussels on 1 & 2 November; and Antwerp on 28 November and 4 December, 1339, and 2 January, 1340 (Rymer, II, ii, 1055, 1056, 1063, 1068, 1081-2, 1083-4 & 1104; CPR, 1338-40, 311, 371, 374, 378, 383, 384, 391, 393-4, 396 & 407).

assisted with money, food and wool", but it seems clear that he never went.¹ Later in the year he led a detachment in the Thiérache campaign, and was drawn up with the king at Buironfosse for the battle that never took place.²

In January 1340 he was appointed, together with the bishop of Exeter, the earl of Salisbury, William de Exeter, S.T.P., and Alexander de Oneby, professor of civil law, to meet cardinals Peter and Bertrand, sent by the pope to Valenciennes to discuss the mediation of a peace or truce; part of the papal effort to prevent the Anglo-Flemish alliance.³

Having been offered (together with the earl of Salisbury)

1. "Le counte de Derby, son cousin, le plus graunt de son sank qi fust pres de lui ... pour moustrer que le roi ne puet plus longement endurer et que tote sa busoigne si est en point de perdre ... et q'il soit hastivement autrement eidez de deniers, vitailles et leines". The mission was, however, eventually entrusted to Askeby, Reginald de Donington and John de Charnels (C 49, File 7, no.7).
2. Lucas, op.cit., 335 & 337; Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, nos. XXVI & XXVIII, 86 & 91; and cf. Chronographia, 67 & 77-8; and De Nangis, II, 64 & 163; Froissart, I, i, ccxliiii & ii, 178.
3. Rymer, II, ii, 1104; CPR, 1338-40, 407; Lucas, op.cit., 364; Déprez, op.cit., 376.

as a hostage to Duke John of Brabant, he returned to England with the king in late February.¹

His presence there was but a short one. On 22 June he oncemore set sail with Edward from Orwell with a retinue of 4 bannarets, 28 Knights and 83 esquires, and we know that he was present at the decisive naval engagement at Sluys, and that he again led a section of the army in the Tournai campaign that followed.²

Together with the duke of Brabant, the earl of Northampton and the bishop of London, he appears to have been one of the commissioners on the English side who (at the instance of the sister of King Philip,

1. Rymer, II, ii, 1100 & 1115; CPR, 1338-40, 374; CCR, 1339-41, 451.
2. For his departure from Orwell see Rymer, II, ii, 1129; CCR, 1339-41, 482, & Anonimale Chronicle, 16. Wages were due to him for himself, 4 bannarets, 28 knights and 82 esquires staying in England from 7 June, 1340, to 23 June, 1340; for himself, 4 bannarets, 28 knights and 83 esquires from 24 June to 22 July (on which day 3 bannarets, 11 knights and 53 esquires departed); and for the wages of himself, 1 bannaret, 17 knights and 30 esquires from 23 July to 29 September, less the wages of 2 esquires for 19 days within this period (£ 101/389/8, m.11). For his presence at Sluys, see Froissart, II, 37 & 222; and his part in the Tournai campaign, Chronographia, 139; Grandes Chroniques, 205; Chroniques de London, 79-80.

Edward's mother-in-law) negotiated the truce of Espléchin with the king of Bohemia, the bishop of Liège, the duke of Bourbon and the count of Alençon, ambassadors for the French.¹

On 25 September, the same day as the conclusion of this truce between France and the allies which ended ingloriously the campaign of 1340, he was obliged to enter prison in Malines as one of the sureties for the king's debts to his Malines and Louvain creditors, and was not released until May of the following year.

The Malines debt totalled £9,450 (42,000 florins 'de scuto'), and should have been repaid at Easter 1340.²

Since Henry was personally bound to John Rikier, William

1. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVII, 104-5; Chronographia, 150.
2. Particulars of the account of the earl of Derby, E 101/127/40. This is our most important source for the repayment of the Malines debt, but it is to be supplemented by a memorandum of the payments preserved among the duchy of Lancaster Miscellanea (DL 41/10/32), and a number of letters and acquittances in the same series and among the Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds (DL 41/10/36; DL 25/983, 3566 & 3582; DL 27/322, ms.1-8). The enrolled account of the earl (E 372/191, m.54) is much less detailed.

Kerman and Walter le Chaungeair, the Malines creditors, for its repayment, he was arrested at Brussels and obliged to give them a fresh bond for the sum on 24 July 1340, promising repayment on 24 September 1340.¹ The earls of Northampton and Warwick appear to have been detained with him.² For damages because of non-payment at Easter and for having respite for payment till 24 September, he paid them 10,000 florins of Florence (£1,500).³ To procure the necessary money he had to raise a loan of £800 gros tournois "in pannis" at Brussels: £336 apparently through the intermediary of the Malines creditors, and the remaining £464 from the sale of velvet given to him for the purpose by the queen.⁴ He undertook that if the debt was not repaid on 24 September 1340, wholly or in part, he would return in person to Malines on 25 September⁵ "et ibidem

1. E 101/127/40 & DL 41/10/32.

2. This is evident from a memorandum of the council drawn up in 1341 (C 81/278/14259 & 14260A). The Journal of the Expenses of Cusaunce records payments of wages to Warwick, detained as a hostage in Brabant (E 101/389/8, m.7), and it is clear from Henry's enrolled account (Pipe Roll, 20 Edw. III, m.54) that he was detained for the Malines debt.

3. E 101/127/40 & DL 41/10/32.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. "...quod si defecerit de solucione dicte pecunie termino predicto in toto vel in parte promisit sub fide et veritate se iurante corporali intrare villam de Malyns in Brabancia personaliter XXV die mensis predicti.." (E 101/127/40).

iacere et aliunde nullatenus recedere quosque dictis mercatoribus de dicta summa pecunie necnon de dampnis et expensis ... fuerit satisfactum".¹ On this condition he was allowed by the merchants to proceed to the siege of Tournai which started at the beginning of August 1340.²

He was also bound, together with Northampton, to Edward's Louvain creditors³ and, together with Warwick, to his Brussels creditors.⁴ For the former debt four knights of either earl were held as hostages at Louvain;⁵ imprisonment at Malines covered the latter.⁶ Both the Malines and Louvain creditors had insisted on having the earls as sureties and had refused to have anyone else instead.⁷ They knew that in this way the repayment not

1. E 101/127/40.

2. Ibid. & DL 41/10/32.

3. E 101/389/8, m.7. On 10 June 1340 the Louvain debt stood at 580 sacks of wool still remaining due out of 700 sacks (E.B.Fryde, Edward III's war finance, 1337-41: transactions in wool and credit operations; thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. in the University of Oxford, 1947,

4. DL 27/322, m.1.

5. E 101/389/8, m.7.

6. DL 27/322, m.1.

7. C 81/269/13359 "pur tant qe ceux qe les chevances nous ont grantez a faire ne voleient autres manpernours avoir qe noz ditz cosyns".

only of the main debt but of all the interest and damages was assured them.

The repayment of these debts was entrusted firstly to the Bardi and Peruzzi, and secondly to the Leopardi of Asti. The sums necessary for the earls' release were to have been raised by assignments on the ninth and on the wool levy. That the firms were unable to meet their obligations was due to the king's inability to raise the cash and wool necessary to meet his.¹

Edward did everything he could. On 18 August 1340 he instructed the council to secure 2,000 sacks of wool "des leines qe plus prestes sont ou poont estre", and to have them delivered to the attorneys of Henry and Northampton, directing them "qe ceste livere soit fait si en haste come vous peez ... pur sauver a nous et a noz ditz cosyns de hounte et damage".² The time was passing quickly as since 1 August the four knights of either earl had been detained at Louvain,³ and on

1. Fryde, op.cit.,

2. C 81/269/13359.

3. E 101/389/8, m.7; vide supra., p.39.

25 September Henry was obliged to re-enter Malines as a hostage.¹

Northampton appears to have been detained with him, as in a letter of 9 October, which was sent from Ghent, Edward wrote that they "gisent en prisone".² The king's concern was mounting. Sufficient wool was not forthcoming and it had to be made clear that it had been ordered and assigned "pur la deliverance de noz ditz cousins et ne mie pur autre cause". To this end two envoys from either earl, well known as their officers and retainers (Sir Hugh de Hastings and Sir Peter de la Mare for Henry; Oliver de Bohun and Peter Favelore for Northampton),³ were sent to act as their special attorneys.⁴ Edward was clearly disturbed by the "tres grauntz damages et perils que purroient avenir, que Dieu defend, si noz ditz cousins demoerent ensuit en prisone". November passed

1. E 101/127/40: "Et quod predictum debitum de 42,000 florenis dictis mercatoribus predicto 24^{to} die Septembris non fuit solutum prefatus comes pro fide et veritate salvanda prius obligata, ut patet, dictam villam de Malyns 25^{to} die Septembris intravit et ibidem morabatur usque 23 diem Maii anno domini Millesimo CCC quadragesimo primo".
2. C 81/270/13463.
3. For Hastings and De la Mare, vide *infra.*, pp.685-6 & 704; for Bohun and Favelore, Holmes, op.cit., 69-70 & 75.
4. C 81/270/13463.

without any change in the situation and when he returned to England, on the 30th, Northampton returned with him, but he left Henry imprisoned at Malines.¹ However, the king probably magnified the perils which he thought might befall his cousin, since the earl was in no real danger of being treated harshly. He was paid five marks a day expenses,² and, apart from the initial licence which he secured to be present at the siege of Tournai,³ on 9 December he secured another to go to the jousts at Le Bure, providing that he was back for 15 December.⁴

The Bardi and Peruzzi having failed to procure his release, in January 1341 a new arrangement was made with

1. Tout, Chapters, III, 120, for Northampton's return.
2. He was paid wages and expenses for his stay at Malines till 26 May, 1341 (E 101/389/8, ms.7 & 25). He was presumably released on 23 May and stayed a few days longer. Cusaunce's debenture to the earl for £1,087.17s.4d. due both "pro expensis suis et quatuor militum suorum morancium in hostagio pro Rege apud Malyns et Lovayn", and for the passage of his horses (dated 8 September, 1341, when he accounted with the Wardrobe) has been preserved, but was not finally met until 17 January, 1349 (E 404/490/338).
3. Vide supra., p.39.
4. DL 25/983.

the Leopardi. Since they were unable to advance the necessary sums, contraction of loans on the spot became the only way in which the earl could speedily end his imprisonment.¹ He managed to raise 34,000 florins 'de scuto' (£7,650) from various financiers,² and for the payment of this he was able to secure a provisional release for himself and the earl of Warwick on 23 May, 1341, on condition that they would return to Malines if the remaining 8,000 florins still due out of the 42,000 were not repaid on 8 July, 1341.³ He also had to pay damages of 8,000 florins of Florence (£1,200) for non-repayment of the debt of

1. Fryde, op.cit., p

2. E 101/127/40.

3. Ibid: "Et sic predicta summa de 34 millibus florenorum predictis mercatoribus soluitur remanente de principali debito 8,000 fl.....Et sic dictus comes de licencia mercatorum recessit de Malyns predicto 23 die Maii sub condicione inter eos inita quod nisi satisfactum fuit eis in quindena Sancti Johannis Baptiste tunc proximo sequente de toto principali debito una cum dampnis et expensis si quas sustinuerunt ad eorum simplex dictum quod dictus comes simul cum comite Warwick redirent in Brabanciam et dictam villam de Malyns intrarent ibidem moraturi quousque satisfactum fuerit eis de tota summa predicta simul cum dampnis et expensis predictis". On 10 May, for the payment of £500, they had acquired a similar licence from the Brussels creditors (DL 27/322, m.1).

24 September, 1340, and for licence to leave Malines he had to pay an additional 4,000 florins 'de scuto' (£900).¹

The 34,000 florins necessary for his release were raised from three loans, one of 2,000 from the Bannacarsi and two others of 16,000 each received from unknown financiers.² He lost £653.13s.6d. on these three loans, and his account also mentions £320 in cloths at Brussels which was, however, subsequently crossed out for some reason (£960). On it he is said to have lost £500 sterling "et plus".³

The 8,000 florins 'de scuto' still due to the Malines merchants would not appear to have been repaid until September 1341. A letter which they sent to the

1. E 101/127/40: "Et eisdem mercatoribus pro tali licencia habenda predictus comes dedit et soluit 4,000 scutos ..."
2. See, however, a memorandum of payments, letters and acquittances regarding loans raised in Malines and Brussels, principally from the society of the Achioles of Florence (by way of Dinus Roger, Lotte Corbie and Philippe du Blanc at Bruges, and one 'domino Digery') and smaller sums from the Bardi, Bannacarsi, William Durmonarde, Gabriel le Lambert of Malines and Claus le Duc of Brussels (DL 41/10/32; DL 27/322, ms.2-8; DL 25/3566 & 3582).
3. E 101/127/40.

earl on 15 August reveals how, after returning to England, Henry sent Thomas Cok and William de Duvenvaerde to ask for a further postponement of the term of repayment of the remaining debt.¹ The merchants complained that the terms of the agreement were not being adhered to, that the full sum had not been paid, and asked for satisfaction.² It was not until 20 September that they restored the earl's letters patent and acquitted him, the king and the earl of Warwick of all further liability for the debt.³ The repayment of the loans contracted by

1. DL 41/10/36. The letter is addressed to 'Carissime domine', and it is clear from the contents that this refers to Henry. Cok was a prominent retainer of his (vide infra., pp.703-4 & 712).
2. DL 41/10/36.
3. E 372/191, m.54. The letters of acquittance of the Malines creditors are dated 20 September, 1341. 10,000 florins 'de scuto' referred to in the letter from the merchants was actually handed over to them in Brussels on 13 August and Lancaster was acquitted of this sum in London on 24 August (DL 25/3566 & DL 27/332, no.6). A further 9,511 florins of Florence was not, however, handed over to the Acheoles in London until 24 August and paid to the Malines creditors at Bruges on 25 September following (ibid.).

the earl to procure his release may have dragged on even longer.¹

Besides being bound personally for the repayment of these debts he paid £969 sterling in wool and cash to retrieve the royal crown,² pawned by Edward to pay his debts,³ and pledged all the jewels he then had with him - some £1,500 worth all told - to a number of Ghent merchants, in order that Edward could get back to England.⁴

In the autumn of 1341 he was again to have gone to Scotland ahead of the king, although he does not appear to have done so on this occasion. Appointed the

1. Thus on 18 May, 1342, the Bardi undertook among other payments to pay Clays le Ducs of Brussels "for money in which the king and the earl of Derby are bound to him" (CCR, 1341-3, 542). To repay the loans Henry received 746 sacks of the king's wool from the levy of 1341, and £4,182 from the royal receiver in Flanders in 1341 and the chief receivers of the ninth south and north of the river Trent (E 372/191, m.54).
2. Acknowledgement of the receipt of this sum from him by Paul de Montflour, at London on 1 December, 1342. The money was not returned to him until 6 June, 1345 (E 404/501/302).
3. CPR, 1340-3, 483, 512 & 531.
4. CCR, 1341-3, 225.

king's lieutenant in the north of England and in Scotland, and captain and leader of the army destined for those parts on 7 October, the following day William de Kellesey, receiver of the moneys arising from the sale of wool in Flanders, was instructed to pay him an advance on the wages of himself and 200 men-at-arms retained with him for a quarter of a year upon the safe custody of the march.¹ He was still in London on 18 October, and, together with a personal retinue of 195 men-at-arms, only came into the king's pay on 25 November.² He was at Newcastle on 2 December, but the king was already with him.³ Meanwhile, Henry de Percy had been sent ahead to

1. He was appointed "...locum-tenens Regis Edwardi in partibus borealibus Angliae et in Scotia, et capitaneus exercitus contra Scotos destinati.." (Rot.Scot., I, 617). There is a supplementary commission issued to him on 10 October with powers to treat of truce or peace and to bring rebels into the king's obedience (Ibid., I, 618; Rymer, II, 1179). The instruction to Kellesey is CCR, 1341-3, 286.
2. For his presence in London see CPR, 1340-3, 304. Wages were due to him for service "...in partibus Scocie.." of himself, 7 bannarets, 44 knights and 144 esquires from 25 November, 1341, to 2 February, 1342 (Eccleshale's Account Book, E 36/204, fo.102).
3. CCR, 1341-3, 354. Murimuth, 122-3, almost suggests that he went to Scotland with Edward.

recapture Stirling and supervise the defence of the march until he arrived.¹ No campaign materialised; a truce was concluded until May, Lancaster spent Christmas jousting at Roxburgh, the king at Melrose, and when they returned to Berwick they continued the tournaments there.² At the beginning of April he was at the head of a commission appointed to negotiate an extension of the truce, or a peace, and these negotiations appear to have been held at Berwick during the course of that month.³ By 16 May he was once again at Westminster.⁴

The position in the early campaigns in Brittany was basically the same. Edward having decided, early in 1342, to intervene actively in the succession dispute that had broken out in the duchy, sent no less than three expeditions one after the other; Sir Walter Mauny

1. CDRS, III, 251, no.1378; CPR, 1340-3, 382.

2. Knighton, II, 23; Murimuth, 123.

3. Rot.Scot., I, 623-4; Rymer, II, ii, 1191, Knighton, II, 23, implies that the negotiations took place at Berwick. William de Careswell, the custodian of Berwick, was among those appointed to negotiate (Rot.Scot., & Rymer, loc.cit.), and the king instructed John de Thyngden, his receiver of victuals at Newcastle, to supply food to him on Lancaster's advice, for the earl's stay there (Rot.Scot., I, 624).

in May, the earl of Northampton with Robert of Artois in August, and finally he followed himself, with Lancaster, in October.¹ In this case it seems fairly clear that it had been necessary to send over an expeditionary force quickly, more quickly than the main army under the king's command could be assembled; and it is equally clear that the expeditions led by Mauny and Northampton were in the nature of advance guards, and that the king took over the direction of

1. On Edward's intervention, see J.H. Le Patourel, "Edward III and the kingdom of France", History, XLIII (1958), 186-7. Wages were due to Mauny for himself and his retinue from 15 May to 8 July, 1342 (Eccleshale's Account Book, cit., supra., fo.105v). He left Portsmouth early in May and arrived in Brest around 20 May. The siege of Hennebont was raised at the end of June and he returned to England on 7 July (A. Le Moyne de la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, III, 464). Wages were due to Northampton for himself and his retinue from 21 July, 1342, to 8 February, 1343 (Eccleshale's Account Book, cit. supra., fo.106). He was at Portsmouth with the force under his command on 1 & 8 August, left on 14 August, and arrived in Brest on 18 August (E 404/5/30 & E 43/202, no.1; De la Borderie, op.cit., III, 465). Wages were due to Lancaster for himself and his retinue from 21 August, 1342, to 8 February, 1343 (Eccleshale's Account Book, cit. supra., fos.106 & 108v). The king left Portsmouth on 24 or 25 October, left Brittany on 27 February, and arrived at Weymouth on 1 March (Eccleshale's Account Book, cit. supra., pp.37ff.). On the part played by Robert of Artois, who died in Brittany, see E. Déprez, "La mort de Robert d'Artois", Revue historique, XCIV (1907), 63-6.

all operations as soon as he landed in Brittany.¹

Preparations for Lancaster's passage in the king's ship "La Robynet" were already underway on 22 June, and by 15 July he was ready to leave England with a retinue of 200 men-at-arms and 200 mounted archers.² However, his departure was postponed owing to the delay in the assembly of the main army.³ He only came into the king's pay, together with a retinue of 3 bannarets, 37 knights, 142 esquires and 208 mounted archers, on 21 August, and there can be no doubt that he sailed with the king; he was at Sandwich with him on 4 October, and bound for

1. The expedition entrusted to Mauny was dispatched at the critical moment when Joan of Flanders (wife of John de Montfort, one of the claimants) and her supporters were besieged in the castle of Hennebont; Mauny's arrival was only just in the nick of time (Froissart, II, 147-50, 365-72). It is wrong, however, to assume that he blundered in going to Brest, for he had been specifically ordered there to relieve the town (Eccleshale's Account Book, cit. supra., fo. 105v). Northampton's expedition was consequent upon a second agreement with Joan of Flanders, the substance of which is contained in the commission issued to him on 20 July (Rymer, II, 11, 1205).
2. E 404/5/30; CCR, 1341-3, 572.
3. Preparations for Edward's passage were already underway by the beginning of July but, in spite of constant requests for haste, they were protracted into the beginning of October (Cf. several royal mandates under the secret seal which illustrate well both the tone of urgency and the delay: July to September, E 404/5/30; September, C 81/1331/2-4).

Brittany.¹ Of his subsequent movements there is little to be said, but it seems probable that he was with the king for the greater part of the time.² In January 1343, together with the earl of Northampton, he was among the English envoys who negotiated the truce of Malestroit in the Priory of Saint Mary Magdalen, and, together with Northampton and Salisbury, was one of the guarantors of the articles drawn up.³ Towards the end of February he returned to England with the king.⁴

This way of directing the war was the traditional arrangement. It was the way Edward I's wars were fought; and it had this, among other consequences, that as long as the king personally directed military operations, no

1. Eccleshale's Account Book, cit. supra., fos.106 & 108v; CCR, 1341-3, 660. Froissart (II, 225) and, by implication, the Chronique Normande (56-7) say he crossed to Brittany with Edward.
2. According to Froissart (II, 231) Edward left him in charge of the siege of Nantes whilst he went to assist his other lieges at the siege of Rennes, but the Chronique Normande (57) and Chronographia (II, 200-201) say he was with Edward at the siege of Rennes, and that the king left Northampton and others in charge of the siege of Vannes.
3. Grandes Chroniques, 231; Avesbury, 348.
4. He came off the king's pay for service in Brittany on 8 February (Eccleshale's Account Book, loc.cit.).

one else had the opportunity of making a really great name for himself as a commander. And so it might well have gone on, a series of subordinate commands with, now and then, a fine 'passage of arms', but nothing else to single Henry out from his brother earls. But the campaign in Brittany, as it turned out, and Edward's assumption of the title 'King of France' led to a completely different way of directing the war.

The new strategy depended ultimately upon Edward's assumption of the French royal title in 1340. This did much more, and was doubtless meant to do more than ease the conscience of the Flemings.¹ For one thing it gave a name and a cause to which all discontented elements in France could rally.² Edward's claim was not, after all, so fantastic; in strict terms of law there was something to be said for it.³ Moreover, the Valois throne was far from secure in the 1340's.⁴ The first Valois king,

1. J. Le Patourel, "Edward III and the Kingdom of France", History, XLIII (1958), 179-80.

2. Ibid., 181-2.

3. Ibid., 173-6; R. Cazelles, La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois, 51-2.

4. Cazelles, op.cit., Part I, 35ff.

Philip VI, did some very silly things and suffered some disastrous reverses;¹ and, when things went badly wrong, his people, or some of them, began to wonder if he was the rightful king after all,² for he had not succeeded to the throne in a manner that could be regarded as normal and customary.³ There were those in the maritime provinces which had formed a part of the Angevin Empire - 'les hommes de l'ouest' - whose interests were united by marriage, landownership and trade, for whom the sea was a bond with England rather than a barrier; and these men resented the predominance of Burgundians and others - 'les hommes de l'est' - in the court and councils of the Valois monarch.⁴ Besides the beginnings have been detected of a general reaction to the royal centralisation of political authority that had been going on in France since the early thirteenth century, and this

1. Ibid., 151-63 & 247-52.

2. Ibid., 176-7 & 204; Fragments inédits de la chronique de Jean de Noyal, 253.

3. Le Patourel, op.cit., 173-5.

4. Cazelles, op.cit., 133-148.

reaction took the form of an insistence upon provincial privileges as against royal administration.¹ All this, rightly handled, could provide splendid opportunities for Edward III.

To take advantage of these opportunities a rather different kind of military effort was required. While Edward was simply a foreign claimant, direct invasion such as he attempted in 1339 and 1340 was the natural method of prosecuting his claim. But once he had taken the French royal title, a policy of winning his new subjects piecemeal and of supporting every local rising against King Philip, might well be more profitable. To take advantage of local conditions, it might be necessary to have two or three armies operating at once, either independantly or in concert; and however important they might be, it would be necessary to delegate the command of some of them at least. Herein lay the chance to win fame that was offered to Henry of Lancaster and the earl of Northampton, and later to the Black Prince and even to men not of noble rank, such as Walter Mauny, Walter Bentley, Robert Knowles or Hugh Calveley.

1. Le Patourel, op.cit., 181-3.

To lead a single army into France implied the hope of a decisive engagement; to send several armies into France, each with a more or less local assignment, implies a war of opportunity. When the opportunity passes, or the initial impetus is exhausted, it is to everyone's advantage to make a truce. The war, then, from the conclusion of the first Breton campaign until the peace of Brétigny-Calais, took the form of short bursts of activity, usually in several theatres at once, followed by rather long periods of quiescence, or ill-kept truce. And since the papacy was constantly endeavouring to convert each truce into a 'firm peace', each period of truce was also a period of intense diplomatic activity. In the fourteenth century diplomacy was a matter of ad hoc embassies, and every embassy included a quorum of high-ranking nobles. Normally, one may suppose, the real work was done by the legal experts, while the presence of nobles gave the occasion such importance and urgency as might be desired; but, sometimes, the noble took an active and even independent part in negotiations, as Lancaster did on more than one occasion. Here was another field in which to win distinction.

The immediate effect of Edward's intervention in Brittany was to establish an English foothold in the duchy: a number of Breton nobles recognising him as King of France and a number of English garrisons settled in the duchy to make sure that they continued to do so.¹ To the south, his duchy of Aquitaine had sadly diminished since his grandfather's day, but he still maintained a substantial foothold there as well.² If a commander were to operate in Brittany or Aquitaine, or, basing himself on those provinces, to operate in France at large, he must have such powers as would enable him to mobilise the province, or such parts of it as accepted English allegiance, and this was done by making him the king's captain-general and lieutenant there.

1. Ibid., 187 & 188; vide infra., pp.767-8.

2. Vide infra., pp.132-3.

III

THE OFFICE OF KING'S LIEUTENANT

On both English and French sides much of the responsibility for the conduct of the war after 1340 rested with royal lieutenants to whom powers of military command and administration were delegated by their respective kings.

A good deal is known about the English office of king's lieutenant in France during the reign of Edward III,¹ and about the organisation of English armies at the time;² but, as far as I know, their French counterparts have not yet been worked out in

1. M. Walton, The position and powers of the king's lieutenants in France during the reign of Edward III (unpublished thesis presented for the degree of M.A. in the Department of History of the University of Leeds, 1957).
2. A.E. Prince, "The army and the navy", in The English Government at Work, 1327-37, edit. J.F. Willard and W.A. Morris, I (1940), 332-76, and works there cited; N.B. Lewis, "The organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England", TRHS., 4th series, XXVII (1945), 29-39, etc.

any detail.¹

The Lieutenants

The origins of the office of king's lieutenant in both countries can be traced to the thirteenth century. It arose from the need to delegate royal responsibility in the government of outlying provinces and possessions.

The first English appointments appear to have been made for Aquitaine after 1248.² Later appointments are to be found for Ponthieu after 1279, Scotland after the settlement of 1305, and Ireland after 1308.³ In

1. For a recent survey of French military organisation see, however, F.Lot and R.Fawtier, Histoire des Institutions françaises au Moyen Age, II, Institutions royales (1958), 511-35.
2. Walton, op.cit., 15-16.
3. Ibid., 28, 39 & 32.

Aquitaine and Ireland they were designed to meet the inadequacies in the old machinery for carrying on the king's government; in Scotland they represent an attempt to establish a form of administration to deal with a fluctuating state of affairs.¹ They constituted a new approach to the problems of administering the king's dominions, and they have their roots in justice and administration as well as in military necessity.²

The appointment of lieutenants by the king of France is also in evidence from the first half of the thirteenth century.³ They were the most important representatives of royal authority in the provinces, and their appointment was made necessary by the addition of outlying territories to the royal domain, particularly in the south after the Albigensian crusade. In the thirteenth century, however, seneschals and baillis were not continuously placed under their authority. Only when circumstances warranted the presence of a top-ranking official on the

1. Ibid., 39.

2. Ibid., 39 & 196.

3. É.Molinier, "Étude sur la vie d'Arnoul d'Audrehem, maréchal de France, 130(?) - 1370", Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, Deuxième série, Antiquités de la France, VI, première partie (Paris, 1883), 28-9, for remarks in this paragraph.

spot did he delegate full powers to a lieutenant.

In both countries only occasional appointments were made in the thirteenth century. The advent of the Hundred Years War and the continuous state of warfare in the fourteenth century transformed a hitherto exceptional appointment into something of a permanent office. It was with the conduct of the war, the competition for provincial allegiances - whether in command of the king's armies, the redistribution of territories to supporters, or the work of justice and administration - that the lieutenants were primarily concerned.

The position, powers and circumscriptions of Edward III's lieutenants have been dealt with elsewhere¹ and need not be gone into in detail here. Appointments were made to several provinces: Aquitaine as from 1338,² Brittany

1. Walton, op.cit.

2. Oliver de Ingham and Bernard Ezi, Lord of Albret, in 1338; Ingham alone in 1339, Albret and Hugh de Geneva in 1340, Lancaster and Arundel in 1344, Lancaster alone in 1345 and 1349, the earl of Stafford in 1352, the Black Prince in 1355, the earl of Pembroke in 1372, and John of Gaunt in 1373 (Rymer, II, ii, 1047, 1105; III, i, 9, 37, 189, 239-40, 307; III, ii, 941 & 982-3; CPR, 1338-40, 381).

after 1342,¹ Normandy after 1356² and Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte after 1370.³ Occasional appointments were also made in Flanders and the Calais area after 1346⁴ and Poitou after 1347.⁵

It is fairly clear that the English appointments were made to those provinces where Edward enjoyed or hoped to enjoy provincial support. From the outset he had recognition as duke in Aquitaine, as he did in Normandy after 1356.⁶ As overlord of Brittany he had recognition there as

1. The earl of Northampton in 1342, John Hardeshull and Ivon de la Roche, lord of Lohéak, in 1343; Northampton in 1345; Thomas Dagworth in 1347, Walter Bentley in 1350, John Avenal in 1353, Thomas Holand in 1354, Lancaster in 1355, Robert Herle and John Buckingham in 1358, Herle alone in 1359 and William Lord Latimer in 1360 (Rymer, II, ii, 1205; III, i, 37, 100, 204, 257, 274, 404, 431, 510; III, ii, 625; E 372/188, m.55; C 76/33, m.6).
2. Philip of Navarre in 1356, Philip and Thomas Holand in 1359, Holand alone in 1360 and John Chandos in 1361 (Rymer, III, i, 342, 452-3, 509-10, 555).
3. William Lord Latimer in 1370 and Alan Buxhill in 1370 and 1371 (Rymer, III, ii, 903; French Roll, 44 Edw.III, m.9).
4. Hugh de Hastings in 1346, Lancaster in 1348, the earl of Hereford and John of Gaunt in 1369 (Rymer, III, i, 83, 174; III, ii, 866 & 871).
5. Raoul de Caours in 1347 and Lancaster in 1349 (Rymer, III, i, 101 & 190). After 1350 appointments for Brittany included 'adjacent parts of Poitou' or 'adjacent parts' (vide supra., n.1).
6. J.Le Patourel, 'Edouard III, "roi de France et duc de Normandie", 1356-60', Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4^e sér., XXXI (1953), 317-18.

King of France after 1342,¹ as he did in Flanders after 1340.² The re-settlement of Calais left no doubts as to his support there.

He also made provision for prosecuting his claim to the kingdom as a whole. In 1337, when he first used the French royal title, he appointed four lieutenants, captains and vicars-general in France.³ Lieutenancies in the provincial circumscriptions sometimes included powers to act in France as a whole.⁴ And there were other appointments to the entire kingdom.⁵ Lieutenancies in Aquitaine usually included powers to act in Languedoc.⁶

Although these wider titles gave added dignity and prestige to the lieutenant so named, and greater mobility (essential to any higher military strategy), they could

1. Rymer, II, ii, 1189.
2. H.Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique, II, 107-25.
3. Rymer, II, ii, 1001.
4. Ibid., III, i, 37, 174, 509-10; ii, 871. The commissions to the Black Prince and John of Gaunt as lieutenants in Aquitaine include 'and other lands and places in our kingdom of France', and 'both in our kingdom of France, as in Aquitaine and elsewhere overseas', respectively (Ibid., III, i, 307; ii, 982).
5. Ibid., II, ii, 1204-5; III, i, 555; ii, 894-5 & 1018.
6. Ibid., III, i, 9 & 239. Although commissions to Lancaster in 1345 and 1349 only state 'Aquitaine and adjacent parts' (ibid., 37 & 189), he refers to himself as lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc in his letters (E.g., Appendix A, no.5).

also be used as official propæganda on Edward's behalf to keep his claim before the eyes of French subjects and to show the seriousness of his purpose.¹

The majority of English lieutenants were men of royal or noble birth.² Amongst the most outstanding of these were the Black Prince, lieutenant in Aquitaine (1355-7); John of Gaunt, captain and lieutenant in Calais, Merk, Guines and the kingdom of France (1369) and special lieutenant in Aquitaine and other lands overseas (1373); Lancaster as lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc (together with the earl, of Arundel) in 1344, captain and lieutenant in the same circumscription (1345-6 & 1349-50), lieutenant in Flanders, Calais and elsewhere in France (1348), captain and lieutenant in Poitou (1349-50) and in Brittany (1355-8); the earl of Northampton, captain and lieutenant in Brittany (1342 & 1345-6) and France (1345-6), and the earl of Stafford, captain and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc (1352).³

1. Walton, op.cit., 130.

2. Ibid., 185.

3. The commissions are to be found in Rymer, II, ii, 1204 & 1205; III, i, 9, 37, 174, 189, 190, 239, 240 & 307; ii, 871 & 982 and C 76/33,m.6.

It is possible, however, to lay too much emphasis on the importance of noble birth. Ability could do much to make up for the deficiencies of breeding. There were the famous captains like Thomas Dagworth and Walter Bentley, captains and lieutenants in Brittany (1347-53); John Chandos, captain and lieutenant in Normandy and France (1361-2); and Robert Knowles who, without any aristocratic connection whatsoever, was given the task of leading an extremely important expedition to France as lieutenant in the kingdom.¹ These men were renowned throughout France as well as England, and more outstanding for their exploits than their titles.

The French appointments were made to those provinces where allegiance to the Valois monarchy was made uncertain by local discontent and the conduct of Edward's military operations. Since the provinces in question were as widely scattered as Languedoc and Picardy, Brittany and the Maconnais, it was likewise necessary for the king to delegate command since he could not be everywhere at once. Several main circumscriptions may be discerned.

1. The commissions are to be found in Rymer, III, i, 100, 204 & 555; ii, 894-5. On Knowles's expedition, see E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War, 164.

Languedoc and Gascony (comprising the region south of the Dordogne valley) was the most important in that it was a long way from the usual sojourn of the court and so necessitated the devolution of more extensive powers than to an area close at hand, and in that the competition for allegiances is more in evidence than elsewhere.¹

Although this circumscription is most commonly referred to simply as Languedoc or partes occitanie,² it is evident that Gascony and other parts of Aquitaine were understood to be included. Some of the commissions specify Gascony, the Bordelais and Agenais, and sometimes Saintonge as parts of this circumscription.³ The intendant clauses of many of the commissions include "the king's other friends who are not his subjects",⁴ whilst it is evident from the itineraries of the lieutenants, as well as from the contents of the letters issued by them, that Gascony and these other regions

1. For this circumscription, see Appendix B, Ia & IIa; III, nos.1-12.

2. Appendix B, Ia, nos.1, 3, 5-7, 10-11, 13-15, 19-24 & 26.

3. Ibid., nos.2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 16-18 & 25.

4. Ibid., III, nos.3, 5, 7, etc.

were regarded as integral parts of their circumscriptions.¹

A lieutenant had been appointed in Languedoc both during and after the war of Saint-Sardos.² Upon the opening of hostilities in 1337 the office was revived and from then until the treaty of Brétigny a continuous series of appointments were made.³

The divided allegiance of Saintonge, the establishment of Anglo-Gascon garrisons there and in Poitou, and attacks north from Gascony proper, through Saintonge, Angoumois, Perigord and Limousin, necessitated the appointment of a supreme official in various areas of jurisdiction within and later comprising the entire region between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.⁴

In the early years of the war, prior to 1350, a captain-sovereign was appointed in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places.⁵ He may have been responsible to the lieutenant for Languedoc.⁶ On one occasion, in

1. Ibid., IIa.

2. Gallia Regia, III, 466, nos.13645-8.

3. Appendix B, Ia.

4. For this circumscription see *ibid.*, Ib & IIb; III, nos. 13 & 14.

5. *Ibid.*, Ib, nos.1-3 & 5.

6. Saintonge formed part of the circumscription of the lieutenants for Languedoc in 1341, 1342, 1344 & 1345, although the dates do not altogether co-incide (*ibid.*, and Ia, nos.4, 8, 9 & 12).

1347, a lieutenant was appointed for Saintonge, Poitou, the maines of Anjou and Berry, Angoumois, Limousin and the neighbouring places;¹ an appointment doubtless made necessary by Anglo-Gascon operations in 1345-6.²

The first great series of lieutenancies for this circumscription begins in 1350 with the elevation of Guy de Nesle, marshal of France, from the office of captain-sovereign and general in Saintonge and the neighbouring marches and places to that of lieutenant in Saintonge, Limousin and Perigord north of the river Dordogne.³ During the period he was held prisoner by the allies⁴ he was succeeded by Amaury de Craon as lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois and Perigord north of the river Dordogne; and the constable of France, Charles of Spain, as lieutenant in the entire region between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.⁵

By March 1352 Nesle had been transferred to the lieutenancy of Brittany and succeeded by another marshal,

1. Ibid., Ib, no.4.

2. Vide infra., pp.236-8.

3. Appendix B, Ib, nos.5 & 6.

4. He was taken prisoner on 1 April 1351 (Chronique Normande, 288 & n.6; Avesbury, 413; Grandes Chroniques, VI, 4), but had apparently gained his liberty by 27 August 1351 (Appendix B, I Ib, no.6).

5. Appendix B, ~~Ib~~, nos.7 & 8.

Arnoul d'Audrehem, also in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.¹ On 2 August following Audrehem was in turn transferred to the lieutenancy of Normandy, and appears to have been succeeded by another marshal, Jean de Clermont, as lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and the neighbouring places; and Regnaut de Pons as captain in Limousin, Perigord and the neighbouring places north of the river Dordogne.² On 1 January, 1355, Clermont was appointed lieutenant in all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Auvergne.³

These two great circumscriptions were united for a short time in June 1356 when the king's young son Jean, count of Poitiers, was given a commission as the king's special and general lieutenant in all the lands south of the river Loire;⁴ an appointment made necessary by the conduct of the Black Prince in the south and King John's pre-occupation with the impending

1. Ibid., Ic, no.2; Ib, no.9.

2. Ibid., Id, no.3; Ib, nos.12 & 13.

3. Ibid., Ib, no.14.

4. Ibid., Ia, no.25.

landings in Normandy.¹

After the French defeat at Poitiers, Jean de Hangest was appointed captain in Poitou and Saintonge, and in 1360 another marshal, Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut, was appointed lieutenant in all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.²

The responsibility for the government and administration of the duchy of Brittany normally rested with the duke, but since allegiance in the duchy was divided after the death of Duke John III in 1341, the rival claimants were responsible for maintaining and, where possible, expanding their respective positions. The capture and, later, the death of John de Montfort placed the responsibility with Edward III as guardian of Montfort's son and heir, whilst Charles of Blois was responsible for maintaining and expanding his position. However, his capture at La Roche Derrien in the summer of 1347, and his subsequent imprisonment in England, led the French king to assume responsibility for his interests, and to appoint a captain-general and sovereign, or a lieutenant, in Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to

1. Vide infra., pp. 629-30.

2. Appendix B, Ib, nos.15 & 16.

Brittany,¹ who was also lieutenant of Charles of Blois and his wife in Brittany.²

After the duchy of Normandy had been resurrected by Philip VI in favour of his eldest son John in 1331,³ and the entire administration granted to him in 1347,⁴ responsibility for its defence rested with the duke;⁵ but when the duchy reverted to the crown on John's accession to the throne in 1350, a captain-general or lieutenant-general was also appointed there until John invested his eldest son Charles with the duchy in 1355.⁶ The regency of the dauphin, during the period of King John's captivity in England, allowed a lieutenant to be appointed on behalf of himself as regent and duke, and of the king.⁷

1. Ibid., Ic.

2. E.g., "...Guy de Neelle Sire de Mello Marechal de France, Capitaine general & Souverain pour le Roy Monseigneur es parties de Bretagne, Anjou & le Maine & Lieutenant de Monseigneur & de Madame de Bretagne..." (P.H.Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, 1, 1484-5).

3. Arch. nat., J 370, no.2.

4. Ibid., no.7.

5. Ibid., no.5.

6. Appendix B, Id, nos.1-5.

7. Ibid., nos.6-8.

This was never the case in Gascony because, although the duchy was theoretically invested in the duke of Normandy in 1344, the administration was retained by the king.¹ Nevertheless, in the period of open hostility from 1345-6, the duke of Normandy was acting in two capacities: both as duke of Gascony and lieutenant of King Phillip.²

Recognition of Edward in Flanders and, after 1347, the erection of Calais as a military base in north-eastern France, necessitated another circumscription: Picardy and the frontiers of Flanders; Picardy, Artois and the Boulonnais, and (during the Jacquerie) Picardy, Beauvaisis and the region adjoining the river Oise; Picardy, Vermandois, Beauvaisis and the neighbouring places; and Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise.³ It is significant that the appointments in Picardy appear to have commenced in 1351, at the very time when operations which resulted in the capture of several fortresses around Calais (Guines, Marck and

1. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.60 & J 370, no.6.

2. Vide *infra.*, pp.137 & 198.

3. Appendix B, Ic.

Oye) and raids into the Boulonnais were being carried out.¹

In periods of emergency or particular need the French monarchs, like the English, would create special lieutenancies. This was the case at the beginning of the war when the count of Eu was appointed lieutenant in Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts.² Similarly, in 1358, the duke of Bourbon was appointed lieutenant in Auvergne, Berry and Limousin, and, in the following year, Auvergne, Berry and Mâconnais;³ appointments doubtless necessitated by Robert Knowles's famed chevauchée in these parts.⁴

Many of the French lieutenants, like their English counterparts, were men of royal or noble birth. The dauphin, John, was lieutenant of the king designated to Languedoc and Aquitaine (1345-6); the dauphin, Charles, lieutenant in Normandy (1355); the king's young son John, count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout France south of the river Loire (1356) and in Languedoc (1357-61);

1. Ibid. For operations around Calais, cf. infra., pp. 410-11.

2. Appendix B, If.

3. Ibid., loc. cit.

4. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 31-40.

the count of Armagnac, lieutenant in Languedoc (1346-7 & 1353-7); the counts of Valentinois and l'Isle, captains and lieutenants in Languedoc (1340-1, 1347-8 & 1352); the counts of Eu and Alencon, lieutenants in Normandy (1350-1 & 1359); and the counts of Montfort and Saint-Pol, lieutenants in the Picardy region (1351-2, 1358 & 1359-60).¹

The dukes of Bourbon, chamberlains of France, acted as lieutenants in Languedoc (1345-6), Picardy (1351) and the Auvergne-Berry circumscription (1358-60).² The constables of France (Raoul, count of Eu and Guines; Charles of Spain; Robert de Fiennes) also figure amongst the more notable lieutenants. The count of Eu was lieutenant in Languedoc (1337) and in Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts (1339); Charles of Spain in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne (1351-2); and Robert de Fiennes in the Picardy region (1358-9).³

1. Appendix B, Ia, nos.7, 14, 16, 22 & 24-6; Id, nos.1, 5 & 6; Ie, nos.2, 6 & 7. For the lieutenancy of the ~~King's son~~ John, in 1345-6, vide ~~infra.~~ pp.198 ff.
2. Appendix B, Ia, no.13; Ie, no.1; Ig, nos.1-2.
3. Ibid., Ia, no.1; Ib, no.8; Ie, no.7; If, no.1.

The majority of English lieutenants were appointed for only one term of office, and there were few who held more than one commission and were sent to various areas at different times.¹ In this respect Lancaster was something of an exception.² Only John of Gaunt, Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Holand occupied analogous positions.³

This was not the case with French lieutenants. The marshals of France (Guy de Nesle, Amaury de Craon, Jean de Clermont, Arnoul d'Audrehem and Jean le Maingre), perhaps the most outstanding of them, were almost professional lieutenants, succeeding from one circumscription to another; doubtless owing to their office as marshals. During the three years prior to his death at Moron on 14 August, 1352,⁴ Nesle was successively captain-sovereign and general in Saintonge and the neighbouring marches and places (1349-50); lieutenant in Saintonge, Limousin

1. Walton, op.cit., 189.

2. For the commissions given to him and the circumscriptions in which he served, vide supra., p.63.

3. For their commissions and the circumscriptions in which they served, vide supra., pp.63-4.

4. Gallia Regia, IV, p.38, no.14747 & p.409, no.17205. He was in charge of the French forces at the battle (Avesbury, 416).

and Périgord north of the river Dordogne (1350-51); and in Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany (1352).¹ Craon first held office as lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois and Périgord north of the river Dordogne during Nesle's captivity (1351), and was subsequently lieutenant in Languedoc (1352), Brittany, Anjou and Maine (1352-3), and in Normandy (1354-5).² Clermont was successively lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders (1353); in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and the neighbouring places (1354); and in all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Auvergne (1355-6).³ Audrehem was successively captain in Poitou, Limousin, Saintonge, Périgord and the neighbouring places north of the Dordogne (1352); lieutenant in all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne (1352-3); in Normandy (1353-4); and in Picardy, Artois and the Boulonnais (1355-7).⁴ Jean le

1. Appendix B, Ib, nos.5 & 6; Ic, no.2.

2. Ibid., Ia, no.21; Ib, no.7; Ic, no.3; Id, no.4.

3. Ibid., Ib, nos.12 & 14; Ie, no.4.

4. Ibid., Ib, no.9; Id, no.3; Ie, no.5. His nephew Jean, lord of Neuville, was acting for him in 1356-7 (Ibid., IIe, no.5).

Maingre was acting as lieutenant in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne in 1360.¹

The master of the French crossbowmen served as a captain-general or lieutenant: Le Galois de la Baume in Gascony and the Agenais (1337-8) and Gascony and Languedoc (1348); Robert de Houdetot in Languedoc (1350) and Normandy (1351).²

The king's councillors also figure prominently. Most notable of these men are the bishop of Beauvais who received no less than six commissions in the Languedoc-Gascony circumscription in the years 1339-45,³ and whose success in winning allegiances is unmistakeable;⁴ and the archbishop of Auch, three times lieutenant in the same circumscription (1340-41, 1347 & 1349).⁵

Local officials sometimes served as captains and lieutenants: the seneschals of Toulouse and Albi, and of Saintonge.⁶

1. Ibid., Ib, no.16.
2. Ibid., Ia, nos.2, 16-17 & 19; Id, no.2. Houdetot succeeded Baume as master of the crossbowmen on 15 May, 1350 (C.Devic & J.Vaissete, Histoire générale de Languedoc, IX, 618, n.4).
3. Appendix B, Ia, nos.4, 8-9, 11-12.
4. Ibid., IIa, nos.8 & 9; Table I, nos.8 & 9.
5. Appendix B, Ia, nos.6, 15 & 18.
6. Ibid., Ia, nos.5-6, 10 & 23; Ib, no.2.

Two appointments of non-French lieutenants were made to Languedoc: King John of Bohemia (1339) and Charles the Bad, King of Navarre (1351).¹

It is difficult to generalise about the powers invested in the lieutenants, since the commissions were often designed to meet immediate circumstances and they were not drawn up according to any rigid formulae. There are, however, certain common characteristics.

An English lieutenant² not only had full military authority, with powers to retain men into the king's pay, supervise the defence of castles and fortresses, towns and other places, and to assemble and lead an army; but also over-riding judicial and administrative authority, with powers to appoint and dismiss local officials at his discretion. To some extent he was the king's vice-roy: he could receive individuals and communities into the king's allegiance, take their homage, grant them letters of pardon, and reward them with grants of land; conversely, he could confiscate the

1. Ibid., Ia, nos.3 & 20.

2. The following analysis is based on the commissions cited above, pp.60-61. For a more detailed survey, cf. Walton, op.cit., chapter II, 40-55.

lands of those who deserted the king's allegiance and employ such properties as he thought best. He could issue letters of safe conduct, take fines and ransoms, and initiate alliances and agreements with important nobles and others likely to be of value to Edward. He was both commander in the field and administrator.

The similarity of the commissions given to the French lieutenants is striking; but the powers invested in them were wider, and expressed in greater detail.

A French lieutenant¹ also possessed full military authority, with powers to assemble and lead an army. He could raise whatever troops he judged necessary for his purposes and retain them in the king's pay. He could garrison and supervise the armament, repair, victualling and supply of towns, castles, fortresses and other places; inspect, increase, diminish, renew and replace such garrisons, and appoint, re-appoint and dismiss the captains and castellans in charge of them. He could issue letters of safe conduct to those in the king's obedience

1. The following analysis is based on the commissions cited in Appendix B, sections I & II. Transcriptions of most of these are to be found in section III of the same Appendix.

as to others. The right to have castles and fortresses razed to the ground does not appear to have been extraordinary: it formed part of his military powers, and could be exercised by inferior officers.¹

He also possessed full judicial and administrative authority. He could pardon both civil and criminal offences, including lèse-majesté, issue letters of respite and grant pardons for not paying debts to nobles. He had full cognisance over all other officials, both military and civil: captains and castellans, seneschals and baillis; with powers to appoint, renew and dismiss them at his discretion. He could issue and annul banishments, receive individuals and communities into the king's ~~peace~~^{alleg}iance, grant them letters of pardon, take their homage, restore them in their heritages, and reward them with grants of land, rents, money, offices and all manner of forfeitures, for life and in perpetuity. He could redeem debts or ransoms, grant consulates, bestow and confirm privileges, liberties and franchises, and confirm the customs of both individuals and communities. He could create knights of honour, and even

1. Molinier, op.cit., 29-30.

had powers of ennoblement. He could treat with local inhabitants of subsidies, and expend all forms of royal revenue on the conduct of the war, or to reward the deserving. He could issue orders which normally required special mandate or acceptance by the chambre des comptes, and occasionally he could even alienate the royal patrimony, although this was exceptional, and usually specifically excluded from his powers. In short, he could do everything which the king would or could do if he were there in person, and the king undertook to confirm all the letters which he issued in the exercise of his authority, although such confirmation was in no ways necessary to their enforcement.

Several lieutenants could be appointed together in a single circumscription, but this was exceptional, and it was usual for the powers to be invested in a single person.¹

Both English and French lieutenants were advised by a council, which was made up of men prominent as military leaders, local officials and professional councillors, over which the lieutenant presided and in which affairs

1. For English lieutenants, vide supra., pp. 60-61, notes 2 & 1-6. for French lieutenants, Appendix B, section I.

were expediated, unless, to deal with a particular matter in hand, he delegated his powers to another.¹

They had chanceries, and the letters emanating from them were drafted in their names.² In the case of French lieutenants, these could be sealed, as royal letters, with silk cord and green wax.³

In financial matters their powers varied.⁴ Although a French lieutenant did not directly handle the king's moneys, he had complete financial power, for, upon his orders, treasurers of wars, their lieutenants, and other royal treasurers and receivers, accountable to the treasurers of France at the chambre des comptes, paid the expenses ordered by him, with the sole provision to furnish an exact account at the chambre des comptes.⁵

1. For the councils which advised the English lieutenants, vide infra., pp.280-5 & 754-60. For the councils which advised the French lieutenants, vide infra., pp.82-102.
2. Vide infra., pp.102-14.
3. Molinier, op.cit., 29.
4. For the financial powers of the English lieutenants, vide supra., pp.77-8.
5. Vide infra., pp.116 ff.

The Lieutenant's Council

It is fairly clear that, in both France and England, military and political policy was initially worked out in the king's council. It was here that the lieutenants were appointed and military strategy formulated.

In the case of the French lieutenants this is evident from the warranty notes which often appear at the foot of the commissions issued to them: "Par le roy en son conseil",¹ "Par le roy en son grant conseil",² etc; and they sometimes specify the councillors upon whose report they were issued.³

Whilst we have no equivalent evidence for the appointment of the English lieutenants, it is clear from other sources that the decision was taken by the king and his council. It was they who decided to send Walter Mauny to Brittany with an expeditionary force to relieve Brest in 1342,⁴ to send Lancaster to Gascony in 1345,⁵

1. Appendix B, III, nos.1, 2, 10, 13, 20 & 21a.

2. Ibid., 7.

3. Ibid., 2 & 10.

4. E 36/203, fo.105v ("misso per regem et consilium ad partes Britannie pro villa de Brest in Britannia rescuenda").

5. C 76/20, m.34 ("iuxta ordinacionem per nos et consilium nostrum inde factam").

the earl of Stafford in 1352.¹ Before the Black Prince contracted to go to Gascony in 1355, plans were discussed between his own and the king's council.² Provisions to come to the assistance of the lieutenants, if need be, which are to be found in the contracts for service in Gascony of Lancaster, Stafford and the Black Prince, and in Brittany of the earl of Northampton, argue a pre-determined general military strategy.³

But if a lieutenant was to secure the allegiance and support of the lords and towns within his circumscription, he would need to have a knowledge of local conditions, of the territorial ambitions of the lords and the corporate ambitions of the towns. If he was to be successful in the field he would need to be conversant with the geography of the country, and be advised on matters of strategy.

1. E 101/26/25 ("iuxta avisamentum consilii").
2. BM, Harley 4971, fo.14r; Appendix A, no. ("Come par nostre conseil a Londres assemblees ... ove le conseil nostre treschere seignour et pierre le roi, soions en propos d'aler es parties pardela").
3. Lancaster was to be rescued by the king (E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1), Stafford by either Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick or Huntingdon (BM, Stowe MS 440, fo.9r), the Black Prince by the king with the help and counsel of Lancaster and the earls of Northampton, Arundel, March and Stafford (Black Prince's Register, IV, 145, after E 36/278, fo.38d), and Northampton by the king (E 101/68/72; Appendix A, no.2). Vide infra., pp. 639-40.

Once an English lieutenant took up his appointment in Gascony or Brittany, he was advised by the ducal council on matters of administration and by a council of his chiefs of staff on military matters.¹ He also kept in close touch with the council in England.²

The French lieutenants were not infrequently local men, and were therefore well versed in local affairs; but just as often they were not.³ In both cases they were advised by a council, which was in part composed of military leaders within their entourage, in part by local officials and professional councillors.

An act or order expedited in a French lieutenant's council, or upon report from the council, would bear one of the following warranty notes at the foot of the lieutenant's letters towards the left margin: "Par monseigneur le lieutenant en son conseil",⁴ "Per dominum locum tenentem in

1. For full details, vide infra., pp. 280-5, 712-5 & 754-60.

2. Ibid., pp. 228.

3. Appendix B,

4. Armagnac, lieutenant in Languedoc, Agen, 21 May, 1355 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol. 213, no. 32); Audrehem, lieutenant in Normandy, Pontorson, 16 January, 1353/4 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol. 133, Audenehan, no. 9; published by Molinier, op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, pp. 222-3, no. XVIII).

consilio",¹ "Per dominum capitaneum in consilio",²
 "Per dominum in consilio",³ "Par monseigneur le lieutenant,
 à la relation de son conseil",⁴ or, in the case of
 Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, lieutenant in Languedoc
 in 1351, "Per dominum regem in consilio",⁵ and the duke
 of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and
 Languedoc in 1344-6, "Par monseigneur le duc en son
 conseil",⁶ "Per dominum ducem in suo consilio",⁷ "Par

1. Agout des Baux, lieutenant and captain-general in Languedoc, Agen, 24 December, 1342 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.6); Armagnac, lieutenant in Languedoc, Agen, 25 June, 1354 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, no.26), Agen, 22 June, 1354 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 170-1, no.LXIX), Agen, 23 June, 1354 (ibid., 171-2, no.LXX), Toulouse, 28 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9483, no.59).
2. Jean, count of l'Isle, captain in Languedoc, Toulouse, 8 October, 1352 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 164-5, no.LXV); Amaury de Rochechouart, captain-general in Languedoc, Toulouse, 18 December, 1352 (ibid., 165-7, no.LXVI).
3. Simon, Lord Derquier, captain-general and especial in the Agenais and Gascony, Marmande, 26 December, 1337 (Arch. nat., JJ 72, fos.76r-7v, no.108)
4. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant in Languedoc, 4 April, 1360 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.2343, De la Porte, no.6).
5. Agen, 18 & 20 September, 1351 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 153-5, nos.LVI & LVII).
6. Buzet, 29 August, 1344 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1522, De la Heuse, no.4), Limoges, 4 & 5 October, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.84v, no.151 & fo.98v, no.187).
7. Cahors, 22 September, 1344 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.98r-v, no.186), In our tents before Aiguillon, 18 July, 1346 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 152-3, no.LXX).

monseigneur le duc en son grant conseil",¹ "Par monseigneur le duc, présent le conseil",² "Par monseigneur le duc, à la relation du conseil",³ "Per dominum ducem, ad relationem consilii".⁴

All kinds of decision were made in council. The count of Armagnac, lieutenant in Languedoc (1352-7), ordered numerous payments to be made upon decisions taken in council: £1,000 tournois to the consuls of Agen for the urgent repair of the ramparts of the town;⁵ upon the request of the consuls of Condom for the repair of the enclosure of the town;⁶ for the repair of the gates and other fortifications of Puymirol, upon supplication of

1. Limoges, 4 October, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.89r-v, no.163).
2. Angoulême, October, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.99r, no.189).
3. Angoulême, 30 October, 1345 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.142, p.2901), Angoulême, November 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.426r-v, no.235).
4. Beaucaire, June 1344 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.82v-3v, no.147), Agen, September 1344 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 147-9, no.LXVII), Châtillon-sur-Indre, 27 November, 1345 (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.243), Agen, 23 August, 1346 (Arch. nat., JJ 77, fos.195r-7v, no.316).
5. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 171-2, no.LXX (Agen, 23 June, 1354).
6. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, no.26 (Agen, 25 June, 1354).

the consuls that the town was in grave danger of being lost to the enemy;¹ to the consuls of Monségur, for good service in resisting enemy occupation, upon request for consideration of losses in making such defence;² and to others.³

Agout des Baux and the count of Poitiers, also lieutenants in Languedoc (1342-3 & 1357-61 respectively), likewise ordered payments to be made upon decisions taken in council.⁴ Arnoul d'Audrehem, lieutenant in Normandy (1353-4), instructed the vicomte and receiver of Falaise to be present at an assembly of ecclesiastics, nobles and townsmen which he had convoked at Saint-Lô.⁵ The duke of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and Languedoc (1344-6), issued all kinds of letters on decisions or reports of his council: orders,⁶

1. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, no.32 (Agen, 21 May, 1355).
2. Ibid., p.9483, no.59 (Toulouse, 28 June, 1356).
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, no.LXIX, 170-1 (Agen, 22 June, 1354), etc.
4. Agout, Agen, 24 December, 1342 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.6); Poitiers, Aignesparse, 4 March, 1359 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.80, p.6297, no.109) and 4 April, 1360 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.2343, De la Porte, no.6).
5. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.9 (Pontorson, 16 January, 1354).
6. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 152-3, no.LXX (In our tents before Aiguillon, 18 July, 1346).

authorisations,¹ grants,² redemptions of debts,³ pardons,⁴ and confirmations of grants⁵ and ennoblements.⁶

We are sometimes told who was present in council.

This is the case when a lieutenant's letters bear one of the following warranty notes: "Par monseigneur le lieutenant en son conseil, ou quel est (or estoient)", etc.,⁷ "Per dominum locum tenentem in suo consilio, presente", etc.,⁸ "Par monseigneur le lieutenant, à la

1. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.89r-v, no.163 (Limoges, 4 October, 1345).
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1522, De la Heuse, no.4 (Buzet, 29 August, 1344); Clairambault, vol.142, p.2901 (Angoulême, 30 October, 1345); collection Doat, vol.243 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 27 November, 1345); Arch. nat., JJ 77, fos.195r-7v, no.316 (Agen, 23 August, 1346).
3. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.98v, no.187 (Limoges, 5 October, 1345).
4. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.84v, no.151 (Limoges, 4 October, 1345) & fo.99r, no.189 (Angoulême, October, 1345).
5. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.82v-3v, no.147 (Beaucaire, June 1344) & fo.98r-v, no.186 (Cahors, 22 September, 1344).
6. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.426r-v, no.235 (Angoulême, November 1345).
7. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant in Languedoc: Gymont, 15 November, 1358 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.24); Toulouse, 2 January, 1359/60 (ibid., vol.2019, Montferrand, no.3); Toulouse, 28 March, 1359/60 (ibid., vol.93, Armagnac, no.7).
8. Jean, bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant in Languedoc, Agen, December 1342 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 130-2, no.LVIII); Amaury de Craon, lieutenant in Languedoc, Agen, 6 November, 1352 (Arch. nat., JJ 82, fo.385r, no.600).

relation de son conseil, ou quel est (or estoient)", etc.,¹ "Per dominum locum tenentem ad relationem consilii, in quo erant", etc.,² "Par le conseil, ou quel estoient", etc.³ (In each case, etc. denotes the name or names of the person or persons stated as being present in council).

Thus we have a fairly clear picture of the members of the council of Jean, count of Poitiers, during his lieutenancy in France south of the river Loire in 1356. Jean de Clermont, marshal of France (hitherto lieutenant between the rivers Loire and Dordogne), Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut, and several others were present at a council held at Bourges on 18 June, 1356, which advised him to appoint certain notaries to work with him as lieutenant, and arranged for them to be paid 40 shillings a day.⁴ Boucicaut, the seneschals of Poitou and Saintonge,

1. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire, Bourges, 18 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58), and Bourges, 21 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3).
2. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant in Languedoc, Toulouse, 8 March, 1357/8 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 174-5, no.LXXIII, which wrongly reads "dictum for dominum").
3. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire, Bourges, 24 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.265, Beguin, no.4).
4. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58.

and several others were present at another council held at Bourges on 21 June following, which advised him to appoint the king's secretary, Pierre de Labatut, to be a member of his council during his lieutenancy, and arranged for him to be paid £4 tournois a day.¹ Boucicaut and the seneschal of Toulouse were present at another council held there three days later, and which arranged for payment of costs to Milat Beguin who was sent on a special mission to Chartres and Blois.²

There is equal evidence for his lieutenancy in Languedoc. The bishop of Nevers, the lord of Montagu, le Galois de la Baume and others were present at an enactment in council at Toulouse on 8 March, 1358;³ the bishop of Nevers, the lords of Montagu and Montigny, le Galois de la Baume and others at a council which granted amnesty from the sedition of Toulouse;⁴ the counts of Armagnac and Pardiac, the chancellor of Poitou,

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3.

2. Ibid., vol.265, Beguin, no.4.

3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 174-5, no.LXXIII.

4. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/49.

Philippe de Lespinace and several others at a council at Gymont which ordered a payment on 15 November, 1358;¹ the lord of Leicore, Thibaut de Barbazan, Gonbit de Fumel and several others at a council which ordered a payment to the captain of Saint-Justin (on the frontiers of Bearn) at Toulouse on 28 March, 1360;² and the bishop of Lectoure and the count of Pardiac at a council held at Toulouse on 2 January, 1360, granting Regnaut de Montferrand 300 gold écus for his good services and expenses in the "chevauchée d'Agen" and subsequently.³

Amaury de Craon, lieutenant in Languedoc, granted letters of pardon in a council held at Agen on 6 November, 1352, which was attended by the count of Armagnac, Guillaume Trussell and Guy Ferlay.⁴ Giles de Maldestorn was present at a council of the bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant in Languedoc, held at Agen in December 1342, which ordered an enactment to interpret and complete letters of exemption from a toll granted to the inhabitants

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.24.

2. Ibid., vol.93, Armagnac, no.7.

3. Ibid., vol.2019, Montferrand, no.3.

4. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fo.385r, no.600.

of Agen by King Philip.¹ The count of Armagnac confirmed the agreement concluded with Pons and Arnaud de Beauville after "matura deliberacione et consilio" with Pierre de Casetone, knight, councillor of the king and master of requests of his household; Pierre Raymond de Rabastens, seneschal of the Agenais; and several other royal officials, barons and knights then with him.² The abbot of Clairac, Rabastens and Gaillard de Durfort, lord of Duras, were among the witnesses to ~~an~~ agreement which he concluded with Arnaud de Caumont and his sons.³

There were, however, many occasions when a lieutenant made decisions without prior consultation with his council. Such acts bear the warranty notes: "Par monseigneur le lieutenant", "Per dominum locum tenentem", "Par monseigneur le lieutenant, et de son commandement", "Sic signatum per dominum locum tenentem"; and in the case of the duke of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and Languedoc in 1344-6: "Par monseigneur le

1. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 136-2, no. LVIII.

2. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.409r-10r, no.655.

3. Ibid., fo.383r-v, no.598.

duc", "Per dominum ducem", or "Per dominum ducem, qui sub signare voluit".¹

Amaury de Craon acted personally in this way on several occasions. As lieutenant in Languedoc he appointed captains of towns, retained troops into service, and ordered the treasurers of wars or their lieutenants to pay due wages.² As lieutenant north of the Dordogne he ordered payment of £500 tournois to the captain and guardian of the castle and fortress of Lusignan, for works on the same,³ and other payments.⁴

Arnoul d'Audrehem, lieutenant between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, appointed Geffroi David, clerk, his councillor of requests,⁵ and ordered Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars, or his lieutenant, to pay Jean de

1. The sources of the acts bearing these warranty notes are given in the ensuing paragraphs.
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.187, Barbazan, no.6 (Toulouse, 25 September, 1352); vol.922, Craon, no.4 (Moissac, 24 June, 1352) & nos.5 & 10 (Toulouse, 25 September, 1352); Clairambault, vol.36, p.2739, no.179 (Moissac, 25 June, 1352).
3. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.9 (Niort, 25 May, 1351).
4. Ibid., no.8 (Poitiers, 17 May, 1351); vol.774, Clerambaut, no.827 (Périgeux, 26 June, 1351).
5. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.1126, fo.108, Saint Esprit, no.16; published by Molinier, op.cit., 204-5, Pièces Justificatives, no.8 (Limoges, 1 April, 1351/2). The order for him to act, dated 17 June, 1352, is Arch. nat., JJ 84, no.141; published by Molinier, op.cit., 37, n.8.

Châtillon, clerk and royal notary, fifteen shillings tournois a day for acting as notary with him.¹ As lieutenant in Normandy he repeated his order, in more pressing terms, to the vicomte and receiver of Falaise to be present at the assembly which he had convoked at Saint-Lô.²

The count of Armagnac, lieutenant in Languedoc, ordered payment for the enclosure of le-Mas-d'Agenais of a sum granted to the consuls of the town by Pierre Raymond de Rabastens, seneschal of Agenais and Gascony, whom he had previously appointed captain in those parts.³ He retained troops into service and ordered the treasurers of wars or their lieutenants to pay customary wages⁴ and other payments,⁵ and made grants to diverse persons.⁶

As lieutenant in Languedoc, the bishop of Beauvais ordered the castellans of Puymirol and Auvillar, and the

1. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.30, fo.2215; published Molinier, op.cit., 215, Pièces Justificatives, no.12 (Limoges, 1 April, 1352/3).
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.9; published Molinier, op.cit., 222-3, Pièces Justificatives, no.18 (Pontorson, 18 January, 1353/4).
3. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9479, no.52 (Moissac, 28 April, 1355); p.9471, no.39 (Marmande, 24 June, 1355).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.5 (Agen, 6 October, 1354); vol.77, Autras, no.3 (Agen, 22 May, 1355).
5. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 172-3, no.LXXI (Mancietti, 14 August, 1354); Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.12 (Toulouse, 15 May, 1356); vol.783, Clermont, no.2 (Toulouse, 16 May, 1356).

bailli of Agen to see that the sauvegarde granted to the inhabitants of Agen was respected.¹ He issued orders and enactments,² and ordered the treasurer of Agen to make payment of a grant of money made by the count of Valentinois and himself.³

Agout des Baux, also lieutenant in Languedoc, retained troops into service and ordered the treasurer of wars or his lieutenant to pay them wages.⁴ He ordered the payment of grants made by the bishop of Beauvais and the count of Valentinois.⁵

The duke of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and Languedoc in 1344-6, instructed treasurers and receivers to make payment of grants of money which he had made,⁶ and

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.235, Benac, no.2 (Agen, 4 July, 1355).
1. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 126-8, no.LVI (In his tents before Damazan, 27 July, 1342).
2. Ibid., 124-5, no.LIV (Montauban, 24 May, 1342); V, 360-3, no.CLVIII (In his tents before Sainte-Bazaille, August, 1342).
3. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8 (In his tents before Sainte-Bazaille, 26 September, 1342).
4. Ibid., no.7 (Agen, 2 January, 1342).
5. Ibid., no.8 (Agen, 24 January, 1342).
6. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, nos.40 & 41; vol.17, Ailly, no.6 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 25 November, 9 & 27 December, 1345).

other payments;¹ authorised the capitols of Toulouse to enclose the town and import food from other parts of France;² and granted letters of pardon.³

The council does not then appear to have exercised direct control over a lieutenant's action. It was merely advisory. There is no distinction between the powers which he exercised independent of his council and those which he exercised upon the advice of his council. On one occasion, however, the council acted for the lieutenant.⁴

Very often the warranty notes specify upon whose report, or in whose presence, a decision was made or letters issued. Such letters bear one of the following warranty notes: "Par monseigneur le lieutenant, à la relation de", etc., "Per dominum locum tenentem, ad

1. Bibl. nat., Gaigneres, 152 & 560; Pièces originales, vol.1774, Luilly, no.2; vol.2031, Montmorency, no.7 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 22 December, 1345; Loches, 12 January, 1345/6; in his tents before Aiguillon, 4 June & 22 July, 1346; Agen, 24 August, 1346).
2. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 5/274 & AA 45/22 (Agen, 23 August, 1346).
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 153-5, no.LXXI.
4. Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire, Bourges, 24 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.265, Beguin, no.4). Vide supra., p.90.

relationem", etc., "Par monseigneur le lieutenant, present", etc., "Per dominum locum tenentem, presente (or presentibus)", etc., or simply "Per dominum, presente", etc.¹ In the case of the duke of Normandy in Languedoc and Aquitaine in 1344-6, these appear as: "Par monseigneur le duc, à la relation de (or à nostre relation)", etc., "Per dominum ducem, ad relationem", etc., "Par monseigneur le duc, present", etc., "Per dominum ducem, presente (or presentibus)", etc.²

Thus we can often determine upon whose advice a decision was taken. The master of the French crossbowmen was present when the count of Eu, lieutenant in Languedoc, issued letters annulling all enactments, sentences and banishments against the inhabitants of Agen, and authorising the establishment of a fair in the town.³ Mandates for payment issued by the bishop of Beauvais were made on the report of Master P.Aurelzerii⁴ and

1. The sources of the letters bearing these warranty notes are given in the footnotes to the ensuing paragraphs.
2. Ibid.
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 89-92, nos. XXXIII & XXXIV (By La Réole, and La Réole, 9 September, 1337).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.24, Albret, no.3 (Marmande, 18 June, 1339).

Giles de Mandestorn.¹ The count of Valentinois, also lieutenant in Languedoc, made a grant for good service on the report of P.Aurezel and Olivier de l'Age.²

Orders to the seneschal of Toulouse were made on the report of l'Age³ and in the presence of P. de Caseton.⁴

There are two mandates of the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant in Languedoc and Gascony, one issued on the report of two knights, Guy Rolleron and Albert Lupi, concerning a dispute over lands, involving the count of Armagnac;⁵ the other, an order to the seneschal and judge ordinary of the Agenais, made on the report of the judge ordinary of the Agenais.⁶

Of the persons who advised the count of Armagnac during his two lieutenancies in Languedoc, we have substantial information. Permission was granted to the capitols of Toulouse to export 200 gold pieces to buy oil in Spain upon the report of the chantry of Amiens.⁷

1. Arch. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.11 (Marmande, 25 November, 1342).
2. Ibid., vol.231, Des Baux, no.8 (By Fronton, 31 October, 1341).
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 122-3, no.LII (Agen, 25 August, 1341).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.4 (Agen, 2 May, 1341).
5. Ibid., vol.2018, Montfaucon, no.3; vol.93, Armagnac, no.2 (Agen, 28 October, 1345).
6. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 150-1, no.LXIX (Agen, 19 November, 1345).

Another letter was issued on the report of Fortunatus de Clerito.¹ He ordered the treasurer of wars, or his lieutenant, to pay the wages of the garrison of Sarrafront, and to make other payments, in the presence of Master Raymond Caignes.² Upon the request of the capitols of Toulouse, and in the presence of Raymond Canhas, he ordered the seneschal and treasurer of Toulouse to respect certain financial privileges granted to the inhabitants of the town;³ and, also in the presence of Canhas, he ordered the seneschal of Rouergue to pay their wages, and ordered the payment of wages of other troops.⁴ Other letters of the count include a mandate issued on the report of Guillaume Ruffel;⁵ an order of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of

7. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/27 (Toulouse, 28 February, 1346/7).

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.3 (14 October, 1346).

2. Ibid., Clairambault, vol.6, fo.257, no.49 (Montauban, 8 June, 1353); other payments (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.13; Monréal-en-Rivière, 13 February, 1356/7).

3. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 6/244 & AA 45/30 (Montauban, 24 May, 1355).

4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, nos.10-11 (Toulouse, 19 & 30 April, 1356); order for payment of wages, Toulouse, 20 October, 1356 (Clairambault, vol.6, fo.259, no.58). There are two other letters issued in the presence of Canhas, one at Lectoure on 4 December, 1355; the other in his tents before Saint-Anthony on 9 February, 1352/3 (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/42; Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 167-9, no.LXVII).

5. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/31 (In the camp near Fenayrol, 7 August, 1353).

wars, or his lieutenant, for the payment of wages, in the presence of Hugues de Bonvilar;¹ and to the same for the payment of a grant for good service which he had made in the presence of P. de Caseton and Bernard Raymond Ysalger.²

There is a letter of Arnoul d'Audrenhem, lieutenant in Normandy, summoning the mayor and vicomte of Falaise to meet him at Caen, made in the presence of the bailli of the Cotentin.³

Several letters are extant of the count of Poitiers, lieutenant south of the river Loire and subsequently in Languedoc. One was issued on the report of Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut.⁴ He granted the town of Toulouse the right to levy certain impôts in order to complete the ramparts in the presence of the counts of Ventadour, Valentinois and Pardiac, the chancellor of Poitou and the seneschal of the Agenais.⁵ A mandate for payment to

1. Arch. nat., K 47B, no.43 (19 September, 1357).
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.4 (Toulouse, 1 December, 1353).
3. Ibid., vol.133, Audeneham, no.11; published Molinier, op.cit., 224, Pièces Justificatives, no.20 (Caen, 1 February, 1353/4).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.106, Ars, no.11 (Bourges, 23 June, 1356).
5. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/51 (Montpellier, 28 April, 1359).

his marshal and chamberlain was made in the presence of Jean de Bray, knight;¹ and another on the report of the lord of Montagu.²

The evidence is rather more considerable for the duke of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and Languedoc. Amongst those present at his decisions were the bishop of Beauvais,³ the duke of Burgundy,⁴ the count of Armagnac and Louis de Savoy,⁵ Charles of Blois,⁶ R. de Anneville and Henri de la Burgière,⁷ and

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1065, Espagne 24639, no.4 (Toulouse, 30 June, 1359).
2. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.80, fo.6297, no.106 (Saint-Poursain, 25 January, 1358/9).
3. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.212, fo.9431, no.92 (Cahors, September, 1344); mandate for payment, to his treasurer, in his tents before Aiguillon, 29 April, 1346 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1125, Fermant, no.6); authorisation, in his tents before Aiguillon, April, 1346 (Arch. nat., JJ 75, fo.59v, no.117); charter to the capitols of Toulouse, in his tents between Tonneins and Aiguillon, 12 July, 1346 (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/21); mandate, in his tents before Aiguillon, 13 August, 1346 (Bibl. nat., Doat, 127, fos.178 and sequel).
4. Grant, Lusignan, November, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 74, fo.4v, no.14).
5. Letters of remission, Limoges, October 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.64v, no.111); grant, Limoges, October 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.86, no.147).
6. Pardon, Angoulême, October 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.89v, no.164).
7. Confirmation of letters of pardon, Angoulême, October 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.420-1, no.224).

his chaplain.¹ Letters were issued on the reports of his secretaries: Fransiscus,² R. de Molins,³ Clavel,⁴ Jean Leclerc⁵ and Hayes.⁶

The Lieutenant's Chancery

The lieutenants had a chancery in which their letters were drafted, and they were accompanied by secretaries, proctors and notaries who assisted them in the performance of their duties. In this respect we know far more of the French lieutenants than their English counterparts, because in the case of the French lieutenants the names of the clerks who engrossed

1. Redemption of a debt, Poitiers, September, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.66v, no.118).
2. Pardons, Villeneuve-les-Avignon and by Villeneuve-les-Avignon, June 1344 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.82r, no.145) & fo.83v, no.148).
3. Pardon, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, June 1344 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.82r, no.146).
4. Confirmation of a grant of judicial powers, Cahors, 22 September, 1344 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.95r, no.180); pardon, Limoges, 5 October, 1345 (ibid., fo.93, no.173); ennoblement, Angoulême, November, 1345 (ibid., fo.421r, no.225).
5. Redemption of a debt, Chauvigny, September, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.426v-7v, no.236).
6. Pardon, Angoulême, October 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.99r, no.188).

their letters, or supervised the engrossment, which appear at the bottom right hand corner, are more in evidence; and because the original letters of the French lieutenants are more abundant than those of English lieutenants.

In English royal letters, the name would have been that of the chancery master. The employment of notaries as chancery clerks, which was customary in France and Gascony, was exceptional in England. The notes of warranty, with which the names occur, are unfortunately not included in the enrollments of their confirmations, by either the English or French royal chanceries, and these enrollments form the bulk of our source letters for the English lieutenants.

Barthélemy Cama was acting as secretary to the count of Eu, lieutenant in Languedoc.¹ The bishop of Beauvais was assisted by several secretaries during his lieutenancies in the same circumscription: P. Dannoy in June 1339,² J. Adam in May 1342,³ Jean Dailly in August and September

1. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 89-92, nos. XXXIII & XXXIV (By La Réole and La Réole, 9 September, 1337).

2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.24, Albret, no.3 (Marmande, 18 June, 1339).

3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 124-5, no.LIV (Montauban, 24 May, 1342).

1342,¹ Jean de Chasteillon in July and October 1342,² and P. de Labatut in December 1342.³ One Saruger was acting as secretary to both Beauvais and the count of Valentinois, lieutenants in Languedoc, in October 1341.⁴

Valentinois had at least two other secretaries in his service: Pierre de Pins in May 1341,⁵ and one G.R. in August 1341.⁶ Pins also served as secretary to Agout des Baux, lieutenant and captain-general in Languedoc, in the winter of 1342-3.⁷ G. Ademar served as secretary to the archbishop of Auch and Pierre de Palude, acting in the same circumscription, in October 1341;⁸ and to Amaury de Rochechouart, also in Languedoc, in December 1352.⁹

1. Arch. hist. Gironde, V, 360-3, no. CLVIII (In his tents before Sainte-Bazaille, August, 1342); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8 (In his tents before Sainte-Bazaille, 26 September, 1342); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.11.
2. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 126-8, no. LVI (In his tents before Damazan, 27 July, 1342); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/10 (Marmande, 12 October, 1342).
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 130-2, no. LVIII (Agen, December 1342).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8 (By Fronton, 31 October, 1341).
5. Ibid., no.4 (Agen, 2 May, 1341).
6. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 122-3, no. LII (Agen, 25 August, 1341).
7. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, nos.6-8 (Agen, 24 December, 1342; Agen, 2 & 24 January, 1342/3).
8. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 110-111, no. XLVII (Agen, 1 October, 1340).

We know of two secretaries of the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant in Languedoc and Gascony: H. Mengui in October 1345,¹ and A. d'Abbecourt in November 1345.² One Licarracca was acting as secretary to Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, lieutenant in Languedoc, in 1351;³ and Bolay to the count of l'Isle, captain in the same circumscription, in October 1352.⁴

The count of Armagnac was assisted by no less than eight secretaries during his two lieutenancies in Languedoc: Saint Brun in October 1346, February, June and November 1353, January, June, August and October 1354, May, July and December 1355, and in May and June

9. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 165-7, no.LXVI (Toulouse, 18 December, 1352).
1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.2; vol.2018, Montfaucon, no.3 (Agen, 28 October, 1345).
2. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 150-1, no.LXIX (Agen, 19 November, 1345).
3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 153-5, nos.LVI & LVII (Agen, 18 & 20 September, 1351).
4. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 164-5, no.LXV (Toulouse, 8 October, 1352).

1356;¹ P. de Peyral in October 1346;² Jean Merul in February 1347;³ Violete in April, May, June, September and October 1355, and in July and September 1357;⁴

1. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/24 (Toulouse, 11 October, 1346); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.3 (14 October, 1346); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 167-9, no.LXVII (in his tents before Saint-Antonin, 9 February, 1352/3); Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.6, fo.257, no.49 (Montauban, 8 June, 1353); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/33 & 35 (Toulouse, 8 November, 1353); *ibid.*, AA 45/36 (Toulouse, 23 January, 1354); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 171-2, no.LXX (Agen, 23 June, 1354); Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, no.26 (Agen, 25 June, 1354); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 171-2, no.LXXI (Manciet, 14 August, 1354); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.5 (6 October, 1354); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 6/244 & AA 45/30 (Montauban, 24 May, 1355); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.235, Benac, no.2 (Agen, 4 July, 1355); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/41 (Lectoure, 4 December, 1355); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.12 (Toulouse, 15 May, 1356); Clairambault, vol.213, p.9483, no.59 (Toulouse, 28 June, 1356).
2. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/23 (Agen, 10 October, 1346).
3. *Ibid.*, AA 45/27 (Toulouse, 28 February, 1347).
4. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, fo.9479, no.52 (Moissac, 28 April, 1355); *ibid.*, no.32 (Agen, 21 May, 1355); *ibid.*, p.9471, no.39 (Marmande, 24 June, 1355); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 6/250 (Agen, 28 June, 1355); Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.6, p.259, no.59 (Montauban, 26 September, 1356); *ibid.*, no.58 (Toulouse, 20 October, 1356); Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, no.12 (Albi, 24 July, 1357); Arch. nat., K 47B, no.43 (19 September, 1357).

A. de Ponte in August 1353 and May 1355;¹ Pierre Jovin in April and May 1356, June and July 1357;² G. Gross in November 1353;³ and R. de Paniby in December 1353.⁴

J. de Beine and Philippe Vanier acted as secretaries to Amaury de Craon during his lieutenancy in Languedoc;⁵ J. de Charente and Jean Cordier during his lieutenancy north of the river Dordogne.⁶ Cordier was a royal clerk and secretary.⁷

1. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/31 (In the camp near Fenayrol, 7 August, 1353); Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.77, Autras, no.3 (Agen, 22 May, 1355).
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.10 (Toulouse, 19 April, 1356); *ibid.*, no.11 (Toulouse, 30 April, 1356); vol.783, Clermont, no.2 (Toulouse, 16 May, 1356); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/43 (Lectoure, 24 June, 1357); *ibid.*, AA 45/47 (Beaumont, 8 July, 1357).
3. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/34 (Toulouse, 8 November, 1353).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.4 (Toulouse, 1 December, 1353).
5. Beine: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.4; Clairambault, vol.36, p.2739, no.179 (Moissac, 24 June, 1352). Vanier: Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, nos.5 & 10; vol.187, Barbazan, no.6 (Toulouse, 25 September, 1352).
6. Charente: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.8 (Poitiers, 17 May, 1351); Cordier: Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.9 (Niort, 25 May, 1351); *ibid.*, vol.774, Clerambaut, no.827 (Périgeux, 26 June, 1351).
7. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.854, Cordier, nos. 2 & 3 (20 October, 1349 & 18 May, 1351).

Herrier was acting as secretary to Guy de Nesle, captain-sovereign and general in Saintonge, in March 1350.¹ Jean Dubois, Jean de Chasteillon and Heliaz acted as secretaries to Arnoul d'Audrehem during his lieutenancy in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne;² Jean Godard and Honnestre during his lieutenancy in Normandy.³ J. Gardins acted as secretary to Guy de Châtillon during his lieutenancy in the Picardy region, in October 1358.⁴

Greater information is available for the lieutenancies of the king's sons, John, duke of Normandy, lieutenant designated to Aquitaine and Languedoc; and Jean, count

1. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.80, p.6303, no.123 (Pont-Sainte-Maxence, 24 March, 1349/50).
2. Dubois: Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.1126, p.108, Saint-Esprit, no.16; vol.30, p.2215; published Molinier, op.cit., 204-5 & 215, Pièces Justificatives, nos.8 & 12 (Limoges, 1 April, 1351/2; Limoges, 1 April, 1352/3). Chasteillon: Arch. nat., JJ 84, no.141; published Molinier, op.cit., 37, n.8 (17 June, 1352), JJ 81, fos.465r-5v, no.885 (Périgeux, 3 October, 1352).
3. Godard: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, nos.9 & 10; published Molinier, op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, 222-4, nos.18 & 19 (Pontorson, 16 & 18 January, 1353/4). Honnestre: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.11; published Molinier, op.cit., 224, Pièces Justificatives, no.20. Cf. Coville, États Norm., 74 & 214, n.5 (Caen, 1 February, 1353/4).
4. Arch. nat., JJ 90, fos.22-3, no.46 (Amiens, 3 October, 1358).

Heliaz*

of Poitiers, lieutenant in France south of the river Loire and subsequently in Languedoc.

The duke of Normandy had no less than fifteen secretaries in his service in the years 1344-6: Franciscus,¹ R. de Molins,² Jean Dailly,³ J. Verber,⁴ Clavel⁵ and Tourneur⁶ in 1344; Hayes,⁷ Jean Leclerc,⁸ Mellou,⁹

1. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.82r-3v, nos.145-8 (By Villeneuve-les-Avignon, and Beaucaire, June 1344); Bibl.nat., Clairambault, vol.212, p.9431, no.92 (Cahors, September 1344).
2. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.82r, no.146 (By Villeneuve-les-Avignon, June 1344).
3. Ibid., fos.82v-3v, no.147 (Beaucaire, June 1344).
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1522, De la Heuse, no.4 (Buzet, 29 August, 1344).
5. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.95r & 98r-v, nos.180 & 186 (Cahors, 22 September, 1344).
6. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 146-9, nos.LVI & LVII (Agen, September 1344).
7. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.61v, no.106 (Poitiers, September 1345); *ibid.*, fos.89v & 99r, nos.164, 188 & 189 (Angoulême, October 1345); JJ 75, fo.59v, no.117 (in his tents before Aiguillon, April 1346).
8. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.426v-7v, no.236 (Chauvigny, September 1345); *ibid.*, fos.420r-lr, no.224 (Angoulême, October 1345).
9. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.89r-v, no.163 (Limoges, 4 October, 1345); JJ 75, fo.4v, no.14 (Lusignan, November 1345); Bibl. nat., Gaigneres, vol.560 (in his tents before Aiguillon, 4 June, 1346).

Donthery,¹ Clavel,² Jean Dailly,³ J. de Vernon,⁴
G. Dubois,⁵ Pierre Dubois⁶ and Barthélemy Cama⁷ in
1345-6.

1. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fos.84v & 98v, nos.151 & 187 (Limoges, 4 & 5 October, 1345).
2. Ibid., fo.93r, no.173 (Limoges, 5 October, 1345); fo.42lr, no.225 (Angoulême, November, 1345).
3. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.142, p.2901 (Angoulême, 30 October, 1345); Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, no.41 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 25 November, 1345); Doat, 243 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 27 November, 1345); Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, no.40 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 27 December, 1345); Pièces originales, vol.1774, Luilly, no.2 (Loches, 12 January 1345/6); Pièces originales, vol.2031, Montmorency, no.7 (in his tents before Aiguillon, 22 July, 1346); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 5/274 & AA 45/22 (Agen, 23 August, 1346); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 153-5, no.LXXI (23 August, 1346); Bibl. nat., Gaigneres, 152 (Agen, 24 August, 1346); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 13/250.
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.17, Ailly, no.6 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 9 December, 1345); Gaigneres, 152 (Châtillon-sur-Indre, 22 December, 1345).
5. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1125, Fermant, no.6 (in his tents before Aiguillon, 29 April, 1346); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 152-3, no.LXX (in his tents before Aiguillon, 18 July, 1346)..
6. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/21 (in his tents before Tonneins and Aiguillon, 12 July, 1346).
7. Arch. nat., JJ 77, fos.195r-7v, no.316 (Agen, 23 August, 1346).

Of these men Jean Dailly is the most conspicuous. He was a clerk and notary of both the king and the duke, and had acted as secretary to the bishop of Beauvais as lieutenant in Languedoc and Saintonge.¹ Barthélemy Cama was a royal secretary in 1339, J. Verber in 1343 and Clavel in 1354.² Cama had also acted as secretary

1. Mandate of the duke of Normandy to the receiver of Poitou, or his lieutenant, instructing him to pay Dailly £40 tournois above his wages and expenses accorded by the king and the duke: "...Savoir te faisons que nous, en resgart aus granz paines et travaulz que nostre aime maistre Jehan Dailly, clerc, notaire de nostre dit segneur et nostre, a euz et soustenuz en la campagne de nostre ame et feal conseillier l'evesque de Beuvez, du temps qu'il a este lieutenant de nostre dit segneur en Xainctonge, depuis le moys de Juillet derreinement passe, jusque a tant que le dit evesque vint pardevers nous, en la compagnie de quel ledit maistre Jehan vint pardevers nous. Et aussi a ce que le dit clerc a moult travaille, et travaille chascun jour, a faire ce que a son office de notaire appartient..", Châtillon-sur-Indre, 9 December, 1345 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.17, Ailly, no.6). There is an acquittance of "Jehan Dailli, clerc du roy nostreseigneur, et secretaire de mon treschere et redoubte segneur monseigneur le duc de Normendie et de Guyenne" in respect of payment of this, Châtillon-sur-Indre, 16 December, 1345 (*ibid.*, no.5). For his service with the bishop of Beauvais in 1342, vide *supra.*, pp.103-4.
2. Cama's name appears at the bottom right hand corner of at least three royal letters given at Vincennes on 12 December 1345 (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, nos.XLI & XLII, 104, 105 & 81); Verber's on one given by Villers-aux-Loges in August 1343 (*ibid.*, XXXIII, 136-7, no.LXII); and Clavel's on one of 14 February, 1353/4 (*ibid.*, XXXIV, 169-70, no.LXVIII).

to the count of Eu during his lieutenancy in Languedoc in 1337.¹

Upon the advice of the king's council and his own the count of Poitiers retained Masters Jean de Chasteillon, Helies de Fudor, Ascelin de Mathes and Jean de Locu, royal knights and notaries, to serve with him during his lieutenancy in France south of the river Loire, "pour faire leurs offices de notaires en cest present voiage a nous ordene a faire es dictes parties".² On the same advice he retained Pierre de Labatut, one of the king's secretaries, to serve in his council during

1. Vide supra., p.103.

2. Mandate to Nicholas Odde, receiver-general of the king within his circumscription, given at Bourges on 18 June, 1356, instructing him that "...Nous, par l'avis du conseil de monseigneur et du nostre, avons retenuz et fait venir avecques nous, des le sezime jour de May darreinement passe, noz amez maistres Jehan de Chasteillon, Helies de Fudor, Ascelin de Mathes et Jehan le Locu, chivaliers et notaires de monseigneur, pour faire leurs offices de notaires en cest present voiage a nous ordene a faire es dictes parties..", instructing him to pay them 40 shillings each per day for the costs of themselves, their men and horses, for as long as they were in his service, from 16 May (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58). There are a number of letters engrossed by them; for Locu: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3; vol.106, Ars, no.11; vol.1732, Locu, no.2 (Bourges, 21 & 23 June, 1356); for Chasteillon: ibid., vol.265, Beguin, no.4 (Bourges, 24 June, 1356).

the same lieutenancy.¹

Chasteillon and Labatut had already served as secretaries to the bishop of Beauvais in 1342, and Chasteillon also to Arnoul d'Audrehem in 1352.² Ascelin de Mathes and Jean de Locu subsequently served with the count of Poitiers during his lieutenancy in Languedoc, together with Jean Begut (another royal clerk) and Begin.³ Labatut, who qualifies as a royal clerk and secretary, and Helia de Fudor, also a royal clerk, were amongst the witnesses to Jean de Galard's homage in June 1350, he having been taken prisoner

1. He was to receive £4 tournois a day wages for himself and his horses, from 16 May, on which day he was retained in the count's service, Bourges, 21 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatutm no.3). There is a letter engrossed by him, dated Bourges, 18 June, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58).
2. Vide supra., pp.104 & 108.
3. For letters engrossed by Ascelin: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1065, Espagne 24639, no.4 (Toulouse, 30 June, 1359); vol.2343, De la Porte, no.6 (4 April, 1360); Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 174-5, no.LXXIII (Toulouse, 8 March, 1357/8); Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/49; engrossed by Locu: Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.24 (Gymont, 15 November, 1358); engrossed by Begut: Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.80, p.6297, no.106 (Saint-Poursain, 25 January, 1358/9); ibid., no.109 (Aignespars, 4 March, 1358/9); Pièces originales, vol.2019, Montferrand, no.3 (Toulouse, 2 January, 1359/60). He appears as "...Jehan le Begut, clerc du roy nostreseigneur, et secretaire de monseigneur le conte de Poitiers et de Mascon, son filz et

by Lancaster's forces at Bergerac in 1345, and accused of having sworn allegiance to the English crown to Lancaster as the king's lieutenant.¹

Military Finance and Organisation

In France as in England, by the end of the twelfth century, the feudal levy was already out of date as an effective fighting force. The number of troops raised, the period and form of service were inadequate, and it was necessary to pay the forces after they had served for forty days.²

The thirteenth century saw the gradual substitution of paid for unpaid service.³ The advantages of paid professional soldiers were evident to Philip Augustus.⁴

lieutenant es parties de la Languedoc.." in an acquittance of 12 November, 1359, given to the treasurer of wars, for a grant of the count to him for three horses lost in his company (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.265, le Begut, no.2). For letters engrossed by Begin: Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 10/20 (Grenade, 10 September, 1359).

1. Arch. nat., J 190B, no.63. Vide *infra.*, pp.287-8.
2. Lot and Fawtier, *op.cit.*, 517; Viard, *op.cit.*, 376.
3. Lot and Fawtier, *op.cit.*, 517-8, Viard, *op.cit.*, 376.
4. Viard, *op.cit.*, 376.

Louis IX and Philip III had paid their troops.¹
 By the reign of Philip VI rates of pay had been regulated and were much the same as they had been under his predecessors:² 20 shillings a day for a knight bannaret, 10 shillings for a knight bachelor, 6s.6d. for an esquire mounted on a horse of upwards of £25 value, 5 shillings for an esquire mounted upon a horse of less value, 2 shillings for a foot gentleman, 12d for a foot sergeant and 15d for a crossbowman.³

It is true that the feudal host still predominated; that the contingents provided by the lords in performing their military service formed the greater part of the army; but, as those doing voluntary service, they were paid.⁴

1. Lot and Fawtier, op.cit., 518.

2. Viard, op.cit., 377.

3. Ibid., 377-8; Lot and Fawtier, op.cit., 520-1. The most comprehensive statement of these rates is given by Léon Mirot, "Dom Bevy et les comptes des trésoriers des guerres", BEC, LXXXVI (1925), 286.

4. Viard, op.cit., 378-9.

The treasurers of wars were ultimately responsible for paying the wages of the majority of the troops. The general details of their functions are already well known.¹ Although the origins of the office are not altogether clear,² it seems likely that it evolved at the beginning of the fourteenth century as part of a more general separation and definition of the French governmental departments under the Capetians.³ Certainly they were well established and their functions defined by 1318.⁴ There were normally two treasurers at a time, but sometimes more.⁵

Next to the treasurers of wars was the clerk of the crossbowmen, whose office dates back to 1285.⁶ He was responsible to the master of the crossbowmen and paid the troops under his command.⁷

1. Mirot, op.cit., 245-379.
2. Ibid., 278.
3. Ibid., 279. Viard, op.cit., 391, claims they were established by Philip the Long, but gives no evidence.
4. Mirot, op.cit., 279.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 281.
7. Ibid., & Viard, op.cit., 391.

The treasurers of wars were to pay the wages of both armies of movement and other troops. They were not, however, expected to pay the wages of the entire army. There were special paymasters for the troops serving in the garrisons of some provinces, or employed for a specific expedition (especially when an aide had been levied for it); whilst in certain provinces, such as Languedoc, Normandy and Dauphiné, the responsibilities of the treasurers of wars and receiver-general of finances appear to have been confided in the same person.¹

The treasurers of wars were at the same time receivers and paymasters. Their receipts were composed of sums made over to the treasury either by divers royal receivers - the treasurers of the king at Paris, receivers and saltmen of the baillages and salt warehouses, money changers, receivers-general of aides, receivers-general of war aides - or by other treasurers of war, receivers-general of specially imposed aides, or receivers-general of tenths granted to the Papacy.²

1. Mirot, op.cit., 281-2.

2. Ibid., 284.

The treasurers of wars, or their clerks, were advised of the wages of the troops as fixed by the king by a letter from the deputies of the constable, and they paid them upon the receipt of an order of the marshals or their deputies attesting that the troops had been mustered before them or their delegates, and they received acquitances for the sums paid. The warrants of the marshals and the acquitances of the men-at-arms served as pièces justificatives of the treasurers' accounts.¹

This inquiry is limited to the arrangements for financing the troops placed under the command of the lieutenants. They were paid by a lieutenant of the treasurers of wars appointed to serve with the captain-general or lieutenant in his circumscription.² They accompanied the lieutenant and paid the troops under his command (whether mobile or in the garrisons within his circumscription) upon the receipt of a

1. Ibid., 285-6.

2. Cf. Appendix B, II; and Table 2.

warrant from the lieutenant, his marshal, or a lieutenant of the marshals of France who accompanied him.¹ Payment would then be made by the treasurer of wars, his lieutenant, or other receivers, upon receipt of this warrant and a muster roll (a list of names of men-at-arms, dates of retention into service and period of service, and of values of horses lost) drawn up upon review of the troops by the marshal or his deputies.²

We know the names of the majority of the lieutenants of the treasurers of wars who served with the captains-general and lieutenants in the period 1337-60.³ Their functions are well illustrated by a letter of Jean Chauvel, one of the treasurers of wars, given at Paris on 1 December, 1352, by which he appointed Jean à la Guele and Simon de Bellay, clerks, his lieutenants in Brittany, Anjou and Maine, under the command of Amaury

1. That the lieutenants of the treasurers of wars accompanied the military lieutenants is evident from their itineraries (Appendix B, II). For the warrants from the lieutenants and marshals, vide *supra* & *infra*., pp.86-7, 93-6, 123-4, etc.
2. Some of these have been published, e.g., P.H.Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I, 1469-74; Molinier, op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, 218-21, no.XV, etc.
3. Appendix B, II; and Table 2.

de Craon, lieutenant of the king in that circumscription, as under the command of other lieutenants and captains then in the region, or who would be in future.¹ They were empowered to receive all moneys appertaining to the treasurer of France (from masters of moneys, ordinary and extraordinary receivers, collectors of tenths and impositions, and others), and to issue letters of acquittance under the seals of both or one of them for the sums which they received. They were to use such moneys for the payment of men-at-arms and foot soldiers who were and would be serving in the wars in those parts under the command of Craon, and were empowered to do everything else appertaining to the office of treasurer of wars which Chauvel would do if he were present in person. Copies of the letters were then given under the seals of Gautier de Vannes, master-general of the king's moneys, and of Craon in his capacity as lieutenant in those parts.

We also know who some of the marshals were. The count of Valentinois appointed a knight, Amieus de

1. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9457, no.19.

Chambrieth, marshal of the host during his lieutenancy in Languedoc.¹ Bertrand d'Espagne and Pierre Chopard acted as marshals of the host of the count of Poitiers during his lieutenancy in the same circumscription;² and Robert de Pinqueqiny and Jean le Standart, knights, of that of Jean de Hangest, captain in Poitou and Saintonge.³ As lieutenant in those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany, Hangest was assisted by two other marshals: Mahieu de Roquemort and Jean de Cropvoisin.⁴

We also know the names of several lieutenants of the marshals of France who served with the king's lieutenants in their circumscriptions: Pierre Desi with the bishop of Beauvais at the siege of Sainte-Bazaille;⁵ Gui Ferlay, knight, with Amaury de Craon;⁶ the count of l'Isle,⁷ Amaury de Rochechouart,⁸ as lieutenants and captains in

1. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.57.
2. Arch. nat., JJ 86, fo.130v, no.381; Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.759, Chopart, no.1; vol.1065, Espagne 24639, no.3).
3. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.45, p.3329, no.10 & p.3331, no.13.
4. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.14.
5. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.11.
6. Ibid., vol.187, Barbazan, no.10; Clairambault, vol.81, p.6363, no.120.
7. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1125, Ferlay, no.3; vol.622, Caumont, no.43; vol.1125, Ferlay, no.2.
8. Ibid., vol.1735, Lomagne, nos.3 & 4; Clairambault, vol.62, p.4749, no.6.

in Languedoc, and with Louis d'Harcourt, captain-sovereign in Poitou and Saintonge;¹ Perceval de Varennes, knight, with the vicomte of Melun during his lieutenancy in Brittany;² Thierry de la Porte, esquire, alias Roulant, with the count of Armagnac during his lieutenancy in Languedoc;³ and Pierre de la Broie with Arnoul d'Audrehem, lieutenant in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.⁴

An insight into the manner of these appointments may be had in the case of Charles the Bad, appointed lieutenant of King John in Languedoc, in 1351, who in turn appointed a notable knight of his retinue, Pierre de Saquanville, marshal of the army under his command. Saquanville was then appointed lieutenant of the marshals of France under the command of Charles by Guy de Nesle, one of the marshals of France, together with Guy Ferlay and Gerard de Monfaucon, seneschal of

1. Ibid., vol.1121, Felay, no.2.

2. Morice, op.cit., I, 1470 & 1470-1.

3. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.77, Autras, no.4; vol.1043, Durfort, no.24; vol.2343, De la Porte, nos. 4 & 5.

4. Molinier, op.cit., 32, quoting Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.14, Béthune; vol.22, Breuilh.

Toulouse.¹

The marshals and their lieutenants were in turn accompanied by secretaries - Hugues Tholerin with Amieus de Chambrileth; J. Martin with Guy Ferlay; P. de Leinne with Thierry de la Porte² - who kept the seal of the marshals or their lieutenants, issued and engrossed their letters.³

The surviving documentation gives some insight into French military organisation in the period. Briefly, it includes:

(a) Letters of the captains-general or lieutenants engaging troops into service at fixed rates of pay, and mandates to the treasurers of wars or their lieutenants instructing them to receive the muster rolls of these troops, to account with and pay them.⁴

1. Mirot, op.cit., 335.
2. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no57; Clairambault, vol.81, p.6363, no.120; vol.62, p.4749, no.6; Pièces originales, vol.2343, De la Porte, no.4.
3. A letter of Chambrileth to the treasurer of wars or his lieutenant, ordering payment of wages, is subscribed "Sic est in libro. Hugo Tholerin" (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.57).
4. E.g., Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.24, Albret, no.3 (Beauvais, 1339); vol.231, Des Baux, no.7 (Agout des Baux, 1343); vol.922, Craon, nos.4, 5 & 10, & vol.187, Barbazan, no.6 (Amaury d~~x~~ Craon, 1352).

(b) Warrants authorising payments issued by the lieutenants, their marshals or lieutenants of the marshals of France serving with them in their circumscriptions, addressed to the treasurers of wars or their lieutenants,¹ and accompanied by

(c) Muster Rolls (lists of names of men-at-arms stating dates of retention into service, terminal dates of service, accompanied by lists of horses lost, with values) drawn up upon review of the troops and appraisal of their horses by the marshals or lieutenants of the marshals of France.²

(d) Letters of acquittance given to the treasurers of wars or their lieutenants upon payment.³

(e) Registers of the treasurers of wars recording receipts and payments.⁴

1. E.g., Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.57 (Amieus de Chambrileth, 1341); vol.187, Barbazan, no.10; Clairambault, vol.81, p.6363, no.120; Pièces originales, vol.1125, Ferlay, nos.2 & 3; Clairambault, vol.62, p.4749, no.6; Clairambaultnales, vol.1735, Lomagne, nos.3 & 4; vol.622, Caumont, no.43 (Gui Ferlay, 1352); Pièces originales, vol.77, Autras, no.4; vol.2343, De la Porte, nos.4 & 5 (Thierry de la Porte, 1353, 1354 & 1355).
2. E.g., Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.44; Clairambault, vol.114, p.8888, nos.1 & 2; vol.87, p.6890, no.183, etc; Morice, op.cit., 1469-74; Molinier op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, 218-21, no.XV.
3. For the abundance of these, cf. Appendix B, II.
4. Catalogued and considered by Mirot, op.cit.

The muster rolls¹ show that the troops were drawn up into retinues under a lord, knight, esquire or, in the case of garrison forces, a captain or castellan. They state the names and numbers of bannarets, knights, esquires, archers and others serving with him, and specify whether or not they were mounted. The troops are referred to as 'de sa compagnie' or 'de son hostel'. These are military groupings and not merely administrative divisions to facilitate payment.

Although nothing equivalent to the English indentures of war appear to have been used or to have survived, the form of service which the indenture system implied is evident enough. In the form of military organisation which has come to be known as the indenture or contract system, the least important part was the indenture itself.

French military organisation in this period provides a closer analogy to English military organisation in Normandy in the fifteenth century than it does to anything else. Both were designed to meet the needs of a standing army over an indefinite number of years.

1. Cf. examples cited above, p.124, n.2.

Whilst, in the fourteenth century, the contract system was applied to expeditionary forces sent out from England for a limited period of campaigning,¹ by the second quarter of the fifteenth century the English were maintaining permanent military occupation forces in France, in Normandy in particular. More persistent supervision was required than anything hitherto, and this was substantially achieved by the mechanism of muster and review.² Briefly, this provided for an indenture of one year's duration to be drawn up between the captain and the king or regent, for a warrant authorising payment to be sent from the regent to the treasurer, for a letter of expedition to be sent from the treasurer to the receiver-general of Normandy, for commissions of array to be held quarterly arranging for musters to be taken, and for letters of acquittance to be received from the captain.³

1. For a fuller discussion, vide infra., pp. 762 ff.

2. R.A.Newhall, Muster and Review: A problem of English military administration, 1420-1440.

3. Ibid., 158.

The existence of a similar mechanism among the French forces in the second quarter of the fourteenth century can be ascribed to the necessities of national defence; since the war was being fought in France it was essential to maintain standing armies. But Edward III was unable to achieve anything like it in Gascony and Brittany, as elsewhere in France where he was maintaining occupation forces.¹ It is beginning to look as if we must turn to military personnel and the availability of money for the conduct of the war if we are to fully appreciate the achievement of Edward III's armies.

The Competition For Allegiances

Since their circumscriptions largely co-incided, both English and French captains and lieutenants competed militarily, administratively and diplomatically for the same prize: the recognition and control, in the name of their respective kings, of those regions in which allegiance to the crown was uncertain. The English lieutenants were

1. For details, vide *infra.*, pp.767 ff.

directly concerned with putting into practical effect the proclamations of 1340,¹ and so with establishing Edward III's claims to France; they were instruments for making use of his sovereign power as King of France. The manifesto which he addressed to the people of France² represented what we might call 'an alternative government', and it sought to convince any Frenchmen who might find it convenient or profitable to change allegiance, who might find themselves driven to it, or who might come to feel that the Valois monarch had usurped the throne, that he was their one and only lawful king.

The French lieutenants were directly concerned with establishing the Valois monarchy in the kingdom; they were the instruments for making use of the sovereign power of Philip VI or John the Good as King of France.

It was the lieutenants who were primarily concerned in this clash of authorities; either side competing for allegiances. This competition can most easily be seen from investigation of the letters issued by them. On the

1. Foedera, II, ii, 1108-9, 1111 & 1127; Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, 129-30, Pièces Justificatives, XXXIII.
2. Foedera, II, ii, 1108-9 & 1111.

English side this is well illustrated by Lancaster's work as the king's lieutenant, particularly in Aquitaine and Languedoc;¹ but it is quite clear that the French lieutenants were competing in a similar way.² A high proportion of their letters are concerned with pardons, ennoblements and grants of land, rents, money and privileges to both individuals and communities entering and returning into the obedience of the French king, or supporting his cause.³ The lieutenants themselves were not infrequently rewarded for their services.⁴

Many of these grants indicate how the kings encouraged their officers, soldiers and others to conquer territory from the enemy. By way of a general rule, Philip VI granted anyone in the realm the right to dispose (in full ownership) of all they could take or recover from

1. Vide infra., pp. 206-27, 240-3, 373-4, and Appendix C, no.7.
2. Ibid., pp.596-610.
3. The majority of the letters listed in Appendix B, II.
4. E.g., the county of Gaure, granted to Armagnac in 1354 (A.Breuils, "Jean Ier., Comte d'Armagnac, et le mouvement national dans le Midi au temps du Prince Noir", Revue des Questions Historiques, LIX, 1896, 52); sums of 1,700 tournois and 4,000 gold florins, and an annual rent of £1,000 tournois granted to Audrehem between 1350 & 1361 (Molinier, op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, pp.200-1, 229-30 & 233-4, nos.V, XXV & XXIX).

the enemy during the war.¹ The multiplicity of such grants could have threatened the royal domain with fragmentation.² Philip VI, as Edward III in Aquitaine,³ attempted in vain to cut down on the number of grants made by himself and his officers.⁴ But it was impossible to restrict them. The two kings were in a race to outbid one another for allegiances. Supporters and turncoats must be encouraged and rewarded. One cannot help seeing the analogies with the twelfth century - Stephen and Matilda overbidding one another in grants of earldoms to Geoffrey de Mandeville and his like, ransom districts and castellanies.

It was as the king's captain-general and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc in the years 1345-1346 that Lancaster was confronted with this competition, and it was his work there during these two years that established his reputation and is his real title to fame.

1. Royal grant of the isle of Óleron to Foulques de Matha, 11 January, 1347, the king recalling "...avoir octroyé en général que durans noz guerres tout ce que chascun de nostre royaume pourra acquerre ou recouvrer sur noz anemis, soit à son profit.." (Archives historiques de Saintonge, VI, 229-31, no.1; quotation from p.230. Cf., also, Histoire générale de Languedoc, IX, 506, n.3).
2. J.Viard, "La France sous Philippe VI de Valois. État géographique et militaire", Revue des Questions Historiques, LIX (1896), 371.
3. Vide infra., pp.272-80. 4. Viard, op.cit., 371-3.

IV

THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT
 IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC. I : THE PREPARATIONS

During the spring and summer of 1345 three fleets, totalling no less than 443 ships, were assembled in the harbours of Portsmouth, Sandwich and Southampton.¹ The Portsmouth flotilla, which was destined for Brittany with an army under the command of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, left England during the early days of June.² On 4 July the fleet assembled at Sandwich crossed to Flanders with another army under the command of King Edward III.³ The Southampton flotilla, comprising 152 ships, although intended to leave for Gascony in mid-May with

1. Murimuth, 164; E 372/190, m.41.
2. Northampton was still at Portsmouth on 1 June (E 404/501/372), but had left by 11 June (Rymer, III, i, 44; CCR, 1343-6, 573).
3. Murimuth, 168 & 170; E 101/25/7.

yet another army under the command of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, was held up by contrary winds and storms at sea throughout June and the greater part of July.¹ It was not until Saturday, 23 July, some two months after its intended departure, that it was able to put out to sea from Falmouth.² Seventeen days later, having passed down the Gironde estuary, it arrived in the harbour of Bordeaux.³

The State of the Duchy

It was a sadly diminished duchy of Aquitaine into which Lancaster set foot when he disembarked at Bordeaux on Tuesday, 9 August, 1345.⁴ French armies had advanced down the Garonne valley as far as Langon, which they had taken, and along the Dordogne to the gates of Libourne. To the north much of Saintonge, to the east Périgord and the Agenais, together with Bazas and a good many places in the Bazadais, were firmly in French control; whilst, on

1. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.

2. Ibid.

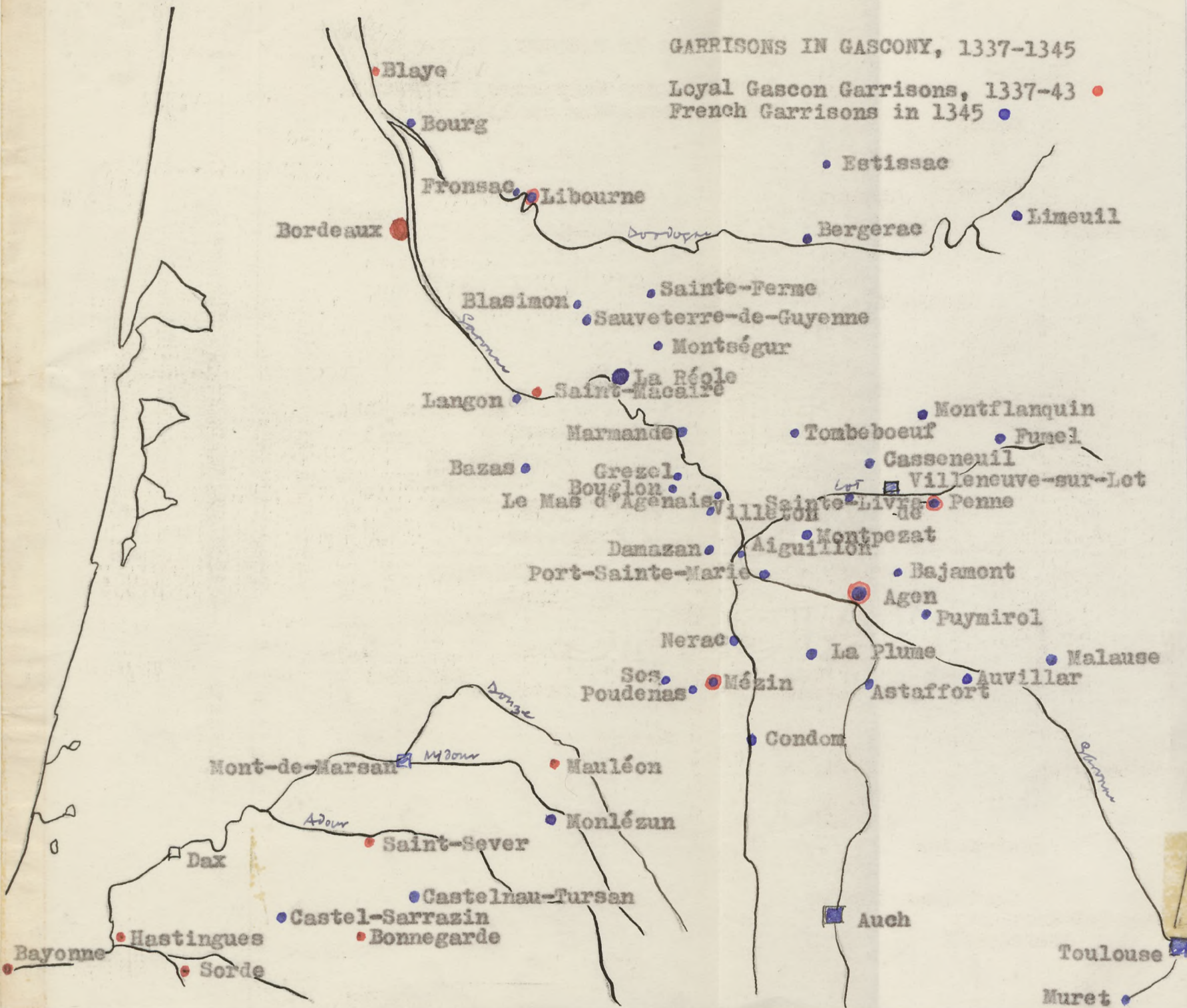
3. Ibid.

4. Appendix C, no.2; Map I.

GARRISONS IN GASCONY, 1337-1345

Loyal Gascon Garrisons, 1337-43

French Garrisons in 1345



the southermost boundaries of the duchy, the vicomté of Béarn and the county of Armagnac were rallied to the party of the French king by their respective lords. The area effectively in English control had been reduced to the immediate neighbourhood of Bordeaux, Bayonne and Saint-Sever, and the eastern seaboard country which separated them. A maritime strip without any deep hinterland, with hostile neighbours on every frontier save the open sea which lay to the west, this was all that remained of King Edward's heritage in the south of France.

Ultimately, English interests in Gascony rested upon the loyalty of the lords and the towns. Ever since the French invasion of the duchy in 1324, following the incident at Saint-Sardos, the area under English rule, that is the number of lords and towns acknowledging allegiance to the king-duke, had been contracting, until there was little that could be relied upon outside the immediate surroundings of Bordeaux, Bayonne and Saint-Sever. The fall of La Réole in 1324 had brought about the submission of almost all the duchy, with the Anglo-Gascons maintaining themselves only in these three strongholds and a few

castles of less importance. Although, in the following year, Charles IV agreed to restore the duchy and actually began its evacuation, the turn of events led him to order its reoccupation shortly afterwards. Whilst the treaty of Paris of 1327 provided for the restoration of land occupied by either side since the treaty of 1325, in fact the Capetians (who had long since reinstalled themselves in Limousin, Périgord, and Quercy) kept the Agenais and, beyond the Garonne, Bazadais.¹ Moreover, this French penetration was accompanied by an extension of administrative and judicial as well as military control, even in those areas, as the Agenais and parts of Gascony proper, most recently occupied by French arms. The latter two areas were formed into a single *sénéchaussée*, administered on such lines as were to be found elsewhere in France: *sénéchals*, judges, procureurs, avocats, receivers and other officials were appointed for the administration of

1. É. Perroy, The Hundred Years War, 67; E. Déprez, Les préliminaires de la guerre de cent ans, 22; T. F. Tout, The Political History of England, 1216-1377, 324-5.

the area.¹ After 1324 the French king, on and off, appointed a lieutenant in Languedoc and, although this is not expressly stated in their commissions, Gascony.²

It was the confiscation of the duchy by the French king (for the third time in forty years) in May 1337, following the conference of Valenciennes, which gave the signal for the re-commencement of hostilities.³ King Philip appointed lieutenants in Languedoc and Gascony,⁴ and between 1337 and 1340 fighting was fairly constant; war flared up in the Agenais and then enveloped the Bordelais. French armies penetrated the valley of the Garonne, seized La Réole and laid siege to Saint-Macaire, advanced down the Dordogne valley as far as Libourne and Saint-Emilion, and ravaged the rich vine-growing area of Entre-Deux-Mers.⁵ Some sixteen miles to the

1. G. Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, I, 1-2, 13-6, 19-27.
2. Ibid., 466 seq.
3. Déprez, op.cit., 154, n.1.
4. Dupont-Ferrier, op.cit., III, 467-8.
5. R. Boutruche, La crise d'une société, 196-7. Saint-Macaire, although besieged, does not appear to have been taken by the French.

immediate north of Bordeaux, Bourg, in the southern confines of Saintonge and commanding the entry to the Dordogne valley, was taken by the French, as was Blaye, a little further to the north-west and commanding the northern bank of the Gironde estuary.¹ They were serious strategic losses, threatening the very life line of the duchy with England, and the very real dangers of the situation were amply demonstrated when, soon afterwards, a French force actually made its way into the port of Bordeaux.²

No less important, in the years 1341-4, successes in the field were followed up by the official patronage so wisely manipulated by John, bishop of Beauvais, counsellor of King Philip and his lieutenant in Languedoc, Gascony and Saintonge: the buying over of lords and towns into French allegiance.³ In March 1344 the Valois monarch saw fit to invest his eldest son John (already duke of Normandy and count of Poitou, Anjou and Maine) with those parts of Aquitaine conquered by Charles IV following the

1. Arch. hist. Poitou, XIII, 165-7. Blaye was taken on 20 April, 1339 (E 101/166/11, m.), but, after Bourg in 1342, was oncemore in English control in 1343 (E 101/167/3, ms. 17, 23 & 24).

2. E 101/166/12, m.7d.

3. Appendix B, Ia & IIa, nos.8-9 & 11-12.

confiscation of the duchy in 1324, and by Phillip VI following the confiscation in 1337; that is to say all those parts of Aquitaine then in French control.¹ The investiture is said to have been made upon the request of the inhabitants of these lands in order that they might enjoy the right of appeal and those exemptions and privileges which they had enjoyed before the area was annexed to the royal domain.² The duke made a tour of these new possessions during the summer and autumn following his investiture, took the homage of his new subjects, and promised to respect their customs, franchises and liberties.³ During the succeeding years, until his accession to the throne in 1350, he adopted the style "Duke of Normandy and Guyenne, and Count of Poitou, Anjou and Maine".⁴

English interests had reached their lowest ebb. The account of Nicholas Usus Maris, constable of Bordeaux, for the year commencing September 1342, says much of the sad state of affairs in the duchy.⁵

1. Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.60; Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, no.LXIV, pp.141-3, after Arch. comm. Agen, AA 7.
2. Ibid.
3. Appendix C: 4; Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, no.LXIV, p.139.
4. See, for example, his letters in Arch. nat., JJ 68.
5. E 101/167/3. The details set forth in this paragraph are to be found on membranes 1-2, 6-7 & 9.

Receipts were largely limited to the area contained within the narrow coastal strip between the mouth of the Gironde and the Pyrenees, and even within this area what had not already been taken by the French or rendered valueless by the ravages of war had, for the most part, been granted out by Edward or the seneschal of Gascony to those lords and others supporting the Anglo-Gascon cause, either in recognition of their services or in compensation for the losses sustained by them in those parts of the duchy occupied by the French. There was little else accounted for during these years other than the returns from the prévôtés of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Saint-Sever, Salles and Aulas, the baillage of Blanquefort and a few isolated castellanies such as Saint-Macaire. Meetings held to discuss the observation of the truce took place between the seneschal of Gascony on the one part and the seneschal of Saintonge for the French king on the other, at Plassac, situated between Blaye and Bourg. Similar meetings with the seneschal of the Agenais for the French king were held at a place between Saint-Macaire and Caudrot. They took place, that is to say, on the frontiers. There were no returns for the baillage of Bonnegarde because it

was under constant attack by the French.

It is a singular fact that during the first eight years of the war, from 1337 to 1345, Edward III does not appear to have sent any substantial military force to Gascony, in spite of the critical position in the duchy.¹ In these years he concentrated his military effort in the north of France, in the Low Countries in 1338 to 1340, and in Brittany in 1342-1343.² Although, in 1344, Lancaster and the earl of Arundel were given a commission for the reform of the government of Aquitaine, which included military powers, their mission was primarily administrative and diplomatic, and no campaigns were carried out.³ The forces dispatched with Lancaster in the following year were the first troops of any consequence to disembark in the duchy.

1. Certainly there was no major expedition during these years. Oliver de Ingham was sent out in 1342, but not as commander of English forces.
2. Vide supra., pp.33-7 & 48-51.
3. Vide infra., pp.159-161.

Hitherto, the prosecution of the war in Aquitaine was left to the Gascons themselves, and the responsibility for organising and directing the effort rested with the king's ducal administration, acting under the supreme direction of the seneschal and Gascon captains-general and lieutenants appointed by Edward.

On a smaller scale there is a remarkable parallel, in the opening years of the war, between Edward's policy of distributing money fiefs to the princes of the Low Countries, and his provisions for enlisting support in Gascony. Both are marked by the attempt to secure military support in return for pensions and other payments. In the month following the confiscation of the duchy by Philip of Valois in May 1337, Edward empowered Oliver de Ingham, then seneschal of Gascony, and John Dyens, to retain in the king's service whatever persons they could, either for life or the period of a year, and to treat with them of the wages they were to receive for themselves and their men-at-arms.¹ When, on 1 July 1338, Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, and Ingham were appointed joint lieutenants in the duchy and Edward's "other lands in Gascony", they were

1. Rymer, II, ii, 975.

particularly enjoined to retain in the king's obedience those who could be particularly valuable to the king and to arrange pensions and other payments with them.¹ Some eighteen months later, in January 1340, when Bernard Ezii was once more appointed to the office, this time of captain-general and lieutenant, together with Hugh de Geneve, they received substantially the same powers.² We know of a series of indentures drawn up between the seneschal, in the king's name, and a number of Gascon lords, whereby the latter were retained by the seneschal, on Edward's behalf, and the fees they were to receive set out.³ We have ample evidence, in the records of payments made to the stipendiariis regis for maintaining retinues of mounted armed men and foot serjeants, that the practice of enlisting support in return for pensions was common in the early years of the war.⁴ Gascon lords, knights, esquires, and even some of the more influential burgesses and

1. Ibid., 1047.

2. Ibid., 1105.

3. E.g., ibid., 975.

4. E 101/166/11, ms.37-40; E 101/166/12, m.20; E 101/167/3, ms. 30-1.

citizens of the towns figure amongst their names.¹

There can be no doubt that the maintenance of Gascon forces assumed considerable proportions. Surviving records of payments made and outstanding to the troops in the years 1337-43 provide an excellent picture of the position in the period immediately prior to Lancaster's arrival in the duchy.² They reveal that those Gascon lords, knights and esquires still in allegiance to Edward III maintained retinues of men-at-arms and foot sergeants, and garrisoned castles and other places situated on their lands, upon enlistment by the seneschal of Gascony and on the pay of the constable of Bordeaux.³ They were also responsible for garrisoning the more important towns and castles of the duchy remaining in

1. Ibid.

2. These are to be found in three accounts of the constables of Bordeaux and their lieutenants or deputies, the controllers (E 101/166/11 & 12; 167/3), and in a collection of vouchers - debentures, memorandums, mandates for payment and letters of acquittance - subsidiary to them (E 404, box 508).

3. Ibid. The figures are set out in Appendix D, Table A.

English control, contributing men to the forces,¹ and the more important of them serving as captains and castellans.²

On average, there were some 4,820 Gascon troops in the king's pay in the years 1337-43 (no less than 4,562 in September 1337; 6,708 in September 1338; 3,246 in September 1339; 3,372 in September 1340; 4,340 in October 1342; and 5,244 in January 1343).³ A baron like Bernard Ezi could muster a retinue of between 500 and 1,000 men during the years 1341-7, as many as 1,500 to 2,000 at certain periods during these years, and sometimes even more.⁴ His brother Bérard, lord of Vayres, had 424 men in the king's pay in 1338-9; Raymond, viscount of Fronsac, 1,060 in 1341-2; Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, 765 men, and

1. Ibid. Further details are available in Table B.

2. Appendix D, Table H.

3. It is not possible to give overall figures for the entire period owing to the variation in the dates on which the troops came into and went off the king's pay, although the majority appear to have been maintained continuously in the years 1337-40. Only totals for sample periods can therefore be given. For more detailed figures, see Appendix D, Table A.

4. Detailed figures are available in Appendix D, Table C.

the lord of Lesparre 182 men in 1337-40; Alexander de Caumont 160 men in 1342-3; and Arnaud Garsie de Got, lord of Puyguilhem, 224 men in 1337-8 and 120 men in 1341-3.¹

These troops were composed of two arms: cavalry, made up of men-at-arms and armed men (hominibus ad arma and hominibus armatis equitibus), and infantry, made up of foot sergeants (servientibus peditibus).² The infantry formed the overwhelming majority of the total number of troops in the king's pay: no less than 86½% in the years 1337-43.³ Moreover, the greater percentage of these troops were employed in the garrisons of the towns and castles: 59% in the same period.⁴ These figures reflect the prosecution of an essentially defensive policy. As long as the infantry were in such preponderance there could be little manoeuvrability of the forces with which to facilitate effective military strategy.

1. Appendix D, Table D.

2. Ibid., Table A.

3. Viz: 87½% of the total number of troops maintained in garrisons, and 83½% of those maintained in retinues. These percentages are drawn from figures available in Appendix D, Table A.

4. Viz: 57% in September 1337, 65% in September 1338, 69% in September 1339, 62% in September 1340, 57% in October 1342, and 43% in January 1343. These percentages are drawn from figures available in Appendix D, Table A.

War must necessarily be prosecuted by way of sieges and the adoption of defensive tactics in established positions.

Both the seneschals of Aquitaine and the captains-general and lieutenants of the duchy appointed by the king could retain, co-ordinate, direct and command the Gascon forces. The powers were generally exercised by the seneschal in the absence of a captain and lieutenant, but by the captain and lieutenant when one was appointed. Accounts for the period 1337-43 and for subsequent years provide considerable information on the subject.¹

The troops were almost always enlisted by the seneschal.² Sometimes he delegated his powers of enlistment to his subordinates, whose action in this respect was subject to his confirmation.³ In every case the troops

1. Accounts of the constables and controllers of Bordeaux (E 101/166/11 & 12; 167/3, 10 & 12; 168/3; 170/12 & 20), and documents subsidiary to them (E 404, box 508; E 101, box 650; E 101/171/4 & 5).
2. This conclusion is derived from consultation of the sources cited in the preceding note. For examples of enlistment by the seneschal, see E 404/508/144-6, 153-5, etc., and by the captain and lieutenant, E 101/168/3, fos.5r, 7v, etc., 170/20, fos.52v, 53v, etc.
3. E.g., his lieutenant, the seneschal of Landes, and the captain of the Agenais in 1337-43 (E 404/508/151, 156-8, 179, etc.). During his absence from Bordeaux in 1354, they were enlisted by a Gascon baron, Soudan de Preissac, who was ruling the office of seneschal for him (E 101/650/22-25, 72, 82, etc.).

are said to have been enlisted per retencionem, de mandato, de ordinacione, de mandato et ordinacione, iuxta mandatum or iuxta latum of one of them.¹ When a captain-general and lieutenant was appointed to the duchy, the seneschal was probably expected to have assembled the Gascon forces, and to be ready for him to take over command of them.²

The troops were enlisted either specifically in the garrison (in municione et custodia) of a particular place, town or castle, or, in more general terms, in the king's service (in servicio domini regis et ducis).³ It was the latter who formed the body of the Gascon army.

There are numerous references to the ducal army, which was sometimes commanded by the captain-general and

1. Cf., for example, E 404/508/147; E 101/650/19; E 101/167/3, 168/3, fo.7v, 170/20, fos.58r & 64v, etc.
2. The appointment of a captain-general and lieutenant was usually immediatly preceded by the appointment of a new seneschal: Ralph of Stafford to prepare for Lancaster's arrival in the duchy in 1345, Frank de Hale to prepare for his arrival in 1349, James de Pipe to prepare for Stafford's arrival in 1352, and John de Cheverston to prepare for the arrival of the Black Prince in 1355. Stafford had the Gascon army assembled in 1345 (vide infra., 189) and Pipe was actively engaged in enlisting troops in 1352 (E 101/170/20, fos.56r, 82v, etc.).
3. Cf., payments to the troops recorded in E 101/166/11 & 12, 167/3, 168/3, E 404, box 508, etc.

lieutenant, sometimes by the seneschal. Hugh de Geneva "capitaine per nostre senhor le rey d'Anglaterra" was in command of a Gascon army victorious at Guitres in 1341.¹ The seneschal was in command of an army "in conflictu nuper habito apud Montem Martianum inter gentes regis Francie et gentes domini nostri regis et ducis in exercitu regis".² The troops were enlisted to serve in it on prescribed rates of pay, which were equivalent to those paid to the English troops,³ and it was staffed by marshals, marshals of the horse, royal standard bearers and surgeons appointed to attend the wounded.⁴

The final direction and deployment of the troops was within the powers of either office, but it was usually exercised by one or the other, or both, occupants acting

1. Chronique de Guyenne, 399.

2. E 101/166/11, m.34.

3. In sterling: bannerets 4s.0d. a day, knights 2s.0d., esquires (mounted men-at-arms and mounted armed men) 1s.0d., mounted archers, mounted sergeants and crossbowmen 6d., and foot sergeants 2d.

4. Cf. payments to the troops recorded in E 101/166/11 & 12, and 167/3. Guillaume du Porte was appointed "marescallo equorum" by the seneschal, and drew wages of 1s.0d. a day during the period 29 September, 1342, to 7 September, 1343, by reason of his office "circa cura equorum" (E 101/167/3, payments to the troops, entry 13). Berenger, lord of 'Vinariis' was appointed by the seneschal "ad defferendum vexillum regium in hac praesenti guerra Vasconie", and drew 1s.0d. a day wages for the same in the period 12 October, 1339, to 17 April, 1341 (ibid., entry 70).

in consultation with the king's council in the duchy; those important barons still in allegiance to Edward, and the functionaries who sat alongside them, clerks retained to serve as the king's counsellors, and who drew his pay.¹

If Gascony could not defend itself against the French advance it was not so much for lack of support for the Anglo-Gascon cause as it was for financial reasons. Armies could be and were raised and commanded by the Gascons themselves. But they must be paid if they were to be maintained, supplied if they were to be supported, and co-ordinated, directed and commanded by a well experienced commander if the most was to be made of them and they were to be really successful.

1. For the composition of the council, vide infra., A body of troops sent into the Agenais with Hugh de Geneva, captain and lieutenant of the king, are said to have gone "de ordinacione sua et praefati domini senescalli et consiliariorum regionum" (E 101/167/3, payments to the troops, entry 89). There is much greater evidence of the part played by the king's council in promoting military operations in the duchy in the years 1354-5 and 1358-61 (vide infra., pp.266-9)

In theory, the cost of the war in Gascony was to be met out of the ducal revenues; in practice, it became increasingly apparent as it proceeded that it must be financed from England.¹ In the early years of the war (1337-43) the maintenance of troops became so widespread and reached such proportions that the Bordeaux administration could not meet its commitments, the more so as its revenues decreased with the progressive reduction of the area under its control consequent upon increasing French encroachment. This is to say nothing of the

1. For the details set forth in this paragraph, see Appendix E, Table A.

revenues, both direct and indirect, which were granted away by both the seneschal in Gascony and Edward from England. Already, in the financial year ending 29 September 1339, the revenues received by the king's treasury in Bordeaux amounted to only 59½% of total expenditure, and 22% of this was received from the king's Wardrobe in England. No less than 54% of expenditure was in the form of wages paid out to the troops; but this represented only 12% part payment of the sums due to them during that year. The position was basically the same in the year ending 29 September 1341. Although receipts were 12% in excess of expenditure, 42% was made up from loans. No less than 57% of expenditure was in the form of wages paid out to the troops; but this represented only 29% part payment of a new series of debentures. The position in the year ending 29 September 1343 was yet more serious. Only 15% of new bills for wages to the troops were paid. Moreover, only a negligible proportion of the arrears on passed years' wages seems ever to have been paid. Nor are any of the wages due to the lord of Albret for both his personal retinue and other forces placed under his command included in these figures. What is surprising is not that the Gascons

expected to be paid for the troops they raised to defend them from French occupation; but that they were willing to maintain them for so long when they received only a fraction of the wages due to them.

They were not, however, quiescent. In the early summer of 1341 a number of them petitioned the king's council in England that the arrears on wages due to them for the troops they had maintained and were maintaining might be paid.¹ Edward instructed the constable of Bordeaux to meet the sums in question out of the ducal revenues;² an impossible solution, for, as we have seen, the money was not available.³ Jean de Grailly was owed £13,850.0s.2d. (£69,250.1s.0d. bordelaise) for troops maintained by him between June 1337 and November 1340; he received only £1,094.11s.6d. (£5,472.17s.5d. bordelaise) by 29 September 1341.⁴ In 1341 Guillaume Sanche, lord of Pommiers, was owed £6,488 and Alexander de Caumont £11,690.⁵ Towards the close of the same year Bernard Ezil, lord of Albret,

1. E 404/508, nos.208-31.

2. Ibid.

3. Vide supra, pp.149-50.

4. E 101/166/11, m. ; E 101/166/12, m.10d; E 101/167/3, m.

5. Boutruche, op.cit., 352, n.3; Deprez, op.cit., 383, n.7.

crossed to England with a number of bills amounting to no less than £14,692.0s.1½d.¹ We have the text of a report which he delivered to the king's council at Westminster on 2 December.² He related how Edward had very little left of his duchy besides the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne, that the troops were deserting because they had not received the wages due to them, and intimated that he wished to be relieved of the captaincy of the duchy. The council doubtless comprehended the gravity of the situation. The defection of a baron like Bernard Ezi could have dire consequences; they agreed that he should have immediate assignment or payment of the sums outstanding to him.

Diplomatic Preparations

Shortly after the conclusion of the truce of Malestroit Edward turned his thoughts southwards to his duchy; the French had made alarming progress by

1. E 101/507/22.
2. C 49, File 7, no.15. This is to be seen in conjunction with E 101/507/22. He had already intimated his wish to be relieved of the captaincy before 21 November, 1340 (Arch. dép. Basses-Pyrénées, E 31; J. Delpit, Collection des documents, 185; Boutruche, op.cit., 352, n.3).

the beginning of 1343. When the English expeditionary forces crossed to Brittany in 1342, in Gascony the bishop of Beauvais besieged strategically vital places along the Garonne valley between La Réole and Port-Sainte-Marie: Saint-Bazaille, Coussan, Damazan, Lavardac.¹ But no less important was his activity in distributing pardons and rewards.² The situation was a grave one.

But before any active policy could be pursued in Gascony, the support of not only loyal Gascons, but also of neighbouring powers would have to be secured. It was to this end that Lancaster was sent to Spain early in 1343, and was given a series of commissions for the reform of the government of Aquitaine in the following year.

To begin with the Spanish mission. Castile was a first class naval power by this time.³ She possessed a fleet of galleys permanently maintained by the crown and based on a specialised dockyard organisation at Seville. Created by Genoese experts, the royal fleet had a long fighting tradition. Speed,

1. Appendix B, IIa, no.9.

2. Ibid.

3. For the details set forth in this paragraph, see P.E. Russell, The English intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II, 5-6.

manoeuverability, and lightness of draught gave the Castilian galleys, commanded as they were by professional admirals and captains, obvious advantage over the impressed merchant vessels commanded by amateur admirals which formed the backbone of the naval strength of England and France. The merit, or danger, of the Castilian naval position from the English and French point of view was that, in addition to her galleys, Castile also possessed a large merchant fleet, maintained by numerous maritime communities strung out along the whole length of the northern coast. If both galleys and naos could be brought into action in the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel, they might seriously determine the course of the war. The point had escaped neither the English nor the French government.

Edward III's attempts to secure an alliance with Castile dated back to 1335.¹ At that time he had been

1. For the following details, see Russell, op.cit., 6-7.

unsuccessful and a Franco-Castilian alliance had been signed in the following year. The English government had started with marked disadvantages in the contest for the support of Castile and other Peninsula kingdoms. Spain was a terra incognita to the English government, whose early agents in the Peninsula had no conception of the delicate balance of power between the Christian states there. They naively angled for alliances with any or all of them at the same time, with disconcerting results.

Less than five weeks after he came off the king's pay in Edward's army in Brittany Lancaster had left for Spain,¹ where he was officially described as "fighting against the enemies of God and Christianity".² In this crusade he was accompanied by William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury. The Spanish chronicles³

1. Together with his retinue he came off the king's pay for service in Brittany on 8 February, 1343 (E 36/204, fos.106r & 108v). He had left England by 14 March following (C 81/288/15239).
2. Royal mandate, given at Westminster on 24 August, 1343, by which Edward informed the chancellor that he had granted respite from homage to Thomas Wake of Liddel, then staying in Spain "en la compaignie de nostre chere et foial le counte de Derby, travaillant de guerre contre les enemis de Dieu et de la Cretienete", and instructed him to have letters issued under the great seal accordingly (C 81/291/15587).
3. For the contemporary accounts of Lancaster's activities

tell us of their arrival in the Castilian king's camp; of how Alfonso, anxious to make his siege an important chivalrous European enterprise, was delighted to see them, and of how they earned golden opinions for their dash and courage. On one occasion he is said to have shown off the whole party to impress a Moorish diplomatic mission which was conducted over the English camp by his order; the chronicler tells us how the Moors were particularly intimidated by the strange sight of the visitors helmets, painted with their animal devices, hanging on poles at the entrances to their tents.

All this was very good for English prestige in the Peninsula. Probably few of those who admired the performance of Lancaster and Salisbury in the field were, however, aware that the knights were professional diplomats, and that they were in Spain chiefly in their professional capacity. As Edward himself put it in a letter of 14 March "our dear and faithful

at the siege of Algeciras, see "Cronica del rey Don Alfonso XI", ed. Francisco Cerda y Rico, Biblioteca de autores espanoles, LXVI, 541-69; Poema del rey Don Alfonso XI", ed. F. Janer, ibid., LVII; Ayala, Pedro I, 6.

cousin, the earl of Derby, has gone to Spain on great necessities and charges, and, amongst other things, we have instructed him to speak of certain needs to our cousin the king of Spain".¹ He had been there some time when, together with Salisbury, he was officially empowered to treat with Alfonso of maritime disputes;² but the real purpose of his mission was what he in fact proposed: a marriage alliance between Alfonso's eldest son and one of Edward's daughters.³ We know no more than that he opened negotiations on the matter; nothing of the parleyings. Around 1 November he was back in England;⁴ and it was doubtless upon his report that Edward and the council gave the Prior of Rochester and William

1. Royal mandate, given at Westminster on 14 March, 1343, by which Edward instructed the chancellor, "come nostre chere cosin et foial le conte de Derby soit ale vers les parties d'Espaigne pour grosses busoignes et chargeantz, et, entre autres choses, nous lui eons chargez de certaines busoignes moustrer depar nous au roi d'Espaigne nostre cosin", to exempt him and those who had already gone, and who would shortly be going with him, from all assizes of novel disseisin "tant come ils serront en nostre dit message et entour l'exploit de noz dites busoignes" (C 81/288/15239).
2. Commission dated 2 September, 1343 (Rymer, II., ii, 1233) On 30 August, 1343, Edward wrote to Alfonso asking him to treat with Lancaster and Salisbury of the matter (ibid., 1233).
3. Ibid., 19-20, 22-3.
4. Knighton, II, 28.

Trussel (significantly a Lancastrian official of some standing)¹ charge of an embassy sent to Spain at the beginning of the following January "to treat with our dear cousin, the king of Castile, of a marriage alliance, and other alliances, to be made between him and us"; and gave them £1,000 to pay "to certain men of the council of the said king, wherever it seems to them that the money can be best employed to expedite the necessities touching the aforesaid treaty, according to the charge given to them";² a clear insight to fourteenth century diplomatic methods; whilst on his way to Spain Lancaster had picked up 1,000 gold ecus from the constable of Bordeaux, in respect of a mandate under the secret seal.³

2. Royal mandate, given at Westminster on 20 January, 1344, by which Edward informed the chancellor that, "par assent de nostre conseil", he had appointed the Prior of Rochester and William Trussel and others "noz messagers vers les parties d'Espaigne, pour trefier od nostre chere cousin le roi de Castelle de mariage et d'autres alliances faire entre lui et nous", and had allowed them £1,000 to pay "as certaines gentz du conseil du dit roi ... par la ou ils verront que meismes les deniers purront mieuz estre emploiez pour l'exploit des busoignes touchant le trefee avantdit, selonc la charge a eux baillee", and ordered him to issue them with a commission under the great seal (C 81/301/16586).

1. Vide infra, p.723.

3. E 101/167/3, m.20.

By the spring of 1344 the situation in Aquitaine had become critical. In March the duke of Normandy was invested with those parts of the duchy in French control, and shortly after began his homage tour. Immediate action was required before the position deteriorated still further. On 24 March Lancaster and the earl of Arundel were given a commission for the reform of the government of the duchy.¹ The two earls were appointed the king's lieutenants in Aquitaine and (although this is not explicitly stated in their commissions) Languedoc. They were given such powers as might be necessary to recover what they could in the duchy: they were empowered to treat with, and receive into the king's allegiance, both individuals and communities, take their homage and reward them with grants of land; conversely, they could confiscate the lands of those who had deserted the king's allegiance and employ such properties as they thought best. In case it should be necessary to revert to arms to recover the king's heritage they were given full military authority, with powers to assemble and command an army in the duchy. In the same commission they were empowered

1. Rymer, III, i, 8-10.

to negotiate treaties of alliance with the kings of Castile, Portugal and Aragon, and to treat with them of outstanding maritime disputes. They were also given over-riding judicial and administrative authority with which to make a thorough overhaul of the ducal administration: they were empowered to investigate the work of the king's ministers, and appoint and dismiss them at their discretion. They were to see that customary dues were performed and paid, and in so far as the king had been deceived and had made excessive grants in the duchy, they were to take into his hands all those castles, liberties and lands which he had granted, without exception of persons, and to inquire into the merits of the gifts. All those which they should find to have been fraudulently engineered they were to annul; the others they were to restore to their holders. Finally, they were empowered to do all that which might be necessary to ensure that the truce of Malestroit was adhered to. The elders, jurades, consuls and communes of boroughs, cities and towns were ordered to be intendent, as well as the customary list of ecclesiastics, nobles and castellans. Briefly, they were empowered to do everything necessary to

meet the situation created by French expansion and, more immediately, the duke of Normandy's investiture and homage tour.

The two earls appear to have left England almost immediately after the commission was issued to them;¹ but their activities during the course of the year are something of a mystery. Contemporaries were equally puzzled. Murimuth tells us that "around Quadragesima, 1344, the king sent the earls of Derby and Arundel abroad; where they were sent to, and for what reasons, were uncertain".² Knighton merely remarks that Lancaster crossed to France with Arundel.³ We have no indication of their work in Aquitaine; but it seems fairly clear that they could have done no more than make a reconnaissance of the situation in the duchy. We know them to have intended to take up negotiations with Alfonso almost as soon as they arrived on the continent, and that Lancaster was subsequently involved in negotiations with the Pope at Avignon, at the very time when the duke of Normandy was there also.⁴

1. Letters of protection were issued to those going abroad with Lancaster on 26 March (Rymer, III, i, 11).
2. Murimuth, 156.
3. Knighton, 29.
4. Appendix B, no.4.

Firstly, the Spanish mission. It was the marriage alliance with Castile, over which he had begun negotiations in the previous year, that was really at stake.¹ Certainly this seems to have been the main purpose of the mission.² In a letter to Alfonso Edward claimed to have 'opened his heart' (*aperuimus mentem nostram*) to Lancaster on the matter.³ We know the earl to have got as far as Leon, supposedly on his way south to join Alfonso at the siege of Algeciras; but when he arrived there he heard that the town had surrendered, and, abandoning the journey (*non progrediebatur ulterius*) he appointed John de Brocas and Guillaume Sanche, lord of Pommiers, to treat in his name, and gave them the letters of credence issued to Arundel and himself.⁴ This is the official explanation. And yet we know Lancaster to have had a meeting with Giles Buccanigre, admiral of the Castilian fleet, on board one of his galleys,

1. Rymer, III, i, 19-20, 22-3.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 19-20.

4. SC 1/38, no.10 (Letter of Alfonso XI to Edward III, Seville, 2 June, 1344); Rymer, III, i, 19-20, 22-3.

and to have secured an offer of the support of that fleet for Edward.¹ The meeting may have taken place on the occasion on which he joined the admiral when he sailed with a fleet of galleys to the African coast, to attack the Moorish fleet off Ceuta;² more probably he had done the crusading in the previous year, and put himself on familiar terms with the admiral then.

The negotiations were not a failure. Now that the way had been opened all Edward need do was to send regular embassies of less standing to settle the details: Sir William Trussel and Sir William Storey in the autumn of 1344, the bishop of Bayonne and Gerard de Puy, two of his Gascon counsellors, in the summer of 1345.³ The earls had impressed Alfonso sufficiently, and doubtless bribed his court to impress him for them too. Edward's subsequent correspondance with the Castilian court reveals that Lancaster had brought back very full reports of the

1. CCR, 1343-6, 456.

2. *Cronica de Alfonso XI*, and *Poema de Alfonso XI*, cit. supra.

3. Rymer, III, i, 22-3, 58.

political situation there.¹ He now showed himself to be fully aware of the identity of persons whose support must be obtained if a plan for an Anglo-Castilian alliance was to be carried further. He was careful to write affably to Alfonso's discarded but still powerful Queen as well as to her successful rival Leonor de Guzman. He also wrote to the right people in the parties which had formed round these two ladies. He flattered Alfonso's reported desire to cut a figure in the annals of European chivalry by mendaciously declaring to the Castilian king that he had hoped to attend the siege of Algeciras in person had not Alfonso achieved so rapid a success. Admiral Buccanigre was carefully thanked for his friendly attentions to Lancaster.

By 1346 Alfonso was persuaded to agree to the marriage of his son and heir, Don Pedro, to an English princess,² and Edward's daughter, Joan, was chosen for the part. Early in 1348 Lancaster was to

1. Ibid., 20, 22-3, 58-9; CCR, 1343-6, 456. In 1345 Edward offered to receive in England one of the sons Alfonso had by Leonor de Guzman, and lodge him with the Black Prince. The offer was made to Dona Leonor herself, no doubt to flatter her (Russell, op.cit., 8, n.2).

2. Russell, op.cit., 7.

have accompanied Joan to Spain for the marriage,¹ but, having got as far as Bordeaux, the young princess died of the plague,² a tragic conclusion to his painstaking efforts, and one which promptly re-established French ascendancy in Castile. Yet his activities had been far from fruitless; they held off the Franco-Castilian rapprochement until after English fortunes in Aquitaine had taken very much of a turn for the better. Moreover, when the moment was again ripe to create a close association between England and Castile, English diplomacy was far better informed about Peninsula affairs than it had been before his missions.³

Secondly, his visit to Avignon. At some point between Edward's acceptance of papal arbitration and the arrival of the English embassy at Avignon to treat of peace before

1. Rymer, III, i, 154. On 1 February, 1348, one of his annuitants, Thomas de Uvedale, acknowledged receipt in London of £334.16s.8d. for her expenses for the journey (E 43/462), but it is not clear if Henry went too.
2. Rymer, III, i, 171; Le Baker, 97 & 269.
3. Russell, op.cit., 9.

the pope,¹ he visited the papal curia,² and was involved in secret negotiations with Clement concerning the proposed peace with France;³ negotiations which the pope ascribed to the delay in the arrival of the English ambassadors, and which were discreetly held outside Avignon.⁴ But it appears that this was an unofficial visit which Clement used for his own purposes.⁵ Certainly the government believed him to be in Spain in May. On the 15th of that month a royal valet, Ivo de Cornwaille, was sent to Spain with a letter

1. Edward accepted papal arbitration on 12 May, and the English ambassadors were to have been at Avignon by 20 June; but their official departure was not announced until 3 August, and they did not arrive in Avignon until 30 September (E. Deprez, "La conférence d'Avignon, 1344", in Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke, 305).
2. Some time between 23 May, when Clement wrote to him, requesting him to come to Avignon (Clément VI, 1342-1352. Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France, II, fasc.3, cols.20-21, no.864; CPL, III, 9), and 13 June, when he was given a safe conduct leaving Avignon (Clément VI. Lettres closes, etc., II, fasc.3, col.45, no.899).
3. CPL, III, 10-11 & 13.
4. Clément VI. Lettres closes, etc., II, fasc.3, p.220, no.2726.
5. Lancaster is said to have gone 'causa devotionis' (Rymer, III, i, 54; Clément VI. Lettres closes, etc., II, fasc.3, p.24).

under the signet for him; on arriving at Bordeaux he was informed that the earl was at Avignon.¹ It is evident that this had not been expected.

According to Murimuth Lancaster returned to England at the beginning of July.² Certainly he was

1344

1. "Deniers paieez as plusours valletz queux nous avoms envoietz par dela la mer par comaundement del tresorer. ... Item, paiasmes au dit jour (le XV jour de maii), par commandment du dit tresorer, a Ive de Cornwaille, que nous mandasmes en Espagne al counte de Derby ovesque une lettre de petit seignet du roi, lyquel vallet, quant il fust a Burdeaux, senti que le dit conte estoit a Avynoun et ala illoeques. Et adonques, le dit counte ly remanda ariere a Burdeaux par sa lettre, et puis revynit en Engleterre - LXIX.s. IIII.d." (E 404/501/300).
2. Murimuth, 158.

not back by 5 July when another valet, Nicholas de Ireland, was sent to Bordeaux with another letter for him.¹ Lancaster was possibly already on his way back to England by then. According to Murimuth he arrived around 7 July, and Edward called a council in London on the 11th to hear his report, which was kept secret, but said to be unpleasant; whereupon Edward immediatly sent John de Ufford, dean of Lincoln, Nicholas de Luca and Hugh Neville to Avignon, where they stayed until after October.² From this account it would appear that the final decision to accept papal arbitration and the final briefing were made on the basis of Lancaster's report.³

Before the conference began Henry appears to have been in correspondance (by way of his envoy and confessor,

1. "Deniers paieiz as plusours valletz queux nous avoms envoietz par dela la mer par comaundement del tresorer ... Item, paiasmes le V jour de Juyl, l'an susdit (Mil.CCC.XLIIII), par comaundement du dit tresorer, a Nicholas de Irland que nous mandasmes a Burdealx en VIII jours ovesques une lettre que le roi envoya al counte de Derby - XLVI.s.VIII.d". (E 404/501/300).
2. Murimuth, 158-9.
3. The embassy which Murimuth refers to appears to be that which attended the conference.

John de Rippis) with John de Ufford, dean of Lincoln, one of the English envoys at the conference.¹ It is also clear from a letter from the Pope to Lancaster that the earl had proposed a secret meeting with him, and the place at which it might be held had also been specified.² That it was to concern the question of the peace there seems little doubt, and equally it seems that the transfer of certain lands and money to Edward were amongst the conditions of any such agreement. The Pope discussed the matter with Ufford and Rippis, and clearly it did not end at that. Clement, however, made it quite clear to Rippis and Ufford that he could not consider such a secret meeting before Edward stated what land and money he wished in order to accept peace terms, so that he might endeavour to persuade the French to accept them.

Lancaster was not officially present at the conference; he may have been there un-officially. Certainly it was intended that he should visit the curia immediately upon its conclusion. On 10 December the treasurer was instructed to pay wages to him and

1. CPL, III, 10-11; Deprez, loc.cit., 305.

2. CPL, III, 10-11.

Bartholomew de Burghersh for a mission to Avignon,¹ and a papal safe conduct was issued to him three days later;² but it is equally clear that the mission, whatever its purpose, was abandoned.³

On 10 January he was present at a council meeting summoned to hear the report of Hugh Neville, who had returned from the curia at Christmas.⁴ According to certain letters of the Pope it was agreed in council on 17 January that Henry and Burghersh should visit the curia to try and prevent the breakdown from drifting into war.⁵ The government seem to have considered the matter;⁶ but it is equally clear that they never went.⁷

1. Royal mandate to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer, given at Hoxne on 10 December, 1344, instructing them to pay Lancaster 500 marks, and Bartholomew de Burghersh £150 "sur lour gages en alant en nostre message vers la court de Rome, et aussint facez paier au dit counte cynk centz marcs, et au dit Bartholomew cent et cynquante livres de nostre doun pour lour regard en nostre message avantdite. Et ce ne lessez" (E 404/5/31).
2. CPL, III, 18.
3. The royal mandate (cit. supra., n.1) bears a note on the dorse "Nichil fiat per hoc breve, quia infrascriptus Henricus et Bartholomus hunc viagium infrascriptum non assumpserunt" (E 404/5/31).
4. Murimuth, 160-1.
5. CPL, III, 15.
6. Ibid., 15 & 16.
7. Ibid., 16.

Edward decided to reclaim his duchy by a reversion to arms.

Military Preparations

On Sunday, 13 March, 1345, Lancaster was party to an indenture with the king, by the terms of which he undertook to go to Gascony (for six months in the first instance) as the king's lieutenant, and to do what he could with an expeditionary force of 500 men-at-arms, 500 mounted archers, 500 foot archers and 500 Welsh foot.¹ Of these 2,000 men he was to provide a personal retinue of 250 men-at-arms and 250 mounted archers, which were to include himself, 8 bannerets, 92 knights and 150 esquires; whilst Edward undertook to provide the remaining 1,500 men. These forces were to be assembled at Southampton on the evening of 14 May, ready to set out for Gascony.

The indenture specified, amongst other things, the powers he was to be granted as the king's lieutenant in the duchy. Four commissions are specified. The

1. E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1.

first was to empower him to seize into the king's hands all lands, tenements, towns, castles, franchises, customs, profits of moneys, and everything else whatsoever in the duchy, notwithstanding who held them, wherever it seemed best to him to do so, until he advised him of what he considered should be done with them. The second was to empower him to conclude a truce, should he consider it necessary to do so in order to safeguard the king's interests, himself, his men, and the duchy. The third was to empower him to supervise the work of the king's ministers, to dismiss those who were incompetent (with the exception of the seneschal and the constable) and replace them by others. The fourth was to empower him to banish the king's enemies or, conversely, to receive them into the king's peace and grant them pardons. If any of these powers were issued to any other person in the meantime, they were to be revoked before he took up his command. The truce of Malestroit was to be allowed to run out, and Lancaster was to be informed to this effect before he began military operations.

The decision to send the earl to Gascony with an expeditionary force had been taken by the king and council, at the latest by 25 February, when commissions were issued to raise and array 600 foot archers in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire and Cheshire (125 in each county), and 500 Welsh foot (half archers and half with lances), to equip them with bows, arrows and lances, and to have them ready for 10 April.¹ On 12 March instructions were given for them to be at Southampton for 14 May.²

Meanwhile, Ralph of Stafford, appointed seneschal of Gascony on 25 February,³ was entrusted with these

1. C 76/20, m.34. The commissions opened with the king's statement that it had been decided to send Lancaster abroad for "...quibusdam arduis negociis defensione regni nostri ... iuxta ordinacionem per nos et consilium nostrum inde factam..."
2. Ibid., m.32.
3. Rymer, III, i, 32.

responsibilities, and sent out to the duchy to prepare the way for Lancaster's arrival.¹ On 16 March, three days after Edward had made the indenture with the earl, Stafford was given a series of instructions relating to his duties.² In the military sphere he was to see that those troops enlisted in Gascony were well supplied with horses and arms. He was empowered to treat with all persons (nobles and non-nobles), to bring them into the king's allegiance, grant them pardons, and, wherever might be necessary, reward them with the goods of the king's enemies. He was also given extensive administrative powers. Several of the king's councillors and other ministers and officers in the duchy were not fulfilling their duties and were spending too much; he was to inspect and supervise their work, and remove and replace them wherever necessary, excepting the constable and mayor of Bordeaux. The king and his officers had made

1. A mandate for the arrest of 13 ships to facilitate his crossing was issued on 1 March (*ibid.*, III, i, 32), and were accordingly fitted out for the passage (E 101/24/18). Letters of protection were issued to him on 20 April (*Rymer*, III, i, 36).

2. C 61/57, ms.7-8.

excessive grants in the duchy; he was to investigate the merits of these. Finally, he was empowered to treat with Alfonso XI of Castile of a settlement of maritime disputes.

A series of commissions issued to Lancaster on 10 May,¹ four days before his scheduled embarkation, embodied most of the powers granted to him and the earl of Arundel in the previous year, outlined in his indenture, and some of which had meanwhile been granted to Stafford. He was appointed the king's captain-general and lieutenant in Aquitaine and (although this is not explicitly stated in his commission) Languedoc. The two posts combined not only gave him full military authority, with powers to assemble and lead an army, but over-riding judicial and administrative authority, with powers to dismiss and appoint local officials at his discretion. To some extent he was the king's vice-roy; he could receive individuals and communities into the king's allegiance, take their homage, grant them letters of pardon, and reward them with grants of land: conversely, he could confiscate the lands

1. Rymer, III, i, 34-5, 37 & 38.

of those who deserted the king's allegiance and employ such properties as he thought best. They embodied all those powers which, since the opening of the war, had been granted at various times to the king's chief minister (whether captain and lieutenant, lieutenant or seneschal) in the duchy.

Meanwhile, arrangements were underway for the assembly of the forces placed under Lancaster's command. On 11 April Edward made an indenture with Laurence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, to the effect that he would go to Gascony in Lancaster's company (also for six months in the first instance) with a retinue of 80 men-at-arms and 80 mounted archers.¹ The troops were assembled. Lancaster arrived at Southampton on 22 May with the retinue envisaged in his indenture: 8 bannerets, 92 knights, 150 esquires and 250 mounted archers.² They included many of the soldiers who had served in his retinue on previous campaigns, and who were to serve with him again in the future; men retained by him for life, some of them his counsellors and officials

1. E 101/68/60.

2. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.

Pembroke arrived the following day with his retinue:

2 bannerets, 56 knights and 80 mounted archers.¹

James d'Audley mustered a retinue of 40 men-at-arms and 40 mounted archers at his castle of

in Staffordshire; Sir John Tromwyn brought them

down to Southampton, where they joined Lancaster's

forces on 22 May.² The remaining 130 men-at-arms and 130 mounted archers were made up of two retinues:

those of Sir Walter Manny and Ralph of Stafford.³

The 500 Welsh foot were raised by commissions of array in north and south Wales, formed into groups of 20 under 24 vintenars, and brought down to

Southampton for 8 June by Geoffrey de Wrightlynton and Richard Sholle, who were appointed ductores.⁴

They were accompanied by 6 constables, 2 chaplains,

2 surgeons, 2 criers and 6 standard bearers.⁵ The

majority of the foot archers were raised by commissioners

1. E 372/191, m.54d.

2. E 101/24/20; E 372/191, m.35.

3. Manny came into the king's pay, together with his retinue, on 8 June; the numbers are not given, but, to judge from the sum due to him, smaller than Pembroke's (E 43/78; E 403/336, ms.14 & 22; E 403/337, m.14). Payments to Stafford are recorded in E 404/490/174 & E 404/503/139.

4. E 372/190, m.41.

5. Ibid.

of array in Lancashire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and brought to the port of embarkation by centenars appointed for the purpose by Lancaster.¹ William de Witton (who we know to have previously served in Lancaster's retinue in Scotland)² brought 125 from Lancashire, John Meignill 124 from Derbyshire, and John Lesing of Barton (alias John de Duffeld) 124 from Staffordshire.³ They were paid 15 days wages for their journeys to Southampton, where they were assembled with the rest of Lancaster's forces on 12 June.⁴ Finally, 24 miners (of whom 4 were master miners) from the Peak District and the Forest of Dean also joined the forces at Southampton on 26 May.⁵

Under the terms of his indenture Lancaster was to come on the king's wages, together with his retinue, on the evening of 14 May, when they were to be at Southampton ready for their passage to Gascony, or on whatever subsequent date they arrived there.⁶

1. E 404/501, nos.335-9; E 372/190, m.41.

2. E 101/15/12.

3. E 404/501, nos.335-9; E 372/190, m.41.

4. Ibid.

5. E 372/190, m.41.

6. Appendix A, no.1.

They were to receive the customary wages (6s.8d. a day for himself, bannarets 4s.0d., knights 2s.0d., esquires 1s.0d., mounted archers 6d.) and regard. £7,825.4s.0d. (£4,492.7s.4d. wages and £3,333.6s.8d. regard) for himself and his personal retinue for 6 months was to be made over to him in three installments: £5,000 within a month of Easter (27 March), £1,825.4s.0d. to be assigned to him from the clerical tenth for Saint Barnabas term (11 June), and the remaining £1,000 to be paid on 15 November. If Edward wished him to remain in Gascony beyond the initial term of six months, he undertook to appoint deputies to see that he was paid the same wages and regard. His horses, and those of his retinue, were to be appraised in the customary manner before embarkation; although if any of his men preferred to purchase their horses in Gascony they were to be appraised by the constable of Bordeaux. The costs of the passage (ships and food for his men and horses), both in going and returning, were to rest with the king.

In accordance with these terms he came on the king's pay on 22 May when he arrived at Southampton.¹

1. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.

He received £5,000 from the Exchequer on 6 April, and £1,825.14s.0d. on 21 (31) May.¹ Henry de Walton and William de Farley, two Exchequer officials, seem to have been responsible for receiving the sums in question. When the fleet put in at Plymouth on its way down the channel coast from Southampton to Falmouth, they were sent up to Westminster (with a bodyguard of 10 archers in the company of Ingelram FitzHenry) to collect the remaining £1,000 wages and regard for the initial six months. Lancaster had already left when they returned to Plymouth; but on 19 July they left for Gascony with the money.²

Pembroke was to receive wages and regard under the same conditions as the earl.³ An initial sum (£1,989.5s.4d) was also paid to him before he left England (11 April).⁴ Manny, Stafford and Audley do not appear to have received any advance payment.

Lancaster's indenture with the king also provided for the payment of the infantry not organised in the retinues of any particular persons. A clerk was

1. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d. There is this discrepancy of dates for the second instalment in the detailed and enrolled accounts.
2. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.
3. E 101/68/60.
4. E 372/191, m.54d.

to be appointed for this specific purpose: to pay these troops both before they left England and whilst they were in service in the duchy.¹ He was to have a ready supply of money to make the necessary payments, but was only to make them on receipt of a mandate from Lancaster. Farley was given the responsibility. During June, whilst the troops were being assembled, he was in residence at Winchester, making disbursements to the centenars entrusted with conducting the foot archers from the north and midlands.² In the duchy he acted as treasurer-of-war to the troops not serving in the larger retinues.³

Another army had been assembled at Portsmouth. Just over a month after Lancaster made his indenture with Edward, on 17 April William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, was also party to an indenture with the king, by the terms of which he agreed to go to Brittany as captain and guardian of the duchy.⁴ On 24 April, just over a fortnight before Lancaster received his commission as captain-general and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc, he was given

1. Appendix A, no.1.

2. E 404/501, nos.335-9.

3. E 403/339, m.44.

4. E 101/68/4, .no.72.

a similar commission as Edward's captain-general and lieutenant in "the kingdom of France and the duchy of Brittany", significantly in co-operation with one of the claimants in the Breton succession dispute, John de Montfort.¹ Both, that is to say, were designated the king's captains-general and lieutenants, and they divided France between them. Lancaster was to operate in the south and Northampton in the north, and they were based, respectively, on Gascony and Brittany. A third force, assembled at Sandwich a little later, was to cross to Flanders with the king.²

Responsibility for the arrest and preparation of the shipping rested with Richard, Earl of Arundel, Admiral of the fleet west of the Thames.³ In fact, he delegated his powers to Phillip de Whitton, who acted as his lieutenant in this capacity.⁴ Whitton was responsible for supervising the preparations; all disbursements required his assent.⁵ Day to day organisation was entrusted to John de Watenhull, who, on 9 April, was appointed receiver of the sums necessary

1. Rymer, III, i, 37.

2. Vide supra, p.131.

3. E 372/190, m.41.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

for payment to the mariners and others; he left London on 19 April, and between then and 19 September (when he reported to the king's council in London) he executed this business at Southampton, Portsmouth, Sandwich and Dartmouth.¹

He received some of the sums for payment to the mariners direct from the Exchequer; but the majority of the financing was done by way of Exchequer officials (like John de Baddeby, William de Waverley, Thomas de Aldham, John de Houton and Farley) and merchants (like John de Wesenham) who acted as intermediaries.² He was also responsible for delivering victuals (flour, cider, pigs, cheese, fish, etc.) for the passage of the fleet under Lancaster's command.³ Waverley and Aldham took up residence at Saint-Cross by Winchester, and it was here that they made disbursements for the wages of mariners in charge of the fleets bound for Gascony and Brittany.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. E 404/501/373; E 372/190, m.41.

4. E 404/501/372.

Since, by 11 June, Northampton had left for Brittany, and Lancaster had embarked the greater part of his horses and was ready to leave for Gascony, the sheriffs of London were instructed to have proclaimed that all those going to the duchy with the earl were to hasten to Southampton with all speed.¹ Ten days later the mayors and bailiffs of 23 ports in the south and south-east were instructed to allow no ship fit for crossing the sea to leave England, other than those about to go with the king and Lancaster.²

Laurence de Hasting's retinue had been partly assembled at Tenby, a convenient port on the Pembrokeshire coast; by the beginning of June it had joined up with the main fleet assembled in Southampton water.³ We have all the details of the 152 ships which took the expeditionary force out to Bordeaux: the names of the ships, their ports, masters and, sometimes, constables, and the numbers of mariners and boys who manned them.⁴

1. Rymer, III, i, 44; CCR, 1343-6, 573.

2. CCR, 1343-6, 588.

3. E 372/191, m.54d; cf. Appendix C, no.1.

4. Appendix C, no.1.

V

THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT IN AQUITAINE
AND LANGUEDOC. II : MILITARY COMMAND AND ADMINISTRATION

Once he arrived in the duchy, Lancaster was joined by those Gascon lords remaining in English allegiance; men whose principal possessions lay in or to the west of the Bordelais, and whose fortunes rested with those of the English connection. Among the most prominent was Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, possessor of a territorial block stretching from the Adour to the north of Landes, and prolonged by a string of lordships into the Bordelais.¹ Twice the king's lieutenant in the opening years of the war,² he commanded a retinue of 185 cavalry and 940 infantry.³ His brother Bérard was a baron of almost equal importance. Lord of Vayres, Vertheuil and Gironde since 1326, he had bought the lordship of Rions in the following year,

1. Boutruche, op.cit., 378.

2. Rymer, II, ii, 1047 & 1105.

3. E 404/508/130 & 132; Appendix D, Table C.

and, after contributing to bring Bernard Ezil into the Anglo-Gascon party in 1339, had received the lordships of Puynormand, Cubzac, and a part of Blasimon, together with the custody of several fortresses for his sons, by grant of Edward III in 1341.¹ He too was able to muster a sizeable retinue.²

There were several who served in Lancaster's retinue: Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers, as a bannaret; his two brothers, Helie and Guillaume de Pommiers; Pierre de Grailly, vicomte of Bénauges and Castillon-sur-Dordogne; Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch; Bertrand, lord of Montferrand; and Arnaud de Durfort, lord of Castelnoubel, as knights.³ Guillaume-Sanche held an imposing castle at Saint-Félix-de-Pommiers, situated in an admirable position on a rock promontary above the Vignagne, tributary of the Drot, near to La Réole.⁴ His family had served the English connection with constancy for over a century.⁵ The Grailly's, whose family had settled

1. Boutruche, op.cit., 390-1.

2. Vide infra, p. 193.

3. E 101/25/9; Appendix C, no.9.

4. L. Drouyn, La Guienne Militaire, I, 63.

5. Ibid., 58-60.

in the Bordelais in the thirteenth century, also possessed the lordships of Puy-Paulin and Castillon-du-Medoc, lands to the south of the Gironde estuary.¹ Possession of the barony of Montferrand, and a grant of the castellany of Blaye in 1341, made Bertrand de Montferrand's loyalty both certain and vital: these possessions commanded the entry to the Dordogne and the northern bank of the Gironde.² Arnaud de Durfort possessed two of the strongest castles in the Agenais: Castelnoubel and Bajamont, only 10 kilometres from Agen.³ A long standing quarrel with that town over the jurisdiction of the former castle made him unique as a lord of the Agenais still in English allegiance.⁴

Amongst others of whom we have evidence of service in the forces under Lancaster's command were Bérard d'Albret's sons, Bérard and Amanieu;

1. Boutruche, op.cit., 79-80 & 358.
2. Blaye grant, Bib. nat., Moreau, 650, p.241; for the family, cf. A. Communay, Essai genealogique sur les Montferrand de Guyenne.
3. J. R. Marboutin, "Le château de Castelnoubel", Revue de l'Agenais, XXXVIII (1911), 288-9.
4. Ibid., 398-408.

Guillaume-Sanche's brother, Bertrand de Pommiers; Bertrand de Montferrand's brother, Amalvin; the vicomtes of Fronsac and Tartas; Élie de Saint-Symphorien, lord of Landiras; Bernard d'Escoussans, lord of Langoiran; the lords of Lesparre, Lescun, Audenge and Thouars; Alexander de Caumont, and several others who, in one way and another, distinguished themselves: Laspes de Béarn, Jean Columb of Bordeaux, Pierre Berger and Jean Mauleon.¹ Another group of knights who served in the earl's retinue were Gerard de Tartas, Hurtaud de Burgoyne, Vascomede d'Espagne, three knights of the lord of Pommiers, and a companion of the mayor of Bordeaux.²

The First Campaign

Lancaster stayed in Bordeaux for no more than a few days. Almost immediately his army had disembarked he made his way down the Garonne valley to Saint-Macaire, a loyal town which had remained in English control,

1. Chronique de Guyenne, 400-1; Villani, 928; Rymer, III, i, 123.

2. E 101/25/9; Appendix C, no.9.

and joined up forces with the seneschal, Ralph of Stafford, who was then besieging Langon with a Gascon army.¹ From there he did not continue his progress down the Garonne valley to La Réole, then in French hands, as might have been expected; but cut across country to Bergerac, over 40 miles to the north-west, surprised a French force commanded by Henry de Montigny, seneschal of Périgord and Quercy, which was besieging Montcuq, and routed it beneath the walls of Bergerac.²

Bergerac was then the headquarters of an army commanded by Bertrand, count of l'Isle-Jourdain, the largest French force then concentrated in Gascony. Situated on the northern bank of the Dordogne, the town was, and still is, connected to the south bank by a long bridge running at some height above the river. Montigny's retreating forces were unable to get within the walls before Lancaster's army pressed in upon them and trapped them on the bridge. The attack was driven home

1. Chronique de Bazas, 43.

2. Ibid., 43-4; Chronique Normande, 66-7; Chronique de Guyenne, 400. There is a letter of Montigny's given "in Castris ante Montem Cucum sub sigillo nostro" on 15 August (Bertrand, 32, n.1).

with heavy fire from the archers on the flanks, and followed up by a mounted charge by the men-at-arms. In the confusion which ensued (there were too many of the retreating force trying to cross the bridge and enter the gate at the same time), many of the French were taken prisoner or killed. Both the *Chronique de Bazas* and *Froissart* tell us how the archers worked particular havoc. Unable to close the gates or drop the portcullis in time to stop them, Lancaster's army pursued the French into the faubourgs, routed some, whilst others, including Montigny, tried to escape by another gate. Some of the troops and inhabitants fled by boats on the Dordogne.¹

Having taken the faubourgs by a dash in which he had completely surprised the French, it could only be a matter of time before the main French force, still secure behind the ramparts, would have to surrender or abandon the town. Meanwhile, Lancaster maintained a heavy assault, if we may believe *Froissart*

1. *Chronique de Bazas*, 43-4; *Chronique Normande*, 66-7; *Chronique de Guyenne*, 400; *Froissart*, III, xiii, 47-9 and, in particular, the account of the MSS d'Amiens & de Rome, 262 & 268.

he combined his operations with a fleet of boats brought up from Bordeaux.¹ In the meantime the defending force, under the command of the count of l'Isle, retreated to La Réole.²

Bergerac surrendered on 24 August, no more than fifteen days after the expeditionary force had disembarked at Bordeaux.³ It was a magnificent opening to Lancaster's military operations, and the chronicles leave us in no doubt that it greatly impressed contemporaries. The whole expeditionary force were present (the earl, Pembroke, Mauny, Stafford and their retinues), and several Gascon contingents, including that of Bernard Ezi.⁴ Pierre de Grailly, Bernard d'Escoussans, Bertrand de Montferrand and his brother Amalvin, Guillaume-Sanche and his brother Helie, Bertrand de Durfort, and the lord of Audenge were knighted.⁵

1. Froissart, III, xiii & 50. Walter de Herewelle, a king's sergeant-at-arms, was appointed to go to Gascony in Lancaster's company to determine the number of ships to go with the earl "ad certum locum" (E 372/190, m.41).
2. Froissart, III, xiii & 51.
3. Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 61 & 99; Chronique de Guyenne, 400; Bertrand, 31-4.
4. Froissart, III, 48; Chronique de Bazas, 43-4.
5. Chronique de Guyenne, 400.

Bergerac was a considerable town situated in a strong position, an important road centre then as it is today. It gave command of the Dordogne valley to whatever party held it, and effectively blocked progress to either east or west to whichever side did not. The enforced expulsion of the French army under the command of the count of l'Isle, and the capture of Henry de Montigny, seneschal of Périgord and captain of Bergerac; Jean de Galard, lord of Limeuil; and some nine other lords did the Valois cause no good.¹ In taking Bergerac Lancaster acquired a town not only strong in itself and the position which it commanded, but a base from which operations could be carried on into the surrounding country. Whoever held Bergerac would soon be able to control the smaller places around. The smaller places around could not be effectively controlled without the control of Bergerac.

The town fell on 24 August and we know that Lancaster was there on 2 and 10 September.² It is probable that during this period, and possibly for

1. A discussion on the prisoners taken is to be found in chapter VI, pp.287-8.

2. Appendix C, no.3.

some time after, he made the town a base from which he was able to conduct operations into the surrounding country, and which resulted in the capture of a number of not inconsiderable places: La Mongie, Lalinde, Laforce, Lunas, Beaumont, Montagrier, Pellegrue and Montségur.¹

Before he left he made an indenture with Bernard Ezi and Bérard d'Albret, appointing them captains of the town until 9 October in the first instance.² They were to maintain a garrison of 298 cavalry and 1,200 infantry during the first fortnight, and 250 cavalry and the same infantry during the second fortnight, at the usual wage rates for Gascon and English troops. If they did not wish to continue in custody of the town after 9 October then Lancaster was free to appoint another captain or captains in their place. Once every eight days they were to muster the troops for review by a deputy to be appointed by the earl.

1. Appendix C, no.8.

2. Arch. dep. Basses-Pyrénées, E 131; Appendix A, no.5.

Upon the command and advice of this deputy they were to have carried out whatever works and repairs were necessary in the town; and re-enforce, destroy or repair the faubourgs and barriers, whichever was most in the interests of the king and to the safety of the town. Lancaster undertook to provide artillery (bows, crossbows, siege engines), also by way of his deputy, on condition that it would be available to him there or to take elsewhere at his convenience. On 9 October it was to be returned to the deputy, excepting any which might be damaged. The two brothers could surrender the captaincy on that day without incurring the earl's ill will, providing they made their intentions known to him in the meantime. If, however, Lancaster should wish them to continue to hold office, they were to be paid wages in advance at the same rates as in the initial period for as long as they continued to hold office. If the wages were not forthcoming they could surrender the captaincy without losing his favour, providing they notified him in advance. Their horses were to be appraised and compensation made for those lost. Together with John Wawayn, constable

of Bordeaux, they were empowered to re-call the inhabitants, invite them to return into the town, grant them pardons, and make agreements with the cavalry and infantry, bring them into the king's pay for service in Bergerac or elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and, in general, to treat with all those who wished to enter the king's obedience, and bring them into the king's peace. Finally, Lancaster undertook to confirm whatever the two captains should do in conjunction with his deputy.

These provisions indicate the importance which the earl attached to Bergerac, the strength of the allied assault, and his distrust of the faubourgs by which he had entered. It was with a siege engine transported from Bordeaux to Bergerac, and thence to Montségur, that he took the latter town.¹ Both Froissart and the Chronique de Bazas comment on the flight of some of the inhabitants; the latter chronicle makes it clear that some of these were part of the French defending force.²

1. Chronique de Bazas, 43.

2. Froissart, III, 268; Chronique de Bazas, 44.

Lancaster left Bergerac for Périgeux, which he approached by an indirect route.¹ Passing north north-west to Mucidan, he took Maurens, Saint-Jean-d'Eyraud and Les Lèches on his way. He then changed his direction, swung to the north-east, and advanced on Périgeux by way of Saint-Louis, Saint-Astier, Isle and Montagrièr; thus securing control of the lower course of the river Isle between Mucidan and Périgeux. He did not attempt to take the city, which was too well fortified a stronghold on which to waste time. Turning east-south-east he passed up the valley of the Manoir (tributary of the Isle), and took Bonneval and Auberoche.

His movements between the submission of Auberoche and the famous and much more important battle which took place there some weeks later are uncertain. In one edition of his chronicles Froissart places him at Bordeaux, in another at Libourne, from where he is said to have received the news that took him to relieve the siege of Auberoche by the count of l'Isle.² But it is possible that he passed northwards

1. Bertrand, 69-76, who largely follows Avesbury, 356; but quotes some documentary evidence to substantiate the narrative.

2. Froissart, III, xvi, 64 & 286.

and, taking Saint-Privat and Saint-Raphael, continued his operations in the north of the département of the Dordogne, in the confines of Limousin and Quercy.¹

On the morning of Tuesday, 21 October, 1345, just over a month after Lancaster had made himself master of Bergerac, a French army commanded by the count of l'Isle which was encamped before Auberoche in Périgord, suffered complete defeat at the hands of an army commanded by Edward III's captain-general and lieutenant.² It was the most disastrous setback to French arms in Aquitaine during the reign of Edward III until the capture of King John of France at the battle of Poitiers some ten years and more later, and it was certainly the most glorious military success in the whole of Henry of Lancaster's career as a soldier. Together with the taking of Bergerac and, later, La Réole, it was the essential key to the re-establishment of English control in much of the duchy, for it paralysed all effective French resistance in Aquitaine until the arrival of a large army commanded by the duke of Normandy in

1. Bertrand, op.cit., 77 and notes 1 & 2, and 100.

2. The date is established by four independent authorities: Giovanni Villani, Historie fiorentine, in L.A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, XIII, 927; Chronique de Bazas, 44; Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 61; Chronique de Guyenne, 401.

spring of the following year. In the meantime the whole of the Agenais, much of Périgord and parts of Quercy were brought into English control.¹

Villani remarks that on the day of the battle a large French army commanded by the king's eldest son, John, was no more than ten leagues from the theatre of action.² John was in Aquitaine in two capacities; as his father's lieutenant and, in his own right, as duke.³ His movements can in fact be established by documentary evidence.⁴ A week before Lancaster disembarked at Bordeaux he was at Carcassonne. Passing northwards through Limousin, Poitou and Touraine, preparing the defence of these provinces, he crossed Périgord shortly before Lancaster took Bergerac, and by the end of August had reached Sablé-sur-Sarthe and Le Mans. On 2 September he was at Marmoutiers, near Tours; it was from here that he ordered the seneschal of Carcassonne to be at Angoulême on 11 September with

1. Appendix C, no.8.

2. Villani, op.cit., XIII, 927.

3. His letters are given in his capacity as "aisne fils et lieutenant du roi de France, duc de Normandie et de Guienne, conte de Poitou, d'Anjou et du Maine".

4. Appendix C, no.4.

the full militia of the sénéchaussée. He had returned south to Poitiers by 19 September, and left there for Limoges around the time that Lancaster was moving north-eastwards towards Périgeux. It was from here, on 4 and 5 October, that he authorised the inhabitants to fortify the town, and instructed the royal officers of the sénéchaussée of Carcassonne to send him all the money which they could get together for the prosecution of the war. The treasury of the army was at Pons during the greater part of August and September, and at Limoges on 10 October. Roger Bernard de Foix, vicomte of Castelbon, who was at this time serving under the duke's orders in Limousin, was at Limoges on 13 October, when he acknowledged receipt of wages for himself and his men "for service in the present war of the duke of Normandy". On 19 October, two days before the battle, duke John was in Angoulême. This is to say, during September and October, at the very time when Lancaster, having taken Bergerac, was moving north-eastwards through Périgord, duke John was concentrating in Limousin and the Angoumois the greater part of French troops then in Aquitaine, and was moving into the field of Lancaster's operations.

Meanwhile, on 8 August, the day before Lancaster disembarked, King Philip appointed Peter, duke of Bourbon, his lieutenant in Languedoc and Gascony.¹ The commission was issued at Sablé, doubtless after consultation with duke John.² By 22 September Bourbon had made his way to Cahors, where he appointed deputies for the prosecution of the war.³ Between 27 September and 8 October he was at Gourdon, where he assembled his troops.⁴ This is to say the duke of Bourbon had concentrated his forces on the frontier of Quercy and Périgord, just to the south of Lancaster's expeditionary force. Duke John was moving southwards: Le Mans, Marmoutiers, Poitiers, Limoges, Angoulême. The last official evidence we have of him is at Angoulême on 19 October; he was still there three days after the battle.⁵ Bourbon was moving northwards: Cahors, Gourdon.

1. Arch. nat., JJ 76, fos.52v-4r, no.62; fos.199v-200r, no.329; fos.201r-2r, no.334; JJ 81, fos.124-5, no.234; JJ 85, fos.51r-2r, no.112; Appendix B, Ia & IIa, no.13 & III, no.16.
2. Ibid. Vide supra, p.198, and Appendix C, no.4.
3. Ordonnances des rois de France, III, 154 ff; Histoire de Languedoc, IV, 257.
4. Histoire de Languedoc, 246-57. There is a mandate to the bailli of Auvergne issued by him at Gourdon on 8 October (Arch. nat., JJ 76, fos.201r-2r, no.334).
5. Appendix C, no.4.

On 21 October the count of l'Isle, who had made his way to Auberoche from La Réole, was encamped before the castle with his troops. If the three armies operated a junction they would be able to surround Lancaster's expeditionary force and cut off his one line of retreat, to the south-west in the direction of Bergerac and Bordeaux. Lancaster might perhaps, if he operated quickly, make a hurried exit by way of the places which he had taken along the valleys of the Dronne and the Isle; but he would have to sacrifice Auberoche. There was one alternative: to attack the considerable forces of the count of l'Isle before duke John arrived. Whichever alternative he chose he must act quickly. There was no time to await help from Pembroke. According to Avesbury¹ the count of l'Isle's aim was not so much to re-capture Auberoche as to bar Lancaster's passage (*ad resistendum dicto comiti*). He places him neither behind nor on the flank of the army, neither at Bordeaux, Bergerac nor Libourne; he was right there, on the spot. He attacked neither the tail nor the side of the army,

1. Avesbury, 356.

he attacked head on (*dictus comes Derbiae veniens in occursum*). The French army was encamped before Auberoche when Lancaster's forces moved in upon it, and the disastrous meeting, disastrous to French control in Aquitaine, took place before the walls of that town.

The counts of l'Isle and Valentinois, 7 viscounts, 3 barons and 14 bannèrets were among the prisoners.¹ The victory momentarily paralysed any effective action on the part of the dukes of Normandy and Bourbon, and it left La Réole without sufficient garrison forces. It gave the allies a free hand to extend the area in English control, for there was no longer any effective opposition. Duke John retreated to the north.²

Although he remained in Angoulême until the end of the first week in November, shortly afterwards he made his way by Caunay and Lusignan in Poitou to Châtillon-sur-Indre, situated just below the Loire valley to the south-east of Tours. He had arrived there by 23 November, and set up headquarters for the winter. It was not until spring of the following year that he oncemore came south to begin

1. Vide infra., p.289.

2. Appendix C, no.4.

his long siege of Aiguillon. The duke of Bourbon retreated to Agen, where he set up winter quarters.¹

Lancaster did not, as Froissart asserts, return to Bordeaux for the winter.² Having gained a sweeping victory he made the most of the moment and followed up the advantage which he had clearly acquired.

By 2 November, less than a fortnight after Auberoche, he had taken the town of La Réole, some 65 miles to the south-west, thereby acquiring the keys to the Garonne valley as the capture of Bergerac had given him those of the Dordogne.³ It was here that he set up winter quarters.⁴

The succeeding months were far from inactive. During this period the Agenais was brought firmly into English control: Aiguillon, Castelsagrat, Monclar, Villéréal, Bajamont, Beauville, Montagnac, Réalville,

1. Appendix B, IIa, no.13.

2. Froissart, III, xviii, 73-4, 292-5. Avesbury, 357, is much more to the point: "subsequenterque per totam hiemen subsequentem ibidem se strenue gessit".

3. E 159/123, m.327; Appendix C:3. The castle was not taken until after a siege lasting into early January (Chronique de Bazas, 44; Chronique Normande, 69-70; Froissart, III, xxii, 87, 308; Le Baker, 77; C 61/59, m.10; Arch. hist. Gironde, I, 302-3).

4. Appendix C, no.3.

• ANGOULEME

BORDEAUX

Pellegrue

Saint-Macaire
Langon

Marnande

Monclar

Montpézat

Aiguillon

Bajamont

AGEN

Castelsagrat
Mirabel
Réalville

Villereal

Beaumont-du-Périgord
Gourdon

La-Mongie

Bergerac

Lalinde

Laforce

Lunas

Lamongie

Saint-Jean-d'Eyraud
Maurens

Les Leches

Mussidan

Saint-Louis

Saint-Astier

PERIGUEUX

Auberoche
Bonneval

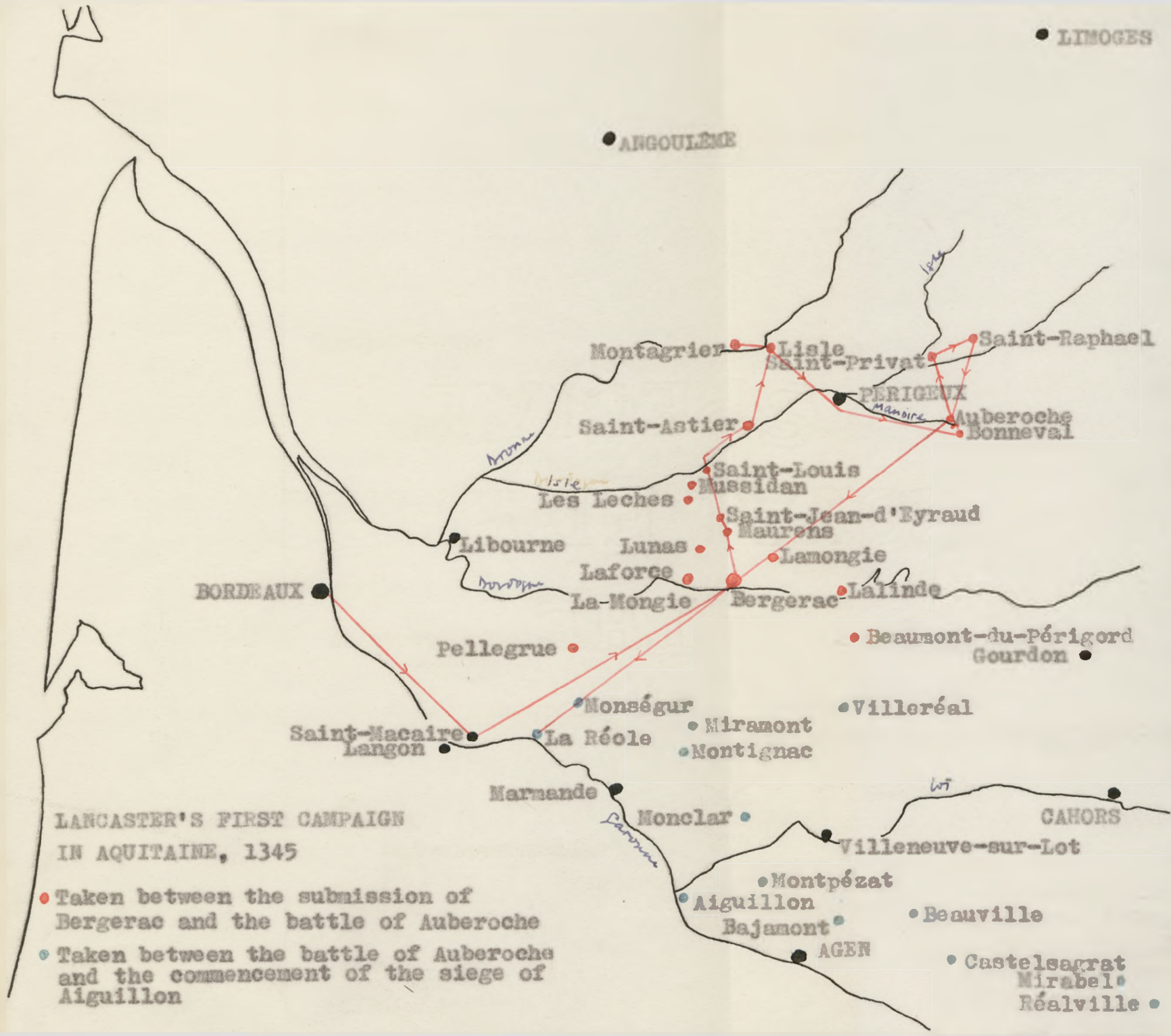
Montagrier

Lisle
Saint-Privat

Saint-Raphael

LANCASTER'S FIRST CAMPAIGN
IN AQUITAINE, 1345

- Taken between the submission of Bergerac and the battle of Auberoche
- Taken between the battle of Auberoche and the commencement of the siege of Aiguillon



Mirabel, Montpézat and Miramont were among the places brought into allegiance to the king.¹ It would seem that these successes are to be attributed to at least two separately operating armies. The taking of Aiguillon sometime before 10 December is almost certainly to be attributed to Stafford.² At this time Lancaster was at La Réole.³ As the earl had made Bergerac a base from which the upper Dordogne valley had been secured and a good many strongholds in Périgord taken, La Réole and Aiguillon appear to have been the two centres from which the Garonne valley which separated them was secured, the lower reaches of the Lot controlled, and the acquisition of important fortresses and towns of the Agenais, right up to the frontiers and even into Quercy itself was successfully accomplished. By the spring of 1346 the Agenais was overwhelmingly in English control.⁴

- 1. Appendix C, no.8; Map II.
- 2. Letters (C 61/60, ms.5 & 6).
- 3. Appendix C, no.3.
- 4. Appendix C, no.8; Map II.

Consequences Of The First Campaign

There can be little doubt that the éclat of such signal victories as those of Bergerac and Auberoche, carried out, as they were, with extraordinary rapidity, made itself felt in both the communal and the seigneurial world. It was a summons for men whose fortunes depended upon choosing rightly between an English and a French suzerain.

By 2 November, less than a fortnight after Auberoche, the town of La Réole was in English control.¹ There can be no question, therefore, of the long siege related by Froissart.² The author of the Grandes Chroniques is much more to the point; he tells us that the town was taken with the consent of the inhabitants.³ There is ample documentary evidence with which to substantiate this voluntary

1. E 159/123, m.327; Appendix C, no.3.

2. Froissart, III, xxi-xxii, 80-91, 300-9.

3. Grandes Chroniques, IX, 258-9.

submission.¹

Lancaster was quick to reward the burgesses and inhabitants. He granted them complete exemption from the wine custom due from them at Bordeaux for all their wines made from vines grown within the honour and district of the town, as well as the right to sell them there at any time of the year.² He also granted them the right to levy an impôt of ls.8d. on every barrel of wine and other goods transported along the Garonne before the town; half of the proceeds were to be used for the repair of the castle.³ Anxious to avoid any resentment which the entry of his troops may have caused, he granted them 2,000 gold florins for wine, corn and other provisions which they had commandeered.⁴ Upon the request of the jurats and community he ratified and confirmed the rights, usages,

1. This is established by several documents, notably a grant made by Lancaster at La Réole on 26 January, 1345/6 (C 61/59, m.10; Arch. hist. Gironde, I, 302-3, no.CLII), in which the inhabitants are said to have "sponte et gratis ad ejus (i.e. the king's) fidelitatem et hobedientiam veniendo".
2. C 61/59, m.10; Arch. hist. Gironde, I, 305-6, no.CLIV (La Réole, 26 January, 1345/6); petition for royal confirmation, SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A, no.7.
3. C 61/59, m.10; Arch. hist. Gironde, I, 302-3, no.CLII (La Réole, 26 January, 1345/6); petition for royal confirmation, SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A, no.7.
4. C 61/59, m.7; Rymer, III, i, 125; petition for royal confirmation, SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A, no.7.

customs, statutes, privileges and liberties of the town.¹ When the castle surrendered to him he entrusted it to the lord of Pommiers, an appointment which well suited the jurats and community; a local Gascon baron was doubtless to be preferred to an ardent Valois official.²

It was upon Lancaster's advice, after he had joined the king before Calais, that, on 3 June 1347, Edward met a series of petitions from the town.³ He confirmed a charter of King John to the burgesses, granted that they might sell their wines at Bordeaux as freely as their ancestors had done, undertook never

1. C 61/59, m.6 (La Réole, 5 February, 1345/6); petition for royal confirmation, SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A, no.7.
2. C 61/60, m.14. The jurats and community recommended Pommiers to Edward as having served him, and being sure to continue to serve him, well, "et par certayn a gouverne, et gouverne bien et loyalment, nous et la vostre ville de La Riolle" (SC 8/243/12134; Appendix Pommier's lands were situated near to La Réole (vide *supra*, p.186). On Agout de Baux, previously captain of the town (Froissart, III, xxi), see Appendix B, IIa, no.10.
3. The petitions are SC 8/243/12134, Appendix By brief of the privy seal, given before Calais on 3 June 1347, Edward instructed the chancellor to meet these petitions "par cause ... nostre chere cousin et foial le conte de Lancastre ad tesmoigne des gentz avantdites" (C 81/319/18388).

to alienate the town from the crown of England, and promised the municipal cornmills to the jurats and community after the death of Raymond Seguin, to whom he had promised them as soon as La Réole came into English control; a promise executed by Lancaster.¹ All of these grants, by both Lancaster and Edward, are said to have been made to the burgesses and inhabitants for freely and of their own accord coming into the king's obedience.

The Chronique Normande tells us that it was the burgesses who surrendered the town to Lancaster.² In their petitions to the king the jurats and community tell us that Bonnet de Pins and his brother Raymond; Pierre de Pins of Curton; Raymond, son of Bernard de Pins; and Doat de Pins of Bassane, all burgesses of La Réole, had "more than anyone else treated and brought to a conclusion that the said town came into your obedience".³ Lancaster rewarded them well. Pierre de Pins of Curton, Raymond du Port,

1. C 61/59, ms.7, 9 & 10; Rymer, III, i, 125 (3 June, 1347). For the promise to Seguin, C 61/57, m.2, and Arch. hist. Gironde, II, 419-20, no.CCLXIV (8 October, 1345); and execution by Lancaster, SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A, no.7.
2. Chronique Normande, 69
3. SC 8/243/12134; Appendix A, no.7.

Bernard du Miral, and Raymond, son of Bernard de Pins, who had "procured, treated and brought to a conclusion that the said town of La Réole came into your fealty and obedience; and the said Pierre, together with his four sons, did everything which he could to bring about the deliverance", each acquired the right to levy a toll of ld. bordelaise on every barrel of wine descending the Garonne before Marmande, as soon as that town came into English control.¹ He granted Guillaume du Miral, who had been "in the company of those who treated that the said town came into your obedience", a life annuity of £100 bordelaise from the rents, profits and emoluments of the treasury of the Agenais, for his good service in the wars in Gascony, and especially for bringing his co-citizens of La Réole into obedience to the king.² He granted Raymond de Pins and his brother Doat, bachelor of laws, a similar life annuity each from the rents, profits and emoluments of Port-Sainte-Marie, as soon as the town came into English control.³ The grants were

1. SC 8/243/12135, Appendix A:8; C 61/59, ms.6 & 8 (La Réole, 31 January & 1 February, 1345/6).

2. SC 8/243/12135, Appendix A:8; C 61/59, m.10 (La Réole, 26 July, 1346).

3. C 61/59, ms.6 & 7 (Bordeaux, 2 April, 1346).

made "with regard for the services of themselves and their predecessors".¹ Raymond also received a grant of £100 and 3,000 gold ecus for losses suffered by his son in Bazas.² Together, they were granted the right to represent La Réole in all negotiations in the duchy.³ He granted Raymond Piquet, a clerk of the town, "in regard for his services when the said town came into your obedience", the registry of the baillage of Port-Sainte-Marie for life, as soon as they, and the rents and profits appertaining to them, came into English control.⁴ At the request of the jurats and community, and on Lancaster's good testimony of him, Jean Villet was retained in the king's council in the duchy, and received a grant of £20 sterling life annuity in the rents and emoluments of the baillage of the bastide of Miramont in the Agenais as soon as it came into English control.⁵ He granted

1. SC 8/243/12135; Appendix A, no.8.

2. Ibid.

3. C 61/59, m.8.

4. SC 8/243/12135; Appendix A:8; C 61/59, m.7 (La Réole, 1 December, 1345).

5. SC 8/243/12134, Appendix A:7; C 61/59, ms.5 & 7.

Guillaume Arnaud Duyra, son of Arnaud Duyra, another burgess of La Réole, and his wife a house in the town.¹ Doat de Gardonne was granted a life annuity of £10 sterling, to be had from the constable of Bordeaux.²

There are two general points which may be noted about these grants. First, they were made in recognition of the past service of the beneficiaries, especially in connection with the submission of La Reole, and also for impending service. Second, they were nearly all future grants; the rewards they offered would only be realised when whatever was granted came into English control. They were encouragements in advance; at once rewards for good service and incentives to further action. It is significant that they were nearly all grants of places and revenues in the Agenais; it was here that the Anglo-Gascon successes of the winter and spring following the surrender of La Réole took place.

Military success for the Anglo-Gascons forced the lords to think of their fortunes too. It was a

1. C 61/59, m.7; Arch. hist. Gironde, VI, 187-8, no.LXXII

2. C 61/59, m.12.

matter of real import that a family such as the Durforts, one of the oldest and most powerful in the Agenais,¹ should know which way the wind was blowing. Gaillard de Durfort, by rights lord of Duras, in the Agenais, and Blanquefort, near Bordeaux, with two of the strongest fortified castles in Guyenne, seemed condemned to lose one or the other.² To which side he rallied would depend upon which side seemed the least disadvantageous to him in a choice between these distant lordships, or upon the conditions which might allow him to hold both. In November 1345, when Lancaster had Auberoche and La Réole to his credit, he came into obedience to the king.³ The earl had made it worth while. He restored him in possession of the castle and castellany of Blanquefort, and granted him a life annuity of 2,000 gold écus, to be had from rents in the duchy; a grant which encouraged him to capture the bastides of Miramont and Castelsagrat in the Agenais, and

1. J. R. Marboutin, "Le château de Castelnaud", Revue de l'Agenais, XXXVIII (1911), 403.
2. Boutruche, op.cit., 235, & n.3, 240; P. Lauzun, "Le chateau de Duras", Revue de l'Agenais, XLVIII (1921), 1-9, 89-98.
3. Bibl. nat., Doat, 189, fos.238-43 (La Réole, 26 November, 1345).

Molières and Beaumont in the Sarladais, and secure the certainty of his rent there.¹ When he made his submission to Lancaster, 'many towns, places, castles and nobles came and returned into our (the king's) obedience', for he is said to have brought 'towns, places, several castles and many nobles into the obedience of our said lord the king'.² Gaillard de Durfort's submission goes a long way to explain how the Agenais, much of Périgord, and parts of Quercy were brought back into English control in the winter of 1345-6.³ It shows with what wisdom Lancaster not only made it worth his while, but, in the following summer, gave him command of the contingent of his forces which were to operate in the Agenais, whilst he conducted a campaign northwards into Poitou.⁴

1. C 61/60, m.17; Bibl. nat., Doat, 189, fos.238-43 (26 November, 1345).
2. "...multasque villas, loca et castra ac multos nobiles adduxit et reduxit ad obedienciam nostram..."; "...ville, loca et plura castra et multi nobiles ad obedienciam dicti domini nostri regis veniunt..." (ibid.).
3. Vide supra., p.204, and Appendix C, no.8.
4. Avesbury, 373.

Gaillard's change of front was accompanied by like submissions on the part of other branches of the family. They too were rewarded for their action. When Raymond Bernard de Durfort, lord of Fenolhac and Gaynhac, came into the English party he received a grant of the bastides of Monpazier and Villefranche-du-Périgord in the Sarladais, and of Degagnac and Cauterot in Quercy, together with full jurisdiction of them.¹ Lancaster also rewarded Gaillard's brother, Bertrand de Durfort, lord of Gaiac, with a grant of the castle and place of Sauveterre, in the Agenais, together with full jurisdiction, and an annuity of £100 sterling rent in the property of Aymar Brunet who had served the French in Bergerac.² What part Arnaud de Durfort, lord of Castelnoubel, had in all this it is impossible to say. We know that he served in Lancaster's retinue,³

1. C 61/60, m.18.

2. Ibid., ms.17 & 18.

3. Vide supra, p.186.

and that he conducted a heroic defence of his castle of Bajamont in the summer of 1346.¹ As long as Agen was loyal to the Valois it was not profitable for him to choose a French suzerain.²

"When the inhabitants of Aiguillon saw the English coming", the author of the *Chronique Normande* tells us, "during the night they killed and imprisoned the soldiers who were there for the king of France, and surrendered to the English".³ Aiguillon was no longer an exclusive lordship in 1345. It was made up of two bourgs. Guillaume III and Gualard de Lunas, sons and heirs of Astorg II de Lunas, were co-lords of Lunas d'Aiguillon, together with Arnaud IV de Montpézat and Rainfroid II, lord of Montpézat; Amanieu III du Fossat, lord of Madaillan, and Gautier VI du Fossat were lords of Fossat d'Aiguillon.⁴ It seems likely that the town was surrendered to the Anglo-Gascons by all or some of these lords.

1. J. R. Marboutin, "Le château de Castelnoubel", loc. cit., 405-6.
2. Vide supra, p. 187.
3. Chronique Normande, 67. Froissart (III, xx, 79 & 300) also speaks of the surrender of Aiguillon.
4. R. L. Alis, 'Histoire de la ville d'Aiguillon et de ses environs, 117.

Ralph of Stafford, seneschal of Aquitaine, probably received the submission of the town early in December, when he granted Guillaume de Lunas and Arnaud Garsie du Fossat the right to levy a toll each on every barrel of wine transported down the rivers Lot and Garonne before Aiguillon.¹ Arnaud Garsie proved a faithful adherent.² Rainfroid, lord of Montpézat, was particularly well rewarded by Lancaster. He granted him the places of Saint-Sardos^a and Saint-Amans^b, together with their appurtenances; a life annuity of £300 rent bordelaise to be had from the properties of the king's enemies, or in lands already acquired or which would in the future be acquired by him (and which in the meantime was to be received from the constable of Bordeaux or the treasurer of the Agenais);

1. C 61/60, ms.5 & 6 (Aiguillon, 10 December, 1345).

2. Lord of Thouars, he was amongst those who, on Lancaster's testimony, were thanked for their assistance during the earl's lieutenancy (Rymer, III, i, 123). In 1348 he was in receipt of wages for himself and his retinue (E 101/167/12, m.14v), and again in 1352, by which time he was in office as seneschal of the Agenais (E 101/170/12, fo.57r).

a. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas.

b. Ibid.

a single sum of £2,000 bordelaise to be had from the properties of the king's enemies; full jurisdiction at Pech Bardat^a and in the parishes of Sainte-Foy^b and Lacépède^c in the manner in which his ancestors had exercised it; similar jurisdiction in the parishes of Saint-Michel^d and Rides;^e restitution of the possessions which his ancestors had held in the place of the lands of the abbey of Pérignac;^f and exemption (for himself, his household and the immediate subjects of his lands) from the summons and cognisance of the bailli and other officials of the sénéchaussée of Agen and, in matters touching them, from the jurisdiction of the court of the seneschal and bailli of the Agenais.¹

a. Today a hamlet of the commune of Lacépède, Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas.

b. Ibid.

c. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas.

d. Today a hamlet of the commune of Dolmayrac, Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, cant. Saint-Livrade.

e. Today a hamlet of the commune of Cours, Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas.

f. Today a hamlet of the commune of Montpézat.

1. C 61/60, m.6.

Those rewarded could be given responsibilities. By late spring and early summer of 1348 Gautier du Fossat was captain of the bourg of Fossat d'Aiguillon, and Guillaume de Lunas of that of Lunas d'Aiguillon.¹ Amanieu du Fossat appears to have lost by what his co-lords gained. He entered the French party, did homage and fealty to Philip VI, and secured letters of remission, the restitution of certain castles which had been confiscated from him for serving the Anglo-Gascons, and a new grant.² In December 1349, after he had made a lightning raid to the walls of Toulouse, Lancaster bought him back.³ He returned into the king's obedience and secured a series of elaborate guarantees from the earl. He was assured of his rightful estate and to be compensated for anything which he or his heirs stood to lose from their return into the king's obedience. In compensation for £500 annual rent which he stood to lose in the Toulousain he was to have a similar sum out of the

1. They were in receipt of wages in this capacity in the period 31 March, 1348 - 15 September, 1348 (E 372/204, m.44).

2. Arch. nat., JJ 74, fos.129r-3lv, no.232; fos.427v-8r, no.754; fo.428, no.755; fo.428v, no.756.

3. C 61/67, m.15 (La Reole, 30 December, 1349).

rents and other profits of the manor of Condaz (a hereditary right to ld. in the pedage of Aiguillon being included in this figure). In compensation for £300 annual rent which he stood to lose in the Brulhois he was to have a similar sum from rents elsewhere in the duchy. Certain parishes within the jurisdiction of Agen which had been granted to him by Philip VI, together with full jurisdiction, were granted to him in the same form and under the same conditions. He was pardoned for appeals made by him and his associates to the Parlement de Paris. He was to be expressly included in any peace or truce made between the king and his French adversary. He was to have what belonged to him by inheritance in Aiguillon. All these guarantees were to be confirmed by the king.

There were other towns in the Agenais which surrendered voluntarily to Lancaster: Caudrot, where the earl undertook that Edward would never alienate it from the crown of England, and Pellegrue, where he confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants, a confirmation which they were promised in advance.¹

1. C 61/59, m.10; C 61/60, m.9.

Because of the amount of evidence available to us the events which led to the submission of Bazas illustrate admirably the means by which much of Aquitaine was brought back into English allegiance during Lancaster's lieutenancy in the duchy. We have the texts of two letters; the first issued by the earl at La Réole on 13 November, 1345, by which he commanded the inhabitants of Bazas to return into obedience to Edward; the second a reply of Thibaut de Barbazan, captain of the town for the Valois, issued on the following day, rejecting Lancaster's orders to surrender.¹ Shortly afterwards Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, and John Wawayn, constable of Bordeaux, opened negotiations with the jurats, consuls and community, promising them that if they would return into obedience to the king Edward would grant them complete exemption from the custom due on their wines at Bordeaux for all their wines made from vines grown within a league of Bazas.² On 17 November Lancaster granted the prévoté of the town to Arnaud Micol de Bazas, a citizen of Bordeaux,

1. Arch. hist. Gironde, III, 167-8.

2. C 61/60, m.27.

as soon as it was brought back into English control.¹

This was straightforward bribery.

The city surrendered on 3 January, 1347.² There can be little doubt that it was as a result of the machinations of at least some of the inhabitants. Jean de la Tour, a burgess of the town, 'treated and procured that the said city, previously in the hands of the French, returned into the obedience of our said lord the king'.³ By way of reward he was granted all the goods and other possessions confiscated from Gaillard de Cabositz in the town; the lands of Rossignol de Cozin, another French collaborator; a life annuity of £100 tournois; and compensation for other losses which he had sustained because of his fidelity.⁴

The other citizens, Bernard and Geraud Cestor, were similarly rewarded for 'coming freely into the obedience

1. C 61/60, m.34, and E 101/167/17, m.3.

2. Arch. hist. Agenais, I, 98.

3. Grant by Thomas Cok, Stafford's successor as seneschal of Aquitaine, made "attento bono servicio per dilectum nostrum Johannum de Turre, burgensem civitatis Vasatensis..., prestito et impenso, tractando et procurando quod dicta civitas in manibus Gallicorum inimicorum et adversariorum... tunc existens, ad...regis obedienciam deveniret" (C 61/60, m.25).

4. C 61/60, ms.18, 19, 25 & 26. The grant of the goods of Cabositz caused an appeal by Raymond and Guillaume de Pins of Guillaumasse, burgesses of La Réole (SC 8/243/12127).

of our lord the king, and treating and procuring that the city of Bazas, together with its inhabitants, came into the said obedience'.¹

Allegiance was made attractive to the community as a whole. Upon the request of the jurats and consuls the city was never to be alienated from the crown of England; the seneschal of Aquitaine and the constable of Bordeaux were to inspect all the charters of privileges, liberties and customs of the town, and confirm them; the inhabitants were to be allowed to sell wines made from vines grown within a league of the city without paying the wine custom at Bordeaux; and they were to be allowed to levy certain impôts to subsidise the defence of the city.²

There were many others whom Lancaster rewarded for coming into the king's obedience. Hélie Prévot, damoiseau of Laforce, was granted full jurisdiction at Laforce and Lunas, parishes situated within the castellany of Bergerac.³

1. Grant to them by Cok for "gratis et liberaliter venit ad obedienciam...regis, tractando et procurando quod civitas Vasati et habitantes in ea ad dictam obedienciam devenirent" (C 61/60, m.25).
2. C 61/60, ms.23, 24 & 27; Arch. hist. Gironde, II, 136-8, no.CXXIX.
3. Bibl. nat., Périgord, 52; Lespine, Châtellenies et Châteaux, LZ, 59-60 (Bergerac, 2 September, 1345).

Bertrand de Clairac, lord of Piégut, received a grant of the parishes of Saint-Astier, Saint-Nazaire and Villeneuve, situated in the lordship and district of Saint-Foy, together with full jurisdiction there.¹

Guillaume de Guarland was restored in the lands of Fouganan and their appurtenances, together with all the rents and profits pertaining to them.² Blanche de Foix, capitalisse de Buch, received a grant of 500 gold écus in the ducal revenues at Bordeaux.³

Loyalists too were rewarded. He granted Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, the castles of Marensin and Laharie, previously held by Miramonde, lady of Marensin, and her son Bertrand, lord of Launac.⁴ He compensated him for possessions which he had granted to others: the lordship of Blanquefort to gain Gaillard de Durfort, the péage of Saint-Macaire

1. C 61/60, m.19 (La Réole, 23 January, 1345/6). For execution of, *ibid.*, m.14.

2. C 61/69, m.6 (Bordeaux, 13 November, 1346).

3. E 101/170/12, fo.51 (current payment, 1351-2).

4. Arch. dép. Basses-Pyrénées, E 188; Bibl. nat., Doat, 189, fos.251r-3v; C 61/67, m.5 (La Réole, 3 July, 1346).

to Nigel Loring.¹ He granted Bertrand de Pommiers, brother of Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers, the place of Maurenxs in the diocese of Périgord, with full jurisdiction and all the rents, profits and emoluments pertaining thereto, in the manner in which the count of Périgord, from whom they had been confiscated, had previously held them.² The list of rewards is endless.³

There were many administrative matters which Lancaster was expected to supervise whilst he wintered in La Réole. The extension of English control in the duchy created many new offices to which appointments need be made. These offices were remunerative enough to be distributed as rewards to the deserving. When he took Bergerac he granted the administration of the baillage to Bernard Seguin for life; he was to receive 12d. sterling a day.⁴ He appointed Jean de Seymadet custodian of

1. E 43/741 (La Réole, 1 May, 1346). For the grant to Durfort, vide supra., p.212; and to Loring, CPR, 1350-4, 352; current payment, E 101/167/17, m.2.
2. C 61/60, m.6. Petition for confirmation, SC 8/243/12138.
3. Appendix C, no.7.
4. C 61/59, m.3; C 81/324/18824.

the moneys coined in the town, and granted him all the profits pertaining to the office.¹ There were numerous offices in the Agenais to be distributed. He appointed William Descamps, a citizen of Bordeaux, collector and receiver of the pedage in Marmande for life as soon as the town came into English control; he was to receive customary wages.² He granted another burgess of Bordeaux, Pierre Blanche de Lesteille, the baillage of Monclar, as soon as it came into English control.³ The baillage of Saint-Foy, together with all the rents and emoluments thereof, he granted to Bernard de Sainte, a clerk of the lord of Albret.⁴

There were central offices and head offices in the localities to be filled too. He appointed Reginald de Biskele mayor of Bordeaux for life;⁵

1. C 61/59, m.4.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., ms.2-3.

5. C 61/60, m.41 (Bordeaux, 22 April, 1346); Rot. Parl., II, 222, no.66.

Bertrand de Palirac, valet, Master of the ^{Mint} ~~Co~~in in the duchy (his function being to supervise the coining of money);¹ re-appointed Thomas de Hampton seneschal of Landes,² and granted him the lands of Bertrand de la Roque, one of the French party in Bergerac.³ He retained Richard Nivet of Libourne in the king's council in the duchy, and granted him £50 bordelaise yearly wages.⁴ He also granted him the registry of the sénéchaussée of Saintonge, and the castellany and prevote of the castle and town of Saintes, together with all the emoluments and profits pertaining thereto for life, as soon as they came into English control.⁵ He confirmed John Guitard, one of the king's counsellors in the duchy, in the office of king's proctor in the duchy for life, with powers to deal in all causes and negotiations, and to receive an annuity of £10 in respect of these services.⁶ He also granted him the

1. C 61/60, m.27; Rot. Parl., II, 208, no.14

2. C 61/60, m.30 (Bordeaux, 12 November, 1346).

3. O 61/60, m.39; Rot. Parl., II, 216, no.45.

4. C 61/59, m.3; C 81/325/18969.

5. C 61/59, m.3 (La Réole, 20 December, 1345); C 81/325/18975 & C 81/329/19372.

6. C 61/60, m.5 (La Réole, 10 December, 1345).

custody of the royal seals in Agen, Marmande, Puymirol, Penne, Villeneuve, and other places in the sénéchaussée of Agen, and of the royal seal of the sénéchaussée of Saintonge in Saint-Jean-d'Angély, together with the profits pertaining to the custodian.¹ Before he left the duchy he granted him the office of clerk, or maritime notary, with the responsibility for receiving and drawing up in a public form all the acts and instruments relative to the freight of ships and other vessels in the port of Bordeaux, as well as a life annuity of £20.² He granted Gerald de Puy, licenciate in laws and senior judge of the court of Gascony, a life annuity of £40 sterling to add to his annual wages of £37.10s.0d., and an annuity of £20 already granted to him.³

1. C 61/60, ms.32 & 6 (La Réole, 12 November, 1345; Saint-Jean-d'Angely, 21 October, 1346).
2. C 61/60, ms.32 & 1 (Villereal, 27 August, 1346; Bordeaux, 5 November, 1346).
3. E 101/171/4, File 1, Part 2, no.20 (Bordeaux, 26 November, 1346). Current payments in 1348 and 1351-2 (E 101/167/10, fo.18v; E 101/167/12, fo.13v; E 101/170/12, fo.50r).

Lancaster kept in close contact with England during the spring of 1346. He dispatched letters by way of Simon Simeon, one of his valets and most trusted servants.¹ Edward kept in touch by way of Richard de Cardoil, a royal valet.² Peter Grethved was entrusted with the delivery of money and victuals.³ In December 1345 he received 51,000 gold écus (£10,200) from the Exchequer: 14,999 écus (£3,000) for delivery to Lancaster, Pembroke and Mauny in respect of their regards; and 36,000 écus (£7,200) to be used as Lancaster, the seneschal and constable should see best for furthering the king's interests in the duchy.⁴ He was also given considerable supplies of victuals (flour, wheat, oats) for delivery to the troops.⁵

1. E 403/336, m.48 (Wages, 10 April, 1346). On Simeon vide infra, 647 & 687-90.
2. E 403/336, m.48 (Wages, 10 April, 1346). He was escorted by Robert de Baildon, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms. They were to sail in the "James" of Dartmouth, of which Adam de Hokele was master (ibid).
3. He was receiver of victuals at Berwick upon Tweed in the years 1341-5 (E 101/23/9 & 38).
4. Mandate for payment to, 10 December, 1345 (Rymer, III, i, 64); paid 20 December (E 403/336, ms.21-2).
5. Mandate, 10 December, 1345, for delivery of 270 casks of flour; 188 quarters, 4 pounds of wheat; and 1,500 quarters of oats (Rymer, III, i, 68). Cf. E 403/336, ms.22, 23, 26 & 29. He was escorted by 20 men-at-arms and 100 archers; John de Gresthorun, his attorney, received the victuals (Ibid., ms.22 & 26).

There was some change in the composition of the forces. Sir John Tromwyn returned to England with Audley's retinue on 30 November.¹ On 27 March following the sheriff of London was instructed that the archers going to Gascony to serve with the earl were to be assembled at Tot/hill, near Westminster, on the following day.² 300 Welsh foot archers, raised in South Wales, were sent out to Bordeaux from Carmarthen.³ 400 Welsh foot, also raised in South Wales, were to leave Portsmouth during May.⁴

John Gynewell, Lancaster's treasurer in England, received the wages, regard and other sums due to the earl during his command in Aquitaine.⁵ He had at least two clerks in his service in the duchy who appear to have acted as his treasurers of war.

1. E 101/24/20; E 372/202, m.35.

2. Rymer, III, i, 77.

3. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d; E 403/336, m.49.

4. Rymer, III, i, 79. Mandate for, ibid., III, i, 67-8.

5. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d; E 403/336, ms.8, 21 & 49; 337, m.9; 339, ms.6 & 13.

John de Welbourne, one of the earl's clerks as early as 1343, and subsequently his chancellor and secretary, appears to have acted as paymaster of the troops.¹

Peter de Wotton, already in his service in 1342, his chaplain in 1343, wardrober in 1343-4, and subsequently his receiver-general, served with him during his command in the duchy, and drew up his expenses account.² During these years he is described as clerk of his treasury.³

Pembroke and Mauny also had attorneys and lieutenants to receive those sums due to them from the Exchequer in England. Robert de Elleford acted in this capacity for Pembroke, and Hugh de Walkan for Mauny.⁴ Doubtless

1. On Welbourne, vide *infra*, pp.647-8. There is a letter of acquittance of John Wawayn, constable of Bordeaux, dated La Reole, 23 June, 1346, acknowledging receipt from him, on Lancaster's behalf (*clerici sui*), of 1,950 gold ecus (£390) for munitioning castles, towns and other places in the duchy, and for the payment of wages of garrisons and other troops in the king's service there (E 404/508/47).
2. On Wotton, vide *infra*, pp. 649-50. Letters of protection were issued to him on 20 May, 1345 (C 76/20, m.15). He is described as Lancaster's clerk and attorney in the earl's enrolled account (E 372/191, m.54d).
3. CPP, I, 111 (15 June, 1346).
4. E.372/191, m.54d; E 403/336, m.14; E 403/337, m.14; E 403/339, ms.6 & 42; Table

they also had treasurers of war in the duchy.

Thomas Cok, one of Lancaster's retainers, acted as marshal of the host.¹ Together with Ralph of Stafford, seneschal of Aquitaine, John Wawayn, constable of Bordeaux, and Bernard Brocas, controller of Bordeaux, he was responsible for the appraisal of the horses of the troops.²

On 15 March Lancaster was empowered to replace Stafford as seneschal of the duchy, he wishing to be released from the office.³ Cok was appointed in his place.⁴

The Second Campaign

In late February or early March the duke of Normandy left his winter quarters at Châtillon-sur-Indre and, passing south through Cahors, appeared on the Garonne with a large army during the course of the latter month.⁵ Between 10 and 15 April he pitched his

1. On Cok, vide infra, p.7/03. References to him as marshal, E 159/123, ms.99d & 125; E 404/490/174; etc.
2. E 159/123, ms.99d & 125; etc.
3. Rymer, III, i, 73. He crossed to England prior to November, 1346 (E 404/490/180).
4. He was in office by 24 January, 1347 (C 61/60, ms.19 & 25). Formal appointment, 3 March, 1347 (C 61/59, m.13).
5. Appendix C, no.4.

tents before Aiguillon, a well fortified town situated in a strong position at the confluence of the rivers Garonne and Lot, the key to the Gascon plain.¹

Lancaster, who entrusted the defence of the town to Pembroke and Mauny,² was probably then in Bordeaux;³ but he did not remain there throughout the siege.⁴ By 1 May he had returned to La Réole, and we know him to have been there during almost the whole period in which Normandy was encamped before Aiguillon.⁵ It was from here that he was able to run both men and supplies to the garrison;⁶ action which probably explains why Normandy, who conducted his siege from the right bank of the Garonne on the south side of the town during April and May, suddenly, in mid-June, moved his camp to the north of the town, between Aiguillon and Tonneins, that is to say to the north side towards La Réole.⁷

1. Ibid

2. Froissart, III, xxx, 111 & 329.

3. He was there on 2 and 22 April (Appendix C, no.3).

4. Froissart, IV, v, 10 & 218, erroneously states this.

5. Appendix C, no.3.

6. Villani, 928

7. Appendix C, no.4.

Lancaster's forces and the successes which they had achieved were threatened by weight of numbers. The initial plan for three more or less simultaneous landings in France in the previous year, which would have prevented the French from concentrating their forces to meet any single one of them without leaving the other two a free hand, had foundered in Flanders with the murder of van Artevelde. Edward had been obliged to return to England.¹ Now that a large French army had been drawn into the south of France his intervention could be opportune as his assistance was imperative, perhaps obligatory. In the indenture which Lancaster had made with him it was expressly stated that "the king has agreed that if it shall happen that the said earl is besieged or beset by so great a force that he cannot help himself unless he be rescued by the king's power, then the king is bound to rescue him in one way or another, providing that he can be rescued easily".² Similar provision had been made for Northampton.³

1. Murimuth, 170.

2. E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1.

3. E 101/68/72; Appendix A, no.2.

1346

On 12 July Edward landed at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue in the Cotentin (with an army generally believed to have been assembled to relieve Aiguillon) and, under the guidance of a Norman renegade, Godfrey d'Harcourt, began the campaign which culminated in the battle of Crécy and the capture of Calais. He did more. When the duke of Normandy heard of his landing, on 20 August he raised the siege and hurried north to help his father, once again leaving the Anglo-Gascons with a free hand in Aquitaine. Edward had rescued Lancaster in the north of France. Normandy was too late. On 26 August King Philip's army suffered the disastrous defeat of Crécy.

Lancaster's dispatch of his second campaign,¹ which is thoroughly substantiated by documentary evidence,² enables us to trace his movements from the eve of Normandy's departure from Aiguillon.

On 12 August he left La Réole for Bergerac, where he assembled an army and held a council of war. Overtures from Normandy for a truce were firmly rejected;

1. Avesbury, 372-4.

2. This evidence is sufficient to merit an annotated edition of the text of the dispatch (Appendix C, no.6). Except where otherwise indicated the sources of the following narrative are to be found there.

Lancaster was aware of Edward's landing. On 20 August John raised the siege, made his way down the Garonne valley to Agen and Moissac, then left for the north of France. Lancaster immediately moved into the Agenais, received the submission of Villereal and other towns and castles in the district, garrisoned them, and then made his way to Tonneins and Aiguillon, where he repeated the process. He then returned to La Réole, where he stayed for eight days and took counsel. There were still places in the Agenais and the Bazadais that were not securely in English control, notably Bazas, Marmande, Port-Sainte-Marie and a number of places along the Lot and Garonne vallies below Aiguillon in the direction of Agen. To secure these places he divided his forces into three. Bernard Ezi and Bérard d'Albret, Alexander de Caumont and other Gascon lords were given command of a contingent which was to operate in the Bazadais; Gaillard de Durfort and other lords of the Agenais were given command of another that was to operate around La Réole. Responsibility for their security, this is to say, was given to local lords.

Lancaster moved into Saintonge with a comparatively small force of 1,000 men-at-arms. The raid began on 12 September with his departure from La Réole. The town of Sauveterre was surrendered to him on the same day, and his troops spent the night there. The following morning, having taken the homage of the inhabitants, he began an eight day march, uninterrupted by any attempt to take town or castle, until he arrived at Châteauneuf-sur-Charente on the 20th. The river, which lies to the north of the town, was too deep to ford and, the bridge having been broken down, a rapid repair had to be made before his troops were able to continue on the following day. News of the imprisonment of Sir Walter Mauny (who had a safe conduct from the duke of Normandy to join Edward in the north of France) in Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and of his difficult escape, determined Lancaster to take the town by force, release the remaining prisoners, receive the homage of the inhabitants, and administer punishment where it was due. He stayed there eight days in all. On the 30th he left for Poitiers, took Lusignan by assault on 3 October, received the surrender of the castle and garrisoned it. On 4 October, after the inhabitants had refused to surrender, he took Poitiers by force.

Montreuil-Bonnin 12/13 POITIERS
(4-12/13)



LANCASTER'S SECOND CAMPAIGN
IN AQUITAINE, 1346

The city was the northermost point reached on the raid. He stayed there for eight days, but appears to have made no attempt to hold it. On the 12th or 13th he began his return south by way of Montreuil-Bonin, Saint-Maixent and Niort.¹ By the 19th he was once more in Saint-Jean-d'Angély, where the dispatch was written. Several towns and castles in Saintonge were surrendered to him; they included Rochefort, Soubise, Taillebourg and Tonmay-Charente. He then proposed to return to Bordeaux, but expected to encounter enemy resistance. He was still there on

1. The route of his return from Poitiers to Saint-Jean-d'Angély is given by the Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7. He burned the castle of Montreuil-Bonnin, failed to take the castle of Saint-Maixent and the town of Niort, but set fire to the town of Saint-Maixent as he left (ibid.). Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, 13-14, also mentions his failure to take Niort and the capture of Montreuil-Bonnin, but erroneously places both before the capture of Poitiers.

the 29th, but had reached Plassac (situated to the north of the Gironde estuary, between Blaye and Bourg) by the 30th. The following day he was in Bordeaux. The raid had been accomplished in seven weeks.

The Consequences of the Second Campaign

Both the nature and the consequences of the second campaign were fundamentally different, but no less significant, than those of the first. A raid deep into hostile territory called for more stringent military methods. Burning and bloodshed replaced negotiation and reward. Many of the inhabitants of

Poitiers were taken prisoner or killed,¹ the city looted.² The castle of Monstreuil-Bonin and the town of Saint-Maixent were burned.³ The rapidity of Lancaster's successes were in part due to lack of preparations by the French. The towns and castles of Poitou were insufficiently garrisoned and in a bad state of defence; the inhabitants preferred to surrender than to be plundered.⁴

At Saint-Jean-d'Angély he imposed the occupation costs of 200 men-at-arms and 600 infantry upon the inhabitants during wartime, and increased their rents by 4,000 ecus above the sum they had previously paid to the Valois in peacetime.⁵ Those who had supported the French were disinherited; loyalists were rewarded. As at Poitiers the property held in the town by the Lombards was confiscated.⁶ Several traders, like Bernard Affre, a merchant of Figeac,

1. Avesbury, 374.

2. Vide infra, p.290.

3. Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7.

4. Arch. hist. Poitou, XIII, xxxi-xxxvii.

5. Avesbury, 373-4.

6. Arch. nat., JJ 68, p.451.

were imprisoned and forced to swear fealty to the king of England.¹ He granted the property of André Mairusson to Guillaume Nichol, that of Bernard Avisie to Henry Rose.² He rewarded Aymar de Luppsaunt, a burgess of the town, with a life annuity of £1 bordelaise per day for his part in placing the town in English control.³ The registry of the court of the prévôté he granted to Jean de Bois.⁴

Gaillard, lord of Guassac, was appointed captain and marshal of the town and empowered to continue the redistribution of properties.⁵ He granted the entire possessions of Jean Vernoun and his wife Lucie, of Jean Chardoun and Bernard Petit, to Guillaume Typet, who had served in Lancaster's retinue when the town was taken.⁶ Further grants were later made by the king. Lancaster himself received the property of a number of citizens whom he had taken prisoner and who had defaulted on their ransoms, as well as

1. Arch. nat., JJ 76, fo.116v, no.175.

2. C 61/60, ms.7, 19 & 20 (Saint-Jean-d'Angély, 21 October, 1346).

3. E 372/214, m.44 (Current payment, 1348).

4. C 61/60, m.22 (Saint-Jean-d'Angély, 19 October, 1346).

5. C 61/60, m.39.

6. Ibid.

that of Bernard Barraut, a burgess of the town.¹
 The property of Jean Marteux d'Orion in Saint-Jean-
 d'Angély, Tonnay-Charente and Tonnay-Bouton was
 added to the grant made by the earl to Guillaume
 Nichol.²

The castle of Rochefort, which guarded the entry
 to the river Charente, he granted to Frank de Hale,
 a soldier of some reputation and possibly one of
 his retainers.³ Soubise and Taillebourg surrendered
 to him; by way of reward the inhabitants of Soubise
 received certain new liberties at his hand, and to
 support the costs of fortifying the town he granted
 them the right to levy an increased pedage on wine
 and other merchandise transported down the Charente
 by men and communities not in Edward's obedience.⁴
 The castle and castellany he granted to Pierre
 Beguer de la Russelle of Bordeaux; he was to have
 500 gold écus yearly from the property of the king's
 enemies within the marches of the castellany for its

1. CPR, 1345-8, 562 & 566.

2. C 61/60, m.7.

3. CPR, 1345-8, 560. On Hale, vide *infra*, pp.700, 701 & 713.

4. C 61/60, ms.12 & 16. Further reference to the possession
 of the two towns, Arch. nat., JJ 77, fo.22.

defence.¹ At Tonnay-Charente he granted the inhabitants certain liberties and undertook that Edward would never separate the town, nor anything within it's jurisdiction, from the crown, except should it be to the heir presumptive.² The custody of both town and castle he committed to a loyal Gascon baron, Élie de Saint-Symphorien, lord of Landiras.³ In return for undertaking their custody for life he granted him £500 petits tournois in the property of the king's enemies in the town and castellany - a grant which the king saw fit to increase to all the revenues arising from the properties of his enemies.⁴

Other towns which may have been taken by Lancaster at the same time include Cannac, which was in English obedience by 4 January, 1347;⁵ Tonnay-Bouton, in English obedience by September 1348;⁶ and the priory of the monastery of Saint-Agnant, just to the south

1. C 61/60, m.41.

2. Ibid., ms.19 & 20.

3. Ibid., m.1; C 81/332/20639.

4. C 61/60, m.3; C 81/332/20638 & 20639.

5. C 61/

6. C 61/60, m.7.

of Tonnay-Charente on the road to Saint-Jean-d'Angle, granted by him, together with all its revenues and profits, to Guillaume de Montségur.¹

Lusignan he garrisoned with 100 men-at-arms and a body of infantry,² appointed Bertrand de Montferrand captain along with his two brothers,³ and Arnaud de Miramont as castellan with right to all the revenues and profits of the castellany.⁴

There can be no doubt of the importance of the acquisition of these towns and castles. Although Poitiers was once more in French control by July 1347 and Saint-Maixent before the end of the year,⁵ Lusignan was a base from which the enemy were harried until 1351.⁶ It was the arrival of troops from the garrisons of Tonnay-Charente and Taillebourg which gave victory to a Gascon army at the battle of Saint-Georges in Saintonge in the spring of 1351.⁷

1. C 61/60, m.17 (Saint-Jean-d'Angély, 29 September, 1346).

2. Avesbury, 374.

3. Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7.

4. C 61/60, m.36 (Poitiers, 12 October, 1346). In his confirmation of 20 February, 1348, Edward granted him £20 sterling per annum wages.

5. Arch. hist. Poitou, XIII, xxxix.-xl.

6. Ibid., xxxvii-lix. The castle was once more in French control on 25 May, 1351 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol. 774, Clerambaut, no.827).

7. Chronique Normande, 288; Avesbury, 413.

In general terms their control not only allowed the Anglo-Gascons to harry the French in Saintonge and into the heart of Poitou, but afforded a line of well garrisoned and supplied advance bases to assist English and Gascon troops operating in what was otherwise hostile territory. The river Charente became a life line along which victuals, troops and money were constantly poured into Rochefort, Tonnay-Charente and Taillebourg, and, from the confluence of the Charente and the Bouton, along the latter river to Tonnay-Bouton and Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and thence overland to Lusignan.

To supply these outposts, cut off from the greater area of the duchy in English control, was not easy. In the period immediately following their submission the efforts of the Gascons themselves had to be relied upon - people like Blanche de Foix, capitalesse de Buch, and Gaillard de Puy, who received rewards for their services in victualling Saint-Jean-d'Angély.¹ Efforts were also made by the Bordeaux administration to have supplies carried overland by way of Bergerac.²

1. Rymer, III, i, 278; C 61/60, m.28.

2. E 101/167/10, fo.24r (delivery to Jean Bonnet, castellan of town and castle); C 61/60, m.33.

Supply from England appears to have commenced in 1348. During spring and summer of that year victuals were shipped from Southampton to Tonnay-Charente, Saint-Jean-d'Angély "and other towns of those parts".¹ William Pistor, a Salisbury merchant, was allowed to load a ship with 100 tuns of wheat and other goods to victual them, and was granted a house in Tonnay-Charente for his service to the garrison there.² Early in the same year Edmund de Dodyngeshull, captain of Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and Pierre Feurt, prévôt of the town, crossed to England on negotiations touching it's defence.³ Both maintained troops in the garrison there, the prévôt as many as 100 men-at-arms and 500 infantry.⁴

Large supplies were sent out in 1349, probably to prepare for Lancaster's arrival in the duchy.⁵

Robert de Boseville, a royal sergeant-at-arms, and Roger Larcher were commissioned to arrest ships for

1. C 61/60, ms.20 & 33; E 404/341, ms.3 & 33-4.

2. C 81/332/19600 & 19665.

3. E 403/341, m.3; E 43/270.

4. Ibid., & E 43/298 (Acquittance of £400 in respect of wages, London, 9 May, 1348).

5. C 61/61, m.5.

the transport of troops (men-at-arms and archers), money and victuals to Saint-Jean-d'Angély.¹ Sir Thomas de Gourney, Peter d'Audley and Alan de Claryng each took a retinue of 9 men-at-arms and 20 mounted archers to garrison the town.² Richard de Boseville received 323 quarters of wheat, 270 quarters of oats, 12 salted carcasses of oxen, 40 pigs and 1,583 écus (£270.8s.7d.) and 2s.1ld. sterling, for delivery to the garrison.³ To prevent their delivery and blockade the town Guy de Nesle, then captain-general of Philip VI in Saintonge and the neighbouring places, who was conducting the siege of Tonnay-Charente with the help of a number of Aragonese miners and a Spanish flotilla, ordered a number of ships to be sunk in the river Charente before Tonnay-Charente.⁴ Supply to allied garrisons in Saintonge and Poitou was threatened. Lancaster was obliged to have the delivery diverted to Bordeaux.⁵

1. SC 1/42, no.179.

2. E 403/341, ms.13-14.

3. E 43/293.

4. The "Santa-Maria de Bilbao" and the "Santa-Maria-Magdalena" among others (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.80, no.121; vol.40, p.3011; vol.47, p.3517; vol.54, p.4069; MS français 20683, fo.337. Cf. C.de la Roncière, Histoire de la marine française, I, Les origines, 495).

5. E 43/293.

By the early summer of 1351 Lusignan was in French control, and, after a memorable siege at which the Valois monarch was present, Saint-Jean-d'Angély capitulated on 7 September of the same year.¹ Rochefort, Tonnay-Charente, Taillebourg and Soubise still held out. Supply was carried out by sea from Bordeaux. This was true of Taillebourg in the winter of 1351, Tonnay-Charente and in the summer of 1352, Rochefort, Tonnay-Charente and Taillebourg in the spring of 1353, and the castle of Blaye in 1354.² Rochefort, guarding the entrance to the Charente, was the key stronghold. Frank de Hale maintained a constant retinue there between 1346 and 1354.³

Supply was again a major issue for the Black Prince's expedition to Aquitaine in 1355. In his indenture with the Prince Edward undertook to victual Tonnay-Charente, Taillebourg, Soubise and Rochefort,

1. On Lusignan, vide supra, p.243; for the siege and capitulation of Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Chronique Normande, 289, n.2 and Avesbury, 413.
2. E 101/170/12, fo.63r & v; E 101/170/20, fo.77v; E 43/438.
3. E 403/359, m.19; E 101/168/3, fo.14r; E 404/502/186; E 404/5/34.

and it was stipulated that the prince was to be without blame if any of these four places were lost.¹ At the instance of Sir John de Wengfield, chief of the prince's administrative staff,² Thomas Dautre, a royal sergeant-at-arms, was entrusted with 630½ quarters of wheat and 79 quarters 5 bushels of oats which he shipped to Gascony and delivered to the lord of Caupenne, captain of Taillebourg, Élie de Saint-Symphorien, captain of Tonnay-Charente, and to the captain of Rochefort.³

Lancaster at the siege of Calais

1346

Lancaster was once more in Bordeaux on 31 October and he appears to have remained there throughout November.⁴ There were friends to be rewarded, administrative affairs to be seen to.⁵ During the course of December he left the city for England, where he arrived back with his

1. Register of Edward the Black Prince, 1346-1365, IV, 144.
2. H.J.Hewitt, The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357, 22.
3. E 404/501/107 & 108.
4. Appendix C, no.3.
5. CPR, 1345-8, 474 & 558; C 61/60, ms. 1, 7, 14 & 30; C 61/69, m.7 (Letters, Bordeaux, 31 October & 5, 8, 12, 13, 20 & 28 November).

1347
 retinue on 1 January.¹ Pembroke had arrived back
 with his on 20 December;² Mauny arrived on 3 January.³
 On 1 February, in order that he might aid the king
 at Calais, he was officially released from the office
 of captain and lieutenant in the duchy.⁴

If there had been any plan for Lancaster to join
 Edward by land, it had been abandoned; but almost as
 soon as he arrived back in England preparations were
 put under way for his crossing by sea.⁵ Nevertheless,
 he had some time to devote to his inheritance,⁶ and it
 was during these months that his wife, Isabella, gave
 birth to their second daughter, Blanche.⁷

He had not been in Gascony long when news had
 reached him that his father had died on 23 September, 1345,
 and had been buried, in the presence of the king and

1. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.
2. E 372/191, m.54d.
3. E 43/78.
4. Rymer, III, i, 104; CPR, 1345-8, 526.
5. CFR, 1337-47, 494.
6. He was in London on 20 January (DL 25/2185 & DL 42/1, fo.199, no.126) and 1 March (DL 27/155).
7. GEC, VII, 410. On 3 May, 1347, she was contracted to marry John, son of John de Segrave (ibid., note q., quoting Berkeley Castle Deeds, ed. Jeayes, no.519).

queen, in the church of the hospital which he had founded at Leicester.¹ On 3 October¹³⁴⁵ following directions had been given for the delivery of the family lands to him (although there had been no time for the customary inquisitions to be taken or returned), but his homage had been respited till his return to England.² There was therefore a good deal of estate business to be seen to.

Moreover, before he became earl of Lancaster, he had extended the Welsh portion of his lands with Carreg Cennen castle and the commote of Iscennen, and the manor of Hallaton had been conveyed to him in fee by William Dexter.³ In a series of transactions from 1344 to 1347 he had acquired an estate in Ulnes Walton manor in exchange for Barlow, and in a further series Shenston manor, Staffordshire, had been granted to him and his heirs by Robert de Grendon on 1 December 1343.⁴

Most of his additions to the inheritance were, however, made after his succession to the earldom of Lancaster. In March 1347 he acquired the manors of Dunham, Kelsall and

1. R.Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, 37-8.

2. CFR, 1337-47, 440.

3. Somerville, op.cit., 39.

4. .⁹

Bidstone and the advowson of Birkenhead priory from Hamo de Macy, and in the next year, from William Baret, lord of Passenham, the manor of Asthull near Coventry.¹ On 7 October, 1350, he had a grant of a moiety of the township of Leek Wootton from Sir Hugh Meignill of Hornby, a prominent soldier in his retinue; and he had an estate for life in the manors of Hornby and Melling, and in the free chase of Roeburndale from Sir Robert Neville of Hornby, who had also served in his retinue in Gascony.² For a short time he possessed the advowson of Wigan, granted for life on 1 February, 1353, but he surrendered this when the king gave it in fee to Sir Robert Langton.³

About 1359, as constable and marshall of Chester and lord of Halton manor, he made an exhaustive claim to certain liberties in Cheshire - free courts, markets and fairs, stallage, rights in the Mersey (including royal fish) and avowries throughout the whole county of all

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. For their service in his retinue, vide infra., pp. 713-4, and Appendix C, no.9.

3. Somerville, op.cit., 39.

who wished to place themselves in his protection. For such protection a small payment was required, and the liberty lent itself to abuse. The claim to avowries was not admitted, on the ground that it was contrary to the law and tended to oppression; Henry agreed to give up this claim during his lifetime in return for a yearly rent of 100 marks from the prince's manor of Fordington in Dorset.¹ But more important than all of these acquisitions were the grants which were made to him when he joined the king before Calais in the summer of 1347.²

It was not until the middle of May that Edward (who had recently learned that Philip was preparing to relieve Calais, and who was finding it necessary to concentrate almost the whole of England's military might before the town) summoned him to bring reinforcements over from England.³ On 19 May the Admiral to the West was instructed to find shipping in Sandwich and Dover for him and his 'huge force',⁴ and by 1 June

1. Ibid., 38-9.

2. Vide infra., pp.255-8.

3. Rymer, III, i, 120 (14 May, 1347).

4. Ibid., III, i, 121.

the earl had joined Edward in the siege.¹

Lancaster stayed with the besieging force at Calais until the fall of the town on 4 August. When Philip made his last attempt to relieve it on 27 July, the only approach to the English positions was by the Nieulay Bridge,² and Lancaster was put in command of the troops holding this position.³ But no serious action developed. On the same day cardinals Annibal Ceccano and Étienne Aubert approached the earl and a number of other army leaders about peace negotiations, which were agreed to.⁴ A conference was arranged in two tents erected between the two hosts on Lancaster's orders, and the earl was clearly at the head of the English delegation who spent a fruitless four days parleying there.⁵ No agreement was reached since

1. The port of disembarkation of his forces is not known; but little reliance can be placed in the story told by Knighton, II, 49-50, since we know Lancaster to have been with Edward on 1, 3, 10 & 14 June (C 81/319/18383B & 18388; 320/18409; 321/18545; DL 41/10/34, no.2), and that he was informed of Philip's intention to relieve Calais as early as 14 May (Rymer, III, i, 104; CPR, 1345-8, 526).
2. The bridge over the river Hem, situated to the south-west of Calais near to present day Fort Nieulay.
3. Froissart, IV, xxii, 47-8 & 276-7. The dating of Philip's movements is from a letter of Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury (Avesbury, 392; Rymer, III, i, 129).
4. My remarks are based on the account given in Edward's letter (Avesbury, 392; Rymer, III, i, 129); but cf. also Froissart, IV, xxiii-xiv, 51-2 & 281-3, and Le Baker, 90.
5. Ibid.

the French delegates insisted upon the abandonment of the siege, and would offer no more in compensation than Guyenne (as Edward I had held it) and Ponthieu, which the English delegates considered too little.¹ Philip then offered battle, to which Edward agreed; but before dawn on 2 August - the day before the battle was to take place - Philip's army retreated,² pursued by Lancaster's forces, who succeeded in cutting off its tail.³

After the capitulation of the town, Lancaster was one of the English delegation who negotiated the truce of 28 September, and was one of the judges of any infringements of its terms.⁴ Knighton tells us of the great state which he maintained in Calais, of daily expenses which could only have been met out of the profits of his campaigns in the south.⁵

He was at the height of his fame. No one but the king had won such military glory, for the Black Prince had still

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Anonimale Chronicle, 29; Le Baker, 91.

4. Avesbury, 396-402 & Rymer, III, i, 136-8. The commission issued to the English delegates is dated 24 September (CPR, 1345-8, 562).

5. Knighton, II, 54.

to prove himself. His work in Aquitaine was undoubtedly his most brilliant achievement as military commander and administrator. It won the king's gratitude, established his reputation and added greatly to his wealth. When he joined Edward before Calais, the recovery of much of the duchy to his credit, he stood high in the royal favour. His victories in the south fresh in the king's mind, he was well rewarded for his work.

By letters dated by Calais on 1 June, Edward granted him the castle, town and place of Bergerac, the entire castellany, high and low justice and rights of coinage 'in gratitude for his victorious deeds in Aquitaine'.¹ He thus became lord of Bergerac, and no time was wasted to see to its defence. On 7 June the chancellor was instructed to order the constable of Bordeaux to pay the wages of John Diens, then captain of the town,² and, three days later, to provide a ship for William de Arentoun, one of the earl's vallets whom Lancaster was sending to Gascony with victuals and other things necessary for the defence of the town.³ The earl was not, however, to be put to

1. DL 10/305; CPR, 1345-8, 542; C 81/319/18383B; Rymer, III, i, 123.

2. C 81/320/18405.

3. C 81/320/18410.

any expense in its defence. Since the town was a strategically vital outpost of English influence in Aquitaine, on 17 June provision was made for its garrison with 100 men-at-arms and 200 foot sergeants who were to be paid by the constable of Bordeaux.¹

In England his services were rewarded with some of the remaining lands forfeited by Earl Thomas. Since the annuity of 1,000 marks granted to him at the time of his creation as earl of Derby was surrendered on the death of his father, the king "having regard for the good service and great honour which our said cousin has done us in Gascony and elsewhere by the said name of earl of Derby, and greatly wishing that the aforesaid name and title should not be lost but should be maintained to perpetual memory", upon Lancaster's request, restored him and his heirs in the castle and honor of Pontefract.² These had been granted to the queen in 1330, and in order

1. CPR, 1345-8, 538. Vide infra., p. 654.

2. The grant is said to have been made to him, the king "*..eantz regard a bon service et au graunt honour que nostre dit cousin nous ad fait es parties de Gascoigne et aillours par le dit noun de conte de Derby, et par tant meut voillantz que le noun et le title avantditz deperent einz soient maintenuz a perpetuele memoire..*" (C 81/321/18545).

to effect their transfer to the earl, Edward instructed the chancellor to inquire where he could assign Philippa lands and rents of the same value. The letters were dated before Calais on 10 July,¹ and the formal resumption and release took place in November of the following year.²

It was for the same reasons that he granted him the castle of Horston in Derbyshire and £40 yearly from the farm of the county.³ It may also have been whilst he was with the king before Calais that he secured a grant of Clitheroe (granted to Queen Isabella in 1327), which was resumed (along with Pontefract) and given to him in November 1348.⁴

On 3 and 8 October, after the fall of Calais, he secured grants of lands, vineyards and other goods of such prisoners in Saint-Jean-d'Angely who had not paid their ransoms, and the property (houses, inns, wine-presses, young vines, lands, meadows, pastures, woods and rents)

1. Ibid.

2. CCR, 1346-9, 610; CPR, 1348-50, 217 & C 81/334/19893.

3. CChR, V, 1341-1417, 70 & C 81/326/19006; CCR, 1346-9, 447.

4. Somerville, op.cit., 34-5 & 35, n.2. On 1 December following, Isabella executed a release in his favour of her rights in Clitheroe, Penwortham, Tottington, Rochdale, Slaidburn and Bowland (ibid., 35 & n.2).

of Bernard Barraut, a burgess of the town who had refused to enter English obedience.¹ He may have been given some property in Calais, too, although no formal grant appears to have been made until 25 October, 1360, when he acquired a considerable number of houses in the town.²

It was also about this time that he was attempting to recover those Lacy lands which his uncle Thomas had granted to John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, in 1319, and of which a reversionary interest was granted to William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, in 1337, viz: Trowbridge, Aldbourne, Winterbourne Earls, Amesbury, Canford Magna, Shapwick, Henstridge and Charlton.³ In the summer of 1347 he had a suit in chancery for these lands, and in September of that year, whilst he was with the king at Calais, Salisbury's son and heir, William Montagu, submitted a petition to the king for them, setting forth

1. CPR, 1345-8, 562 & 566.

2. DL 42/1, fo.419 (published by J.Delpit, Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre, 83, no.CLXXXV), and C 76/42, m.3.

3. Somerville, op.cit., 35.

both his and Lancaster's claims.¹ As a result of the enquiries made on Warenne's death in 1347 Shapwick was delivered to Henry as being of his inheritance, and by agreement in May 1348, he was to enter in the other manors except Aldbourne.² But these lands were delivered to the countess of Surrey on 24 August, 1348; she subsequently leased them to the Black Prince, who surrendered them to the second earl of Salisbury after the death of the countess in 1361.³ Only the Norfolk manors in which Earl Thomas had been enfeoffed by Warenne were delivered to Henry.⁴

Now in his late 30's, earl of Lancaster, Derby and Leicester, lord of Bergerac and steward of England,⁵ Henry commanded estates and an income which made him the first lord of the realm.⁶ His military reputation was firmly

1. The petition, together with a letter from Edward to the chancellor, dated at Calais on 20 September, 1347, requesting him to see the matter settled, are still extant (C 81/324/18888 & 18889; ~~Appendix A, no. —~~).
2. Somerville, op.cit., 35-6.
3. Ibid., 36.
4. These included Gimmingham, Methwold, Thetford, the hundreds of Gallow and Brothercross with certain knights fees and advowsons. Beeston Regis, which Warenne held for life by demise of Thomas, was also returned to him (ibid., & n.3).
5. ~~This is now, he~~ styled himself, for instance in 1348 (BM Additional Charter 59142; Appendix A, no.21).
6. Vide infra., pp.854-61.

established, his favour and influence with the king beyond question. In the years that lay ahead he extended his inheritance by still further grants. He had been given the shrievalty of Staffordshire for life on 5 June, 1345, with power to appoint deputies.¹ On 13 March, 1348, he had a grant of free warren in his demesne lands of Gimmingham, Methwold, Thetford and Beeston Regis.² In 1353 he secured a market and two fairs in Collingbourne manor,³ and in 1354 a licence for a free chase in Pernholt wood adjacent to the forest of Bere.⁴ Like his father and grandfather he had throughout his lands the return of writs and other seignorial jurisdiction which were granted to him for life on 25 September, 1349, on surrendering the grant to his father.⁵

When, on 2 October, 1348, the countess of Lincoln died childless, at the ripe age of sixty-seven, he was heir to all the Lacy estates which had been the subject

1. CFR, 1337-47, 423; DL 42/11, fo.65v.

2. CChR, 1341-1417, 86.

3. Ibid., 132 (24 April, 1353).

4. Ibid., 140 (18 May, 1354).

5. Somerville, op.cit., 40.

of dispositions in his grandfather's time,¹ and on 20 August of the following year he was created earl of Lincoln,² and added that title to his collection.³ But the greatest honour of all was yet to be conferred upon him.

1. The premises included Ingoldmells, Wainfleet, Steeping, Thoresby, Waithe, Wrangle, Sutton-in-Holland, Bolingbroke, Lincoln castle and bail, Waddington, Scartho and Saltfleetby, Kingston Lacy, Slaidburn, Bowland forest, Pontefract (less Thoresby manor), Snaith and the Cheshire lands (Somerville, op.cit., 34 & n.5).
2. CChR, 1341-1417, 118.
3. He styled himself earl of Lancaster, Derby, Leicester and Lincoln, lord of Bergerac and steward of England in, for example, letters patent of 24 March, 1350 (CPR, 1348-50, 541).

VI

THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT
IN AQUITAINE. III : CONCLUSION.

Lancaster's tenure of office as the king's captain-general and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc in 1345-6 marks a watershed in English politics in the duchy. It was followed by significant changes in military and financial organisation and, to some extent, in administrative and judicial affairs. This re-organisation was the product of the new situation created by his campaigns.

The Change In Military Organisation

The extension of English control in the duchy called for a radical re-organisation in the Gascon forces. The effort required to defend a large number of towns and castles scattered over extensive territory

was quite different from that required to defend a relatively small number within a narrow territorial limit. In the initial six years of the war the majority of the troops were employed in a relatively small number of garrisons and they were made up almost entirely of infantry.¹ It was not possible to raise either the men or the money to do this over the much greater area in English control after Lancaster's campaigns. Already, in the years 1337-43, it had proved impossible to finance them over an extended period.² What was now needed was an effective manoeuvrable fighting force, which could be called into service during periods of military threat, to strengthen the defence of any place, town or castle. This was done by mounting the infantry, introducing the English archer and organising the troops into compact retinues under the command of the Gascon lords.

These changes had already taken place by the close

1. Vide supra, p.144.

2. Ibid., pp.149-50.

of 1347.¹ The troops were organised in compact retinues, the majority retained by the Gascon lords (not a few of whom had come into English allegiance during Lancaster's lieutenancy).² From then until the Black Prince's expedition of 1355-7 five different corps were in service in the duchy, largely Gascon, but including a small percentage of English troops. The men-at-arms formed the greater part of the cavalry, but they were accompanied by mounted serjeants and mounted archers. The infantry were composed of foot serjeants and foot archers.

The cavalry were in the majority. During the years 1350-4 they constituted 55% of the total number of troops in the king's pay (29% men-at-arms, 21% mounted serjeants and 5% mounted archers), 50% of the total number of troops maintained in garrisons (30% men-at-arms, 13% mounted serjeants and 7% mounted archers) and 67% of the troops maintained in retinues (31½% men-at-arms, 33% mounted

1. They are evident in the payments to the troops recorded in the accounts of the constable and controller of Bordeaux for 1347-8 (E 101/167/10, fos. 20r-22r; E 101/167/12, fos. 14v-15v). Cf. Appendix D, Table G.
2. Appendix D, Table G.

serjeants and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % mounted archers).¹ An army assembled in 1352 and sent into the neighbourhood of Bergerac to resist a French attempt to take Montcuq was made up of 96% cavalry (33% men-at-arms and 63% mounted serjeants).² It was 695 strong (232 men-at-arms, 438 mounted serjeants and 25 foot serjeants).³ The foot serjeant has been replaced by the mounted serjeant and the number of foot serjeants now maintained, as the size of whole retinues, has been considerably reduced. Bernard Ezi's retinue in the summer of 1352 was only 360 strong (100 men-at-arms, 100 mounted serjeants, 100 foot serjeants and 60 mounted archers).⁴ His brother Berard contributed no more than 57 men to the army assembled to prevent the French from taking Montcuq (32 men-at-arms and 25 mounted serjeants).⁵

1. These percentage figures are based on payments to the troops recorded in the accounts of the constables and controller of Bordeaux for 1349-54 (E 101/168/3, fos.1r-7v; E 101/170/20, fos.55v-61v; E 101/170/20, fos.47r-85r). Cf. Appendix D, *Table E*
2. E 101/170/20, fos.51r-52r & 55r. Cf. Appendix D, *Table E*
3. Ibid.
4. E 101/170/20, fos.81r & 83v; E 101/168/3; E 101/170/20, fo.64r. Cf. Appendix D, *Table C*
5. E 101/170/20, fos.51r-52r & 55r. Cf. Appendix D, *Table E*

On another occasion he had a retinue of 128 men in the king's pay (68 men-at-arms and 60 mounted serjeants).¹ The examples of smaller retinues largely composed of cavalry are too numerous to quote at length.²

The troops were no longer maintained indefinitely over a number of years, but enlisted for short periods to accomplish specific tasks.³ This is true of both retinues and garrison forces. Many of them were in the king's pay for no more than a few months; sometimes for no more than a few weeks. The troops assembled to prevent the French from taking Montcuq were in the king's pay for no more than four days.

Since the smaller number of troops maintained had to be employed more effectively, the part played by the seneschal and the king's council in the duchy in promoting military operations is much more in evidence. In 1354, when the count of Armagnac (lieutenant of King John in Languedoc) was conducting operations in the Agenais, and

1. E 101/170/20, fos.58r-v & 60r. Cf. Appendix D, Table E.
2. Details are available in Appendix D, Table E.
3. For the information in this paragraph, see Appendix D, Table E.

Jean de Clermont (marshal of France and lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and the neighbouring places) in Saintonge, John de Cheverston (then seneschal of Aquitaine) "ex deliberato consilio, tam consilii regii quia baronum harum partium, declinavimus VI armata ad partes praedictas pro resistendo eisdem".¹ It was by ordinance of the king's council that he subsequently summoned a council of Gascon barons to pronounce upon the defence of the towns of the duchy,² and there were numerous occasions when he enlisted troops de mandato et ordinacione nostra et totius regii consilii; per retencionem nostram, de totius regii consilii ordinacione; and de mandato nostro et totius regii consilii ordinacione.³

In the 1350's the accounts speak of a novus exercitus in the duchy.⁴ It was this army that was responsible for the

1. E 101/650/85-92; 171/4, File 2, Part 2, no.27 & File 3, Part 2, no.26. On the lieutenancies of Armagnac and Clermont, see Appendix B, IIa, no.24, and IIb, no.12.
2. "...de ordinacione totius consilii regii harum partium... fecimus vocari omnes barones harum partium ad diem Veneris post festum Omnium Sanctorum proximum preteriter ad ordinandum pro salva et segura custodia villarum ducatus..." (E 101/650/123-32; 171/4, File 3, Part 1, nos.10 & 11).
3. E 101/650/115, 143, 153, 157-9, etc.
4. E 101/170/12, fo.56v.

re-capture of Sainte-Foy from the French.¹ Whilst the composition of the force on this occasion is not made clear, the decision of the seneschal and council to call out a Gascon force and divide it into six companies in 1354, was clearly designed to meet the situation created by French military strategy in the south.² One company was placed under the command of Bertrand, lord of Montferrand, and dispatched into the Agenais to relieve Aiguillon, Lusignan and the neighbouring places which were besieged by a company under the command of the count of Armagnac.³ Another was sent to resist a company, also under Armagnac's command, which was operating in the Bordelais, the Bazadais and the Landes, particularly in the neighbourhood of Saint-Sever. Another was sent into

1. Ibid.

2. In a letter of 5 December, 1354, King John wrote that the Anglo-Gascons had been expelled from Port-Sainte-Marie "per gentes nostras VI armorum" (Arch. nat., JJ 84, no.23), and we know that the count of Armagnac, lieutenant of King John in Languedoc, had divided the forces under his command into companies at this time (A. Breuils, "Jean I^{er}., Comte d'Armagnac, et le mouvement national dans le Midi au temps du Prince Noir", Revue des Questions Historiques, LIX, 1896, 48; vide infra., p. 596.

3. For details of the composition of the six companies, see Appendix D, Table F.

the frontiers of Périgord, Limousin and Quercy, to resist the French operating in those parts, and was subsequently diverted into the Agenais to resist a company under Armagnac's command which was operating around Mauron. Another was sent to relieve the bastides built before Aquistris, which were under assault by a company under the command of Jean de Clermont. Another, placed under the command of Soudan de Preissac, was sent to capture the fortresses of Absac, Coutras and Temple (from which Clermont's forces were conducting operations against Libourne and Saint-Émilien). Another was sent to take command of the town and castle of Bergerac, under the captaincy of Auger, lord of Mussidan, the castellan there having been taken prisoner by the French.

The victories of Edward III's armies in France were by no means wholly English achievements. In 1352 Bernard Ezil, lord of Albret, and the constable of Bordeaux were given command of a Gascon army of no less than 695 men, sent into the neighbourhood of Bergerac to prevent a French attempt to take Montcuq.¹ The seneschal, the captal of

1. E 101/170/20, fos. 51r-2r, 55r & 64v. For the details, see Appendix D, Table E.

Buch, and the lords of Lesparre, Montferrand, Pommiers and Mussidan were in command of the army victorious at Lunalonge in Poitou in 1350.¹ Bernard Ezi's son, Arnaud-Amanieu d'Albret, was in command of the army victorious at Saint-Georges in Saintonge in the spring of 1351.² The prisoners on this occasion included Guy de Nesle, marshal of France; Arnoul d'Audrehem and Regnaut de Pons - all of them important to the French.³ At the battle of Poitiers no less than nine counts, and perhaps even King John himself, were taken by Gascons.⁴

1. Chronique Normande, 285, and cf. T.F.Tout, "Some neglected fights between Crécy and Poitiers", EHR, XX (1905), 726-30.
2. Chronique Normande, 288; Avesbury, 413.
3. For the positions which they held, vide supra., Chapter 3, pp.68 & 74-5.
4. Appendix G for the counts; R.Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 242-3, for the disputed capture of King John.

The Change in Financial Organisation and
the Problem of Excessive Donations

After Lancaster's campaigns it was no longer possible to pretend that the war in Gascony should be financed out of the ducal revenues; they had already proved totally inadequate.¹ The dispatch of English troops under his command was in itself an admission of the impossibility. The Gascon forces must be financed by the English Exchequer if the war was to be prosecuted there. This position was recognised after 1348 and, from then until 1361, the constable of Bordeaux accounted with the English Exchequer.²

During this period (1348-61) the income of the Bordeaux treasury was considerably increased by subsidies from the English Exchequer.³ They amounted

1. Vide supra., pp.149-50.

2. For these accounts see Appendix E.

3. For the following figures see Appendix E.

to 52% of total income in 1348, 72% in 1348-9, 81% in 1349-50, 71% in 1350-51, 49% in 1352-4 and 46% in 1354-61. These subsidies were assigned to the maintenance of the Gascon forces. Wages paid to the troops amounted to 51% of total expenditure in 1348, 33% in 1348-9, 78% in 1349-50, 91% in 1350 and 49% in 1354-61.

Throughout the whole period of the war to the treaty of Bretigny-Calais the making of excessive grants in the duchy was a constant and recurring problem. The enlistment of Gascon support with remunerative donations was widely practised by the king and his seneschals and lieutenants in the duchy. Lands and goods of rebels, ducal rents, profits of justice and other sources of revenue were granted to supporters on a constantly increasing scale, whilst further grants of a similar nature were made in those parts of the duchy in French control in order to encourage the beneficiaries to acquire possession

in the king's name.¹ It was a realistic way of rallying support; we have seen how effectively Lancaster used it.²

A quick glance at the figures of direct money grants made by the king and the seneschal of Gascony in the years 1338-43 shows quite clearly both their increase and the extent to which Edward took over the function from his officer in the duchy.³ Indirect grants are not recorded in these figures because they did not involve a cash transaction, but they were quite considerable.⁴

If the seneschal was a local official open to persuasion and partisanship, the king and his council in England could not always have a clear picture of local conditions. A series of petitions from the seneschal to the king's council,

1. For these grants in the period 1338-43 see, for example, the accounts of the constables and controller of Bordeaux for this period (E 101/166/11, ms.27-35; E 101/166/12, ms.12-16; E 101/167/3, ms.1-2 & 21-28).
2. Vide supra, pp. 206-27 & 240-3.
3. See the accompanying Table. These figures are taken from the accounts of the constables and controller of Bordeaux (E 101/166/11; E 101/166/12; E 101/167/3) set down in full in Appendix E.
4. See, for instance, E 101/167/3, ms.1-2.

Grants By The Seneschal

	1338-9	1340-41	1342-3
Amount	£5,916.13s.6d.	£5,682.11s.6d.	£5,566.18s.3d.
% of Total Income	14%	7%	-
% of Total Income less loans	18%	13%	-
% of Total Expenditure	8½%	-	3½%
% of Total Expenditure less wages of troops	18%	-	5%

Grants By The King

	1338-9	1340-41	1342-3
Amount	£2,849.13s.1d.	£11,735.14s.6d.	£43,997.6s.1½d.
% of Total Income	7%	14%	-
% of Total Income less loans	9%	26½%	-
% of Total Expenditure	4%	-	28%
% of Total Expenditure less wages of troops	9%	-	41%

probably made in 1343 or 1344, illustrate admirably the difficulties which could arise from excessive and un-informed granting.¹ He requested the council to advise the king on certain grants which he had made to several persons of little merit, explaining that Edward had granted so much that he had little left, and that he had over-charged the custom at Bordeaux. He recommended that if the king wished to make grants he should first make a point of being informed of what he was granting, how much it was worth, to whom he intended to make the grant and how the proposed beneficiary had served him.

He went on to explain how Edward had granted the baillage of Labourd to Arnaud de Durfort, and how he had delivered him the lordship in its place because the king had already granted all the other rents to Raymond Duraunt and his son Gaillard. A private war had consequently broken out between the inhabitants of Labourd and Arnaud, and the inhabitants of Bayonne threatened to take part in the dispute.

1. SC 8/293/14613 & 14603; Appendix A, no.6.

He concluded with a number of recommendations for the settlement of another dispute. Edward had granted certain lands and places to Bertrand de Got, lord of Puiguilhem, which had already been purchased by Arnaud de Durfort (although he was not then in possession of them) and which the seneschal had promised to the viscount of Fronsac. He requested that, in reaching a settlement, Got's fidelity and good service be born^o in mind, but that a decision on the dispute should not be to the prejudice of the other two parties, for Puiguilhem did not wish the king to lose the allegiance of such a man as the viscount of Fronsac because of the grant which Edward had made to him.

The evils of parcelling out Gascon lands and revenues in Westminster were already evident to the government. Edward had already arranged for a group of lords to be sent out to the duchy to deal with such matters.¹ In September 1343 he wrote to Nicholas de la Beche, then seneschal of the duchy, explaining that through untruthful and subtle suggestions and petitions he had made excessive grants in Aquitaine

1. Ibid.

and was sending proctors and other members of his council to inquire into the matter.¹ In the following March Lancaster and Arundel were given their commission for the reform of the government of the duchy.²

The king had been deceived and had made excessive grants there. The two earls were therefore empowered to take into his hands all those castles, liberties and lands which he had granted, without exception of persons, and to inquire into the merits of the gifts. All those which they found to have been fraudently engineered they were to annul; the others they were to restore to their holders. There is, however, no evidence of action on their part. The problem remained unsolved. A year later Ralph of Stafford, newly appointed seneschal of the duchy, was ordered to investigate the merits of excessive grants made by the king and his officers in Gascony and to send his findings to England.³ The problem was insoluble as long as the war lasted and supporters were to be guaranteed their properties, compensated for their losses and rewarded for their allegiance and service.

1. Rymer, II, ii, 1235.

2. Ibid., III, i, 8-10.

3. C 61/57, ms.7-8.

The position, far from improving, deteriorated still further during Lancaster's lieutenancy of 1345-7. Although his campaigns resulted in a considerable extension of English control in the duchy, no new revenues were made available to the Bordeaux treasury.¹ Existing returns decreased.² Not only did he alienate lands and revenues to supporters as rewards for their service, but he also granted them castles and fortresses in return for their defence and upkeep and attributed ducal revenues to their maintenance.

The account of the constable of Bordeaux for 1348 reveals that there were no returns from the *prévôtés*, castellanies and other baillages because all the revenues and emoluments appertaining both to places and lands in English control prior to 1345, and those which had been newly acquired by Lancaster, had been assigned by him or the king to the construction and repair of fortresses, or granted to diverse Gascon barons and other supporters

1. Vide *infra.*, p.279, n.1.

2. *Ibid.*

in the duchy, together with their profits and emoluments.¹

In August 1349 Lancaster was given a new commission as the king's captain and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc.² He was empowered, among other things, to inquire into excessive grants of land which had been made in the king's name in the duchy, to take into the king's hands all those which had been secured by fraud, and Edward and the council, on his advice, would decide what should be done with them.

No solution was found. In 1359 the constable of Bordeaux was excused returns for all the prévôtes and baillages of the duchy then in English control because

1. "De praeposituris, castellaniis seu aliis ballivis ducatus praedicti, nichil respondet ex eo, quod omnis exitus sive emolumenta, tam omnium locorum sive terrarum antiquorum quam ceterorum nuper per dominum comitem Lancastriae de novo adquisitorum, eisdem locis pro constructione fortaliciorum et reparacione murorum in eisdem, aut ex concessione, dictorum domini nostri regis et comitis applicantur, sive per eosdem diversis baronibus, et aliis praedicti ducatus, eadem loca, cum exitibus et emolumentis eorundem, que difficiliter per singula possent enarrari, concedit" (Part of an account book of the constable of Bordeaux, E 101/167/10, fo.7v).
2. Rymer, III, i, 188-9; vide infra., pp.358 ff.

they had been alienated by the king, his lieutenants (the Black Prince, Lancaster and Stafford), and other royal officials in the duchy.¹ The problem was only solved by the creation of the principality of Aquitaine.

The Gascon Council and the Formation of Policy

It is evident that Lancaster could not be expected to have a detailed knowledge of many of the essentially local affairs with which he had to deal. He was assisted in his work by the king's council in the duchy.

The Gascon council, in origin the feudal council of the dukes of Aquitaine, had held a regular place in the administration of the duchy since the reforms carried

1. "Cum omnes praepositurae et ballive ducatus antedicti ad dominum nostrum regem pertinentes et in sua obediencia existentes, ac officium et custodia turris et portagiorum castri regii Burdegalensis, extra manum regiam, tam per donationes, concessiones et assignationes per prefatos dominos nostros regem et principem, quam ducem Lancastriae, comitem de Staffordia et alios officiales regios diversis personis, nobilibus et aliis, facta extra manum regiam dono fuerint, et moderno tempore notorie existant, etc." (Mandate of John de Cheverston, seneschal of Aquitaine, to John de Stretle, constable of Bordeaux; Bordeaux, 9 September, 1359. E 101/171/5, Part 1, no.8).

out by Edward I.¹ These had brought in a series of functionaries, for the most part clerks, to sit alongside of the great vassals of which, according to feudal custom, it had been traditionally composed. Theoretically, it was presided over by the duke-king, in practice by the seneschal, and it was held wherever he convened it. Its competence was practically unlimited. Without its assent the seneschal could neither appoint officials nor issue orders of an administrative nature. In the judicial sphere it could deal with cases of treason and with offences committed by nobles. Its presence was therefore a controlling factor.

It is quite clear that Lancaster was advised by this council, and it is possible that it exercised some measure of supervision over the exercise of his powers. When a king's lieutenant took up office in the duchy it was customary for the council to continue its function 'as an advisory body to the lieutenant himself'.² Unfortunately however, our main

1. Y. Renouard, "Les institutions du duché d'Aquitaine (des origines à 1453)", Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Age, ed. F. Lot and R. Fawtier, I, chapter VII, 173. Cf. E. Pole Stuart, Aspects of the political and administrative history of Gascony, 1303-1327 (Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, 1927), 214-7.
2. P. Chaplais, Gascon Appeals to England, 1259-1453 (Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, 1950), 171.

source of information on the part which it played - the notes of warranty at the foot of a lieutenant's letters, toward the left margin - are not very abundant. Few of the earl's original letters have survived and, even where they have, they do not always include such notes. Neither are they included in the chancery enrolments of royal confirmations of his letters.

But at least five original letters are extant from his tenure of office as the king's captain and lieutenant in the duchy. The grant to Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, of the castles of Marensin and Laharie bears the warranty note "concessa per dominum, examinata per concilium".¹ A charter to the mayor, jurades and community of Libourne approving and prolonging their right to levy certain taxes for the defence of the town includes the note "concessa per dominum, examinata per totum concilium".² A letter appointing Pierre Arnaud Datin supervisor of works and repairs on the castles in the duchy and granting him ls.Od. sterling wages daily bears the note "concessa per dominum, examinata per constabularium".³ The grant to Gerald de Puy of a life

1. Arch. dép. Basses-Pyrénées, E 188 (La Réole, 3 July, 1346).

2. Arch. mun. Libourne, AA1, fo.19r (Bergérac, 14 August, 1346).

3. E 404/508/46 (La Réole, 4 February, 1345/6).

annuity of 200 gold écus includes the note "per dominum, examinata",¹ and a mandate to the judge-ordinary of the Agenais simply "per dominum".²

The text of a letter sometimes contains additional information. He assigned the annuity of £645.5s.0d. sterling to Bernard Ezi, in compensation for the lordship of Blanquefort and the pedage of Saint-Macaire, 'after deliberation with the council'.³

The personnel of the council is sometimes evident. He imposed a new wine custom in the duchy 'with the counsel and advice of the councillors of our said lord the king, and with the agreement and assent of several nobles who were assisting'.⁴

Reginald de Biskele was appointed mayor of Bordeaux by him 'with the assent and advice of Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, Walter Mauny, Ralph

1. E 101/171/4, File 1, Part 2, no.20 (Bordeaux, 26 November, 1346).
2. C 47/24/7, no.3 (La Réole, 16 May, 1346).
3. "Ex deliberato consilio" (E 43/741), La Réole, 1 May, 1346.
4. "Una cum concilio et avisamento conciliariorum dicti domini nostri regis, et de voluntate et assensu plurium nobilium assistentium" (Arch. mun. Libourne, AA 1, fo.31r).

of Stafford, seneschal of Gascony, Bernard, lord of Albret, and the entire council of our lord the king'.¹ He retained Richard Nivet in the ducal council 'with the counsel and advice of our (the king's) constable of Bordeaux and our other councillors in the said duchy'.² The grants to William Descamps, William Wrotham and Pierre Blanche de Lesteille, burgesses of Bordeaux, and to Jean de Seymadet, were made 'with the assent of the seneschal of Gascony and your (the king's) council there.'³

1. "De assensu et avisamento dominorum Laurencii de Hastings, comitis Pembrochiaie, Walteri de Mauny, Radulphi de Stafford, senescalli Vasconiae, et Bernardi, domini de Lebreto, ac totius consilii domini nostri regis" (C 61/60, m.41), Bordeaux, 22 April, 1346. "De l'assent & avisement des nobles hommes le Counte de Pembroch', Mons' Waut' de Manny, Mons' Rauf de Stafford adonques Seneschall de Gascoigne, & du Sire la Bret, & de tout le Conseil nostre Seignour le Roi celles parties (Rot. Parl., II, 222, no.66).
2. "De consilio et avisamento constabularii nostri Burdegalensis, et aliorum consiliariorum in ducatu illo" (C 61/59, m.3). "Par avisement et conseil de nostre conestable de Burdeux et autres noz conseillers en la dite duchee" (C 81/325/18969).
3. "par assent del seneschal de Gascoyne et vostre consail illesqes" (C 81/319/18362).

Jean Guitard, one of the king's councillors and proctors in the duchy, and Richard Nivet of Libourne were almost certainly amongst those who advised Lancaster. Both received substantial grants from him.¹ Guitard represented the English administration in truce negotiations with the French in 1354,² and served as a clerk to the Black Prince during his tenure of office as the king's captain and lieutenant in the duchy.³ Nivet was retained in the ducal council by him.⁴

The profits of the campaigns

The soldiers who served under Lancaster's command in Aquitaine expected to make a profit out of their service. 'Do you not know that I live by war and that peace would be my undoing?', Hawkwood is said to have remarked, according to the Florentine Franco Sacchetti.⁵

1. Vide supra., pp.226-7.

2. E 101/172/2, no.44.

3. Arch. hist. Gironde, XVI, 22-6, no.XVII, p.26.

4. Vide supra., p.226.

5. G.Temple-Leader & G.Marcotti, Sir John Hawkwood, 2.

The possibilities of plunder were thoroughly demonstrated not only by his career, but by those of a Knowles, a Chandos or a Calveley. It was Knowles's boast that he fought "neither for the King of England nor for the King of Navarre, but for himself".¹ The regal wealth which he amassed in the wars enabled him to acquire extensive estates in the southern counties and to assist Richard II with loans on the security of jewels and plate.² Perhaps it was out of conscience that, together with Hawkwood and Calveley, he founded an English hospital in Rome and offered other charities in his old age.³

Apart from wages paid to the troops there are two sides to the profits of war; ransoms extracted from prisoners and loot gathered on the marches.

Lancaster's indenture with the king stated that if the earl or his men took prisoners then Lancaster could "do what he wished with them", and

1. Froissart, V, xlii & 351.

2. DNB, 285

3. Ibid. On the matter of his conscience see Froissart, V, xli, n.4.

he was to have "all other advantages of war".¹
 If Pembroke or his men took prisoners the king
 would "give him satisfaction".²

Murimuth gives the names of ten lords taken
 at Bergerac.³ Avesbury states that there were
 eleven.⁴ They included Henry de Montigny,
 seneschal of Périgord and Quercy, and Jean de
 Galard, lord of Limeuil.⁵ The *Chronique de*
Guyenne tells us that many other barons, knights
 and burgesses of the town were also taken.⁶

What they were worth in cash terms it is
 impossible to tell.⁷ Galard, who was detained
 in the Bordelais for a considerable period of
 time, was later accused of having sworn obedience
 to Lancaster, on behalf of the king (upon a copy
 of the missal), and undertaken to support Edward

1. E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1.

2. E 101/68/60; Appendix A, no.1.

3. Murimuth, 249 & 251.

4. Avesbury, 356.

5. Murimuth, 249 & 251; Avesbury, 356; Chronique de
Guyenne, 400. For full list, see Appendix C, no.5.

6. Chronique de Guyenne, 400.

7. Search in English and French archives has brought to
 light no substantial information.

against the French.¹ And yet he was certainly put to ransom. He was obliged to sell property to the value of £600 tournois, and received a grant of 10,000 gold écus in order to pay the sum in question.² Knighton tells us of the loot Lancaster is reputed to have collected at Bergerac, 52,000 marks of which he is said to have expended on his manor of the Savoy.³

'There were taken', Froissart comments of the battle of Auberoche, 'nine counts and viscounts, and so many barons and knights that there was not a man-at-arms among the English that did not have for his share two or three, from which they later had great profit'.⁴ He puts the ransom figure for the prisoners at 300,000 gold écus (£56,562.10s.0d.),

1. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.385v-6r, no.601; J 190B, no.63 (~~Appendix A, no.~~).
2. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fo.412r, no.662.
3. Knighon, II, 32 & 118.
4. Froissart, ed. Luce, III, 71.

a sum remarkably close to Villani's estimate of £50,000.¹ We have several lists of the names of the captives.² Both Murimuth and Avesbury state that they included 3 counts, 7 viscounts, 3 barons and 14 bannerets, although Murimuth, who gives the fullest list, names 2 counts, 8 viscounts and 24 other lords and knights.³

In terms of booty the raid into Saintonge and Poitou must have been equally lucrative. In October 1346 Clement VI wrote to the earl exhorting him to restrain his men from destroying and robbing churches and ecclesiastics.⁴ Some of the prisoners taken at Saint-Jean-d'Angély were put to ransom,⁵ the benedictine monastery there was systematically looted by the troops, and the incumbents forcibly expelled and

1. Ibid., III, 294; Giovanni Villani, Historie fiorentine, in L.A.Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, XIII, 927.
2. Appendix C, no.5.
3. Murimuth, 190, 249-50 & 251-2; Avesbury, 356-7.
4. Clément VI (1342-1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France, vol.II, fasc.3, p.260, no.2894: CFL, III, 29.
5. CPR, 1345-8, 562.

ransomed.¹ At Poitiers his army is said to have 'carried away gold, silver and countless precious things', and 'destroyed and carried off many things, including religious ornaments'.² The clergy had to be compensated for 'all the possessions; books, chalices, vestments, silver vases, relics and other ornaments taken from the churches'.³ According to Froissart the army, at its departure, was 'so laden' with the riches they found there 'that they made no account of cloths, unless they were of gold or silver, or trimmed with furs'.⁴ When they

1. On 23 October, 1346, Clement VI wrote exhorting him to restore to the monastery "...res, privilegia, et reliquiaria, vestes sacerdotales et alia ornamenta et paramenta disrobata per gentes suas, ita ut priores, administratores, monachi, servitores, homines et agricultores dimiserunt monasterium. Libenti sint monachi ab exactionibus seu redemptionibus quae ab eis peti dicuntur" (Clément VI, 1342-1352, Lettres closes, etc., vol. II, fasc.3, p.261, no.2901).
2. Knighton, II, 46.
3. "omnia bona que tunc habebant, libros, calices, vestimenta, vasa argentea, reliquias et alia ornamenta que in ecclesiis existebant" (Arch. hist. Poitou, XIII, xxviii).
4. Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, 16.

returned to Bordeaux the troops were 'altogether rich and burdened with good things'.¹

Fortune did not always favour the Anglo-Gascons. In a sortie before Aiguillon on 16 June, 1346, several of the garrison force were taken prisoner by the French.² Alexander de Caumont, who was among them, was captured by Robert d'Augerant, a French knight, surrendered to the duke of Normandy for £500 and ransomed for a considerable sum.³ Unable to raise the money from his personal resources he was forced to oblige his lands and castles to Lancaster in order to secure a loan (which exceeded 14,000 florins in écus) from the earl.⁴ He also received a royal grant of 50,000 tuns of wine to be taken from the king's enemies during war time.⁵

Some of the prisoners taken by Lancaster at Auberoche were temporarily liberated upon promise to surrender themselves by a certain day at Bordeaux

1. Ibid., IV, 225.

2. Villani, op.cit., XIII, 928.

3. Bertrand, op.cit., 326.

4. C 81/332/19657 & C 81/336/20055.

5. C 81/332/19671.

or Bergerac, but the greater part were taken to Bordeaux where the bargaining doubtless took place.¹ Many were still captives in the following summer.²

A soldier established his right to a captive by extracting an oath from him that he would be his faithful prisoner and by taking some part of his armour or battle-dress as an indication of that right. Henry Pomffroit, an Englishman who caught Jean de Melun, a French knight, alone with a sword and a dagger at Châtillon-en-Bazois during a French chevauchée in the Nivernais, established his right by receiving such an oath.³ Charles de Trie, count of Dammartin, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, gave his fealty to no less than three prospective captors, the first of whom took his bascinet and gauntlets, the second an escutcheon of his coat armour, and a third who took him to the earl of Salisbury.⁴

A prisoner was usually released once the terms

1. Froissart, III, 71 & 73.

2. Cf. Appendix C, no.5.

3. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.19, fo.232v.

4. Black Prince's Register, IV, 339-40.

of his ransom had been agreed upon. The captors right and the prisoner's obligation to pay an agreed sum of money are universally recognised, but the two men do not necessarily proceed to negotiate, for the captor may be a man of lowly status and the captive a noble (perhaps wounded or exhausted). The captive may be handed over for a consideration to a more eminent person. Ivon the Red, an Englishman who captured Jean de Saint-Gaubert in the fortress of Ferté in 1358, handed his prisoner over to his superior (magistro suo), James Scenart, to extract a ransom, although he was serving under the orders (sub regimine) of Oliver Robert.¹ In dealing with ransoms as in warfare the leader of the retinue appears to have had a stake in prisoners taken by his men. Perhaps it was he, rather than the captain of an army, who had a claim to a third of the winnings of the troops.²

1. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.14, fos.532v-3r, no.28.

2. On the question of thirds see D. Hay "The divisions of the spoils of war in fourteenth century England", TRHS, Fifth series (4) 1954, 96.

The king dealt separately with Lancaster and Pembroke on the disposal of prisoners in 1345.¹ It was with the Gascon lords and their retainers that the Black Prince had dealings over the prisoners taken at Poitiers.²

A prisoner was usually bound by oath to keep faith and to pay his ransom within a given period or surrender himself again. Thomas Percy, taken prisoner by a Welshman, Honvel Flinc, at the battle of Soubise in 1370, was released from the castle of the Louvre in Paris in order to secure the money to pay his ransom on condition that he returned within three months.³ This he swore to do "on pain of being taken for a false knight, traitor and perjurer, and of incurring all the vile blame and reproach in all places that a false knight, traitor and perjurer should and could incur."⁴ Robert Thesnel, an English knight taken prisoner at the battle of

1. E 159/123, m.254 & E 101/68/60; Appendix A, no.1. Cf. supra, pp. 286-7.

2. Cf. Appendix G.

3. Arch. nat., J 362, no.2; Appendix A, no.16.

4. Ibid.

Cocherel, promised to pay his captor, Godfrey de Baleurre, a ransom of 12,000 gold florins of France (which was to include a horse called Hugh, valued at 60 gold florins of France, a Bordeaux sword, another steel sword and a dagger) and was allowed to return to England to raise the sum.¹ Melun, upon capture by Pomffroit, agreed to a ransom of 1,500 gold moutons, paid a part (60 gold écus) there and then, and agreed to pay the remaining sum (1,600 gold écus) in the castle of Beaufort in Champagne by a given day.² After payment of 740 ecus Pomffroit allowed him to go to Paris to secure the remaining 860, but, when he defaulted, had to resort to an appeal to the Parlément de Paris.³ Jean de Arentreeres, a French knight, bailli of Vermandois, agreed to pay his captor, Sir William Boulemer, 400 gold crowns in the castle of Beaufort within a given period.⁴ There are many more examples.⁵

1. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.21, fos.108r-9r, no.47.

2. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.19, fo.232v.

3. Ibid.

4. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.20, fo.149v.

5. Eg., CPR, 1340-3, 501, 297; 1343-5, 130; 1358-61, 217.

It is hardly surprising that there were many cases of broken parole.¹ To insure himself against possible default on the part of his captive a captor often required his prisoner to secure guarantors of the ransom agreement drawn up between them, sometimes requiring them to become hostages. A classic example is to be found in the conditions drawn up for the release of King John. The arrangements for the ransom of the duchy of Burgundy under the Treaty of Guillon provide another. A French knight, Jean de la Tournelle, and Guillaume l'Angelles acted as guarantors of Melun's ransom, obliging themselves, their possessions and their successors, in default of payment, in a solemn document of obligation drawn up under Tournelle's seal.² Some 26 persons, including the archbishop of Rouen and the count of Alençon, acted as guarantors of an agreement drawn up on 11 March, 1361, whereby Lancaster was to receive 20,000 gold écus in "Johns" for the evacuation of

1. Eg., CPR, 1348-50, 174; 1350-4, 205; 1358-61, 217. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.19, fo.232v; X^{1a}.21, fos.73v-5v, no.3, etc.

2. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.19, fo.232v.

a string of castles and fortresses, stretching northwards across Anjou into west and central Normandy from Domfront, taken on his way back from the Loire valley in 1356.¹ Three knights, three echevins and three burgesses of Paris acted as guarantors of a ransom of 12,000 gold florins imposed on several castles and fortresses around the city for their evacuation by the earl of Warwick in 1360.² In a solemn public instrument, drawn up in the presence of public notaries in the chambre de Parlement of the Palais Royal, they undertook that if they defaulted on the terms of the ransom agreement they wished to be regarded as "disloyal, perjured and false to their promises", and "by the epistle divi Adriani and other things written against evil wrangling" renounced "all deception, fraud, malice force and power" and all "reasons and defences which could be voiced or raised to the contrary", wishing their renunciation

1. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.21, fos.73v-5v, no.3; CPR, 1361-4, 495. Vide infra, p.642.

2. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.20, fos.218v-9r; Appendix A, no.13.

"to have as much force and effect as if all the cases of canon and civil law were expressed in this instrument".¹

Whilst the captor's interest in his captive was essentially financial, the importance of a prisoner from the king's point of view was primarily political. The capture of a leading opponent could give him the means to exert political pressure. Edward paid 25,000 gold écus to Sir Thomas Dagworth for Charles of Blois, one of the contestants in the Breton succession dispute.² Nearly all the noble prisoners mentioned in the Treaty of Brétigny as having been taken at the battle of Poitiers became his property. The Black Prince acted as an agent buying on his behalf whilst he bought noble prisoners or shares in prisoners from the prince and English and Gascon knights.³ He undertook to pay no less than £66,146.10s.0d. for fourteen of the captives who were subsequently kept in England as hostages for King John, and eventually released them without any personal

1. Ibid.

2. C 81/333/19734.

3. Appendix G.

ransom.¹

To capture his enemies was a realistic way of prosecuting his war. Perhaps the intention lay behind his wish for a "hasty battle (hastif batail)", of which Sir Walter Mauny spoke to parliament in 1355,² and his undertaking to Philip of Navarre on the eve of the battle of Poitiers that he would secure the release of his brother, Charles the Bad, from the French if "he should have final victory (victoire final) against his adversary, who calls himself King of France", which would give him a "strong arm (forte main)".³ The Black Prince's victory, in Philip's estimation, placed Edward in a position to fulfil his promise, for as he pointed out "it is altogether clear that, since the said adversary, his son and other lords and barons of France are taken and fully in the king's power, the conditions of the said article are come about, that is to say of final victory against the person of his adversary and also of the strong arm".⁴

1. Appendix G. for the sums and Delachenal, op.cit., II, 204-5 for the hostages.
2. Rot. Parl., II, 264, no.8.
3. BM, Cotton, Caligula D III, no.45. Cf. also ibid., nos.43, 51 & 53; Appendix A, no.17.
4. Ibid., no.43; Appendix A, no.17.

The political importance of prisoners to both Edward and the Valois king necessitated some degree of control on their disposal. A royal ordinance forbade the release, by ransom or otherwise, of prisoners taken at the battle of Durham; the captors were to bring their captives to London and treat with the council of satisfaction.¹ By the terms of an indenture with the king, drawn up in August 1348, Raoul de Caours, then Edward's captain and lieutenant in Poitou and the pays de Retz, although allowed to ransom prisoners taken by himself and his men on the payment of a moiety to the king, was not to liberate any great person so captured without Edward's assent.² The earl of Warwick had to seek a royal licence to ransom the bishop of Le Mans, his captive at the battle of Poitiers.³

The same is true of prisoners taken by Frenchmen; it was necessary to secure a royal licence to extract a ransom and release a prisoner. When the lady of

1. CPR, 1348-50, 60-61. For individual cases see ibid., 1345-8, 225, 285, 314 & 552; 1348-50, 60-61 & 110.

2. C 81/332/19684 (original); Rymer, III, i, 168.

3. CPR, 1358-61, 167.

Dampierre appealed to the Parlément de Paris in 1371 she was reprimanded for treating with Sir Simon de Burley of the ransom and release of her husband, Hugues de Chatillon, lord of Dampierre, without obtaining a royal licence.¹ Godfrey de Baleurre, on the other hand, secured a royal licence to ransom Sir Robert Thesnel for 12,000 gold florins.²

The importance of royal dealings in prisoners is well illustrated by the arrangements which were made for the release of William de Montagu, earl of Salisbury, taken prisoner (together with the earl of Suffolk) in northern France in 1340. In an agreement concluded with King Philip³ touching the conditions of his release he agreed, in return for his deliverance, to secure the release of the earl of Moray, taken prisoner in Scotland, and Hervy de Lyon, taken prisoner in Brittany by Sir Walter Manny or some of the troops serving under his command. If he was unable to secure the release

1. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.22, fos.259r-60v, no.81.

2. Arch. nat., X^{1a}.21, fos.108r-9r, no.47.

3. Arch. nat., J 362, nos.1&1bis;BM, Cotton, Caligula D III, fo.27r; Appendix A, nos. 14 & 15.

of Hervy he was to pay £3,000 sterling, or the value in other money, to the Valois; the clause touching this sum to remain secret in order the better to secure Hervy's release.

The agreement was drawn up at Bois de Vincennes on 2 June, 1342, and was clearly the product of long deliberation. Already, on 25 October, 1340, Henry de Percy and Ralph de Neville were instructed to bring the earl of Moray to Windsor castle.¹ The following day Edward granted him to Salisbury in aid of his deliverance, "wishing the said earl of Salisbury to have the earl of Moray with him to be the sooner freed from the prison in which he is detained by our enemies of France".² A man advanced in years and already imprisoned for some time, there was real fear that Salisbury might suffer serious bodily injury.³ On 8 February following Moray was given letters of protection and safe conduct to go to France touching his release.⁴ Meanwhile, the earl

1. CPR, 1340-3, 66.

2. C 81/270/13488; CPR, 1340-3, 66.

3. CPR, 1340-3, 57.

4. Ibid., 126. There is another mandate under the privy seal for the issue of such letters under the great seal dated 22 February (C 81/281/14551).

of Warwick undertook negotiations with the French court for the release of both Salisbury and Suffolk.¹ The overtures appear to have failed. By 20 July arrangements had been made for Moray's re-imprisonment.² A whole year passed before Salisbury recovered his freedom. On 20 May, 1342, Edward granted that, if he could find no other means to secure his release, he could swear never again to bear arms against Philip of Valois.³ By 2 June the agreement was at last concluded and, shortly afterwards, ^{at} upon Salisbury's instance, Edward granted Moray a safe conduct to Scotland.⁴

1. CPR, 1340-3, 262.

2. Ibid., 245; Rymer, II, ii, 1169.

3. CPR, 1340-3, 435; Rymer, II, ii, 1195.

4. C 81/1330/73; C 81/284/14828.

PART II

THE KING'S AMBASSADOR

VII

THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. I : THE
PERIOD OF THE TRUCES (1347-1355)

Lancaster's position as the king's ambassador was the logical extension of the place which he held as Edward's most intimate and trusted counsellor. A magnate who had the king's confidence, he could be safely entrusted with the highest affairs of state, both military and diplomatic.

In the nature of things it is not possible to discuss the quality of his diplomacy in the same way as his military methods. Indeed, a study of fourteenth century diplomatic activity must sooner or later end in exasperation, since for so much there is no evidence beyond the procuration (the formal document appointing envoys), the text of the final agreement and, sometimes, the envoys' expenses accounts. We can often know fairly exactly where and when the envoys met and how much it cost them to get there and

back; but of what passed between them, save such as may be deduced from subsequent events, we have no idea at all.

In the fourteenth century diplomacy was a matter of ad hoc embassies, and every embassy included a quorum of high-ranking nobles. Normally, one may suppose, the real work was done by the legal experts, whilst the presence of nobles gave the occasion such importance and urgency as might be desired; but, sometimes, the noble took an active and even independent part in negotiations, as Lancaster did on more than one occasion.

Since the war, from the conclusion of the first Breton campaign until the peace of Brétigny-Calais, took the form of short bursts of activity (usually in several theatres at once) followed by rather long periods of quiescence, of ill kept truce; and since the papacy was constantly endeavouring to convert each truce into a 'firm peace', each period of truce was also a period of intense diplomatic activity. Prior to the fall of Calais truces were concluded to close the campaigns, at Valenciennes and Esplechin in 1340, Malestroit in 1343; and beneath the walls of Calais in September 1347. Successive prolongations of the latter agreement, and

the constant attempts carried out by the papacy to convert it into a peace, led to an almost permanent conference at work on the frontier between Calais and Guines under the chairmanship of cardinal Guy of Boulogne. Since Lancaster frequently served as one of the English envoys on these occasions he was technically responsible, amongst others, for negotiating several prolongations of the truce.

The embassies

The truce of Calais, dated 28 September, 1347, was prolonged again and again until June 1355, nearly eight years.¹ The embassies on these occasions were made up of four to eight persons for either side, invariably kings' councillors, and they were headed by the senior ecclesiastics amongst them, who appear to have been their spokesmen.²

1. Rymer, III, i, 136-8, 166, 170-1, 177-8, 184-5, 197-8, 232, 254-5, 261-2, 276-7, etc.

2. Ibid. It was customary to depute the senior ecclesiastic of an embassy to be its spokesman (F. Funck-Brentano, "Le caractère religieux de la diplomatie du moyen âge", Revue d'histoire diplomatique, I, 1887, 117).

William Bateman, bishop of Norwich (1344-1355),¹ occupied this position on the English side, serving on every embassy from the autumn of 1348 (the first of the negotiations between Calais and Guines) to the peace conference at Avignon in the winter of 1354-5,² when he died of sudden sickness, popularly attributed to poison.³ He had two opposite numbers on the French side: Hugues d'Arcy, bishop of Laon (1341-1351),⁴ from autumn 1348 to summer 1350;⁵ and Pierre de la Forêt, bishop of Paris (1350-1352) and subsequently archbishop of Rouen (1352-1357),⁶ from autumn 1351 to winter 1354-5.⁷

1. C.Eubel, Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, I, 371. For a short biography, see DNB, I, 1315-7.
2. Procurations, Rymer, III, i, 173, 182, 184, 196, 227, 253, 268 & 283; expenses accounts, E 101/313/1, 15, 21, 24 & 33 and E 372/193, m.34r, 194, 45d & 198, 38d; truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 177, 184, 197, 232, 254, 276 etc; among the envoys who negotiated the treaty of Guines and those sent to Avignon for its ratification (F.Bock, "Some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War, 1353-1356", BJRL, XV, 1931,
3. DNB, I, 1317.
4. Eubel, op.cit., I, . For biographical details, see R.Cazelles, La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois, 113, 258, and further references cited in the index, 466.
5. Rymer, III, i, 177, 184 & 197.
6. Eubel, op.cit., I, 426. Biographical details, Cazelles, op.cit., 231-3, and further references cited in the index, 476.
7. Rymer, III, i, 232, 254, 261 & 276; R.Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 89.

These were the chief ecclesiastical representatives, but they were often accompanied by other churchmen: Bateman by the prior of Rochester and the archbishop of Canterbury;¹ d'Arcy by the dean of Noyers and the abbot of Saint-Denis;² and de la Forêt by Guillaume Bertran, bishop of Beauvais,³ and Robert le Coq, d'Arcy's successor as bishop of Laon.⁴

On the French side these ecclesiastics undoubtedly played the most important rôle. Whereas the English embassies had to include an earl or duke along with Bateman,⁵ the French embassies often did not include a high-ranking

1. The prior in spring 1349 (procuration, Rymer, III, i, 182; expenses account, E 101/313/37 & E 372/193, m.34d; truce issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 184), and Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury 1349-1366 (Eubel, op.cit., I, 163), in spring and winter 1353 (procurations, Rymer, III, i, 254-5 & 268; expenses accounts, E 101/313/16 & 41 and E 372/197, m.41 & 198, m.41d; truce issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 254).
2. Oudart de Fontenay, dean of Noyers, in May 1349 (Rymer, III, i, 184), and the abbot of Saint-Denis in June 1350 (ibid., III, i, 197).
3. Bishop of Beauvais 1347-1356 in succession to Jean de Marigny (Eubel, op.cit., I, 132). He served in March and July 1353, and April 1354 (Rymer, III, i, 254, 261 & 276). For biographical details, see references cited by Cazelles, op.cit., index, 468.
4. Same embassies as Bertran (Rymer, III, i, 254, 261 & 276). For biographical details, see Cazelles, op.cit., 256-61 and further references cited in the index, 473.
5. Rymer, III, 1, 182, 184, etc.

noble,¹ and only the presence of a senior ecclesiastic was required for a quorum.²

1. Vide infra.

2. Rymer, III, i, 182.

All the English embassies did in fact include an earl or duke: Lancaster,¹ Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel,² William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon,³ or Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk.⁴ Other lay envoys included Reginald de Cobham and Robert de Herle, successively captains of Calais, and who were more or less permanent ambassadors;⁵ Guy Brian,

1. In autumn 1348, spring and winter 1353, and at Avignon in 1354-5 (procurations, Rymer, III, i, 173, 253, 268 & 283; expenses accounts, E 101/313/19 & 25 and E 372/193, m.34d, 197, m.38d and 198, m.39d; truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 177 & 254).
2. With Lancaster in spring and winter 1353 and at Avignon in 1354-5 (procurations, Rymer, III, i, 253, 268 & 283; expenses accounts, E 101/313/14 & 18 and E 372/197, m.38d and 198, m.38d; truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 254).
3. In spring and early summer 1349, summer 1351 and spring 1354 (procurations, Rymer, III, i, 182, 184, 227 & 275; expenses accounts, E 372/194, m.45 & 198, m.38d; truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 184, 232 & 276; draft treaty issued in his name among others, Bock, op.cit.,
4. With Lancaster in autumn 1348, and in summer 1350 (procurations, Rymer, III, i, 173 & 196; expenses accounts, E 372/193, m.34 & 194, m.45d; truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 177 & 197).
5. Procurations, Rymer, III, i, 182, 184, 196, 227 & 275; expenses accounts, E 101/312/33 & E 372/193, m.34; truces issued in their names amongst others, Rymer, III, i, 184, 197, 232, 254 & 276.

who served on three occasions;¹ Walter Mauny, Robert Bouchier and Bartholomew de Burghersh, who each served on two;² and Thomas Cok, who served on one.³

The only nobles to serve on the French embassies were Robert, count of Roucy,⁴ and Pierre, duke of Bourbon.⁵ The more notable lay envoys on the French side were Jean de Nesle, lord of Offémont,⁶ who served from 1347 to 1349,⁷

1. Procurations, Rymer, III, i, 253, 268, 283 & 289; expenses accounts, E 101/313/13 & 17 and E 372/197, m.38d; truce issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 254.
2. Procurations, CPR, 1345-8, 562 and Rymer, III, i, 173, 182, 184, 227 & 268; expenses accounts, E 101/313/8; truces issued in their names amongst others, Rymer, III, i, 177, 184 & 232.
3. Procuration, Rymer, III, i, 196; truce issued in his name among others, ibid., III, i, 197.
4. In autumn 1351 and spring 1354 (truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 232 & 276; draft treaty issued in his name among others, Bock, op.cit., 71 & 91).
5. In spring and summer 1353 and at Avignon in 1354-5 (truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 254 & 261; among French envoys at Avignon, Delachenal, op.cit., I, 89).
6. Father of Guy de Nesle, marshal of France (Cazelles, op.cit., 349). For further biographical details, see references quoted ibid., index, 481.
7. Truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 136, 177 & 184.

and Jean de Boulogne, lord of Montgascon and later of Montfort,¹ who served from 1350 to 1353.² Robert de Lorris, chamberlain of John as duke of Normandy and subsequently as king,³ served on four occasions;⁴ Geoffrey de Charny, a soldier who attracted Philip VI's attention by his heroic defence of Honnecourt,⁵ on three;⁶ Charles of Spain, constable of France, and Bernard de Moreuil, marshal of France until entering John's service as duke of Normandy,⁷ each on two occasions;⁸ and Robert de Houdetot, master of

1. A member of John's household when duke of Normandy (Cazelles, op.cit., 234) he secured the county of Montfort from Charles of Spain (ibid., 238).
2. Truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 197, 232, 254 & 261.
3. For biographical details, see Cazelles, op.cit., 239-44 and further references cited in the index, 479.
4. Truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 136, 254, 261 & 276.
5. Cazelles, op.cit., 348. For further biographical details, see references cited ibid., index, 471.
6. Truces issued in his name among others, Rymer, III, i, 136, 177 & 232.
7. Cazelles, op.cit., 351.
8. Truces issued in their names amongst others, Rymer, III, i, 136, 182, 254 & 261.

requests of Philip VI's household,¹ Gauchier de Chatillon, lord of la Ferté,² and Jean de Leuze, each on one.³

The leading envoys were influential kings' councillors,⁴ and it was doubtless in this capacity that they were appointed. The English envoys, for instance, were briefed before they crossed over to Calais,⁵ they sometimes dispatched reports during the course of negotiations,⁶ and as soon as he arrived back in London the bishop of Norwich reported on the proceedings to the king's council.⁷

1. A Picard. Also sometime seneschal of the Agenais and governor of Gascony (Cazelles, op.cit., 149, 346 & 350).
2. See references cited ibid., index, 471.
3. Truces issued in their names amongst others, Rymer, III, i, 177, 197 & 276.
4. E.g., the bishop of Norwich, the prior of Rochester, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, Guy Brian, Walter Mauny, Robert Bourchier and Bartholomew de Burghersh (J.F.Baldwin, The king's council in England during the Middle Ages, 82, 88-9, 99 100 & n.1, 105 n.3 & 273); Hugues d'Arcy, Jean de Nesle, Pierre de la Forêt, Robert le Coq and Geoffrey de Charny (Cazelles, op.cit., 124, 126, 170 & n.9, 171, 175 n.5, 178-9, 190 & n.8, 197, 216, 231, 234-5, 406 n.4, 407, 422 & 432).
5. E.g., E 372/193, m.34.
6. E.g., in 1349 Reginald de Cobham sent messengers "versus regem causa narrandi expeditionem tractatus habiti" (E 101/312/39); and during the negotiations at Avignon in 1354-5 Henry de Brarbrok was sent to the king at Woodstok with letters from Lancaster, Arundel and the bishops of London and Norwich (E 101/171/3, fo.30v).
7. He arrived back in London "ad consilium regis" in December 1348, May 1349 and June 1350 (E 101/312/33 & 313/1;

The senior ecclesiastics all had a sound legal training. Bateman had studied canon and civil law at Cambridge, and it was his intimate knowledge of the law in both its provinces, his vigorous mind and business-like habits which specially fitted him out for diplomatic employment.¹ John de Carlton and Michael de Northburgh, each of whom assisted him on two embassies between 1348 and 1355, were both doctors of law.² Simon Islip had also qualified in the two provinces.³

The same can be said of the French ecclesiastical envoys, d'Arcy, de la Forêt and Coq. All of them were well versed in the law. De la Forêt (perhaps the most brilliant of the three) and Coq had both studied at Orléans.⁴ Forêt had taught there and at Angers,⁵ and

E 372/193, m.34), and "ad regem et consilium suum" with Guy Brian in December 1353 (E 372/198, m.38d). In December 1348 the earl of Suffolk returned to London "ad regem ibidem" (E 372/193, m.34).

1. DNB, I, 1315.
2. Rymer, III, i, 173, 182, 268, 275 & 276.
3. Baldwin, op.cit., 82.
4. Cazelles, op.cit., 232 & 299.
5. Ibid., 232.

both served their time as avocats of the Parlement de Paris, and of the king.¹ D'Arcy was also a doctor of law and utriusque juris professor.² Together, their's must have been a powerful voice in the sessions of 1353-4.

There can be no doubt that the various embassies arrived with large retinues, especially for the more important negotiations. Unfortunately, however, evidence on this question appears only to have survived for the English embassies; but one would suspect that the French embassies were made up of a similar complement.

The English embassy sent to Avignon for the peace conference of 1354-5 amounted to at least 600 riders. On this occasion Lancaster alone had 317, the earl of Arundel 175, the bishop of Norwich 60, Guy Brian 30 and Michael de Northburgh 20.³ For the first truce negotiations between Calais and Guines, when negotiations were also conducted

1. Ibid., 214 & 346.

2. Ibid., 113 & 297.

3. These are the figures given for men and horses disembarked at Calais on their way to Avignon; although the bishop of Norwich had a further 25 unmounted men in his retinue (E 101/171/3, fo.33; 313/21, m.1). Safe conducts were requested for retinues amounting to 600 riders (É.Perroy, "Quatre lettres du Cardinal de Boulogne, 1352-1354", Revue du Nord, XXXVI, 1954, 163).

with the young count of Flanders, Louis de Male, the retinues of the English embassy totalled 443 horse. Lancaster had 204, Walter Mauny 160, the earl of Suffolk 46 and the bishop of Norwich 33.¹ At the beginning of 1351, when Lancaster oncemore appears to have been involved in negotiations with the count, he was accompanied by 340 horse.² These were, of course, exceptional occasions; but even on the truce negotiations of spring 1353 Lancaster had 90 horse,³ whilst the bishop of Norwich was often accompanied by more than 50 men,⁴ the earl of Huntingdon between 40 and 50.⁵

It is not altogether impossible to determine who these men were. In 1348 Lancaster was accompanied by some of his more prominent retainers, like Alexander Aunsel, Adam de Everingham of Laxton, the Greys of

1. E 101/312/33 & E 372/193, ms.34r-d & 45.
2. E 372/198, m.38.
3. E 372/197, m.38d.
4. 56 men and 20 horse in 1350, 56 men and 16 horses in 1353, 56 men and 14 horses in 1354, 66 men and 22 horse in 1349, and 37 men and 5 horse in winter 1353 (E 101/313/1, 12, 15 & 24; E 372/194, m.45d, 197, m.38, 198, m.38d).
5. 50 men and 26 horse in 1349; 40 men in 1354 (E 101/312/38; E 372/194, m.45, 198, m.38d).

Codnor (John and his son John, and John son of Richard), Roger Lestraunge of Knockin, Phillip de Lymbury and Theobald Trussell; and household clerks, like Henry de Caumpeden, Thomas de Penham, and his secretary John de Welbourne.¹

In spring 1353 he was accompanied by a bannaret, 5 knights, 20 esquires, 8 clerks and 40 officials in a retinue of 90 horse.² For the peace negotiations at Avignon in the winter of 1354-5 we have the names of 14 esquires and a sergeant-at-arms, 2 masters, 7 clerks, 7 officials and 24 boys in a retinue of 60 horse taken to the curia by William Bateman.³

All the envoys drew the king's wages: £5 daily for the duke and the archbishop, £3.6s.8d. for Bateman and the earls, £2 for the knights, and 13s.4d. for Carlton and Northburgh who, in their professional capacity, doubtless did a good deal of the real work.⁴ The cost of transport

1. C 76/26, ms.2, 4, 7, 9 & 10. See Appendix
2. E 372/197, m.38d.
3. The esquires, clerks, sergeant and masters were each accompanied by a boy mounted on a mule, and the sergeant and masters each had an additional horse (E 101/313/21).
4. Expenses accounts, cit. supra. A substantial proportion of this must have been expended on their retinues. After Bateman's death at Avignon in January 1355 the king paid daily expenses for his retinue at the rate of 2s. for the masters, 12d. for the esquires, sergeant and clerks, 8d. for the officials, and 3d. for the boys. If Bateman paid this rate it would have amounted to £1.6s.8d. a day out of his £3.6s.8d. wages (E 101/313/21).

for themselves and their retinues was also met by the king.¹ Some of them held property in Dover,² a useful pied-à-terre for the sea crossing (especially when they were delayed by contrary winds), and at Calais, where they lodged themselves and their households during the course of negotiations.³

1. Normally from London to London, unless they were not resident there at the time of their appointment. The earl of Suffolk was paid expenses from Perham in Suffolk to London in 1348, the prior of Rochester from Rochester to Rochester in 1349, the earl of Huntingdon from Dover to Dover in the same year, the bishop of Norwich from his manor of Terling in Essex to London in 1353, Guy Brian from his manor of Hanley in Staffordshire to London in the same year, and from his manor of Preston and back in 1354, the bishop of Norwich from his house in Westminster to his manor of Terling in the same year, and the earl of Arundel from and to Arundel castle in 1353 (E 101/312/33 & 37-8; 313/13-15 & 24; E 372/193, m.34, 194, m.45, and 198, m.38d).
2. Both Arundel and the bishop of Norwich had a house in Dover (E 101/313/18 & 21).
3. Lancaster was given a considerable number of houses in Calais, possibly on the fall of the town in 1347 (vide supra., p.258), and Arundel, the bishop, Bartholomew de Burghersh and Reginald de Cobham all had houses in Calais to which they went with their households on arriving from Dover (E 101/312/39 & 313/8, 14, 18, 21 & 24).

The mediators

From the outset of the war the papacy, having tried in vain to avert hostilities, spared no pains to stop them and to hasten the conclusion of peace almost at any cost.¹ Acting through its accredited representatives, or sometimes by personal intervention, the papacy was in this sphere the equivalent of the modern United Nations.² Up to 1347 both Benedict XII and Clement VI had been most active in their attempts to end the war. In 1337-40 a mission was entrusted to Peter Gomez de Barroso, cardinal priest of S. Praxède, and Bertrand de Montfaucon, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro;³ in 1342-3 another to Peter Després, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, and Annibaldo de Ceccano,

1. Cf. E. Déprez, Les préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans. La Papauté, la France et l'Angleterre, 1328-1342, and H. Jenkins, Papal efforts for peace under Benedict XII, 1334-1342.
2. J.G. Dickinson, The congress of Arras, 1435. A study in medieval diplomacy, 78.
3. Déprez, op.cit., 148 & 336; O. Raynaldus, Annales ecclesiastici, VI, 102-3; Eubel, op.cit., I, 15, n.6.

cardinal bishop of Frascati;¹ and in 1345-7 still another to Ceccano and Stephen Aubert, cardinal priest of SS. John and Paul, subsequently Pope Innocent VI.² Among other things, these nuncios had mediated the truces of Esplechin and Calais,³ the former leading to the abortive peace conference at Avignon in 1344,⁴ the latter giving way to eight years of ill-kept truce.⁵

At the beginning of the period under review (1347-1355) extensions of the truce do not appear to have been mediated by papal nuncios,⁶ although they attended at least two truce

1. Letters of procuracy dated 30 June, 1342 (Raynaldus, op.cit., 293-5; CPL, III, 71-3). They were sent from the curia the following day (Eubel, op.cit., I, 15, n.10). Cf. Déprez, op.cit., 397, where, however, their procurations are erroneously dated 31 May, 1342.
2. Letters of procuracy dated 31 October, 1345 (CPL, III, 195-8). Instructed to leave on 29 November (ibid., III, 22-3), they set out the following day (Raynaldus, op.cit., VI, 379). They were licenced to return on 28 September, 1347 (CPL, III, 34).
3. E. Déprez, "La conférence d'Avignon (1344)", Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout (ed. A.G.Little and F.M.Powicke), 301-2; Avesbury, 396.
4. Déprez, "La conférence d'Avignon (1344)", cit.supra.
5. Vide supra, pp. 305-6.
6. E.g., September and November 1348 (Rymer, III, i, 170-1, 172-3 & 177-8). Vide infra., pp. 340 & 348.

conferences at which they did not act as mediators.¹

In 1349, however, when Lancaster was sent to Gascony with an expeditionary force, John, archbishop of Brindisi, and William, archbishop of Braga, were appointed nuncios to secure the truce,² and in February 1350 they mediated a truce there,³ and in the following June a further extension between Calais and Guines.⁴ After a meeting in Paris between Lancaster and Guy de Boulogne, cardinal bishop of Porto, in December 1352,⁵ frequent meetings of envoys took place between Calais and Guines under the chairmanship of the latter,⁶ one of which resulted in the signing of preliminaries of peace on 6 April, 1354,

1. Pastor, archbishop of Embrun, and Bertrand, bishop of Sénez in March-May 1349 (CPL, III, 39); Giles Alvarez Carillo Albornoz, cardinal priest of S. Clement's, and Nicholas Capocci, bishop of Urgel, cardinal priest of S. Vitale's, in June-September 1351 (Ibid., III, 49-50). In a letter of 15 August, 1351, to the marquis of Juliers, the pope explained that the cardinals wished to treat with the French and English envoys "without a mediator" (Ibid., III, 50).
2. Ibid., III, 43.
3. Ibid., III, 44-5.
4. Rymer, III, i, 197-8.
5. E. Perroy, "Quatre lettres du cardinal de Boulogne (1352-1354)", Revue du Nord, XXXVI (1954), 161; vide infra., pp. 424-5.
6. G. Mollat, "Innocent VI et les tentatives de la paix entre la France et l'Angleterre, 1353-1355", Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, X (1909), 729-43.

to be ratified at Avignon in the following autumn.¹

The negotiations

The envoys who assembled together on these occasions had to apply themselves to two principal issues: the negotiation of extensions of the truce and of a peace settlement. Since the latter was mainly urged by the papacy, discussion on the subject always took place at the conferences mediated or attended by a papal nuncio or nuncios. The truce, on the other hand, always came up for discussion since it generally had to be renewed and was invariably badly kept. It can be taken for granted that the negotiators in either embassy sought an arrangement which would benefit their own side; but in dealing with the truce they had to tackle the very real problem of enforcement.

1. Bock, op.cit., 70-73 & 91-93.

The extensions of the truce

It is not easy to generalise about the terms of each extension of the truce concluded by the envoys.¹ Some clauses were drawn up to meet immediate situations whilst others, notably those designed to secure enforcement of the truce, were often re-defined. The main questions concerned who was to be included in the truce and how it was to be enforced.

Whilst all extensions provided for a general cessation of hostilities between the two kings, their allies and adherents, individual extensions specified others to be included in their terms. Arrangements were made for their proclamation in France, England, Scotland, Gascony, Brittany and elsewhere within given delays,² and to this end either king issued letters to the parties concerned on their

1. Most of these have been published by Rymer, III, i, 136-8, 166, 170-1, 177-8, 184-5, 197-8, 232, 254-5, 261-2 & 276-7.
2. These varied from region to region and for each extension according to the distance of each region from the place of conclusion of the extension and the termination date of the previous extension (ibid.).

respective sides.¹ Such attempts as were made to send sergeants from the place of conference to announce the extensions proved a failure.²

The main problem, however, was that of enforcement. To achieve this an elaborate system of controls was brought into being. Inspection teams were set up to stop sieges and assess the strength of garrisons.³ Places in dispute were to be handed over to papal nuncios for the duration of the truce.⁴ The principal captains and other notable persons on either side were to swear in the presence of one another to observe the truce.⁵ 'Guardians' were appointed to see that the terms were adhered to,⁶ and

1. E.g., Rymer, III, i, 170, 171 & 276-7. In England he was notified of the terms by one of the envoys, and instructed the chancellor to have them issued in letters under the great seal (E.g., C 81/1332/46, published by E. Déprez, Études de diplomatique anglaise, 1272-1485, 81).
2. Bateman's expenses account for the conference of May-June 1350 records £10 paid to Robert Tanny, sergeant-at-arms, and Richard Sadtok, esquire "pro medietate vadiorum suorum Vasconie et Britanie pro treugis deferendis ad partes predictas" (E 101/313/1); but in spite of a safe conduct from the French Tanny was killed at Tours (CPL, III, 48 & 49).
3. E.g., Avesbury, 319 & 347; Arch. nat., J 637, no.17.
4. E.g., Vannes in 1343 (Avesbury, 345; Arch. nat., J 637, no.17); the town of Florence and the castle of Pouilhac in 1350 (Rymer, III, i, 198).
5. Rymer, III, i, 177, 184, 198, 232, etc.
6. Ibid., III, i, 178, 197, 232, etc.

'judges' to deal with matters which the 'guardians' failed to attend to, and to settle disputes between them.¹

As truce gave way to truce these safeguards were to some extent perfected. Specific arrangements were made for captains of places in the Pas-de-Calais to meet on the conference ground between Calais and Guines to swear in the presence of one another to keep the truce.² Upon the request of either party they were to attend meetings there to settle disputes between them.³ Later on more elaborate precautions were taken. 'Guardians' and 'judges' were replaced by special high-ranking guarantors who undertook to become hostages in Paris or London if infringements of the truce (which were to be reported to the captain of Calais or Saint-Omer) were not corrected within 40 days.⁴

1. Rymer, III, i, 137-8, 178, 198, 232, etc.

2. Ibid., III, i, 184 & 198.

3. Ibid.

4. Lancaster, Arundel, Jean de Boulogne, count of Montfort, and Charles of Spain, constable of France, in March 1353; Lancaster, Arundel, Bartholomew de Burghersh, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Montfort and Robert de Lorris in April 1354. They were to issue letters of obligation to the French captain of Picardy or the English captain of Calais (Ibid., III, i, 254 & 277).

In practice neither side were able to put these guarantees into effect, since each looked to their own advantage and mutual suspicion for the most part made nonsense of any arrangements for concerted action. But there were periods, when promise of a compromise solution to the conflict resulted in a relaxation of tension, which saw genuine efforts towards peace.

In spring 1354, for instance, Lancaster, Arundel and Huntingdon, all guarantors of the truce,¹ complained to Guy de Boulogne and Pierre de la Forêt about infringements of its terms, and both the cardinal and the chancellor appear to have taken steps to bring the malefactors to account.² In December, when Lancaster was on his way to Avignon, the mayor and échevins of Amiens presented him with a petition for the redress of infringements of clauses touching free passage for merchants, which he sent to the king and council for consideration.³ In summer of the following year, when the draft peace treaty had been rejected and Edward had denounced the truce, we have an even more striking example of concerted action. Both

1. Rymer, III, i, 276-7.

2. Letters of the cardinal (Perroy, op.cit., 163-4) and the chancellor (Edinburgh University Library, MS 183, fo. 53v; Appendix A, no.25). Vide infra., pp.489-91.

3. BM, Cotton Caligula D III, fo.32r; Appendix A, no.24.

English and French guarantors (Lancaster, Arundel, de la Forêt and the duke of Bourbon) complained of violations of the truce committed by the captain of Guines, John Danseye.¹ In order that Lancaster and Arundel should not have to become hostages in Paris, Edward was obliged to send over a commission of inquiry to investigate the alleged infringements and have Danseye removed from office and imprisoned in Calais.² But for the most part the truce was badly kept, like most long truces of the fourteenth century. It could be better described as an interval between major campaigns than as a cessation of hostilities.

The negotiators

Whilst the policies pursued by the envoys during the course of negotiations were doubtless mapped out in

1. Rymer, III, i, 308.
2. Ibid., III, i, 305 & 308. The expenses account of the commission, for the period 18 July - 16 August, is extant (E 101/312/36).

the councils of the two kings,¹ a good deal would still depend upon the attitudes adopted by the mediators and principal negotiators during the course of the conferences. Then, as at all times, a good diplomat, one who knew the ropes, the aims and circumstances of his opposite numbers, could gain a lot from the ruses of his profession.

Lancaster was not new to the game. When he returned from Calais in November 1347 he was already in his late 30's and had considerable diplomatic experience.² His journey to Brabant in 1332 may have been in connection with Edward's overtures for an alliance with the count, and we have already looked at his work in the early 1340's. He had a hand in the negotiation of the truces of Valenciennes, Esplechin, Malestroit and Calais, and had played a leading rôle in negotiations with Castille and the papacy. But his main work as king's ambassador, as negotiator of alliances as well as of truce and peace treaties, falls within the years 1347 to 1355, which form an interval between his major campaigns in Aquitaine and Normandy.

1. Vide supra., p. 313.

2. Ibid., pp. 36-7, 48, 155-8 & 161-71.

In these negotiations he could count on the invaluable advice of William Bateman, who was some twelve years his senior, and was well versed in the matters in hand.¹ Bateman's intimate acquaintance with tortuous policy of the papal court was especially valuable, since he had resided at Avignon throughout the pontificate of Benedict XII, and had twice acted as papal nuncio in 1340, before entering royal diplomatic service as Edward's principal ambassador at the peace conference there four years later.²

Any sign of weakness or division in the ranks of the opposite party must be exploited, any chance to influence them or the mediators must be seized upon immediately; both called for an intimate acquaintance with the circumstances and the ambitions of the men concerned. At first sight it might appear that there was little to be gained in this respect from a group of supposedly ardent councillors of the French king, and a mediator whose support for the French cause might appear

1. DNB, I, 1315. Vide supra., pp. 307 & 314.

2. DNB, I, 1315, and Déprez, "La conférence d'Avignon (1344)", cit. supra., 305. Cf. B. Guillemain, "Les tentatives pontificales de médiation dans le litige franco-anglais de Guyenne au XIV^e siècle", Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1957), 427.

to be self-evident. But sooner or later, it might be hoped, the dangerous divisions within the French kingdom would reveal themselves in the council and ultimately in the embassies of Valois France.

There were, in particular, three ambassadors who might be more favourably disposed to overtures from their English counterparts than would their colleagues. Robert le Coq, ambitious of promotion in the royal council and in the church, driven on by the rivalry of Pierre de la Forêt and Simon de Bucy, lost favour with King John, sought to divide him from the Dauphin, and for a short time found himself a supporter of that dangerous and slippery individual, Charles the Bad of Navarre.¹ Guillaume Bertran, bishop of Beauvais, the brother of Robert Bertran, lord of Briquebec in the Cotentin, had taken part in the Norman assemblies of 1337-1339 together with Godfrey d'Harcourt.² Robert de Lorris, in spite of a rapid rise from humble origins to a brilliant career, which he owed entirely to the king, was a principal negotiator of the disastrous treaty of Mantes, was involved

1. Cazelles, op.cit., 256-61.

2. Ibid., 137-8.

in the plots of Charles the Bad, and was forced for a while to flee to Avignon.¹

More important than these three, Guy de Boulogne, coming from an influential family in northern France, was the uncle of King John's wife, and had a decisive influence on the politics of his nephew, at least until the summer of 1354, when a semi-disgrace removed him from affairs.² He was therefore very much a man to be cultivated. Cardinal bishop of Porto from 1342, papal legate to Hungary in 1349-1350,³ he had great diplomatic designs.⁴ He was ambitious to become pope, and only narrowly missed being elected. For a time well disposed towards Charles the Bad, he was an arbitrator who was not incapable of being impressed, and so might become the unconcious instrument of English diplomacy. If we may believe contemporaries he suffered a violent death in Spain, after thirty years as cardinal, poisoned at the instigation of Charles the Bad.

1. Ibid., 244.

2. Perroy, "Quatre lettres du cardinal de Boulogne (1352-1354)", cit. supra., 159.

3. Eubel, op.cit., I, 18. Cf. Raynaldus, op.cit., VI, 306, 480 & 512.

4. For the following remarks on the cardinal, see Perroy, op.cit., 159-60.

VIII

THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. II : NEGOTIATIONS

WITH LOUIS DE MALE

(1348)

There can be little doubt that the campaigns of 1345-7 had brought Edward substantial territorial gains. Quite apart from his victory at Crécy, which made a hero of him, Lancaster's campaigns in Aquitaine had completely restored the English position and prestige there, Northampton and Dagworth had strengthened and extended his hold on Brittany, whilst in Calais he had acquired a much needed port of disembarkation and a base for operations in north-eastern France. All this he owed to the new method of prosecuting the war, but the price he had to pay was the loss of nearly all his allies in the Low Countries.

This decline in Edward's diplomatic prestige had set in with his military and financial failure as early as 1340,

and by the fall of Calais little remained of the structure of alliances which he had so laboriously erected and so dearly bought.¹ The French had weaned away the emperor Lewis IV, thereby depriving Edward of the imperial vicariate, his sole source of authority over the princes; Hainault, Holland and Zeeland had withdrawn; John of Hainault had deserted him and was ready to join Philip; and the duke of Brabant had concluded marriage alliances with the duke of Guelders and the count of Flanders, and had allied himself with Philip. Only the margrave of Juliers and the Flemings remained faithful to him; but the margrave could effect nothing in his isolation, and the Flemings might, because of their dissensions and because of the policy of the duke of Brabant, sooner or later be forced to modify their policy. It was up to Edward to see that they did not.

Since 1340 Edward's foothold in Flanders, recognition of him as King of France, had been determined by two

1. For the following remarks see H.S.Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347, 425-578.

factors: his alliance with the burghers of the county led by James van Artevelde, on the one hand, and the unswerving allegiance which the count, Louis de Nevers, had given to Philip of Valois since the battle of Cassel, on the other.¹ Although Artevelde had been assassinated in the summer of 1345, and the hegemony of the great Flemish cities had passed to a wealthy urban faction, the weavers, the alliance with England still held good.² But a year later Louis de Nevers was killed fighting for the Valois cause at Crécy.

The way was cleared, therefore, for a new settlement of the complex relationship between England and Flanders, and in 1347 it appeared as if Edward would profit greatly by the death of both his friend and enemy. English influence in Flanders was no longer bound up with the dominant personality of Artevelde, and Edward still had the enthusiastic support of the strongest faction in Ghent, Bruges and Ypres.³

1. Ibid., 362-3; H. Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique, II (2nd ed. 1908), 130 & 133.

2. Lucas, op.cit., 525; Pirenne, op.cit., 129-30.

3. Ibid.

Louis de Nevers' son and successor, Louis de Male, was young; all parties in Flanders were eager for the return of their count, and were apparently prepared for a reconciliation which would find expression in united support of the English cause.¹ With both Louis de Nevers and Artevelde removed from the scene it appeared at the time as if Edward would obtain not only the alliance of the Flemish burghers, but also the friendship of their count. In March 1347, under pressure from his subjects, young Louis was constrained to promise marriage with Edward's daughter, Isabella.² But almost immediatly after he fled to France, and there repudiated the whole project.³ In July he was married to Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brabant, now an ally of France.⁴

Edward was for the moment back where he had started. But in the following summer the situation became really

1. Lucas, op.cit., 560-2; Pirenne, op.cit., 131.
2. Lucas, op.cit., 562-4; cf. B. Wilkinson, "A letter of Louis de Måle, Count of Flanders", BJRL, IX (1925), 177-87.
3. Lucas, op.cit., 564-5; Pirenne, op.cit., 131-2.
4. Lucas, op.cit., 578.

critical, and the alliance itself was threatened. Revolts broke out against the domination of the weavers in the Flemish cities, and against the hegemony of Ghent.¹ There was a rising in Bruges in favour of Louis de Male. Oudenarde, Grammont and Termonde opened their gates and were garrisoned by his forces. In Bruges and Ypres the weavers were massacred in great numbers. Only Ghent, which had opened its gates to refugees from the other towns, still held out. Unless Edward acted quickly he would lose what support he still had in the county. Upon urgent appeals from the Flemings for assistance,² he appointed Lancaster lieutenant in the county on 25 September,³ and the earl immediately left the city for Calais.⁴

1. The best accounts of these are to be found in the Breve Chronicon Flandriae and the Chronicon comitum Flandrensium (Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae, III, 20; I, 224), the Chronica Aegidii li Muisis (ibid., II, 282 ff; ed. Lemaître, 204).
2. Breve Chronicon Flandriae, op.cit., 21.
3. Ibid. Rymer, III, i, 174.
4. E 372/193, m.34d.

Less than a year had elapsed since Lancaster had returned to England.¹ He had spent much of it jousting, at Eltham, Lichfield, Lincoln, Windsor, Canterbury and elsewhere;² but some of his time must have been taken up with his estates,³ and with affairs of state.⁴

Although the truce concluded at Calais on 28 September, 1347, was not due to expire until 8 July, 1348,⁵ it had been agreed that before that date embassies for either monarch would be sent to the papal curia to treat of a peace.⁶ At the end of November Edward accordingly sent envoys to Avignon to make the necessary arrangements with the pope, and expected to have a report from them in time for parliament which assembled in January,^{Bus} when the whole matter was to have been discussed, and

1. Early in November (Knighton, II, 54). He was at Lincoln on 19 & 27 November (DL 27/127; CChR, 1341-1407, 444-5).
2. Vide infra., pp. 540-44.
3. Vide supra., pp. 258-9.
4. Vide infra., pp. 337-43.
5. Rymer, III, i, 136.
6. CCR, 1346-9, 496.

at which Lancaster was present.¹ But since no news was forthcoming before its conclusion,² another parliament, to which Lancaster was also summoned, was convoked for the end of March, and the sending of an embassy to treat of peace was meanwhile suspended.³

Meanwhile the pope, determined at least to secure an extension of the truce, wrote to Edward requesting him to empower John de Carlton, who was then at the curia, to renew it.⁴ A procuration for an extension of one year⁵ was issued to Carlton and others on 15 May,⁶ and on 30 May Clement requested Philip to send envoys with similar powers.⁷ A meeting was held between the two embassies before the pope and cardinals and the truce of Calais was extended for one year as it stood.⁸ The

1. Ibid; Rot.Parl., II, 164-5 & 200. He acted as one of the triers of petitions and, together with Northampton, delivered Edward's message to the Commons.
2. Parliament sat from 14 January to 12 February (W.Stubbs, The constitutional history of England, 417, n.1).
3. CCR, 1346-9, 496. This parliament sat from 31 March to 13 April (Stubbs, loc.cit.).
4. CPL, III, 36.
5. Apparently until 19 June, 1349 (CPL, III, 38).
6. Rymer, III, i, 161.
7. CPL, III, 37-8.
8. Rymer, III, i, 166.

arrangement was to be confirmed by more solemn envoys who were expected to arrive at Avignon to treat of a final peace around Michaelmas,¹ and on 28 July Edward requested letters of safe conduct for the bishop of Norwich, Lancaster, Arundel and Bartholomew de Burghersh, who were to be given a procuration for his part.² But the embassy was never sent owing to the turn of events in Flanders.

Among its many clauses the truce of Calais had stipulated that, during its duration, Louis de Male was not to return to Flanders or make war on the Flemings, and neither Philip nor Edward were to seek alliances or foment trouble in the county.³ But with the outbreak of the revolts in the summer, Louis returned to Flanders with Philip's backing, and French troops proceeded to conduct military operations in the county.⁴

1. CPL, III, 37-8.

2. Rymer, III, i, 165.

3. Ibid., III, i, 137; Avesbury, 399.

4. Le Baker, 101-2 & 271-2; Knighton, II, 60; Chronique Normande, 282, n.4.

There could not have been a more flagrant violation of the truce, and it had been clear from its inception that the extension would be short lived. When, on 6 August, ¹³⁴⁷ Edward had given instructions for its proclamation, it was on the proviso that Philip did likewise and that he did not infringe its terms.¹ There were now only two courses open to him, to re-commence the war or to insist upon the truce or some new arrangement. Since it was doubtful if an expeditionary force could be assembled in time to save the situation, negotiation was the only practicable alternative, presuming that Philip and Louis were willing to treat.

To this end Lancaster was empowered to conduct negotiations with Raoul de Brienne, count of Eu and Guines, who had been detained in England since his capture at Caen in 1346, and who may or may not have had a procuration to treat for the French. Together they drew up a short truce which was published in London on 5 September.² On the English side this was entirely Lancaster's work and the final terms set out bore his seal.³

1. Rymer, III, i, 166.

2. Ibid., III, i, 170-1.

3. Ibid., III, i, 171 & 173.

The main purpose of the arrangement was to secure negotiations with Philip and Louis. A truce was concluded to last for six weeks. During this period embassies for either monarch were to be appointed to conclude a permanent peace. The queens of France and England were to go to Boulogne and Calais, respectively, for 30 September, ready to treat on the frontier. They were to be accompanied by envoys of their choice and certain others specified in the terms of the agreement.

The French accepted the proposal, and in accordance with the articles two embassies were drawn up to treat. The English embassy included the bishop of Norwich, Lancaster, the earl of Suffolk, Walter Mauny and John de Carlton, as had been envisaged.¹ But on the French side Philip's choice fell on none of those who, like Gautier de Brienne, duke of Athens, Louis de Savoy, lord of Vaud, and Galois de la Baume, were either relatives or close friends of Raoul de Brienne.² Instead, it was made up of some of Philip's most ardent councillors: the bishop of

1. Ibid., 173 (procuration dated 25 September, 1348).

2. Cazelles, op.cit., 248.

Laon, the lord of Offémont, Geoffrey de Charny and Robert de Houdetot.¹

Had Edward hoped to secure a pliant embassy? Certainly Brienne's actions were already suspect.² He held the counties of Eu and Guines on the maritime frontiers of France, lands in Poitou and Saintonge, which together with the fief of Belleville-Clisson which was occupied by the English, formed a chain from Brittany to Gascony.³ Moreover, until the commencement of the war he held considerable fiefs in England and Ireland, and by marriage to the daughter of Louis de Savoy, he possessed lands in that county for which he was not obliged to do homage to Philip VI.⁴ He had much to gain from an independent arrangement with Edward. Already in August 1347, a month before the truce of

1. Rymer, III, i, 177. These were the ambassadors who negotiated for Philip, although the procuration, dated 21 September, 1348, was issued to all the envoys envisaged in the truce of 5 September (Ibid., III, i, 172-3).
2. Cazelles, op.cit., 248.
3. Ibid., 251.
4. Ibid., 247 & 251.

Calais, he had negotiated a private truce for his possessions,¹ and since, when he returned to France in 1350, he was promptly executed for treason,² it is not impossible that he had reached some measure of agreement with Edward.

Meanwhile, Louis de Male sent an embassy to Edward which was headed by Henry, brother to Henry of Flanders, one of Louis' councillors, and which included other envoys who were already known in England.³ It was on having heard what they had to say that on 25 September, the same day as the procuration was issued to the English envoys to treat with the French, Lancaster was appointed Edward's lieutenant in Flanders, Calais and 'elsewhere in the kingdom of France'.⁴ His commission empowered him to treat on his own, take homages, fealties

1. Ibid., 248.

2. Cf. the long discussion of the reason for his execution in Cazelles, op.cit., 249-51. Neither he nor Luce (Froissart, IV, xlviiii, n.1) appear to have noticed an entry in the parlement registers which established both the date and cause of the execution: "L'an de grace Mil.CCC.cinquante, le XIXe. jour du mois de novembre, messire Raoul, conte d'Eu et de Guynes, pour certain traïsons et meffais qu'il avoit commis, qui ne sont pas cy escrips, et coupée la teste a Paris par jugement" (Arch. nat., X²a 4, fo.166).

3. Breve Chronicon Flandriae, loc.cit., III, 21. Cf. Le Baker, 272.

4. Rymer, III, i, 173.

and oaths of any persons wishing to enter the king's allegiance, confirm agreements made in the king's name, take securities, issue letters of safe conduct and do anything else which he saw fit. Whilst Louis was looking for a settlement with his subjects which would enable him to exercise his authority throughout the county,¹ Lancaster was empowered to look after the king's interests there and to treat with whoever he saw fit. Both commissions were doubtless issued in council, where we know the envoys to have assembled,² and where the programme was probably mapped out before they left the city for Dover on 26 September.³ Two days later they crossed to Calais with retinues amounting to nearly 450 men on board a small fleet.⁴

Negotiations appear to have been conducted with the French envoys and Louis' council at Boulogne-sur-Mer.⁵

1. Cf. Breve Chronicon Flandriae, loc.cit., III, 21.
2. E 372/193, m.34r.
3. E 372/193, m.34r-d & 45r; E 101/312/33.
4. Ibid (14 ships, 12 barges and 2 small boats).
5. "Tempore autem illo, anno videlicet MCCCXLVIII, fuit parlamentum in villa de Bollonia super mare, circa festum beati Martini hyemalis (11 November), et ibi fuerunt gentes regis Franciae et gentis regis Angliae....Fuit autem ibidem consilium comitis Flandriae, et fuit tractatum inter dictum consilium et gentes regis Angliae" (Chronica Aegidii li Muisis, loc.cit., II, 285).

All of them had assembled to discuss the truce,¹ and it was clear that some arrangement for Flanders would have to be worked out. Whilst Louis' envoys had to ensure the count's position, secure his hold where possible, the French envoys had to endeavour to keep him clear of Edward, whose envoys were first and foremost concerned with keeping English control in the county. But there was a good deal more going on behind the scenes.² On 11 October ¹³⁴⁸ the English envoys were given an additional procuration to treat with the count and the king's supporters in the county,³ and during the course of the month they drafted a secret treaty of alliance between Edward and Louis.⁴

1. "Et fuit concordatum a dictis partibus quod respectus esset inter dictos reges usque ad primam diem Septembris, anno XLIX" (ibid.).
2. "Fuit autem ibidem aliqua ordinata, quae nostris non sunt revelata auditibus" (ibid.).
3. Rymer, III, i, 175.
4. Arch. dep. Nord, B 1316, published by Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no. LXXIV, pp. 324-7. It is clear from the contents of this document that it was written prior to 13 November, when a truce was concluded with the French to last until 1 September, 1349 (Rymer, III, i, 177-8).

A truce was to be concluded with the French to last until 1 September, 1349, and before its expiry Louis was to send an embassy to Philip of Valois to demand the restoration of the 'western provinces' of Flanders, notably the county of Artois and the towns and castellanies of Lille, Douai, Béthune and Orchies, which had been annexed by the Capetians in 1305 by the treaty of Athis-sur-Orge, the humiliating settlement which followed the battle of Courtrai. If Philip agreed the count would be satisfied; but the inhabitants of the county, towns and castellanies were to show no hostility towards Edward, and the alliances which he had made with the great Flemish cities were to remain in force. If, however, Philip refused and Louis' demands were not met, then the count was to defy him and revoke all the homages which he owed to him. In this case an offensive alliance was to be concluded between Edward and Louis for the duration of the war, by the terms of which they would assist one another to conquer their respective 'rights' from Philip.

In this alliance they were to undertake not to make peace or conclude a truce or other agreement without mutual consent. They would agree to assist one another to conquer their 'rights' from Philip and his allies. If, in the process, Edward should come to acquire the county of Artois or part of it (save Calais, Marck and Oye, which he already held), the city of Tournai, or any of the four towns and castellanies (Lille, Douai, Béthune and Orchies), he was to hand them over to the count immediatly. Conversely, if Louis came to conquer anything in France or elsewhere touching Edward's quarrel with Philip, he was to hand it over to Edward.

If this alliance was made Louis was to undertake to observe its terms in a letter under his seal obliging himself to pay Edward 200,000 livres gros tournois if he defaulted. For his part Edward was to designate someone of his lineage to swear on his behalf to respect the treaty. Final details were to be settled at Dunkirk in November, when the agreement embodying all these clauses was to be drawn up, and Louis was to issue the letter of obligation.

The negotiations which resulted in this draft treaty took place at Boulogne during the six weeks in which truce negotiations were being conducted there with the French, and it appears to have been concluded around 11 November.¹ Two days later, on 13 November, a truce was published on the frontier between Calais and Guines, and it was to last until 1 September, 1349.² There had clearly been some very insincere bargaining. Among other things, the truce provided that the French were not to treat with the Flemings, either secretly or openly, with intent to secure an alliance, whilst for their part the English only undertook not to treat with anyone on Philip's side.³ Both sides, on the other hand, undertook to make no offensive alliances during its duration.⁴ Finally, Lancaster is said only to have agreed to the terms ~~on condition~~ ^{if he} that two fortresses erected by the French around Calais, were demolished.⁵

1. Clearly before 13 November, when the truce was concluded (Rymer, III, i, 177-8). Li Muisis (loc.cit., II, 285) says around 11 November.

2. Rymer, III, i, 177-8.

3. Ibid., III, i, 177.

4. Ibid., III, i, 178.

5. Le Baker, 98.

Upon the conclusion of the truce the English envoys went on to Dunkirk,¹ where negotiations took place with an embassy led by Henry of Flanders, lord of Ninove, a staunch supporter of Edward;² Sohier, lord of Enghien, who seems also to have favoured the English connection;³ and Jaqueme Metteneye, a burgess of Bruges, who were empowered to treat for Louis.⁴ The towns were also represented;⁵ Ghent by William van Vaernewijc, knight, hitherto one of the four captains of Ghent and a strong supporter of the English alliance;⁶ three échevins: Symon Relm, Joes Willebroet and Thomas de la Borgh; and a clerk, Jaquemon de Louelde;⁷ Ypres by two échevins: Victor le Vos and Jean Stekerape; a

1. E 372/193, m.34r-d; 194, m.45r; E 159/125, ms.46d & 63r.

2. Cf. Lucas, op.cit., 323, 351, 552, 554 & 571.

3. Ibid., 569.

4. BM, Additional Charter, 59142 (Appendix A, no.21); Cotton Caligula D III, fos.39r-40r (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXIV, pp.319-24). Cf. Breve Chronicon Flandriae, Chronicon comitum Flandrensiū and Chronica Aegidii li Muisis, loc.cit., I, 225; II, 285 & III, 21-2.

5. Chronicon comitum Flandrensiū, loc.cit., I, 225.

6. Lucas, op.cit., 484 & other references listed in the index, 608.

7. PRO 31/8/142, fos.147r-8v (transcript of original commission in the Archives de la province de la Flandre Orientale at Ghent).

clerk: Jean Reubelin; Jean Heulare, Lambert le Wachtre, Jean Roze, Jean de le Lys, Jean Stacin and the burgomaster Jakemon de Bailleul.¹

Of the actual parleyings we know nothing, but the agreements reached during the course of the negotiations were embodied in at least two rolls,² and were drawn up in the form of two very different treaties,³ one of them the projected alliance.⁴ This was formally drawn up in the form of a chirograph, each half being sealed by either party.⁵ It fixed the date of Louis' defiance and revocation of homage to Philip to within three weeks of 1 September (the day of expiry of the truce), on which day the offensive alliance was to come into force. Louis was to assist the English to install Edward as 'the rightful king of France' (the change in wording is to be noted here), and as long as the counties of Nevers

1. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXIV, p.318 (procuration of 2 December in the Archives de la province de la Flandre Orientale at Ghent).
2. This can be inferred from the reference in the secret treaty to "li premiers articles contenuz ou premier rolle des traitoies dont li dessus dit roy et conte ont baillie lettres, li uns a l'autre" (BM, Additional Charter, 59142; Appendix A, no.21).
3. BM, Additional Charter, 59142 (Appendix A, no.21) & Cotton Caligula D III, fos.39r-40r (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXIV, pp.319-24) on the one hand, and Rymer, III, i, 178-9, & Arch. dep. Nord, B , on the other (cf. Luce, Froissart, IV, xxxvi, n.2).

and Rethel were withheld from him, Edward was to pay him an annual pension of 40,000 gold écus. Three articles were specified as to be included in the offensive alliance, namely, that Louis was to abide by its terms by reason of being conjoint¹ and obliged in the sum of 200,000 livres gros tournois; that both Louis and Edward were to secure a promise from the towns of Ghent, Ypres and Bruges that they would not accept Louis' heirs and successors as count until he had sworn to abide by its terms; and finally that the count's alliances with Brabant were not to be abrogated. In accordance with these terms Louis issued the letter obliging himself in the 200,000 livres gros tournois.²

For obvious reasons this agreement was not entered on the chancery rolls; but another agreement, also drawn up by the envoys at Dunkirk, and ratified by both Edward and Louis early in December, was.³ This was very different

4. BM manuscripts cit.supra.

5. Ibid. The additional charter is the upper part of the chirograph, sealed with Edward's privy seal; the latter the lower half, formerly sealed with Louis' seal (Cf. P.Chaplais, "Documents concernant l'Angleterre et l'Écosse anciennement conservés à la Chambre des Comptes de Lille, XVIIe.-XVe. siècles, Revue du Nord, XXXVIII, 1956, p.193, no.7).

1. The word is written in capitals in the manuscript (Appendix A, no.21).

2. Arch. dep. Nord, B 1316, published by Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXIV, pp.327-8.

from the treaty of alliance. It merely declared peace between the two countries, guaranteed the cities of Flanders their old freedoms, arranged a settlement between Louis and the towns, and guaranteed Edward's alliances in the county. Around 30 November Edward himself crossed to Calais to complete the negotiations,¹ and it was probably there that he attached his seal to the treaty of alliance.²

As far as the English were concerned the treaty of alliance was the instrument which bore weight, for it was clearly very much in English interests. Edward was to lose none of the support and recognition which he had hitherto enjoyed in Flanders and, on the surface of things, was almost certain to secure recognition from Louis,

3. Ratified by Louis on 4 December (Luce, Froissart, IV, xxxvi, n.2, after Arch, dep. Nord, Fonds de la Chambre des Comptes de Lille) and by Edward, in London, on 10 December (Rymer, III, i, 178-9).
1. Le Baker, 98; Chronica comitum Flandrensium, loc.cit., I, 225. In a procuration issued in February 1349 Edward referred to agreements "nuper apud Caleys initae & concordatae" (Rymer, III, i, 181).
2. "En tesmoignage des choses dessus dictes, nous roys et contes dessus nommé avons plagués nos séauls secrets à ces ramembrances (BM Additional Charter & Caligula D III cit.supra; cf. Appendix A, no.21).

for it was doubtless clear to the envoys that Philip would never agree to surrender the lost provinces. Taken on its own the other agreement was far from advantageous. For whilst it declared peace between the two countries, Edward appeared to be leaving his staunchest supporters in the county at the mercy of the count. Even the French could find little to grumble at in this agreement, and it was doubtless put out for their benefit.

Louis had nothing to lose. His ambitions were altogether different from those of his father, Louis de Nevers. He was more concerned with dynastic interests and the commercial interests of the county than with his obligations as a loyal vassal of the king of France.¹ Having secured French support to intervene in the civil war which had broken out in the county, in order to secure recognition there, the treaty of alliance with Edward held out the promise of the western provinces whose return he so greatly coveted. More realistically both agreements made certain his authority in the county.

1. R.Monier, Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre, 107.

In these negotiations, as in those of the previous year, Louis revealed something of the mettle which was to distinguish him in the future as a most skilful diplomat. From the beginning he showed himself to be a practical natured person, an almost modern prince, motivated by self interest alone, and making what he could of the rest.¹ Whilst he was only eighteen in 1348,² and was doubtless advised by able councillors,³ the sly expression on his face, the sharp look, the thin lips,⁴ correspond well with the character which he had already revealed in the negotiations of the previous year:⁵ a man without scruples or pre-conceptions, perhaps not very brave, at least preferring the ruses of diplomacy to the brutal solutions of war. He had no intention to sacrifice his position as count to the duties which he owed as a vassal of Philip VI. He wished to govern

1. Cf. Pirenne, op.cit., II, 184-5.

2. Rymer, III, i, 178.

3. According to the Breve Chronicon Flandriae, (loc.cit., 21), the envoys sent to England on Louis' behalf in 1348 were sent by the "consilio sapientium comes Flandriae".

4. There is a curious portrait of him in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Recueil d'Arras, photographed by Giraudon, Paris.

5. Cf. Lucas, op.cit., 559-565.

himself, to make his will felt among his subjects, and the policy which he pursued in subsequent years was in some ways that of the future dukes of Burgundy. He had a very clear idea of the conditions upon which he could exercise his authority in Flanders, for he understood that as ruler of a county of great industrial towns he must allow its powerful economic activity to go on unimpeded.

He had played his cards well. He had secured Edward's support in reaching a settlement with his subjects. He had a weapon with which to bargain with Philip over the lost provinces. If the king of France refused to comply to the request he was assured of English military support, and if he did not wish to take advantage of it, for his own part he need not feel obliged to put the treaty of alliance into effect. Before the negotiations were completed at Dunkirk, before they were terminated at Boulogne, he annulled the letters which he was later to issue, obliging himself to pay Edward 200,000 livres gros tournois if he failed to stand by its terms.¹

1. "Et quant ladicte alliance sera ensi faite et confremée, nous devons ravoir une certaine lettre séellée de nostre séel de certaines convenences et promesses que nous avons faites audit roy, èsquelles lettres nous nous sommes obligiés en le paine de II^c mil livres de gros à tenir

In accordance with the second agreement with Edward he pardoned the citizens of Ghent and Ypres their rebellion and made arrangements for the settling of disputes which might subsequently arise.¹ By 12 September 1349 he stood the chance of securing the obedience of the entire county, and then matters could take their course.

Lancaster and his colleagues arrived back in England on 16 December¹³⁴⁸² in the firm belief that they had secured that alliance with the count of Flanders which Edward had so persistently but unsuccessfully pursued since the beginning of the war.³ They knew they could count on Philip's refusal of Louis' demands, that when he revoked his homage to Philip he would recognise Edward as King of France, recognition sealed with active military support. For they had no reason to doubt that

le contenu d'icelles, et commencent ensi: "Nous Loys, contes de Flandres, de Nevers et de Réthest, faisons savoir à tous que de certaine science, etc...." et finent ensi "Donné à Dunkerke le... jour de novembre l'an de grâce mil CCC XLVIII", lesquelles lettres, par le vertu de ches présentes, seront quassées et annullées de tout, sans avoir nul effect, ne vertu jamais, ne nul jour" (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXIV, pp.326-7).

1. PRO 31/8/142, fo.304r-v (transcript of a letter of Louis, dated at Dunkirk on 13 December, 1348, in the Archives de la ville de Gand, Registre Blanc, fo.129v).

Louis had bound himself as conjoint, on pain of being perjured, and in the enormous sum of 200,000 livres gros tournois.

2. E 372/193, ms.34r-d & 45r; E 101/312/33.

3. Pirenne, op.cit., II; 131.

IX

THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT
IN AQUITAINE AND LANGUEDOC, AND IN POITOU
(1349-1350)

On the basis of the secret treaty concluded at Dunkirk, a series of campaigns were scheduled for the autumn of 1349. Louis de Male was to operate in north-eastern France with English assistance; Lancaster was to operate from Gascony. On 28 August ¹³⁴⁹ the earl was given a new commission as the king's captain-general and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc,¹ and preparations for his departure were put under way at the beginning of September.² Meanwhile, in accordance with the agreements concluded at Dunkirk, envoys were sent to Flanders to secure oaths of fealty from the captains and other

1. Rymer, III, i, 188-9.

2. CPR, 1348-50, 373 & 374.

prominent citizens of the Flemish cities;¹ and in September ¹³⁴⁴ Robert de Herle, lieutenant of the captain of Calais, and Sir Richard Totesham were appointed to treat with Louis about the execution of the terms of the alliance.²

In the intervening period another conference was held between Calais and Guines in accordance with the terms of the truce of 13 November, 1348, which had stipulated that envoys for either monarch were to assemble there on 22 ¹³⁴⁹ March to treat of peace.³ If no agreement could be reached within a period of six weeks (extendable for 15 days) they were to conclude negotiations, but the truce was to stand firm.⁴ Accordingly, on ¹³⁴⁹ 8 and 10 March, envoys for either side were appointed to

1. Procurations of 5 February, 1349, issued to the king's steward Richard Talbot, master John de Carlton DL, and Sir Stephen de Cosington (Rymer, III, i, 181). Carlton was paid expenses for the period 11 March to 5 May for a journey "versus partes Flandrie in comitiva domini Ricardi Talbot" (E 101/319/40).

2. Rymer, III, i, 189.

3. Ibid., III, i, 177.

4. Ibid.

treat;¹ Pastor, archbishop of Embrun, and Bertrand, bishop of Sénez, papal nuncios, were sent to join the two embassies;² and on 19 March the English envoys crossed to Calais.³

The two embassies pitched tents on the frontier between Calais and Guines, where the negotiations took place. Of the deliberations we know very little. According to Le Baker the French would not hear of peace until Calais was returned to them;⁴ but we know that Reginald de Cobham, who was one of the English envoys, was sent back to England to report on the proceedings, and that he returned with a statement of the king's wishes on the same to be given to the bishop of Norwich,⁵ and it may be that a treaty was drafted.⁶ Meanwhile, however, on

1. The archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Laon, the duke of Athens, Oudart de Fontenay, dean of Noyers, and the lords of Offémont, Moreuil and Trie for the French; the bishop of Norwich, the earls of Northampton and Huntingdon, the prior of Rochester, Reginald de Cobham, Robert Bouchier and John de Carlton for the English (Ibid., III, i, 182).
2. CPL, III, 39.
3. E 101/312/33 & 37-9; E 372/193, ms.34r-d & 45r-d.
4. Le Baker, 100.
5. E 101/312/39.
6. Cf. CPL, III, 41.

1349
 13 April another commission was issued to the envoys, this time to treat of an extension of the truce.¹ By 2 May the negotiations were completed; the truce was extended to 16 May, 1350, and by 1 November previous envoys were to be sent to Avignon to negotiate in the presence of the pope.²

Edward never had any serious intention of sending an embassy, and the negotiations in spring were no more than a cover to his military plans for the year. He rejected the pope's request that he send envoys to the curia as arranged, on the grounds that Philip had broken the truce.³ It was in vain that Clement sent Bernard de Caulesone, archdeacon of Perpignan, to try and induce him to send his envoys to Avignon not later than 2 February 1350 'to confirm the treaty of peace', and not to send Lancaster to Gascony.⁴

1. The same envoys as those named in the procuration of 10 March (Rymer, III, i, 184).
2. Truce issued in the names of the bishop of Norwich, the earl of Huntingdon, Reginald de Cobham and the prior of Rochester for the English; the bishop of Laon, the lords of Offémont and Morueil, and Oudart de Fontenay, dean of Noyers, for the French (ibid., III, i, 184-5).
3. Papal letters of 14 September and 27 October (CPL, III, 41).
4. Caulesone left Avignon between 14 September and 27 October (ibid.).

For their part, the French appear to have been making considerable progress in Aquitaine.¹ The position Lancaster had won there was threatened by the acquisition of strategically important places in the Garonne valley, notably Aiguillon and Port-Sainte-Marie,² and the investment of equally vital places in the Charente valley, notably Tonnay-Charente.³ Whilst preparations for the embarkation of the earl's forces were in progress a quarrel broke out between two of the king's officers in France, Walter Bentley and Raoul de Caours, soldiers with conflicting interests in the marches of Brittany and Poitou. The dispute, in threatening the defection of Caours to the French, menaced English control in the pays de Retz and south-eastern Brittany. In order to meet this emergency, on 18 October Lancaster was given a further commission as the king's captain-general and lieutenant in Poitou.⁴

1. Knighton, II, 57; Le Baker, 108.

2. Cf. Appendix B, Ia, no.16.

3. C.de la Roncière, Histoire de la marine française, I, Les origines, 495.

4. Rymer, III, i, 190.

We have considerably less information on the earl's third and last tenure of office in Aquitaine than on his second. Froissart, who wrote at considerable length on his expedition of 1345-6,¹ does not so much as mention it, whilst Avesbury does not provide us with a dispatch, such as those for his raid into Poitou in 1346 and his campaign in Normandy ten years later, both of which he included in his chronicle.²

The expedition of 1349-50, as things turned out, was of less importance than either of these two. The plan for two simultaneous campaigns starting in the autumn broke down owing to the failure of Louis de Male to keep his part of the bargain struck at Dunkirk.³ It was further frustrated by the diversion in the pays de Retz, and it took place in the winter and in violation of the truce. It was only a small retinue of

1. Froissart, III, xii-xxiv, 41-96, 257-313; IV, v-vii, 10-17, 218-26.
2. Avesbury, 372-6, 462-8.
3. On 5 October, 1349, a further procuration to treat with Louis about the execution of the alliance was issued to Sir William de Burton and Master Ivon de Glynton, canon of Saint Paul's (Rymer, III, i, 190). Burton's expense account, for the period 17 October to 19 November, shows that he crossed to Calais and from there sent letters to the count and several members of his council (E 101/312/36).

which Lancaster had command (no more than 79 men-at-arms and 87 mounted archers),¹ and his military operations, which occupied little more than a month, ended early in 1350 in the conclusion of a truce with the French.

Lancaster appears to have left England towards the end of October ¹³⁴⁹ and disembarked at Bordeaux at the beginning of the following month.² During the first week of October the French, who had expected him to land in Normandy, alerted the coastal defences.³ Rather more serious the Spaniards, now allied with Philip,⁴ had put a flotilla into the mouth of the

1. He drew wages for himself, 2 bannarets, 23 knights, 54 men-at-arms and 87 mounted archers returning with him from Gascony (E 372/195, m.46).
2. Letters of protection were still being issued to men 'going to Gascony in his company' on 28 October, 1349, but 'staying in Gascony in his company' on 10 November following (C 61/61, m.1). According to Le Baker, 108, he crossed over around 1 November. There are two letters issued by him in Bordeaux on 3 and 6 November (E 43/293, nos.2 & 3).
3. L.Delisle, Actes normands de la Chambre des Comptes sous Philippe de Valois, 1328-50, p.409, no.235.
4. P.E.Russell, The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II, 9.

Gironde,¹ and another into that of the Charente, where it was operating under the command of Guy de Nesle,² recently appointed Philip's captain-general in Saintonge.³ When Lancaster arrived in the duchy Nesle was besieging Tonnay-Charente with the help of a number of Aragonese miners and the flotilla.⁴ In order to prevent the delivery of a shipment of money and victuals which were being sent out to the garrison of Saint-Jean-d'Angely, he ordered several ships to be sunk in the river before Tonnay.⁵ Allied garrisons in Saintonge and Poitou were thereby threatened, and one of Lancaster's first administrative actions in the duchy was to have the assignment diverted to Bordeaux.⁶

1. Avesbury, 412.

2. Cf. note 5 below.

3. On 9 August, 1349 (Bibl. nat., MS francais, 20684, fo.314r; Appendix B, Ib & Iib, no.5).

4. De la Roncière, op.cit., I, 495.

5. The 'Santa-Maria de Bilbao' and the 'Santa-Maria-Magdalena' amongst others (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol. 40, p.3011, vol.47, p.3517, vol.54, p.4069 & vol. 80, no.121; MS francais, 20683, fo.337).

6. Mandates dated in Bordeaux on 3 and 6 November, 1349 (E 43/293, nos.2 & 3).

Once he arrived in Gascony, Lancaster was joined by those Gascon lords loyal to the English connection, and it is clear that the forces under their command formed the bulk of his army.¹ As early as 20 June Sir Frank de Hale had been appointed seneschal of the duchy,² and was probably responsible for enlisting troops in preparation for the earl's arrival.³ Among the retinues assembled we can almost certainly include those of the Albrets: Bernard, Bérard and his son Bérard; the Graillys: Jean and Pierre; the Durforts: Gaillard, Bernard Raymond and Arnaud; Bertrand de Montferrand, Selebrun, lord of Lesparre, Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers, Bernard de Béarn, alias Aspes, and others.⁴

1. Cf. Knighton, II, 66.

2. C 61/61, m.5.

3. This was the usual arrangement (vide supra., p.146 n.2).

4. All except Bernard d'Albret were amongst those on the English side who were requested to co-operate with papal nuncios sent to mediate a truce (Clément VI, 1342-1352, Lettres closes, patentes et curiales, III, fasc.5, pp.44-5, nos.4339 & 4340; cf. p.58, no.4399). For the retinue maintained by Bernard Ezi, cf. Appendix Table C.

As in 1345, Lancaster stayed in Bordeaux for no more than a few days. By 27 November ¹³⁴⁹ he was moving down the south bank of the Garonne, in the Brulhois.¹ The country was easy prey. Unprepared for the attack, the garrisons were insufficiently victualled.² There was a panic in Agen where the jurats and notables, hearing that he was in the neighbourhood of the town, made hurried arrangements for its defence and sent messengers to Philip to report upon the critical situation and to seek royal assistance.³ By Christmas he was before Toulouse.⁴ Laplume, Astaffort, Cuq, Fals, Dunes and Beaumont-de-Lomagne were taken.⁵ Grenade, where the bridge was destroyed by order of the capitouls

1. A.Magen, "Jurades de la ville d'Agen, 1345-1355", Archives historiques de l'Agenais, I, 187.

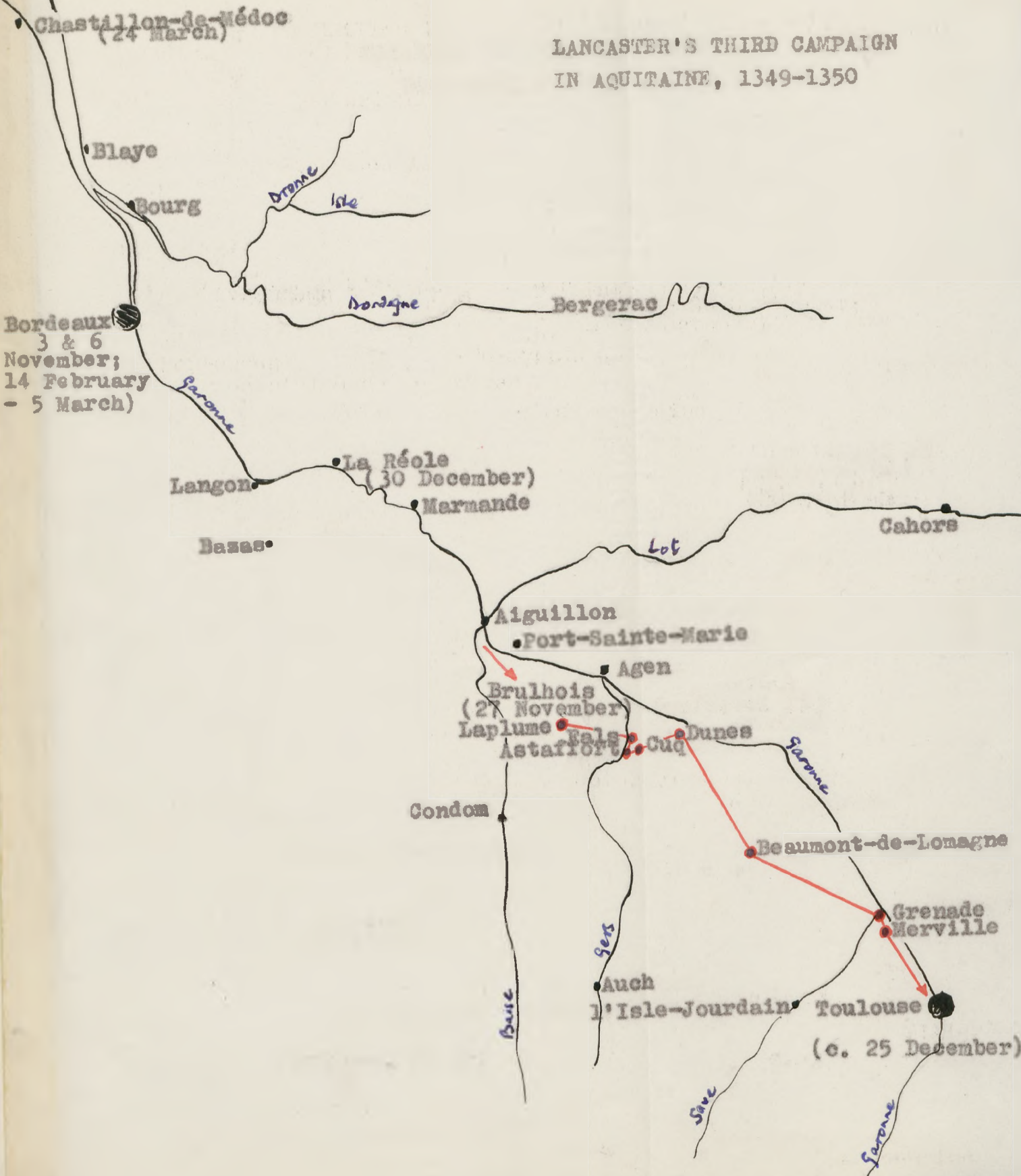
2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. Appendix C, no.8 and Map IV.

5. Ibid.

LANCASTER'S THIRD CAMPAIGN
IN AQUITAINE, 1349-1350



of Toulouse, and Merville, some 20 kilometres to the north-west of the city, were pillaged.¹

Meanwhile the pope, determined at all costs to preserve the truce, and still vainly hoping for the conclusion of a peace settlement, set about repairing the breach. On 22 November he wrote to Lancaster and the archbishop of Auch, at the time Philip's lieutenant in Gascony and Languedoc,² requesting the earl to remove hindrances to the peace treaty by respecting the truce,³ and the archbishop to use his influence touching the same.⁴ He informed them that he proposed to send nuncios to treat with them on the matter, and requested that they be given a safe conduct.⁵

Lancaster received the pope's letters by way of John Mingheti, and sent his reply with Guillaume de

1. Ibid.

2. He was appointed on 17 January, 1349, and was still acting on 21 November following (Appendix B, Ia & IIa, no.18).

3. CPL, III, 42.

4. Ibid; Clément VI (1342-1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales, III, fasc.5, p.41, no.4317.

5. Ibid.

Savignac, canon of Bayonne.¹ The earl's attitude was further expounded to the pope by Simon de Briselee, dean of Lincoln, and Richard de Wimundewold, advocate at the curia; and Clement promised to convey a reply to what they had to say by way of the nuncios whom he was sending out to the earl and Auch.²

On 8 December ¹³⁴⁴ the archbishops of Braga and Brindisi were given a procuration empowering them to treat with Lancaster and Auch touching the peace treaty and the observance of the truce.³ The two lieutenants and other parties involved were requested to give credence and favourable attention to them in order 'ad extinguendam discordiam'.⁴

There is no direct evidence as to where Lancaster received the papal nuncios; but we know that he had

1. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.44, no.4338; CPL, III, 43.
2. Ibid.
3. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.44, no.4336; CPL, III, 43. Safe conducts were issued to them on 6 December (Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.44, nos.4333-4; CPL, III, 42). Cf. C.Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, I, 144 & 149, for the nuncios.
4. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.44-5, nos.4437, 4339 & 4340; CPL, III, 43.

returned to La Réole by 30 December,¹ and negotiations appear to have begun during the course of January.² On 6 February Clement wrote to the earl thanking him for receiving the nuncios favourably,³ and to Jacques de Bourbon, count of La Marche, who had been sent into Languedoc with a special commission as lieutenant of Philip, requesting him to co-operate with the archbishop of Auch and Lancaster.⁴ Sometime before 3 March, after 'multos tractatus et colloquia' between the papal nuncios and the three lieutenants, a truce was concluded to last until 12 April, by which time embassies for either monarch

1. Letter so dated (C 61/67, m.15).
2. Letters of safe conduct were issued to the nuncios on 6 December (vide supra., p.369, n.3) and by 6 February the pope had received letters from them relating how Lancaster had received them favourably (vide infra., n.3).
3. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.59, no.4401; CPL, III, 44.
4. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.59, no.4403; CPL, III, 44. According to this letter he was then on his way to Gascony. There is, in fact, a letter issued by him at Moissac on 22 February, 1350, in his capacity "missus ad partes Lingue occitane per dominum meum, causa guerrarum suarum" (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo. 46Or-v, no.7/65). He takes the title 'lieutenant of the king of France' in two other letters, one dated Toulouse, 1 March, 1350 (Arch. nat., JJ 78, fos.114v-5r, no.217), the other at Carcassone, 3 March, 1350 (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.156r-v, no.195).

were to meet the nuncios between Calais and Guines to treat of peace or prolongation of the truce.¹

It is quite clear that an arrangement of this kind had been envisaged. Lancaster's commission, issued to him in the form of five separate letters, not only gave him full military, judicial and administrative authority on much the same lines as was given to him in 1345, but it also empowered him to treat of the observation of the truce, of its prolongation and, if it seemed necessary, of a new truce.² On the same day Michael de Northburgh and Andrew de Ufford, archdeacons of Suffolk and Middlesex, respectively, and Richard de Wymondwold, DL, and master Robert de Askeby, canon of Salisbury, were given similar powers to treat of the truce, and they appear to have left for Gascony with Lancaster.³

1. Letter of 3 March to Philip (Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.63-4, no.4426; CPL, III, 44-5). On 10 April Philip gave instructions for the raising of money to be handed over to the treasurers of war for the payment of troops in Languedoc, in spite of 'certaines trêves es marches de par de là' concluded at with Lancaster at the request of the pope and cardinals (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 35, no.82). About the same time he instructed the friars-preacher at Bordeaux to see that the clauses were observed (C. Douais, "Les frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle", Arch. hist. Gascogne, VIII (1885), 281).
2. C 61/61, m.3. Rymer, III, i, 188-9, confuses the order of the letters and omits the one touching the truce. The letter 'Super eodem negotio' (ibid., III, i, 189) is not to be found on the Gascon Roll (C 61/61, m.3).
3. Rymer, III, i, 188. Vide supra., p.369, for Wymondwold.

1350

By 14 February the earl was back in Bordeaux, where we also know him to have been during the first week in March.¹ There can be no doubt about the success of his chevauchée. It was spectacular. None of Edward's armies had hitherto penetrated so deeply into French territory, for the Black Prince's raid to Narbonne lay in the future. For their part, the French were unprepared and had been taken by surprise. The archbishop of Auch had left Toulouse for Carcassonne at the time,² and Jacques de Bourbon was appointed too late to assemble an army capable of resisting the lightning attack.³ Lancaster had chosen to conclude a truce before an effective opposition could be brought up, and so momentarily secured his conquests.

In the long run, however, the territorial consequences of the raid were negligible. During the summer, after the

1. His letters were dated there on 14 February, 2, 4 & 5 March (C 61/63, ms.5, 8 & 11; C 61/64, m.1; C 61/65, m.6).
2. He was at Toulouse on 26 October and at Carcassonne on 21 November (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.247r-v, no.325; JJ 78, fos.102r-3r, no.195; Appendix B, IIA, no.18).
3. They were assembled at Moissac, but not before 26 January (C.Devic & J.Vaissete, Histoire générale de Languedoc, IX, 618). He was there on 22 February, but at Toulouse on 1 March and Carcassonne on 3 March (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.460r-v, no.765; JJ 78, fos.114v-5r, no.217; JJ 80, fo.159r-v, no.195).

earl returned to England, most of the places taken by his forces were recaptured by the French in the course of a short campaign conducted by the count of Armagnac and Robert de Houdetot, master of the French crossbowmen, newly appointed captain-general in Languedoc.¹ Beaumont-de-Lomagne, Cuq, Fals, Astaffort, Dunes and Laplume were rapidly reoccupied, although Port-Sainte-Marie (which had been surrendered to the Anglo-Gascons by the inhabitants) was not taken until some time later, after Houdetot had acquired the tower of Saint-Laurent-du-Port, situated on the left bank of the Garonne before the town.²

Before Lancaster left the duchy there were old friends to see and supporters to be rewarded. Amanieu du Fossat, co-lord of Fossat d'Aiguillon, had already

1. Chronique Normande, 92-3 & 282-5; Devic & Vaissete, op.cit., IX, 618, n.4; Appendix C, no.8. For Houdetot, see Appendix B, IIa, no.19.

2. Ibid.

been granted generous terms for returning into Edward's obedience whilst the earl was at La Réole;¹ but most of the grants were made when he returned to Bordeaux: the place and land of Veyrinas to Bertrand de Montferrand,² the castle of Clermont and the place of Beauregard in Périgord to William Darinton.³ He rewarded Raymond Guillaume, lord of Caupene, for his good service at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Taillebourg and elsewhere with a grant of the castle and castellany of Mauleon with the county of Sole,⁴ and granted Pierre de Saint-Martin the baillages of Labenne and Capbreton with all the rents, profits and emoluments thereof.⁵ Two old servitors were rewarded; Raymond Seguin,⁶ and Jean Guitard, who received a life annuity of £30 sterling at his hands.⁷

1. C 61/67, m.15 (La Réole, 30 December, 1349). Vide supra, pp.218-9.
2. C 61/65, m.6 (Bordeaux, 4 March, 1349/50).
3. C 61/63, m.5 (Bordeaux, 5 March, 1349/50).
4. C 61/62, m.5; CPR, 1348-50, 541 (Chastillon, 20 March, 1349/50).
5. C 61/63, m.8 (Bordeaux, 5 March, 1349/50).
6. C 61/64, m.1 (Bordeaux, 14 February, 1349/50).
7. C 61/63, m.11 (Bordeaux, 2 March, 1349/50).

1350
 On 5 March, after some of the horses belonging to his troops had been sold to the constable of Bordeaux for use in the duchy,¹ Lancaster left the city for England.² There was clearly some trouble about the return voyage. Whether held up by a Spanish fleet, to turn his attention to the pays de Retz, by contrary winds, storms at sea, or some other cause, he had not left the mouth of the Gironde by 20 March³ and only arrived in London on 10 May¹³⁵⁰, almost ten weeks after he had set out from Bordeaux.⁴

Edward had not had any news from him for a long time, and had meanwhile been making preparations to land in northern France in late spring.⁵ The two-pronged

1. E 403/355, m.19. The debentures, issued to the troops in question on their accounting with John de Stretle, constable of Bordeaux, at the king's treasury there on 5 March, 1349/50, are E 404/508/51-72, 74 & 76-9. The horses were certainly sold to the constable for the king's use and not lost in service (ibid., & C 61/62, m.3).
2. He drew wages for himself and his retinue returning from Gascony for the period 5 March, 1350, on which day they set out from Bordeaux, to 10 May following, on which day they arrived in London (E 372/195, m.46).
3. Letter, dated Chastillon, 20 March, 1349/50 (C 61/62, m.5; CPR, 1348-50, 541). I have taken this to be Chastillon-de-Médoc (comm. Saint-Christoly, arr. and cant. Lesparre) rather than Castillon-sur-Dordogne (arr. Libourne, ch.-l. cant.).
4. E 372/195, m.46.
5. Rymer, III, i, 192-4. Cf. Le Baker, 108.

attack was to be carried out even if it was to be without Louis de Male. Arrangements were first of all made for a long stay for Lancaster's forces in the duchy. On 15 January a general mandate was issued to all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs and others, and a special mandate to the mayors and bailiffs of Bristol, Lyn and Boston, and the mayor and sheriff of London, ordering them to send food to Lancaster and those with him in the king's service in Gascony.¹ Pursuant upon a royal mandate of 23 January the sheriff of Lincoln purchased 500 quarters of wheat and sent it to Boston where it was delivered to John Spicer, the earl's attorney and provisioner in the county, so that he could take it to Gascony for the maintenance of the earl and others in the king's allegiance there.² By 4 February following the Gode Beyete of Lancaster had been laden in the port of Bristol, La Trinité in the port of Boston, La Dieu Garde of Bayonne (which had been arrested by royal order) in the port of Sandwich, La Isabelle in the port of Lyn, and were ready to put out for the duchy.³

1. C 61/61, m.2.

2. E 372/195, m.39v. The mandate is CCR, 1349-54, 131.

3. C 61/62, m.6. The mandate to the bailiffs of Sandwich to arrest the ship La Dieu Garde of Bayonne, then in that port, is dated 27 January, 1350 (CCR, 1349-54, 158).

Next, arrangements were made for reinforcements to be sent out to the duchy. On 10 February the sheriff of Gloucestershire was instructed to purchase, as quickly as possible, the necessary equipment for the embarkation of the horses of certain men-at-arms and others of Lancaster's men who were going to Gascony in the royal service, and to have them transported to Bristol, where a flotilla of fifteen ships would facilitate their crossing.¹ Letters of protection and general attorney were being issued to those going to join him in the duchy throughout February and March, whilst another large batch were issued on 12 April and a final letter of general attorney on 13 April, over five weeks after the earl had set out on his return voyage from Bordeaux.² By 7 March 220 men-at-arms and 222 mounted archers had been assembled at Plymouth, and were to have been sent out to join him in the duchy; but they were held up there until his return on 10 May.³

1. C 61/62, m.6.

2. Ibid.

3. By brief of the privy seal, given at Selborne on 12 June, 1350, Edward instructed the treasurer, barons and chamberlains of the Exchequer to account with Lancaster "des gages de deux cents hommes d'armes, et deux centz vint et deux archers, nadgaires retenuz a noz gages pour aler vers le dit counte en nostre service as parties de Gascoigne; c'est assavoir, pour le temps q'ils demorerent a la meer' en Engleterre sur leur passage, tantque a la

The king's army was scheduled to assemble at Sandwich for 23 May.¹ As early as 12 February the sheriffs were instructed to provide arrows, and to have them sent to London for 5 April.² On 20 March instructions for the provision of men-at-arms were sent out to some 110 towns, the sheriffs were to see that they arrived at Sandwich for 23 May, and Phillip de Whitton, who had been in charge of the preparation of the fleet which took Lancaster to Gascony in 1345, was appointed lieutenant of John de Beauchamp, admiral of the fleet east of the Thames.³ On 1 May sheriffs, mayors and bailiffs were required to array mariners for the king's crossing to France.⁴ According to Le Baker these preparations were suspended on the arrival of messengers from Gascony with news of the truce concluded by Lancaster,⁵ but they were not abandoned until the arrival of the earl in England.

revenue du dit counte, allouant pour les dites gentz gages de guerre acoustumez", and to pay or assign what they found due to him as soon as they could (E 404/5/32; E 159/126, m.91). On 13 December, 1350, he received £874.5s.0d. for the wages of 3 bannarets, 31 knights, 84 men-at-arms and 222 archers (sic) retained by him in the king's wages to go to Gascony in the king's service, and which had remained at Plymouth from 7 March until his return on 10 May (E 372/195, m.4; E 403/355, m.19).

1. Rymer, III, i, 193 & 194.
2. Ibid., III, i, 192.
3. Ibid., III, i, 194. On Whitton, vide supra., p
4. Ibid., III, i, 195.
5. L. Baker, 108.

Raoul de Caours

The circumstances which gave rise to Lancaster's appointment as the king's captain and lieutenant in Poitou, a quarrel between Walter Bentley and Raoul de Caours, illustrate admirably the type of situation he could be expected to deal with.

The year 1346, the year of the Crécy-Calais campaign and of Lancaster's raid into Poitou, was a particularly successful period for England and those captains and men who made a practice of fighting on the winning side were quickly transferring allegiance from Philip of Valois to King Edward. One such of these, Raoul de Caours, who had changed sides twice already in the course of the Breton war, again found that his sympathies lay with Edward. Initially a Montfortist supporter in the Breton succession dispute, he held lands in Guérande.¹ During the course of 1345 he deserted Edward's allegiance for the French,² only to return into the Montfort party during the course of the following year.

1. Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.2r-v, no.6; Appendix A, no.19.

2. S.Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque, 89.

In January 1347, with a record of recent service to his name, he sought out the king before Calais and secured a commission as his captain and lieutenant in Poitou and the pays de Retz, excepting those lands, castles and towns taken by Lancaster in 1346.¹ He was empowered to admit enemies into the king's obedience, take their homage and grant them letters of pardon, and to carry out the transfer of Nantes to English allegiance. A sum of 1,500 gold écus was paid to him to meet the expenses of 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers with which he was to make war on the king's enemies and undertake the custody of the castle of Prigny.² Arrangements were made for him to cross to the duchy in the company of Thomas Dagworth,³ newly appointed the king's captain and lieutenant in Brittany and the appurtenances,⁴ and four ships were to be supplied for his passage.⁵

1. Rymer, III, i, 101-2; C 81/316/18025.

2. C 81/316/18025; E 43/209.

3. C 81/316/18025.

4. Rymer, III, i, 100.

5. C 47/28/6, no.10.

Raoul evidently served himself and the king well for, in the summer of the following year, ^{1348?} in recognition of his good service, Edward granted him £1,000 rent in lands which he had already acquired and would acquire in the future in the pays de Retz, Brittany, Poitou and the surrounding parts.¹ A business like indenture was drawn up between them whereby, in return for the grant, Raoul undertook to support Edward in his wars in Brittany and Poitou at his own cost and to assist him in his other wars, whenever summoned, on the king's wages.² In the wars in Brittany and Poitou he was to have all the advantages of war which fell to him, saving to the king all castles, towns, lands and a moiety of his share in prisoners taken by him and his men and an undertaking not to liberate any great person thus captured without the king's consent.³

His territorial aggrandisement in the pays de Retz brought him into conflict with Walter Bentley, a soldier of considerable abilities who was later to serve as the

1. Rymer, III, i, 164 & 168.

2. C 81/332/19684 (original); Rymer, III, i, 168 (from the enrolment on the Treaty Roll).

3. Ibid.

king's captain and lieutenant in Brittany.¹ Bentley had secured a personal interest in the duchy by his opportune marriage to Jeanne de Belleville, widow of Olivier III de Clisson (who had been executed by the French for supporting John de Montfort in the early years of the succession dispute)² and who had herself been banished from France and her possessions declared confiscate by judgement of the parlement de Paris.³

The dispute arose, amongst other things, over certain lands in the pays de Retz which Bentley claimed as part of the inheritance of his wife. On 20 June, 1349, Edward, having forbidden Raoul and Walter to start a private war on the matter and ordered them to accept his mediation, arranged for one of his valets, Richard de Cardoil, to secure information on the dispute, do summary justice and execute a judgement.⁴

Walter's claims were accepted. On 20 October Edward granted him, Jeanne and Jeanne's heirs in perpetuity possessions which were adjudged of his wife's inheritance,

1. Rymer, III, i, 204.

2. Arch. nat., X^{2a}.4, fo.186r.

3. Ibid., fos.187r, 203v-4r, 206v & 209r.

4. C 76/27, m.6; C 81/339/20344.

and which were situated in the bay of Bourgneuf.¹ They included all the domains, castles, fortresses, towns, manors, lands and places of Beauvoir-sur-Mer, Lampant, La Barre-de-Monts and Châteauneuf, together with the islands and domains of Noirmoutier and Chauvet, a moiety of the island of Bouin and all the saltings and appurtenances of these places.²

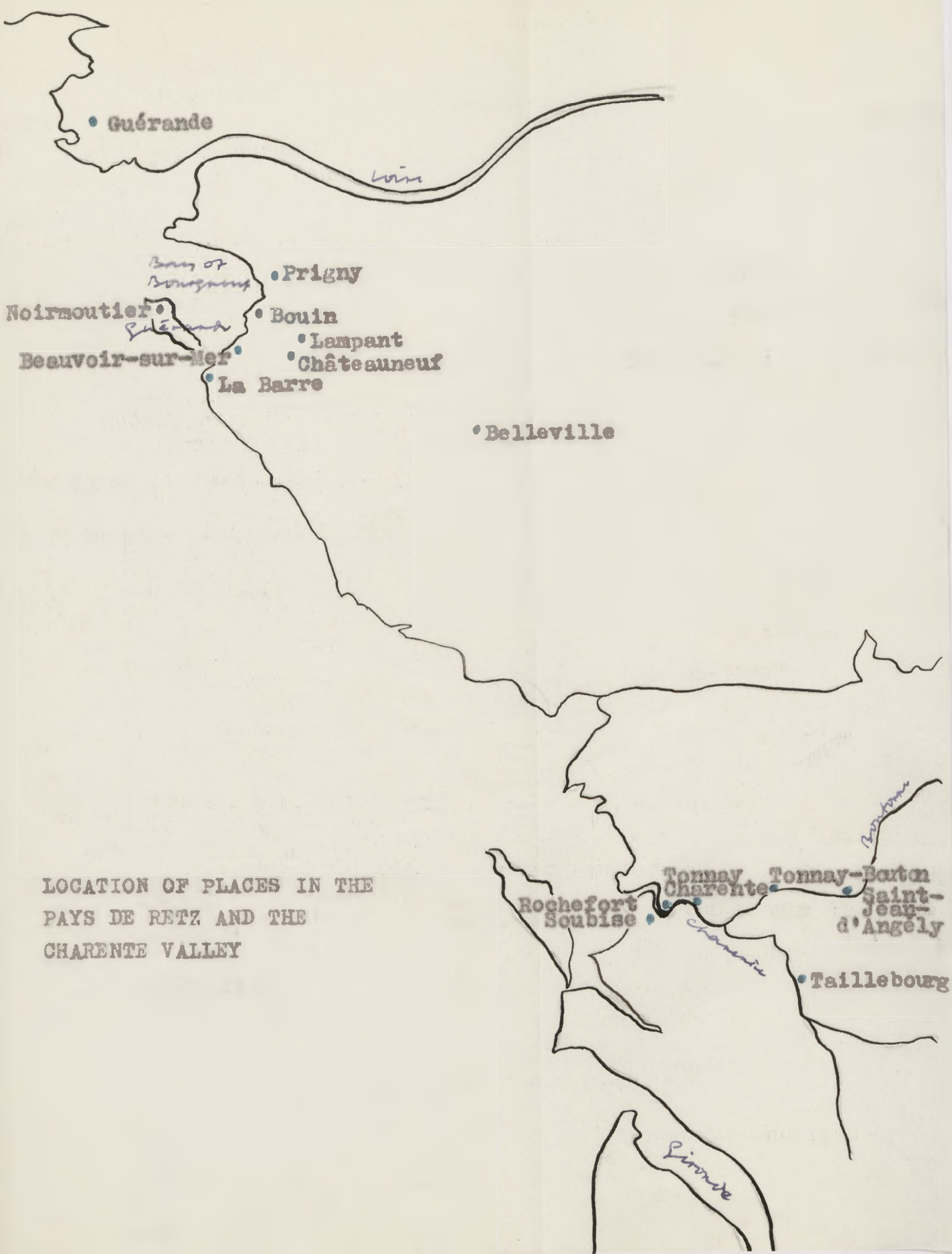
News was not slow in getting to the French. Quite apart from the economic importance of the saltings,³ the bay of Bourgneuf was a link in the chain of halting-places for English coasting vessels on their way between England and Gascony, and its strategic importance was almost as great as that of the west Breton ports and the Charente towns.⁴ French control of the area would therefore be of a value out of all proportion to its size and the cost of maintaining it in a state of defence.

1. C 76/27 (20 October, 1349).

2. Ibid. See Map V.

3. Cf. A.R.Bridbury, England and the Salt Trade in the Later Middle Ages.

4. Vide supra., pp.243-8, and Map V.



• Guérande

Loire

Bay of Bourgneuf

• Prigny

Noirmoutier

Sèvre

• Bouin

• Lampant

Beauvoir-sur-Mer

• Châteauneuf

• La Barre

• Belleville

LOCATION OF PLACES IN THE
PAYS DE RETZ AND THE
CHARENTE VALLEY

Rochefort
Scubise

Tonnay
Charente

Tonnay-Barton

Saint-
Jean-
d'Angely

• Taillebourg

Charente

Giroude

To this end Philip empowered three knights, Jean de Beaumanoir, Foulques de Laval and Maurice Mauvinet, to treat with Raoul, and together they drew up an agreement by the terms of which Raoul was oncemore to enter French obedience and service.¹ He entrusted the knights with the custody of Beauvoir-sur-Mer, Lampant and the islands of Chauvet and Bouin pending the accomplishment by the king of France of certain clauses drawn up between them. These provided that the king was to pay him 10,000 gold écus wages for his troops and, as a security, he would surrender the island of Chauvet to the knights. If the king did not wish to accept the agreement the knights were to retain the custody of the castle of Chauvet until Raoul had restored the 10,000 écus, but the other three fortresses (Beauvoir-sur-Mer, Lampant and Bouin) were to be returned to him immediatly. If, on

1. Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.2r-v, no.6; Appendix A, no.19. Laval was in receipt of wages for himself and his men "a la garde de la terre de Belleville et de Rays sur Mer" in September and November 1350 (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1668, nos.10 & 11), and is referred to as "capitaine souverain pour le roy ou visconté et ressort de Thouars, et gouverneur des terres de Belleville et de Rays" in acquitances given by him on 2 & 3 June, 1351 (ibid., nos.13 & 14).

the other hand, the king did wish to accept, then all the fortresses were to remain in Raoul's possession, unless the king wanted them, in which case he was to pay Raoul 60,000 écus in place of the £1,000 sterling granted to him by Edward and valued at 5,000 livres tournois. Raoul was to be responsible for the defence of the fortresses and all the saltings were to remain his personal property, unless the king wished to buy salt, in which case it was to be valued by officials acting on behalf of them both and the king was to have a quarter of the profits. If the French king agreed to all these clauses Raoul undertook to change allegiance and to damage Edward in every way possible. He was not, however, to be bound to bear arms for either king if he did not wish to; but if he did wish to then the French king was to grant him lands to a value to be accorded between them.

It was one thing to render judgement in favour of Bentley, quite another to execute it. The possibility of a change of allegiance on Raoul's part had not been overlooked, and arrangements were made for Lancaster to have a special commission empowering him to assume the

custody of the entire inheritance of Jeanne and her children together with all the saltings in Poitou.¹

Raoul was to be obedient and intendant to all that the earl or his deputies should command him touching the matter. The custodians of the castles of Noirmoutier and La Barre-de-Monts, and of the fortresses of Chauvet and Bouin were also to be intendant. William d'Aubigny, captain of Guérande, and his subjects were to do nothing contrary to the custodianship.

On 18 October, ¹³⁴⁹ two days before the grant in favour of Bentley, Lancaster was given his patent of appointment as the king's captain and lieutenant in Poitou.² Already, on 1 September, he had been empowered to grant £1,000 in land and rent 'to certain persons according to his ordinance',³ and the constable of Bordeaux was instructed to meet his expenses 'for expediting our negotiations' out of the ducal revenues.⁴ On 6 November ¹³⁴⁹ the sheriffs

1. C 81/343/20741; Appendix A, no.18.

2. Rymer, III, i, 190.

3. C 81/342/20641 ("as certaines personnes selonc sa ordenance").

4. C 61/61, m.1 ("per expedicionem negociorum nostrorum").

of London were instructed to proclaim that no merchants were to buy salt from the bay or elsewhere in Poitou, except from Lancaster.¹

It is probable that the earl did not take any action personally. The Spanish squadron under the command of Don Carlos arrived off Guérande about the same time that he set out from England, and it may have obliged him to make straight for Bordeaux.² Although his return from the duchy took almost ten weeks,³ there is no evidence that the delay was occasioned by a visit to the pays de Retz. On the other hand, it is obvious that he was expected to take some kind of action. On 15 December he was instructed to take Jeanne de Belleville and her children, together with their lands and possessions, into his safeguard and protection.⁴ He was to maintain them in their inheritance, defend them against any injury or violence which might befall them and take the children into his safe custody.⁵ Since, however, he was committed

1. Rymer, III, i, 190.

2. Vide supra., pp. 364-5.

3. Ibid., p.375.

4. C 61/61, m.2.

5. Ibid.

in Gascony, Roger de Baildon, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, was appointed the earl's lieutenant in the matter and instructed to execute the grant of 20 October giving seisin to Walter and Joan.¹

Raoul had no alternative but to embrace more fully the Valois cause. The agreement with the three knights was confirmed; Beauvoir-sur-Mer, Lampant and the islands of Chauvet and Bouin were to be restored to him, together with the saltings, to be held of the king of France by homage and service.² A grant of 2,000 livres gold tournois was made to him in the treasury at Paris and a rent for himself and his heirs in perpetuity.³ But Edward had not yet heard the last of Raoul de Caours.

The battle of Les Espagnols-sur-Mer

If Lancaster's experiences in the winter and spring of 1349-50 had taught him anything, it was the threat of Spanish ships in the Channel and on the sea route to Bordeaux.

1. C 76/27, m.1.

2. Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.2r-v, no.6; Appendix A, no.19.

3. Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.5v, no.9.

This was a relatively new development. Since the great naval victory at Sluys in 1340 Edward had been free to send troops to almost anywhere in western France he cared to. For although Philip, with the pope's backing, had concluded a marriage alliance with Alfonso XI of Castile in July 1345, and had thereby secured a promise of naval assistance, for his part Alfonso was in no immediate hurry to implement the treaty.¹ In the following year he even agreed to the marriage of his eldest son, Don Pedro, to an English princess, and in 1348 Edward's daughter, Joan de la Tour, left for Gascony on her way to marry the Castilian heir.² But Joan died of plague at Bordeaux, and with her the English plans for a marriage alliance.³ French ascendancy in Castile was promptly re-established, and the dangers inherent in the Franco-Castilian alliance first became evident in the winter of 1349.

Lancaster presumably gave a very full report on the situation when he arrived back in London on 10 May. During

1. G. Daumet, Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles, 10-18.
2. Ibid., 16-17; P.E. Russell, The English intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II, 7-8.
3. Daumet, op.cit., 17; Russell, op.cit., 9.

the course of that month preparations were put under way for the assembly of a fleet to meet the Spaniards. Orders were given for the manning of ships.¹ Rigging and stores, together with carpenters and other workmen, were provided for ships, pinnaces, and barges.² On 22 July ¹³⁵⁸ Sir Robert Morley was re-appointed admiral of the northern fleet,³ and the next day instructions were given for ships and sailors to be arrested and sent to Sandwich.⁴ Before the vessels put to sea they were furnished with standards and streamers.⁵

The Castilian fleet was then in the roads of Sluys, about to return to Spain.⁶ La Cerda, who had been informed of Edward's intention to attack him, had armed his ships with every kind of artillery and missile, among which were large bars of iron, and filled them with soldiers, crossbowmen, and archers, partly recruited in Flanders.⁷

1. Rymer, III, i, 195.

2. Ibid., III, i, 196.

3. Ibid., III, i, 200.

4. C 76/28, m.6. Cf. Avesbury, 412.

5. Nicolas, op.cit., II, 10 2.

6. Froissart, IV, xxxvi-xxxvii, 88, 320 & 321. Cf. also, Avesbury, 412, and Knighton, II, 66-7.

7. Froissart, IV, xxxvii, 88, 90, 320 & 321.

1350

On 10 August, when Edward was at Rotherhithe, he wrote to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, stating that the Spaniards had robbed his ships and slain his subjects at sea, and that they had collected an immense fleet in Flanders, with which they not only boasted that they would utterly destroy English shipping and dominate the Channel, but threatened to invade the realm and exterminate the people.¹ He said that he was about to proceed against them; and the prelates were requested to cause divine service to be celebrated, processions made, and alms given, to propitiate Him upon whom victory depends.

Edward proceeded to Winchelsea about the middle of August, and embarked in his favourite ship the Cog Thomas on the 28th.² The Black Prince, John of Gaunt, and other great personages including Lancaster, were dispersed among the other vessels with their respective retinues of men-at-arms and archers.³

1. Rymer, III, i, 201-2.

2. Nicolas, op.cit., II, 104. He commanded from the same ship at Sluys (ibid., II, 48).

3. Froissart, IV, xxxvii, 89-90 & 320-1; Nicolas, op.cit., II, 104.

With the exception of Froissart, none of the chroniclers have given a detailed account of the battle which took place a few miles off Winchelsea on 29 August, ¹³⁵⁸ and which was waged from vespers until nightfall.¹ In his inimitable way he tells us how Edward, having embarked, made his arrangements, and explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow, posted himself in the bow of his ship. He was dressed, we are told, in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small beaver hat, which became him much. Some of the knights who were with him told Froissart that they had never seen the king in better spirits. He ordered his minstrels to play a German dance which Sir John Chandos had recently introduced and, for his amusement, he made Chandos sing with them, which delighted him greatly.²

The Castilian fleet, with the wind in their favour, and with greater tonnage and sail power, might have swept

1. Froissart, IV, xxxvi-xxxviii, 88-98 & 320-328. Brief, but in some respects more accurate accounts, are to be found in Avesbury, 412, Walsingham, Chronicon Angliae, 28, and Knighton, II, 67. The following details are largely taken from the account given by Nicolas, op.cit., II, 104-13, which is still the best study.
2. Froissart, IV, 91 & 322.

down the Channel; but they chose to stay and fight.¹

There was no manoeuvring in naval warfare in the fourteenth century. Since the fleets were virtually floating armies naval tactics did not differ essentially from military.

They were for the most part limited to grappling the enemy ships with chains and hooks, boarding them, and fighting it out. Such engagements took place between individual ships, so that to an observer 'the battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve at a time'.²

Froissart inevitably singled out for attention those actions in which some of the leading personages were involved: the king, the prince, Lancaster, and Sir Robert de Namur. Thus we are told that Edward's ship, having been grappled to a Spaniard, was in the course of sinking, and that the king and crew were only saved by their heroic action in boarding the enemy.³ Lancaster's part is mentioned

1. Ibid., IV, 92 & 323.

2. Ibid., IV, 93. 'Twenty or thirty' in the Ms. de Rome (ibid., IV, 324).

3. Ibid., IV, 94 & 324-5.

because, seeing that the prince's ship was grappled, sinking, and had the worst of the fight, he laid his ship along the other side of the Spanish vessel, grappled and boarded it.¹ Not only was the prince's life saved, but also that of John of Gaunt, who was no more than ten at the time, and who is said to have been with him.²

Apart from these picturesque details we have very little idea of the combat, and no overall view of the battle. The Castilian fleet is said to have been made up of 40 great ships, of which a number, variously estimated at anything between 14 and 30, are supposed to have been taken.³ But the strength of the English fleet is nowhere stated. However, if Edward was superior in the number of vessels, the Spaniards had the advantage of the size and height of their ships, which are everywhere said to have been exceedingly large, while the English only had the usual cogs, and some smaller vessels, called pinnaces and barges.

1. Ibid., IV, 95 & 325-6. Cf. Rymer, III, i, 207, & CPR, 1350-4, 9.
2. Froissart, IV, 89 & 320.
3. Froissart, IV, 90, says the Castilian fleet was 40 strong; 60 in the Ms. de Rome (ibid., IV, 322); and that 14 of these were taken (ibid., IV, 97 & 327). Avesbury, 412, says that 24 were taken; Walsingham, Chronicon Angliae, 28, says 26; and Capgrave, Chronicle of England, says 30.

In the course of the fighting, therefore, the Spaniards were able to throw large stones and bars of iron onto the English vessels from the 'castles' on their masts, and they had the advantage of height in showering arrows from their cross-bows onto the English decks.¹ On the other hand, the fell aim and longer range of the English archers, which compelled the Spanish artillery-men as well as the cross-bowmen to shelter themselves behind the bulwarks and castles, and thus checked the discharge of missiles, once more stood Edward in good stead, and the desperate fury with which his sailors and men-at-arms attacked their assailants in hand-to-hand combat ultimately proved irresistible. The losses on either side, in killed and wounded, particularly the latter on the part of the English, appears to have been considerable.

When the English ships returned to Rye and Winchelsea soon after nightfall they had certainly won the battle, but their victory was not complete. Whilst the title

1. Froissart, IV, 90, 94 & 324.

of 'King of the Sea' was later bestowed on Edward in parliament,¹ more immediatly, on 8 September he warned the inhabitants of Bayonne that the Spanish squadron was at sea, referring, no doubt, to the ships that had escaped after the fight off Winchelsea, and desiring them to disregard the truce, and to equip their ships against the enemy.² In October measures were taken for paying the expenses of ships of war to convoy vessels going to Gascony for wine, in order to defend them against attacks by the Spaniards.³ On 11 November, by which time the Spanish ships had returned to Sluys, Robert de Herle, captain of Calais, and others were appointed to treat with the masters and mariners of Spain in that port and elsewhere in Flanders, for the purpose of bringing hostilities to an amicable termination.⁴ But, as we shall see,⁵ Edward had a good deal of trouble with enemy ships in the Channel during the course of the following year, and it was not until 1 August, 1351, that a truce for

1. Rot. Parl., II, 311.

2. Rymer, III, i, 202-3.

3. Ibid., III, i, 206.

4. Ibid., III, i, 210.

5. Vide infra., pp.409-10.

twenty years was concluded between Edward, on the one part, and representatives from the maritime towns of Castile, on the other part.¹

1. Rymer, III, i, 228-9.

X

THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. III : THE SEARCH FOR
ALLIES AND PAPAL ENDEAVOURS FOR PEACE
(1350-1354)

After he returned from Gascony in the spring of 1350, much of Lancaster's time was again taken up with diplomatic work. To begin with, Edward, determined to regain a foothold in the Low Countries, continued to press for an arrangement with Louis de Male, and intervened in a succession dispute which broke out in Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. For his part, the pope, made even more determined efforts to convert the truce into a 'firm peace', and entrusted the work of mediation to one of his most ardent cardinals, that self-seeking courtier, Guy de Boulogne, bishop of Porto. Down to the spring of 1354 neither Edward, Clement nor Innocent met with much success, and if anything is revealed by the negotiations of these years, it is the extent of French influence in the Low Countries and Edward's determination not to come to terms with his adversary.

Truce Negotiations and Papal Efforts for Peace (1350-1351)

The truce which Lancaster concluded in Gascony was to last until 12 April, 1350, by which time envoys for either monarch were to assemble before the papal nuncios on the frontier between Calais and Guines to treat of peace or the extension of the truce.¹ On 20 March ¹³⁵⁰ the archbishops of Braga and Brindisi, who had gained the pope's confidence through their successful mediation in the south, were given a procuration to treat with the envoys as arranged, and mandates were issued for prelates to meet their expenses on the mission.² Philip VI, Edward, and the two embassies were requested to give credence to the nuncios, and a number of other persons, including Lancaster, were asked to assist them in their work.³

Edward, however, chose to hold up the appointment of the English envoys until after Lancaster returned from

1. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.63-4, no.4426; CPL, III, 44-5.
2. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.69, nos.4442-3; CPL, III, 45.
3. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.69, nos.4444-6; CPL, III, 45.

Bordeaux, and Clement, who suspected that he was refusing to treat, made arrangements for the nuncios to cross over to England. But on 15 May, when the pope wrote to Edward requesting him to receive the two archbishops and to provide them with safe conducts,¹ a procuration was issued to the bishop of Norwich, the earl of Suffolk, Thomas Cok and Robert de Herle, empowering them to negotiate a peace or truce with the French,² and this embassy crossed to Calais from Sandwich during the course of the following week.³

In the meantime Edward, as well as the nuncios, wrote to the pope protesting his readiness to treat, and on 6 June Clement exhorted the two embassies to do everything in their power to bring about a treaty of peace.⁴ But a treaty was not concluded. On 13 June the truce was once again renewed, this time for one year as from 1 August,⁵

1. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, p.83, no.4506; CPL, III, 46.

2. Rymer, III, i, 196; Arch. nat., J 918, no.26.

3. E 101/313/1; E 372/194, m.45d.

4. CPL, III, 46.

5. Rymer, III, i, 197-8; J.Dumont, Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, I, ii, 254-7, no.CCCXXII.

and although it stipulated that envoys should assemble in Avignon before 1 November to continue the negotiations for peace, if Edward's record for the previous year was anything to go on, the prospect of an English embassy being sent to the curia was not all that bright. A week later the English envoys arrived back in London, where the bishop of Norwich reported to the council.¹

Lancaster was appointed one of the English judges of infringements of this truce, which envisaged the possibility that he and the earl of Northampton would be among the envoys who were to be sent to Avignon.² On 18 June Edward intimated to the pope that he would send the bishop of Norwich, Lancaster, the earl of Arundel and Bartholomew de Burghersh.³ On 28 July they were given a procuration to negotiate at the curia, although they were not scheduled to leave England until around Christmas.⁴ Letters of protection were requested for them, and these were issued on 30 August.⁵

1. E 101/313/1; E 372/194, m.45d.

2. Rymer, III, i, 197-8; Dumont, op.cit., I, ii, 254-7, no.CCCXXII.

3. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.121-2, no.4684; CPL, III, 47.

4. Rymer, III, i, 201.

5. CPL, III, 47.

Edward, however, was in no mood for peace negotiations. Contrary to the tenor of the truce, he made preparations for the engagement with the Castilian fleet,¹ and when one of his sergeants, Robert Tanny, who was on his way to Gascony to announce the truce, was killed at Tours, he made a great deal of fuss about it and used it as a demonstration of how he could not trust his adversary's safe conducts.² It was not safe to send his envoys to Avignon. It seems also to have been irrelevant that Tanny was assassinated before the death of Philip VI on 22 August. From Edward's point of view John was as untrustworthy as his father, and it was in vain that the pope implored him to confirm the truce and to send his embassy to the curia as had been planned.³

Fearing a renewal of hostilities, Clement did what he could to save something from the wreckage. He sent Raymond Pelegrini, a canon of London, as his nuncio to Edward, and requested Lancaster and a good many others to give him credence.⁴ André de la Roche, abbot of Saint-Seine and Cluny,

1. Vide supra., pp.389-90.

2. CPL, III, 46, 48 & 49; E 101/313/1. Vide supra., p. 324, n.2.

3. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.121-2, no.4684; CPL, III, 47.

4. Clément VI, Lettres closes, etc., III, fasc.5, pp.125-6, nos.4701-4 & 4707; CPL, III, 47-8.

was sent to Paris with instructions to get another safe conduct for the English envoys from John, to have it assigned to Pelegrini, and to make arrangements for a meeting between Boulogne and Calais so that, in the meantime, the truce could be prorogued.¹

The nuncios were partially successful, for at the beginning of November ¹³⁵⁰ Robert de Herle, captain of Calais, and Andrew de Ufford, archdeacon of Middlesex, were empowered to confirm the truce.² It is quite clear, however, that there was a good deal of discussion before agreement was reached. Ufford, who had already left London for Calais on 21 October, only arrived back in the city on 28 January.³ Edward could not ignore the assistance which the Flemings had afforded to the Castilian fleet during the summer, and since by the beginning of November Spanish ships had again put into the Flemish ports, he also commissioned Herle and Ufford to treat with their masters and mariners.⁴

1. CPL, III, 47-8.

2. Five identical procurations were issued to them, variously dated 2, 4, 7, 12 & 16 November (Rymer, III, i, 207).

3. E 101/313/4.

4. The procuration was issued to these two together with Henry Picard and John de Wesenham, and is dated 11 November (Rymer, III, i, 210).

Since, by the end of November, it had finally become clear to the pope that the English would not send the proposed embassy to Avignon, Clement wrote to Edward proposing that a new time and place should be arranged for a conference with the French, that it might be held before one or two cardinals and the archbishops of Braga and Brindisi, and that he would get John to arrange a safe conduct for his envoys.¹

At the beginning of December ¹³⁵⁶ he wrote to the two embassies meeting between Boulogne and Calais informing them of his proposals.² The discussions were becoming too important for Herle and Ufford to deal with alone, and on 12 January ¹³⁵⁷ Lancaster was sent to Calais, with a retinue of 340 horse, 'to treat with the councils of France and Flanders'.³

1. CPL, III, 48.

2. Ibid., 49.

3. He drew wages for the period 12 January to 10 February for a mission to Calais "ad tractandum cum consilio Francie et Flandriae" (E 372/198, m.38). I have been unable to find a procuration for this mission.

Negotiations with Flanders (1351)

Edward was still hankering after an arrangement with Louis de Male. In April the young countess of Flanders had given birth to a daughter, also christened Margaret after her mother.¹ Philip had wasted no time in attempting to turn this to his own advantage, and within that month he sent an embassy to treat with the count and community of differences between them, and to arrange a marriage alliance between the infant Margaret and one of his sons.² The competition for the Flemish heirloom had already begun. It was precisely the kind of situation in which Louis excelled himself. He had acquired his ace and there could be no doubt that he would play it well. When the Castilian fleet put in at Sluys in the summer he not only gave it shelter, but permitted La Cerda to recruit troops there and to take

1. A.Gallard, Mémoires pour l'histoire de Navarre et de Flandre, 275.

2. Procuracion issued to the bishop of Laon, the count of Armagnac, Charles of Spain, constable of France, Grand Master George de Tancarville and Chamberlain Nobers de Tournai (Arch. nat., J 365, no.8).

ammunition aboard his ships.¹ But when Philip died in August he dug out the secret treaty of Dunkirk, dusted it, and refused to do homage to John until Lille, Douai, Béthune and Orchies were restored to him.² When John refused he immediatly got into touch with Edward.³

Of the negotiations which followed, we know very little. But at the beginning of October the lord of Enghien, one of the chief negotiators of the secret treaty on Louis' side, arrived in England ostensibly having fled from Flanders fearing for his life because of a tale that had been put out to the effect that he had planned to poison Louis, the countess, and Louis de Namur.⁴ Having requested Edward to clear him of suspicion, arrangements were made for representatives from the councils of the count and the duke of Brabant to assemble at Gravelines before 2 February, 1351, and for representatives from the king's council to assemble

1. Froissart, IV, 88, 90, 320 & 321.

2. Chronicon comitum Flandrensiu, loc.cit., I, 227.

3. Ibid.

4. Rymer, III, i, 219.

at Calais by the same date.¹

Simultaneous negotiations appear then to have been conducted with embassies from France and Flanders, some of them in the presence of papal nuncios. They concerned the confirmation of the truce, the proposed peace conference and, very likely, Louis de Male's refusal to do homage to John until the towns of Lille, Douai, Béthune and Orchies were restored to him. It is clear from subsequent events that the truce was confirmed, but that it was not prolonged and that no arrangements were made for the proposed peace conference.² Of negotiations with the council of the count of Flanders we know almost nothing, other than that the conference to clear Enghien does not appear to have taken place.³

That Lancaster was the chief figure in all this is clear enough. Before he returned to London on 10 February he sent Ufford back to the city to report to the council,⁴ and one of his retainers, Sir Stephen de Cosington, and

1. Ibid.

2. Vide infra., pp.

3. Rymer, III, i, 219.

4. E 101/313/4.

several others, including William de Burton, on to Flanders.¹ On 5 March these two arrived back in Westminster with a number of Flemings,² and a fortnight later Lancaster, who had been raised to the rank of duke,³ John de Carlton and Andrew de Ufford were given a procuration to hear and determine complaints between the king's subjects and those of Louis de Male contrary to the peace of Dunkirk.⁴ On 23¹³⁵⁷ March they left for Calais with several shiploads of troops under Lancaster's command.⁵

Negotiations appear to have taken about three weeks.⁶ Facilities offered to Spanish ships in Flemish ports may have been discussed, but if Edward was hoping that Louis would take the next step in implementing the secret treaty of Dunkirk, he had sadly underestimated his man.

1. E 101/313/6.

2. Ibid.

3. Vide infra., pp. 418-23.

4. Rymer, III, i, 216.

5. Expenses account of Ufford, sent "versus Calesiam ad tractandum ibidem una cum aliis super diversis negociis domini regis cum Flandrensibus", leaving on 23 March, crossing to Calais in ships assigned for troops under Lancaster's command, and returning to London on 18 April, when he reported to the king's council (E 101/313/7).

6. Ibid.

Since the beginning of the year enemy ships had been conducting hostile operations in the Channel and were apparently attempting to prevent the landing of supplies that were being ferried over to Calais from England. Cosington's return journey from Flanders had been menaced by French ships in February,¹ and an unusually detailed expense account of Andrew de Ufford shows that the threat had by no means abated in May.²

On 11 May Ufford set out for Calais, where he was again due to treat with the Flemings on 15 May. When he arrived at Dover he was unable to get a passage to Calais owing to the activity of enemy ships in the Channel. A shipment of horses had already been held up for over a week.³ He explained to the mayor and bailiff of Dover and to the constable of Dover castle that the negotiations were urgent, that he must have a speedy crossing, and

1. Burton's expense account records costs "in repassagio suo in uno stummer in comitiva predicti Stephani et aliorum hominum locato pro inimicis de Francia existentibus supra mare" (E 101/313/6).
2. E 101/313/7.
3. "Pro passagio et repassagio Et causa fuit quare solvit tantum pro passagio et repassagio, quia tunc nullus audebat intrare mare propter naves et galeas inimicorum qui tunc videbantur in mari in tantum quod XLVIII equites domini regis destinati versus Calesiam steterunt Dovorrea per VIII dies nec potuerunt habere transitum" (ibid.).

he showed them letters under the privy seal to that effect. They replied that they could not risk a ship in the Channel, indeed they had brought all ships then in the port ashore for fear that they might be set on fire by the enemy, and had been obliged to put several untrustworthy sailors in Dover castle. It was only after much persuasion, and in view of the urgency of the negotiations, that they finally agreed to provide him with a boat, a crew of ten of the best sailors, and a bodyguard of archers.

Around Easter (17 April), after he had completed the negotiations with the Flemings,¹ Lancaster led a raid through Artois and Picardy, made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Boulogne, and set fire to the ships there and at Étapes.² The country was ravaged as far as Fauquembergues, Thérouanne and Saint-Omer, and he returned to Calais with a vast quantity of provisions.

It seems quite clear that the purpose of the raid was to secure supplies for the garrison of Calais and to prevent interference with shipments being sent over from England.

1. Ufford arrived back in London on 18 April (E 101/313/7).

2. Le Baker, 114-15; Knighton, II, 68.

It followed shortly upon a similar raid led by Walter Mauny and Robert de Herle,¹ and was succeeded at the beginning of June by another, less fortunate venture of troops, under the command of John de Beauchamp, Herle's successor as captain of Calais.²

Since the truce was due to expire on 1 August,³ on 27 June a procuration was issued to the bishop of Norwich, the earl of Huntingdon, Bartholomew de Burghersh and Robert de Herle to treat of its renewal.⁴ Lancaster was not included on this embassy, but on the same day he was given a secret credential to treat with Louis de Male,⁵ and he appears to have left for Calais with the English envoys two days later.⁶ He was to try and arrange a marriage between John of Gaunt and the count's daughter, Margaret; to settle the question of the extradition of Flemish refugees settled in England, since this had been

1. Le Baker, 114 & 283.

2. Ibid., 115 & 284; Knighton, II, 68; Chronique Normande, 101-2 & 291-2; Froissart, IV, xlvi-xlvii, 115-22 & 341-5. Cf. Rymer, III, i, 236.

3. Rymer, III, i, 197.

4. Ibid., III, i, 225.

5. Ibid., III, i, 224.

6. E 101/313/8, m.1.

demanded by Louis; to negotiate on a sum (up to 10,000 écus), also demanded by Louis, for a chevauchée into France, first agreed upon in the secret treaty of Dunkirk; to work out the time and manner of the same; and to endeavour to bring some of the count's council into the king's pay.

This was to be the culmination of the long series of negotiations which appear to have begun in the previous autumn. Five days before the credential was issued to the duke two of his retainers, Sir Frank de Hale and Sir Stephen de Cosington, had been appointed to treat with the count and community,¹ and they were probably intended to prepare the ground for his arrival.

We have no indication of the discussions that might have followed, but by 21 July the envoys who had been appointed to extend the truce, with the exception of Herle, had returned to London only having concluded a short truce of a few weeks or so.² Apparently they had to refer to Edward before they could conclude a longer agreement.³

1. Rymer, III, i, 224.

2. Ibid., III, i, 227. Burghersh claimed expenses for the period 29 June to 21 July, 1351, "euntis versus Calesiam in comitiva comitis Hunttyngdon, domini Willelmi, episcopi Norwycensis et domini Roberti de Herle, ad tractandum de negociis regis cum consilio Francie" (E 101/313/8, m.1).

3. Rymer, III, i, 227.

His decision would probably be determined by the turn of negotiations with the count of Flanders, and by that time it must have been clear that they were not going well. Indeed, they may not have been proceeding at all.

In effect, on 24 July Louis de Male came to terms with King John at Fontainebleau, and did homage to him for the counties of Flanders, Nevers and Rethel.¹ John undertook to provide Louis with lands to the value of 10,000 livres parisis in Flanders, a cash payment of 15,000 gold écus in lieu of every 1,000 livres of land not so provided, and a lump sum of 60,000 gold écus to be paid immediately. If, because of the homage or the breaking of the treaties of Dunkirk, Edward or any of his allies made war on the count by sea or land, or interfered with merchandise entering the county, he was to give him

1. John's part of the agreement has been published by Gallard, *op.cit.*, 156-8, no.XXIX, after a copy in the Archives Nationales (J 571, no.3), that of Louis by Lettenhove, *Froissart*, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXV, pp.330-3, after a copy in the Archives départementales du Nord at Lille. It was concluded between their two councils, the bishop of Paris, Jean de Boulogne, count of Montfort, Geoffrey de Charny and Robert de Lorris acting for John. A memorandum of the principle points drawn up between them has also been published by Lettenhove, *ibid.*, Pièces Justificatives, no.LXXV, pp. 329-30, from another document at Lille. There are transcripts of the latter two in the Record Office (PRO 31/8/143, section 5, pp.531-5, nos.15 & 17).

military and financial assistance. This was to consist of the wages of 1,000 men-at-arms, to be paid at Tournai or Lille as soon as he was notified of the aggression. If more troops were needed the French garrison forces on the frontier with Flanders were to be placed at his disposal, and if the situation became really critical John promised to come in person. He also agreed to pay the wages of 200 men-at-arms to garrison the town of Gravelines in order to meet possible attacks from Calais, and undertook not to make a truce of more than fifteen days without first consulting the count and making him a partner to the discussions. If Edward demanded that Louis should put forward his claim to the towns of Lille, Douai, Béthune and Orchies, or insisted on the execution of any other clause of the secret treaty of Dunkirk, John would stand by the count; but if rebellion broke out in the county he was not to interfere.

For his part Louis, having done homage to John, surrendered his claim to the four above mentioned towns. He undertook to serve John loyally, not to make any alliances with Edward or other of John's enemies, and to serve him in war when called upon to do so. He was to keep all the

agreements made in the past between the kings of France and the counts of Flanders, and to be a loyal vassal of John and his successors in the future. He undertook not to allow troops to be received in Flanders or to attack France by way of the county, and renounced all alliances made with the king of England to the detriment of the king of France.

French diplomacy had won the day. On 6 August, 1354, Louis' daughter, Margaret of Flanders, who was then no more than four years old, was engaged to John's son, Philip of Burgundy, then only eight.¹ They were married in Paris less than two years later, on 21 March, 1356.² Although Louis might complain of the non-fulfilment of the financial clauses of the marriage agreement of 1350, and the treaty concluded at Fontainbleau in the following year,³ it was but small comfort to Edward, for he had finally lost his man.

1. F. Quicke, Les Pays-Bas à la veille de la période Bourguignonne (1356-1364), 44-5, citing E. Petit, Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne, IX: Philippe de Rouvre (1349-1361), Jean II (1361-1363), 38, and a copy of the agreement of 1350 (Arch. dép. Nord, B 416).
2. Gallard, op.cit., 278.
3. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, no. LXXV, 333-4, and cf. Gallard, op.cit., 159-60, no. XXX.

1357

On 26 July the English envoys who had returned from the truce conference five days earlier were given a procuration to treat of peace.¹ As early as 13 June the pope had written to Edward and several other persons, including Lancaster, requesting them to receive Giles Albornoz, cardinal priest of Saint-Clement's, and Nicholas Capocci, cardinal priest of Saint-Vitale's, who he was sending to England on the subject, and asked for a safe conduct to be sent for them by way of Geoffrey Truci and Dominic de Lucarere, the bearers of the letter.² Four days later the captain of Calais was requested to give the couriers a safe conduct, and Hugh Pelegrini, canon of London, was asked to receive them and to assist them in their business.³ It is clear that the two cardinals joined the French and English envoys, probably whilst the truce negotiations were in progress, and that they subsequently took part in the discussions for peace, though not, it would seem, as mediators.⁴

1. Rymer, III, i, 227.

2. CPL, III, 49-50.

3. Ibid., III, 50.

4. Ibid.

1351

Meanwhile, on 27 July, Robert de Herle was empowered to extend the short truce drawn up earlier in the month by up to twelve days.¹ This arrangement was made in view of the possibility that the envoys appointed to treat of peace might be held up by contrary winds or some other fortuitous cause.² In fact they left London on 4 August; but the discussions were of little consequence and they were back in the city on 1 September.³ Three days later Michael de Northburgh was empowered to confirm the truce,⁴ which was published on 11 September and was to last for one year as from that date.⁵ There was little chance that it would be strictly adhered to and, as the Leicester chronicler very fairly puts it, it was signed on the understanding that either king should be at liberty to disregard it if it suited him.⁶

1. Rymer, III, i, 227.

2. Ibid.

3. E 101/313/8, m.2.

4. Rymer, III, i, 230.

5. Ibid., III, i, 232. Orders for its proclamation were given on 1 October (ibid., III, i, 233).

6. Knighton, II, 68.

Duke of Lancaster (1351)

On 6 March, 1351, Lancaster was elevated to the rank of duke, and his county of Lancaster was transformed into a palatinate on the model of Chester.¹ A number of views have been advanced as to the king's reasons for conferring this honour upon his 'cousin'. Only one such title had been conferred before, and that on the king's son and heir, who became duke of Cornwall in 1337. Edward III may have had some notion of creating

1. Somerville, op.cit., 40.

a bulwark against the Scots in north-western England, to balance the palatinate of Durham in the north-east; but there can be little doubt that the grant was inspired, first and foremost, by his desire to honour his friend and companion-at-arms. There could be no greater mark of the king's favour. It was at once the highest recognition of his services and an acknowledgement of his standing in the realm - next the Black Prince. Perhaps it was more. For a nobleman who was so much involved in negotiations with great dignitaries abroad, on truce, peace and other diplomatic missions, it was well that Edward should give him standing. His power to impress and persuade might be turned in the balance by it.

The palatinate and its consequences have been considered in some detail by Mr Somerville¹ and need not therefore be gone into in any detail here. Palatine powers were royal powers in devolution. They enabled Henry to have a chancery in Lancashire, to issue writs under the special seal of that chancery, and to appoint his own justices for pleas of the crown and all other

1. Op.cit., 40-45. The following comments are taken from these pages.

pleas touching the common law, with execution to be made by his writs and his ministers in the county. Other rights included powers of making corporations and erecting fairs and markets, of staying procedure and granting exemption from juries or assizes.

The king did not however grant away all royal authority in the county. He reserved the right of direct taxation, the power to pardon life and limb and to correct errors in the duke's courts. Although the grant invoked the Chester model, unlike the palatine lords of Durham and Chester Henry was to send representatives of the shire and boroughs in the county to parliament. He was also to assign collectors of tenths, fifteenths and subsidies.

Since the king's writ did not run in the palatinate it followed that, except in cases of treason and error, men of the county palatine could not be summoned to appear or answer any matter outside it. Moreover, any mandate which the king might address to the sheriff in another county was addressed in Lancashire to Duke Henry or his deputy, sometimes his justice, in the "duchy". Some royal writs were addressed to Henry or his chancellor

in the duchy, the officer who had charge of his great seal, as distinct from his personal or privy seal, and which had authority only in the county palatine. Under this seal a variety of instruments were issued, which are enrolled on two extant rolls of the Lancashire chancery for Henry's time, and which are dated by the year of his ducatus, commencing on 6 March 1351, the date of his elevation to the title of duke.¹ These were in substantially the same form as those under the king's great seal, the only difference being that the duke's name and style took the place of the king's. Although they were tested by the duke (normally at Preston, occasionally at Lancaster, and for a few months from December 1358 to April 1359 at Liverpool castle), Henry was not necessarily present when they were passed; they appear to have been dated from the place where the chancellor happened to be. As a rule, letters under this seal were issued by authority from the duke (sometimes jointly with his council), which was conveyed by a letter under his privy seal.

1. DL 37/1 & 2, for the periods 1354-61, calendered by W.Hardy in Dep. Keeper's Rept., xxxii, 331-48.

In the rest of his lands Henry had no more than his existing rights. The title of duke was nothing more than a title and by itself conferred no new power on him. Thus, after the creation of the palatinate his grants of lands and offices in the county, which formally would have been under the privy seal, were now passed under his great seal, but similar grants relating to his other possessions continued to be under the privy seal.

The granting of palatine powers in the middle of the fourteenth century was indeed a mark of the royal favour, since hitherto the tendency had rather been against the exceptional jurisdictions in private hands which threatened to hinder the uniform administration of justice by the king's officers. It has recently been argued that Edward had no reason to fear the consequences of allowing quasi-royal powers to devolve upon a subject since the grant was for life only and Henry had no son;¹ but there seems to be no reason to believe that he could not have begotten one after 1351. It was not altogether certain, therefore, that (even if the king had already

1. May McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 254-5.

determined upon the marriage between Henry's daughter Blanche and John of Gaunt, as is suggested) the reversion of at least a part of the inheritance would be secured for one of Edward's children. In 1351 it was not inevitable that the Lancastrian inheritance would be divided between Henry's two daughters.

Further endeavours for Peace (1353)

Much of Lancaster's time in 1352 was taken up with an expedition to Prussia and a subsequent visit to Paris to enter the lists with the duke of Brunswick.¹ Even then, however, he was not entirely free from affairs of state. Whilst he was in the French capital Guy de Boulogne, cardinal bishop of Porto, acting on instructions from Clement VI, approached him about a renewal of negotiations for peace.² He discussed the matter with the duke and several of Edward's councillors who were then with him (Reginald de Cobham, William FitzWarin, John de Lille and Bartholomew de Burghersh), and together they arranged for a conference to be held at Guines early in the following

1. Vide infra., pp. 547-59.

2. In a letter to Edward, written in Paris on 9 December, 1352, the cardinal claimed that when he left Avignon for the French capital (apparently in the autumn of that year) he had not been charged to discuss the matter (E. Perroy, "Quatre lettres du cardinal de Boulogne, 1352-1354", Revue du Nord, XXXVI, 1954, 161), and that it was only when Clement learned that Lancaster was in France that he wrote to him suggesting that they discuss arrangements for a peace (ibid). But as early as 4 October, 1352, Clement had requested John to grant a safe conduct to Edward's envoys and their attendants, to the number of 100 knights (CPL, III, 51), and on the same day he wrote to Edward urging him to make a peace with John (Φ. Raynaldus, Annales ecclesiastici, VI, 563-4).

1353
 year.¹ On 9 December, the day King John reconciled
 Lancaster and the duke of Brunswick,² the cardinal wrote
 to Edward asking him to send Henry and other members of
 his 'secret council' to Calais on 2 February, 1353, so
 that negotiations could be conducted with the French and
 when, as he explained to Lancaster, he would do everything
 in his power to bring the two sides into agreement.³

The subsequent negotiations under the chairmanship
 of the cardinal were worked out by Mollat more than half
 a century ago,⁴ and a text of the preliminaries of a peace
 in which they resulted has been found and published by
 Bock.⁵ Nevertheless, there is something to be said in
 favour of a reconsideration of the material which they
 covered, since new evidence has since come to light,⁶

1. Perroy, op.cit., 161.

2. Vide infra., p.558.

3. Perroy, op.cit., 161.

4. G.Mollat, "Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix entre
 la France et l'Angleterre (1353-1355)", Revue d'histoire
 ecclésiastique, X (1909), 729-43.

5. F.Bock, "Some new documents illustrating the early years
 of the Hundred Years War (1353-1356)", BJRL, XV (1931),
 70-73, 91-93.

6. Perroy, op.cit., 159-164; three procurations given to the
 cardinal in May 1353 (Innocent VI, 1352-1362. Lettres
 secrètes et curiales, I, fasc.1, pp.94, 96 & 99, nos.
 272, 275 & 284; CPL, III, 482); and an expense account of
 John de Wellewyk for four journeys to the cardinal, which
 has only recently been entered in the list of PRO Accounts
 Various (E 101/620/7).

and there is some which Mollat missed.¹ Taken together this goes some way towards explaining how the treaty of Guines (6 April, 1354) ever got so far as a formal draft, and why it was not ratified at Avignon in the following winter, which has always been something of a mystery.²

On 6 December, 1352, Pope Clement VI died at Avignon, not, however, from a shameful disease resulting from a dissolute life, as Villani, Mathias de Neuenburg and the monk of Melsa would have us believe, but from the bleeding which followed the bursting of an internal tumor.³ Twelve days later the conclave of cardinals assembled to elect his successor proclaimed Etienne Aubert, a distinguished jurist born at the village of Monts, near Pompadour in Limousin, as Pope Innocent VI.⁴

1. Notably the instructions given to Edward's confessor, brother John de Woderone, in the early summer of 1353 (Rot. Parl., II, 251-2, no.32).
2. E.Perroy, "Franco-English Relations, 1350-1400", History, XXI (1936-7), 149. This author's tentative explanation (ibid., 149-50), more fully propounded in The Hundred Years War, 127-9, and ultimately deriving from Bock, op.cit., 79-80, is not altogether satisfactory (J.Le Patourel, "Edward III and the Kingdom of France", History, XLIII, 1958, 177).
3. G.Mollat, Les papes d'Avignon (1305-1378), 89.
4. Ibid., 91-3; Eubel, op.cit., I, 19. Not 28 December as stated by Perroy, op.cit., Revue du Nord, XXXVI (1954), 160, n.2.

Almost immediatly Guy de Boulogne returned to Avignon, where his proposals were eagerly taken up by the new pope.¹ On 26 January Innocent sent him back to Paris, and the same day he wrote to Lancaster and King John urging them to co-operate with him.² The stage was thus set for another bout of top level discussions for peace.

There were several new comers to the subsequent conferences that were held at Guines, quite apart from the cardinal who acted as mediator.³ The English embassy, who were given their procuration on 19 February, ¹³⁵³ included Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, along with the bishop of

1. He was not present at the conclave which elected Innocent (Eubel, op.cit., I, 19, n.3), as stated by Perroy (op.cit., Revue du Nord, XXXVI, 1954, 160, n.2). Cf. Raynaldus, op.cit., VI, 564.
2. Innocent VI (1352-1362). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant a la France, I, fasc.1, cols. 28-30, nos.45 & 46; Lettres secretes et curiales, I, fasc.1, pp.28-9, nos.83 & 84; Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique, X (1909), 730-1.
3. He is referred to as "mediatour entre nous en ceste partie pur treter de bone pais & final acord" in the truce issued on 10 March, 1353 (Rymer, III, i, 254-5), and as "Mediatour & nemye Partie" in a speech delivered to parliament by Bartholomew de Burghersh on 7 October following (Rot. Parl., II, 251, no.32).

Norwich, Lancaster, Guy Brian and Michael de Northburgh.¹ Nearly all the French envoys were new to the discussions: Guillaume Bertran, bishop of Beauvais, Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, Pierre, duke of Bourbon, Charles of Spain, constable of France, and Robert de Lorris; only Pierre de la Forêt, archbishop of Rouen, and Jean de Boulogne, count of Montfort, had served before.²

There was thus some possibility of a fresh start to the negotiations, and although, for lack of time and other reasons, an agreement was not concluded at their first meeting, the discussions appear to have gone well.³ On 10 March the truce was extended until 1 August,¹³⁵³ and it provided for the envoys to reassemble 'between the castle of Guines and the bastide' on 20 May to continue the negotiations for peace.⁴

1. Rymer, III, i, 253. They left London between 16 & 18 February, and crossed to Calais from Dover (E 101/313/12, 17-19 & 41; E 372/197, ms.38r-d & 41r).
2. Rymer, III, i, 254.
3. "tant pur la briefte du temps, come pour plusours autres causes, nous n'eioms peu mettre les dites treites a plain fin" (ibid., III, i, 254).
4. Ibid., III, i, 254-5. The English envoys returned on board the Tromphorn, and arrived in London between 15 & 19 March (E 101/313/12, 17-19 & 41; E 372/197, ms.38r-d & 41).

Innocent VI had great hopes for the forthcoming conference under the chairmanship of Guy de Boulogne. On 28 April ¹³⁶³ he requested the English envoys to do everything in their power to arrive at a settlement with the French,¹ and during the first fortnight of May three procurations were issued to the cardinal which gave him extensive powers to bring about a peace treaty.² The first, issued on 4 May, empowered him to annul and revoke all pacts and confederations made by the two kings, their nobles, or others, which might hinder the conclusion of peace; the second, issued on 6 May, empowered him to confirm and ratify treaties of peace between John and Edward, and their adherents; and the third, issued on 13 May, empowered him to enforce observation of the same by ecclesiastical censure.

But the meeting arranged for 20 May did not take place. In a letter written to the cardinal, towards the end of April, the English envoys related how Edward had called

1. Innocent VI (1352-1362). Lettres secrètes et curiales, I, fasc.1, pp.86-7, no.253.
2. Ibid., I, fasc.1, pp.94, 96 & 99, nos.272, 275 & 284; CPL, III, 482. One of them has also been published by Raynaldus, op.cit., VI, 580-1.

a council of prelates and barons to discuss the matters treated at Guines, and how, owing to illness and for other unavoidable reasons, it had been poorly attended.¹ He had therefore been obliged to postpone the discussions until 16 May and, they added, parliament was not due to assemble until 29 August. It was consequently impossible for them to be at Guines on the day arranged.

From this account, and in view of the procurations issued to the cardinal, it would appear that the negotiations of February-March had proceeded some way, and that the envoys referred to meetings of council and parliament in which Edward proposed to secure assent to the conclusion of a formal treaty.²

The cardinal received the envoys' letter on 3 May. In his reply, written in Paris two days later and sent with his familiar Bernart, he said that several of the French envoys who had attended the conference at Guines, and several other of John's councillors, suspected

1. This letter is referred to in the cardinal's reply (Perroy, op.cit., Revue du Nord, XXXVI (1954), 162).
2. This was the usual procedure. When a draft treaty was concluded in April 1354 Bartholomew de Burghersh explained to parliament that Edward did not wish to ratify it "sanz Assent des Grantz & de ses Communes" (Rot. Parl., II, 262). On this question I am indebted to a paper of R. Major, Representative Assemblies and the Ratification of Treaties during the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which was read at the 11th International Congress of Historical Sciences on 20 August, 1960.

Edward's reasons for the delay. Some of them were astonished at it. He explained how John had called together his prelates and barons, together with the envoys who he had sent to Guines, and how they had discussed the matters treated with the English envoys. However, he concluded that, for reasons which he could not reveal at the time of writing, the French envoys were themselves unable to reassemble at Guines before 29 August, but in the meantime arrangements would have to be made for the extension of the truce.

To this end, on 10 July, ¹³⁵³ Lancaster and the other English envoys who had been sent to Guines in February, were appointed to extend the truce until 11 November;¹ but in fact they never left England.² On 15 July John de Wellewyk was sent from London with certain royal instructions for the archbishop of Canterbury and other members of the king's council, very likely the other

1. Rymer, III, i, 260-1.

2. Lancaster was at Leicester on 22 July (M. Bateson, The records of the borough of Leicester, II, 89-90).

members of the embassy appointed five days previous.¹ Having delivered Edward's instructions, whatever they were, he made his way to Paris and elsewhere to see Guy de Boulogne. It was in the French capital that, on 26 July, the truce was extended until 11 November and arrangements were made for the envoys to return to Guines before its expiry to negotiate further on a peace.² Wellewyk was back from Paris on 21 September, when he reported to the king and council, and between then and 13 December he was sent on three further missions to the cardinal.³

Fortunately, there is evidence to show why Edward did not send an embassy to Guines to continue the negotiations which were well under way in March. In effect, on 1 March, he had concluded an alliance with Charles of Blois, the

1. E 101/620/7.
2. Rymer, III, i, 261-2.
3. He oncemore left London to see the cardinal (in Paris) on 1 October, and arrived back on 22 October; and again to see the cardinal (presumably at Calais), leaving London on 26 October and 20 November, and arriving back there on 17 November and 13 December respectively (E 101/620/7).

French candidate in the Breton succession dispute, and who had been a prisoner in England since his capture at La Roche-Dérien in 1347.¹ If, as Bock suggests, this treaty was primarily concluded to secure an advantageous treaty with France,² it may be that Edward was not satisfied with the French offers discussed at Guines at the very time that the alliance was concluded with Blois and which, whatever they may have amounted to, appear to have raised considerable hopes at the time.

Instead, therefore, of continuing with negotiations as arranged, he sent his confessor, brother John de Woderone, to Avignon with details of his conditions for peace to be delivered to the pope. By good fortune we know of the instructions given to Woderone (which Mollat searched for and failed to find among the Vatican Archives)³ from a speech subsequently made by Bartholomew de Burghersh at a meeting of the Great Council in the White Chamber on 7 October.⁴

1. Bock, op.cit., 61-66 & 84-91.

2. Ibid., 79.

3. Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X (1909), 736.

4. Rot. Parl., II, 251-2, no.32.

As reported by Burghersh, Woderone was to begin by expressing to the pope Edward's desire for peace. He was then to convey the king's demands for the conclusion of a treaty with the French, which were as follows: the restitution of the duchy of Guyenne as fully as his ancestors had held it; the duchy of Normandy; the county of Ponthieu; those lands which he had conquered from his adversary in France, Brittany and elsewhere; and the obedience of Flanders, of which he claimed to be seized. All these territories he demanded in full sovereignty, to hold freely, without homage or other service, and in return he would agree to resign the crown of France. He was willing, however, to give up Normandy if it could be shown that John had an overt right to it. Woderone was to suggest that Clement should sound the French king privately on these proposals, and to make it clear that Edward would not agree to a peace treaty on any other conditions.

It is not clear at what point Edward sent his confessor to the curia with these instructions;¹ but

1. Burghersh merely stated that he was sent "apres cele trettee", referring to the negotiations at Guines in February-March (ibid., II, 252).

about the end of July a memorandum was issued to Raymond Pelegrini, canon of London, papal chaplain and nuncio, according to which he was to promote negotiations for peace between the two kings.¹ When he arrived in France he was first to get instructions from Guy de Boulogne. He was then to go to John, to express to him the pope's desire for peace, and to explain that Innocent was intending to send nuncios to the two kings on the subject when he heard that the cardinal and Lancaster had already arranged a conference. To Edward, Pelegrini was to say that the pope was distressed that the negotiations were taking so long, and that an agreement had not been reached within the prescribed time. He was not, however, to mention Innocent's annoyance that Edward had not sent his envoys to the meeting arranged for May when, it had been hoped, a treaty would be concluded. He was to feel his way cautiously with the two kings and others as to whether the mediation of the cardinal would be agreeable for

1. This is not dated (Innocent VI. Lettres closes, etc., I, i, cols.117-9, no.182; Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X, 1909, 732, n.4), although attributed to 13 July in the English Calendar of Entries (CPL, III, 611-12). Clearly, however, it was issued after the truce of 26 July, which it refers to, and presumably before 2 August, when the pope announced Pelegrini's departure to the cardinal (Innocent VI. Lettres closes, etc., I, 1,

future peace talks, or, in case of the contrary, that of other nuncios. On this point Innocent was willing to make considerable concessions to the English. Finally, since the pope was not clear whether the truce had been extended until 11 November or until Easter, Pelegrini was to inquire into the matter. If it was only until 11 November ¹³⁵³ he was to procure a prolongation until the Feast of Saint-John the Baptist, 1354, but if until Easter he was not to mention a further extension unless Guy de Boulogne saw fit.

It is clear from Wellewyk's expense account that negotiations were being pursued with the cardinal during the summer,¹ whilst in the meantime Edward, having received no news from Woderone, sent William de Witleseye, archdeacon of Huntingdon, to the curia to request Innocent for an answer to the proposals made on his behalf by his confessor.²

cols.129-32, no.198; CPL, III, 612-3; Mollat, *op.cit.*, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X, 1909, 735-6). Mollat thought that the truce referred to was that of 10 March and not that of 26 July (*ibid.*, 732, n.4), and this led him into considerable confusion over Pelegrini's mission (*ibid.*, 733-4).

1. Vide supra., pp.431-2.

2. Rot. Parl., II, 252; Innocent VI. Lettres closes, etc., I, i, cols.129-32, no.198; CPL, III, 612-3; Mollat, *op.cit.*, Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X, 1909, 735-6.

We have a good idea of what followed from a letter of the pope to the cardinal dated 2 August.¹ Innocent began by relating how, after Pelegrini had left Avignon, Witleseye arrived at the curia to get a reply to the proposals put to him by Woderone. He told the archdeacon that, immediately after the confessor's departure, he had sent André de la Roche, abbot of Saint-Seine and Cluny, to John and to the cardinal touching the matters in question, but that he had not yet had an answer from the French king. Nevertheless, he must not be surprised if John refused to give way to Edward's demands as laid before him by the confessor, nor must he be surprised that John had not yet replied to him since it was not so long since the confessor had left Avignon.

After conferring with Witleseye touching the reformation of peace, and telling him of Pelegrini's mission, the archdeacon disclosed that Edward suspected that the cardinal was not an impartial mediator, that he favoured John, and that Edward therefore refused to continue with negotiations under his chairmanship.

1. Innocent VI. Lettres closes, etc., I, i, cols.129-32, no.198; CPL, III, 612-3; Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X, 1909, 735-6.

Innocent thereupon consulted with some of the cardinals then at the curia and with Charles of Spain, constable of France, and it was determined to request the two kings to send solemn envoys to Avignon furnished with full powers to treat in his presence of a definitive peace.

To this end the cardinal was requested to do everything he could to induce John to agree to the project, and to let the pope know who the French envoys would be and when they would arrive in Avignon. Pelegrini was to secure Edward's approval. Both were also to arrange another conference between Calais and Guines in order that the truce might be renewed for a year or two, since the negotiations for peace could be expected to take a long time. The same day Innocent wrote to John, Edward and Pelegrini informing them of his proposals and requesting their agreement.¹

Edward was unlikely to accede to the pope's plans unless John agreed to his terms. In his account of the negotiations, given in the White Chamber on 7 October, ¹³⁵³

1. Innocent VI. Lettres closes, etc., I, i, cols.128-9 & 132-4, nos.197 & 199; CPL, III, 613-4. Cf. Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique, X, 1909, 736.

Burghersh explained that no positive answer had been given to the king's proposals for peace, and that it had therefore been agreed in council that preparations should be made for war.¹ Since money would be needed for the purpose the subsidy was renewed for a year, and for a further two years if war broke out, but appropriated to the war.²

Nevertheless, on 6 November, in accordance with the July truce extension, English envoys were given their procuration to treat of peace and the extension of the truce.³ Two days later Edward wrote to Innocent insisting upon his ardent desire for peace, explaining how his envoys were already at Dover on their way to Guines, and stating that Pelegrini would tell him how sincere was his desire for a lasting settlement.⁴

1. Rot. Parl., II, 252.

2. Ibid; S.B.Chrimes and A.L.Brown, Select documents of English constitutional history, 1307-1485, pp.79-80, no.70.

3. The same as in February, but including Burghersh (Rymer, III, i, 268). Their powers were not limited to the prorogation of the truce, as stated by Mollat, op.cit., Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X, 1909, 737.

4. Rymer, III, i, 269.

In effect the English envoys left their various places of residence in England between 2 and 12 November, and once again crossed to Calais on board the Tromphorn.¹ Since the truce was due to expire on 11 November, an extension of two weeks had already been concluded for the Picardy region, and once the envoys assembled at Guines this was extended until 30 December on the request of Guy de Boulogne.² Negotiations were thereby facilitated on the main truce, and on 13 December this was extended until 7 April, 1354, the envoys having agreed to meet again at the customary place on 23 March.³

1. Guy Brian left his manor of Hanley in Staffordshire on the 2nd., the bishop of Norwich his manor of Terling in Essex on the 6th., the earl of Arundel his castle of Arundel on the 8th., Lancaster also on the 8th., and the archbishop of Canterbury on the 12th (E 101/313/13-16; E 372/198, ms.38d, 39d & 41d).
2. Letter of the English envoys, dated at Calais on 22 November, referring to the extension to 25 November, concluded by Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, John's lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontier with Flanders, and Reginald de Cobham, captain of Calais, and approving a further extension until 30 December for Calais, Picardy, Artois, and all parts north of the river Somme to Flanders, to commence 25 November (PRO 31/8/134, no.43, and J.Du Tillet, Recueil des guerres et traictez d'entre les rois de France et d'Angleterre, 66 & 78, apparently now Arch. nat., J 637, no.7).
3. Du Tillet, op.cit., 66-7 & 78, dates the truce 3 December after an original then in the Trésor des Chartes, and Mollart, op.cit., 738, says 13 December, quoting the Hague edition of Rymer (1740), III, i, 96, presumably after the enrollment on the Treaty Roll. It is not published in the Record Commission edition.

The Succession in Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland

Upon the conclusion of the truce Lancaster went straight on from Guines to the Low Countries,¹ where he was to negotiate a treaty of alliance with William, duke of Bavaria, count of Holland and Zeeland, whom he was also to bring into agreement with his mother the Empress Margaret, countess of Hainault.² The negotiations, as he explained to King Charles of Navarre, were of particular concern to him,³ since William had married his eldest daughter, Maud, two years previous.⁴ It was natural then that he should have a personal interest in the settlement of a quarrel between mother and son which ultimately began on the death of Margaret's brother, Count William III

1. He drew wages for the period 8 November, 1353, to 17 February, 1354, "tempore quo missus fuit ... versus partes de Gynes ad tractandum cum consilio Francie et Flandrie, et de ibidem ... eundi versus partes de Holand et Zeland" (E 372/198, m.39d). The other envoys arrived back in England on 14 & 15 December (E 101/313/13-16; E 372/198, ms.38d, 39d & 41d).
2. Rymer, III, i, 263.
3. "Et bien seit come près il nous appartient" (R. Delachenal, "Premières négociations de Charles le Mauvais avec les Anglais, 1354-1355", BEC, LXI, 1900, Pièces Justificatives, no. I, p. 272).
4. Vide infra, p. 449.

d'Avesnes, in September 1345. But much more was at stake than the happiness and well being of Lancaster's daughter. Edward's aim was to re-establish English influence in the Low Countries, virtually non-existent since 1347, and which had been made all the more necessary by the eclipse of his hopes and his achievement in Flanders. Maud was married as an instrument of English policy. Her father's mission in Holland and Zeeland was to see that it bore fruit. It was the last of a long and tangled series of negotiations which had begun with William III's death at Stavoren in Friesland in 1345.

William left behind him a disputed succession. Since he died without heirs of his body, the nearest of kin were his sisters, Margaret, wife of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, Philippa, wife of Edward III, and Johanna, wife of William, margrave of Juliers.¹ William's lands were all fiefs of the Empire, and the Emperor could claim that Holland and Zeeland had fallen vacant and hence should revert to the sovereign.² On the other

1. H.S.Lucas, The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347, 535; H.Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique, II (2nd ed. 1908), 177.

2. Lucas, op.cit., 535.

hand, it might be urged that the patrimony of the house of Avesnes should be partitioned among the three sisters.¹

The latter was apparently the view entertained by Edward, who actively pursued Philippa's claim in the winter of 1345-6, and who was thought to be making preparations to invade Zeeland.² Philip VI, on the other hand, gave his support to Margaret as heir to the entire inheritance,³ and it looked as if the succession would be dragged into the main stream of the Anglo-French conflict.⁴ For the moment, however, both kings were too preoccupied to think of active intervention.⁵ In January 1346 the Emperor was therefore able to grant the entire inheritance to his wife, and in the following spring she made a tour of her possessions

1. Ibid., 535-6.

2. Ibid., 536-8.

3. Ibid., 539.

4. Pirenne, op.cit., II, 177.

5. Ibid; Lucas, op.cit., 538-9. Edward's failure to send troops was not so much because of the rigours of winter, as suggested by L.P. Van den Bergh (Gedenkstukken tot opheldering der Nederlandsche geschiedenis, I, 160 ff), as because he was directing his main attention to the war in France.

and secured recognition as sovereign.¹ Before she returned to Germany she appointed her second son, William, as governor, or stadtholder, of all these territories with a free hand in their administration during her absence.²

Whatever hopes Edward may have entertained were for the moment dashed. But when, in the following year, the Emperor Lewis died unexpectedly, he allied himself with the other disaffected party, the margrave of Juliers, and with the arch enemy of the Bavarian family, the new emperor Charles IV.³ Margaret's position was still further weakened by the hostility of Brabant, also allied with Charles, and by a fresh outbreak of civil war in the provinces themselves.⁴ All these circumstances induced her to resign Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland to her son, but to retain Hainault, where William was only to remain governor.⁵ In return

1. Lucas, op.cit., 542-3. Cf. Pirenne, op.cit., II, 177.
2. Lucas, op.cit., 557-8; P.J.Blok, Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche volk, translated into English by O.A. Bierstadt and R.Putnam, History of the people of the Netherlands, I, 312. The following references are to the translation.
3. Blok, op.cit., I, 313.
4. Pirenne, op.cit., II, 177-8; Blok, op.cit., I, 313-5.
5. Blok, op.cit., I, 313.

she was to receive certain sums of money in compensation, and her friends were to be maintained in the offices which they held of her appointment.¹ The government of the counties might then have been settled once and for all had not William, who assumed the title of count, failed to enforce his part of the agreement with his mother.² Margaret therefore returned from Bavaria in 1350, and the counties divided into two camps.³

Unable to turn elsewhere, Margaret now sought the assistance of her brother-in-law and rival claimant, Edward III.⁴ Edward immediately welcomed this opportunity to regain a foothold in the Low Countries. Without abandoning his claims to the inheritance he agreed to act as arbitrator between mother and son.⁵ He accepted the custody of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, and in October Walter Mauny, William Burton, William Stury, and Ivo de Glinton were commissioned to secure them in

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., I, 313-5.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., I, 315; Pirenne, op.cit., II, 180.

5. Rymer, III, i, 206-7; Pirenne, op.cit., II, 180.

his name.¹ They were also appointed to treat with both Margaret and William of an alliance.²

It was hoped that an agreement might be reached within the year, but since this was not the case, on 6 December ¹³⁵⁰ Nigel Loring, Stury, Glinton and Stephen Rumbelow were given a commission to treat about the government of the counties.³ Glinton, who had only arrived back from Antwerp on 13 December,⁴ left for Cirice in Zeeland six days later.⁵ But no solution seems to have been found, and on 20 March, 1351, Lancaster was given charge of an English embassy (which included John de Carlton, dean of Wells, Andrew de Ufford, archdeacon of Middlesex) again to treat of an alliance with Margaret and William.⁶

1. Rymer, III, i, 206-7. ~~Glinton claimed expenses~~
2. Ibid., III, i, 206. Glinton claimed expenses for the period 23 October to 13 December, 1350, for a journey "ad partes transmarinas Hanonie et Brabancie, usque Andwerpian in Brabantia" (E 101/313/3).
3. Rymer, III, i, 212.
4. Vide supra., n.2.
5. He claimed expenses for the period 19 December, 1350, to 2 February, 1351, for a journey "ad partes transmarinas Zelandie, Middleburgh, usque Cirice in Selandia", crossing to the continent by way of Dover-Calais (E 101/313/3).
6. Rymer, III, i, 216.

But attempts at negotiation failed, William allied with the bishop of Utrecht, the counties were divided into two parties, and a major conflict was imminent.¹ Less than a fortnight before the commission to treat was issued to Lancaster, he was appointed one of the two standing admirals,² a fleet was fitted out to assist Margaret, and advanced on Veer in the isle of Walcheren in ¹³⁵¹ May, where an indecisive victory was achieved.³ It seems fairly clear that Lancaster played no part in this, since on 12 May Walter Mauny was given the diplomatic mission and instructed to help Margaret all he could if he failed to bring her into agreement with William.⁴

After the engagement at Veer, the remainder of William's fleet retired to the Meuse, where it was re-equipped.⁵ On 4 July ¹³⁵¹ the Anglo-Dutch fleet which followed him to subdue Holland was defeated in a

1. Blok, op.cit., I, 315.
2. Rymer, III, i, 215.
3. Blok, op.cit., I, 315; Abbé Hossart, Histoire ecclésiastique et profane de Hainaut, II, 145.
4. Rymer, III, i, 220. William de Burton drew wages for the period 25 May to 14 June, 1351, for a journey "versus partes Selandie et Holandie" to speak with the empress (E 101/313/5).
5. Blok, op.cit., I, 315; Hossart, op.cit., II, 145-6.

sanguinary battle which was fought between Vlaardingen and Brill.¹

This was decisive.² Margaret was forced to leave Zeeland and take refuge in Hainault. Her followers were banished, many of their castles destroyed, and their property and offices given to others. Since Edward's mediation was her only hope, she betook herself to England and in December 1351 placed the three strongholds which her party still held in Holland in his hands: Geertrudenberg, the fortress of Vreeland on the Amstel, and Heemskerk in Kennemerland.

William, however, was in a stronger position to negotiate with Edward than was his mother. On 18 July, a fortnight after his victory at Brill, letters of safe conduct were issued to him and his retinue, also coming to England.³ Both parties now agreed to the king's arbitration, and in November William Stury and William de Burton were appointed to take over in the king's name, castles and fortresses being besieged in

1. Ibid.

2. For the details in this paragraph, see Blok, op.cit., I, 315.

3. Rymer, III, i, 227.

Holland and Zeeland.¹ Edward pointed out, however, that he did not intend to use them against the dukes of Brabant and Guelders, and the count of Flanders.²

It was doubtless quite clear to Edward and the council that support for William was now the most profitable course to adopt, and sometime before November 1351 arrangements were made for the marriage of Lancaster's eldest daughter to the count. On the 12th of that month letters of protection were again issued to William and his retinue coming to England, and the abbot of Egmond, the lord of Egmond, and Gaerard de Heemskerk, William's proctors in England, were empowered to collect Maud for the marriage,³ which was celebrated in the King's Chapel at Westminster early in the following year, apparently after Lancaster had set out on his expedition to Prussia.⁴

1. Ibid., III, i, 234.

2. Ibid. Burton drew wages for the period 6 December, 1351, to 26 February, 1352, "alaint en message le Roi en Holande" (E 101/313/9), and John Avenal for the period 5 February to 7 March, 1352, for a journey "versus Caleys et Zelandiam" (E 101/313/10).

3. Rymer, III, i, 235.

4. Knighton, II, 69.

A settlement was now made whereby William was confirmed in the possession of Holland and Zeeland, providing he paid an annual rent to his mother, who was to keep Hainault.¹ Bereft of English assistance Margaret returned to her faithful county in the spring.²

However, an alliance with William had not yet been concluded. With this end in view, therefore, on 10 December, 1352, Andrew de Ufford and John Avenal were empowered to treat with the count.³ It was probably on the basis of the negotiations conducted by them that on 17 February ¹³⁵² following, the day Lancaster left London for the first truce conference under the chairmanship of Guy de Boulogne, he was given the text of a treaty of alliance to take to William for his confirmation.⁴

By the terms of this agreement either party was to provide the other with naval and military assistance whenever required, peace was not to be concluded with

1. L. Devillers, Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut, de l'avènement de Guillaume II à la mort de Jacqueline de Bavière, 1337-1436, I, 305.
2. Blok, op.cit., I, 315. A safe conduct was issued for her return on 16 March, 1352 (Rymer, III, i, 241).
3. Rymer, III, i, 250. Ufford drew wages for the period 17 December, 1352, to 30 January, 1353, for a journey "versus partes Holandie et Zelandie" (E 101/313/10), and Avenal for the period 15 December, 1352, to 18 January, 1353 (when he reported to the council), for a journey to Zeeland with letters for William (E 372/197, m.38).
4. Rymer, III, i, 252-3.

France without Edward's agreement and unless William was specifically included, merchants were to be free to come and go between the two countries, and the subjects of either sovereign were not to be arrested whilst in the other's country.

It is clear that Lancaster did not go on to the Low Countries after the truce conference in the spring,¹ but on 14 October following he was again commissioned to negotiate a treaty of alliance with William and to bring him into agreement with his mother,² with whom he was again in conflict.³ On this occasion he went straight on to the Low Countries from Guines,⁴ and early in 1354 he arranged a meeting with the councils of mother and son and several friends of either party,⁵ apparently at

1. He returned to London on the conclusion of the truce negotiations (E 101/313/19; E 372/197, m.38d).
2. Rymer, III; i, 263.
3. Blok, op.cit., I, 315.
4. E 372/198, m.39d; vide supra., p.441.
5. He instructed Walter de Bintree to tell the king of Navarre "coment nous sumes envoié de par le Roi Monseigneur affaire nostre poair que une bonne pees soit faite entre la mier et le filz de Henaud et de Holand, et bien seit come près il nous appartient, et sur ce coment nous avons pris une journée ove l'une partie et l'autre, ove lour conseil et plusours de leurs amis et de grantz seignurs devoient estre, et coment nous avons grant espoir que si nous y seions ils ferront bone accord entre eux si Dieu plest" (Delachenal, op.cit., p.272, no.I).

Antwerp.¹

The mission was absolutely without avail. Even Lancaster was unable to mediate an agreement between his son-in-law and Margaret, and William refused to ratify the alliance.² It was not until 7 December following that mother and son were reconciled at Mons.³ William agreed to pay his mother a large sum down and an annuity, and he was recognised as count of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, and she as countess of Hainault. Prisoners of either side were to be freed and both were to forgive and forget. Thibaut Maulion, sergeant of Mons, was sent to Avignon with the news for Lancaster.⁴

1. There is a mandate for payment of Nicholas, lord of Lalaing, in the accounts of the baillage of Hainault, which reads: "Payet pour partie de despens monsieur Alemant, le seigneur de Harchies, le seigneur de Buvraiges, monsieur Jehan Lestruve, monsieur Estiévéne Maulion, Bernard Royer, leur gens et leur chevaus, alans en Anwiers par-deviers monsieur le duc Lancastre pour les besonges touchans entre medame la contesse et monsieur le duc Willaume, mouvans le jour des Rois l'an LIII (6 January, 1353/4), comptet desdis frais par Jehan de Briffoel, sergant de Mons, et autres: lvi.l. xiiij.s. ix.d." (Devillers, op.cit., I, p.772, no.27).
2. It was returned to the chancellor by Lancaster's clerk, Henry de Walton, and cancelled on 5 April, 1354 (Ryner, III, i, 252-3).
3. Blok, op.cit., I, 316; Hossart, op.cit., 146.
4. An account of the sire de Ville for the period 8 January to 30 June, 1355 records: "Par lettres medame, données à Valenchiennes le quart jour dou mois de march l'an LIIII

But the quarrel did not really come to an end until July 1356 when Margaret died at Quesnoy in Hainault and for a short while William was able to enjoy the government of the entire disputed territories.¹

For Maud it must have been a most unhappy marriage. Taken away from home at the age of thirteen, given as bride to William in Lancaster's absence, she only saw him once again, in the Low Countries for the Christmas of 1353. After a visit to England in 1357 her husband began to show signs of insanity, in the following year he was confined to the Hague, and was later removed to the strong castle of Quesnoy, where he dragged out a miserable existence for 31 years.² Contemporaries hinted at poison administered to him whilst in England,³ and

(4 March, 1355), pour frais fais par Thibaut Maulion, siergant de Mons, en alant, dou command medame, par-deviers le duc de Lancastre ens ou voyaige d'Avignon, et ossi en Hollande, par-deviers le duc Willame: xxiiij.l. ij.s. vi.d." (Devillers, op.cit., I, p.773, no.7).

1. Blok, op.cit., I, 316.
2. Ibid. On 12 August, 1357, a safe conduct was issued to him, returning to Holland and Zeeland (Rymer, III, i, 364).
3. Blok, op.cit., I, 316.

the Leicester chronicler tells us that when Maud died on 10 April, 1362, it was popularly believed that she too had been poisoned in order that the entire Lancastrian inheritance might pass to John of Gaunt, Henry's second son-in-law.¹

1. Knighton, II, 116.

XI

THE KING'S AMBASSADOR. IV : TOWARDS
THE BREACH (1354-1355)

Charles of Navarre and Guy de Boulogne

On 8 January, 1354, Charles of Navarre, son-in-law of King John, king of Navarre and lord of a number of fiefs in Normandy, had the constable of France, Charles of Spain (a cadet of the royal family of Castile, of the house of La Cerda), favourite of King John, ambushed and murdered on his Norman lands at Laigle.¹ At the time he was still only a youth, but an attractive one, a glib talker, cunning, energetic, madly ambitious, and harbouring several grievances

1. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 81-3; and cf. the notes in The Chronicle of Jean de Venette, ed. R.A. Newhall, 202-3.

that boiled up into a feud against the Valois dynasty.¹

In the first place his mother, daughter of Louis X, had been excluded from the succession to the throne of France.² Had he been born earlier he would have had a better claim to it than had Edward. Nor had a dowry, promised at the time of his marriage to King John's daughter Joan, ever been paid. A more immediate grievance was his exclusion from certain lands which should have been given to his mother in compensation for the counties of Champagne and Brie. These included the counties of Angoulême and Mortain and three castles in Poitou, which were of less value. Shortly before her death in 1349 a new arrangement was concluded by which Angoulême and two of the castles were to be exchanged for three castellanies around Paris. But John had kept Angoulême without giving anything in compensation. It was the grant of the county

1. Delachenal, op.cit., I, 75-80. It was not, however, until the sixteenth century that he was called 'el Malo', the Bad (S.Honoré-Duvergé, "L'origine du surnom de Charles le Mauvais", Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, 345-50).
2. For the details set forth in this paragraph see Delachenal, op.cit., I, 77-8 & 80-83, and the notes in The Chronicle of Jean de Venette, 194 & 202.

to Charles of Spain that, among other things, led the young king of Navarre to have him murdered at Laigle.

Two days later, on 10 January, ¹³⁵⁴ he wrote to Edward, the Black Prince, Lancaster and elsewhere, stating the reasons for his action and seeking their protection from the wrath of King John.¹ 'Know that it was I', he insolently boasted, 'who had the constable killed'.² He thanked Lancaster for letters in which the duke had offered to help him, and requested him to collect forces at Calais and Guines for action when required.³ He sought the co-operation of Edward's captain and lieutenant in Brittany in order that the Breton forces might act in conjunction with Navarrese garrisons in the Cotentin.⁴

1. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.350-4, nos.I-III; R.Delachenal, "Premières négociations de Charles le Mauvais avec les Anglais (1354-1355)", BEC, LXI (1900), 255, and Histoire de Charles V, I, 83-4 & 83, n.5.
2. Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, no.I, p.351; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 83, n.5.
3. "Très-chier et très-amé cousin, je vous mercy tant come je puis des bones et amiables lettres que vous m'avés envoiés, par lesquelles vous me mandés que vous avés grant talent de moi faire service qui me feust pleisant, honourable et proufitable, dont je me répute pur moult tenus à vous, etc." (Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.352-4, nos.II & III).
4. Ibid., nos.I & II, pp.351-3.

Eight days later, on 18 January, without awaiting replies to his first letters, he again wrote to Edward and Lancaster, this time in more pressing terms, renewing his requests for assistance and insisting upon the imminent peril in which John's wrath placed him.¹ He pointed out to Edward that he held strong, well garrisoned and supplied castles, notably in Normandy, and that the Norman nobility was behind him to a man.²

Little more than a year had passed since Lancaster had met Charles and his two brothers in Paris,³ and he had obviously acquired a very clear picture of the divisions in the French court.⁴ Had he made any overtures to Charles

1. Ibid., pp.354-6, no.IV; Delachenal, Premières négociations, 256 and Pièces Justificatives, 273-4, no.II.
2. Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, no.IV, pp.355 & 356.
3. Knighton, II, 73; vide infra., pp.556-7.
4. Charles of Spain had been granted the county of Angoulême on 23 December, 1350, and this grant was renewed in October 1352 (Luce, Froissart, IV, 1, n.2). He was made constable in January 1351 (ibid.), by which time Charles of Navarre and his friends, notably Robert le Coq, were already slandering him and insinuating that he had too great an influence with King John (L. Douët d'Arcq, "Acte d'accusation contre Robert le Coq, évêque de Laon", BEC, II, 1840-41, 365-6; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 82 & n.5).

then?¹ It is not clear precisely what proposals he had put to the young king in his letters, nor is it clear when he had made them;² but it is perhaps significant that Charles' letters of 10 January for the king and the Black Prince were sent to Lancaster, to be forwarded to England only if he saw fit,³ and they were neither as long nor as specific as those which he wrote to the duke. It was of the duke alone, and not of Edward and the prince, that he requested

1. According to Knighton (II, 71), who was well informed on the episode in Paris (vide infra., pp. 550-1), and whose information may ultimately have been derived from letters sent by Lancaster to the abbot of Leicester and Leicester corporation (ibid., pp. 558-9), "rex Navernyae cognatus ducis super omnes alios grato modo se habuit penes eum, et sapienter pro eo in omnibus agebat", and he places the young king and his brothers at the head of a list of the duke's "consiliarii" in the French capital (II, 73). Certainly Charles was among those whom John appointed to try and reconcile Lancaster and Brunswick before the duel (Scriptorum Brunswicensia Illustrantium, ed. G.G. Leibnitz, II, 47) and, together with his brother Philip, he is said to have led Henry into the lists (Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 25).
2. Probably towards the close of 1353; but the letters in question do not appear to be extant.
3. "J'escris sur ceste matere à mes cousins le roi d'Engleterre et le prince de Gales en leur requérant leur aide et confort. Si vous prie que se vous véés qu'il soit bon qu'il aient nos lettres, vous veullies faire passer mon message en Engleterre; quar certes de tout ce qui purroit toucher mon honneur et estat, voudroie-je faire et user par vous et vostre bon conseil" (Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, no. III, p. 354).

forces to be sent to Calais and Guines. These were to be under the duke's personal command, and it was the duke whom he proposed to meet there.¹

Lancaster was at Malines in Brabant, endeavouring to reconcile the Empress Margaret with her son, his son-in-law, when (probably on 18 January ¹³⁵⁴) he received Charles' first letter.² He immediately sent Walter de Byntre, a household sergeant long in his service,³ direct to Evreux with a set of instructions and a written reply which completed them. The text of the reply does not appear to be extant, but a copy of the credential or credence given to Byntre, the set of instructions laying down just what he was to propose to Charles, is.⁴

He was to begin by expressing Lancaster's sympathy, but was to point out that it was difficult for the duke

1. Ibid.
2. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 257 and Pièces Justificatives, no.1, p.272.
3. Vide infra., p.692.
4. Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, p.272, no.1; Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.356-7, no.V.

to come to his assistance immediately since he was preoccupied in the Low Countries. He was to add, however, that if things became really critical he would postpone the mission on which he was engaged in order to help him right away. As the forces which he had with him amounted to no more than a few men-at-arms and no archers, to be of any real use he would first need to return to England to assemble his troops and obtain Edward's permission to come to his assistance.

To facilitate further negotiations he was to inform Charles that he would be at Bruges by 31 January or 1 February and would await the young king's envoys there. He was to request that these envoys should be given such powers as the duke would secure for himself — full powers to treat — and that they should be fully instructed in the way he could most help Charles. He was to recommend that the lord of Fricamps be included in the embassy because he was already well known in England.

He was to tell Charles that he had sent the letters for Edward, the Black Prince, the Queen and the Queen Mother on to the king by way of one of his esquires, and

that he would shortly have news from them which should please him very much.¹ He had instructed the esquire to be at Bruges by 1 February with the replies to these letters.

There were two reasons why the duke had chosen Bruges for the rendez-vous: it was possible to get there just as quickly and more safely than it was to get to Calais and, in meeting there, he would be able to resume his former mission should Charles not require his services immediately. He was to caution the young king against coming to Bruges in person and, finally, to intimate that Normandy was certainly the best place for the disembarkation of English troops, but to point out that it was for Edward, the prince and the council to decide upon that.

Meanwhile, Edward was in touch with Lancaster by way of John de Warrington (doubtless the esquire whom the duke had sent to England with Charles' and his own letters), a messenger bearing royal instructions for him, and whom the duke subsequently sent to Bruges to secure a safe

1. He also sent Edward the letters which Charles had written to him, together with his reply and a copy of the credential which he had given to Byntre (Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, nos. II & III, pp. 352 & 353).

conduct for Sir Walter Mauny, whom the king was sending out there.¹ On 26 January a procuration containing full powers to treat with Charles was issued to the duke.²

Lancaster was at Malines then. On the same day he received Charles' second letter.³ By way of reply⁴ he restated the position which he had set forth in his previous letter, did his utmost to dissuade Charles from negotiating with King John, reiterated his promise of assistance, pointed out that he could not come straight to Calais because he had bound himself on oath to see that the truce was observed, and if he began operations there it would be obvious to everyone that he had committed a flagrant violation of its terms and perjured

1. "Johanni de Weringtoun, misso cum lettris dicti domini regis pro negocio regis domino duci Lancastriae existenti in partibus Selandie, pro expensis suis, eundi, morandi et redeundi - XXVI.s.X.d.". "Johanni de Weringtoun, eundi cum lettris ducis Lancastriae comiti Flandriae usque Bruges pro quodam conductu habendo pro domino Waltero de Mauny, eundi in negocio regis - XIIII.s.VIII.d (E 101/171/3, fos.22v & 23r).
2. Rymer, III, i, 271.
3. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 258 and Pièces Justificatives, pp.274-5, no.III.
4. Ibid.

himself in the bargain,¹ and concluded by pointing out that he could come to his assistance from England just as quickly as he could from Calais since the young king's possessions in Normandy were more accessible by sea.

Five days later, on 31 January, after Bynstre had arrived at Evreux but probably before Charles received Lancaster's reply to his second letter,² credentials were issued to Thomas de Ladit, chancellor of Navarre, and Friquet de Fricamps, empowering them to treat with Lancaster in Charles' name.³ We know the details of their journey to Bruges from a statement subsequently made by Fricamps during his interrogation whilst detained in the Chatelet in Paris two years later.⁴

1. He had been one of the principal negotiators of the truce of December 1353, when special arrangements were made for its observation in Calais, Picardy and Artois. If infringements of its terms were not corrected within 40 days he was bound on oath to become a hostage in Paris (vide supra., pp.328 & 440).
2. It had taken 8 days for Charles' letter of 18 January to reach Lancaster from Evreux (vide supra., p.463).
3. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 259 and Pièces Justificatives, no.IV.
4. Published by D.F.Secousse, Recueil de pièces servant de preuves aux mémoires sur les troubles excites en France par Charles II, dit le Mauvais, roi de Navarre et comte d'Evreux, 49-60; cf. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 259-60.

During the course of the questioning it transpired that the Navarrese envoys were accompanied by two of Charles' household officers, Pierre de la Tannerie and Jean de Bantelu. As a measure of safety the four of them travelled in two groups and did not meet again until they arrived in Flanders.¹ Byntre, who appears to have left Evreux at the same time, was the first to arrive in Bruges. It was here that negotiations took place early in February.

The duke is said to have received the Navarrese envoys with the greatest courtesy and to have offered to accompany Fricamps to England where he would arrange an audience with the king for him. He intimated to the chancellor that he might enter English service and become 'as good an Englishman as he had previously been a Frenchman'. The two withdrew into the recess of a window where their conversation could not be overheard.

1. Was it hoped that Louis de Male might prove useful? The Navarrese envoys had instructions to secure money from the count and countess, and the household esquires were given jewels for this purpose (Delachenal, *Premières négociations*, 260). Louis had been favourably disposed to the duke in Paris, where they spent a good deal of time together (*Chronographia regum Francorum*, II, 251; T.de Limburg-Stirum, *Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348 à 1358*, I, 426, no.CCCCLXXVIII; vide infra., p.555, n.3), and the negotiations presumably took place at Bruges with his sanction (vide supra., p.463, n.1).

Fricamps did not take up Lancaster's proposal to go to England, but on returning from Bruges he informed Charles of the duke's good disposition towards him and of his willingness to come to his assistance with a force of 200 men-at-arms and 500 archers. At least this is the story that was told during the interrogation. But was it the whole story?

It is unlikely that, as Delachenal suggested, Charles was already aware of John's willingness to treat before he dispatched his envoys to Bruges,¹ and he was surely wrong in stating that nothing was concluded there.² There can be no doubt that whatever actually passed between the envoys during the course of the negotiations, arrangements were made and a date fixed for the landing of English troops in Normandy under the duke's command.³ These must have been drawn up into some form of document or documents, and, as will shortly be seen, it may be that we have a copy of

1. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 259.

2. "En somme, bien que Lancastre eût les pouvoirs nécessaires pour traiter, rien ne fut conclu à Bruges" (ibid., 260).

3. Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.358-9, no.VI.

one of them in a projected treaty of alliance between Edward and Charles.¹

Upon the conclusion of negotiations Lancaster returned to England, where he arrived in London on 17 February.² Four days later the sheriff of Southampton was instructed to have delivered to him the equipment necessary for the embarkation of 1,000 horses,³ and on 6 March John Gibbon was appointed admiral of a fleet destined for Normandy with an army under the duke's command.⁴ But by the time the Navarrese envoys returned from Flanders - possibly around 10 or 12 February⁵ - the situation had changed abruptly. Guy de Boulogne, who had left Avignon for the north of France,⁶ and who had reason to believe from the

1. Vide infra., pp. 521-2.

2. E 372/198, m.39d.

3. CCR, 1354-60, 3.

4. Rymer, III, i, 273.

5. These are the dates given by Delachenal, Premières négociations, 261; but he states no reasons for adopting them.

6. He was at Vienne on 31 January and Lyons on 1 February (É.Perroy, "Quatre lettres du Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, 1352-1354", Revue du Nord, XXXVI, 1954, 162-3).

discussions at Guines that the terms of a peace were at last within reach,¹ had persuaded John to treat with Charles and to allow him to arrange a reconciliation between them.

On 8 February he was empowered, together with the duke of Bourbon, to grant Charles in lands and rents the inheritance of which he had been deprived, and to issue letters of pardon to all those involved in the murder of the constable.² Negotiations took place at Mantes, in Normandy, and it was there that, a fortnight later (22 February), an agreement was concluded between the two kings.³

The terms were very generous. In return for Charles' surrender of the three castellanies around Paris, John ceded to him territories which, together with his hereditary lands, made him the lord of half of the duchy of Normandy, and they included a good part of the

1. Ibid., and Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.VII, p.279. Vide infra., pp.482-4.
2. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 258-9, and Histoire de Charles V, I, 85.
3. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 261, and Histoire de Charles V, I, 84.

Cotentin.¹ He had obviously been very frightened by the prospect of an Anglo-Navarrese alliance to surrender so much territory, and had clearly been willing to concede anything that might put it off. But for Guy de Boulogne it was above all else the peace for which he had been working for over a year, and the papacy since the outset of the war, that was at stake. It was only in the light of subsequent events that the terms which he had offered Charles seemed too generous, so that he lost favour with the king.²

On 21 February, the day prior to the conclusion of the treaty, Charles dispatched two mounted valets to Lancaster with a letter informing him of the negotiations with the French (was the duke to expect that these would be taking place?), but pointing out that they were lasting longer than he had anticipated - longer than a term that

1. Charles acquired the counties of Beaumont-le-Roger, the castellanies of Conches and Breteuil, Pont Audemer and its vicomt , the clos du Cotentin together with Cherbourg, and the vicomt s of Valognes, Coutances and Carentan. He already possessed the counties of Mortain and Longueville as well as Evreux (Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 86, n.1, where clos du Cotentin is defined).
2. Vide infra., pp.518-9.

had been agreed upon at Bruges.¹ He therefore requested him to remain in a state of military preparedness until 12 March, intimating that by that date he would have good news of him in London, for there could be no doubt that his intervention would be necessary.²

It was not until 1 March, a week after the conclusion of the treaty of Mantua, that he again wrote to the duke, this time informing him of the agreement with John.³ In this letter he expressed his satisfaction with everyone: the two queens - his aunt Joan and sister Blanche - who had intervened on his behalf, the cardinal of Boulogne and other royal councillors, and John himself, whom he had found 'altogether reasonable'. He had been pardoned the murder of the constable and restored in his inheritance. The cession of almost half of the Cotentin had given him a particularly strong position in Normandy. It was impossible to refuse such generous terms. The duke could

1. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 261, Pièces Justificatives, no.V, p.276, and Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.358-9, no.VI, where, however, the letter of 21 February is wrongly dated 26 February (Delachenal, Premières négociations, 261, n.3).
2. Ibid.
3. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 261-2, Pièces Justificatives, pp.276-7, no.V.

therefore abandon all the preparations that had been made to come to his assistance. He thanked him profusely for all that he had done, undertook to serve him with equal devotion whenever his assistance might be required, and concluded with a warning that 'all the Norman ports, especially those where the king's men think it most likely that you will disembark, have recently been well supplied and re-enforced with ships and men'. The following day he wrote a much shorter letter to Edward, informing him of the conclusion of the treaty with John.¹

Lancaster received Charles' letter in London on 11 March, but he had first heard the news from Guy de Boulogne in a stinging communication which had arrived the previous day.² In his reply to Charles, written in the capital on 13 March,³ he did not attempt to hide his

1. Ibid., 262; Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.359-60, no.VII.

2. "la quele pais et accord nous aviens entendu par le cardinal de Bouloigne (le quel) le jour devant la presentation de voz lettres le nous signifia o aucun mos revelleus poingnans sur vostre fait contenans en ycelles" (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.VI, pp.277-8, and cf. ibid., pp. 279-80, no.VII).

3. Ibid., 262-3, Pièces Justificatives, pp.277-9, no.VI.

amazement at the treaty concluded with John, especially in view of the young king's communication of 21 February. On the point of completing this agreement, he should have instructed him to abandon all military preparations in his favour then. But he had done just the opposite so that, Lancaster complained, he had continued to maintain a fleet with 500 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers on board until he had received his letter of 1 March.¹ Had Charles trusted in his assistance he would not, the duke thought, have secured worse terms; that he had not abided by the arrangements which they had made he found far from pleasing. He reminded him of a letter which he had received from him at Malines, in which Charles had stated that he had many good friends, by whom he was well protected, who had counselled and informed him that if he hoped to make peace, or thought that he could make peace with John, it would lead to certain exile and destruction for him and his

1. Lancaster's forces were assembled at Southampton. On 5 March his wardrobe, William de Horwich, received £1,000 advance on the wages of the duke and his retinue going to Normandy (E 404/504/9), and on 26 May following he was paid £1,592.13s.6d. 'in recompense for diverse costs and expenses which he had stood in arraying and getting ready both himself and his men-at-arms to go to Normandy (E 403/374, m.7).

friends.¹ He hoped that those friends would now listen to and understand him, and that he would be so well protected and secure in his possessions that he would not need to remember the counsel and the protection that he had offered to him. Before the year was out events were to prove both Charles and the duke right.

Guy de Boulogne's letter is only known to us from Lancaster's reply, written in London on 17 March.² It is evident from this letter that he had written to the duke primarily to inform him of arrangements which he had made for the forthcoming conference at Guines. But he could not restrain himself from alluding to his diplomatic success at Mantes. He had prevented the threatened violation of the truce. 'The hole' by which the duke had planned to slip into France had been 'sealed'. He would have to seek another entrance to the kingdom.

In his reply Lancaster admitted that in reconciling Charles with John the cardinal had upset his plans. In

1. Charles' letter of 18 January (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.II, p.273).
2. Ibid., 263, Pièces Justificatives, pp.279-80, no.VII.

this sense the hole had been sealed. 'Nevertheless', he warned him, 'we know of other holes which are not yet sealed and which we have not forgotten. And, although we do not doubt that your intelligence and your perception are very considerable, you cannot stuff up all the holes. For there is a saying which you know well: "A mouse which knows of only one hole is often in peril". Therefore, very reverend and very dear sir, on this day which is fast approaching (for the conference at Guines at the end of the month), you will need to be very diligent and take pains to see that all the holes are safely stuffed up and sealed. We pray God that he will give you the grace to honour and care for my lord the king and all his friends, and may Our Lord have you in his holy keeping'.

But the cardinal, who also prided himself in being a man of wit, wished to have the last word. In a letter which he wrote to the duke some three weeks later (8 ¹³⁵⁴April),² he feigned astonishment at the sentiments which had led the

1. Ibid., 263-4; Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, pp.360-1, no.VIII.

duke to offer his assistance to Charles. Undoubtedly, he would find friends equally zealous and equally devoted should he ever murder one of the dearest friends of the king of England; he was free to try it out. The joke could have been in better taste. Resurrecting the allusion to the mouse which needs know of several holes in order to escape peril, he merely added that all the passages that gave access to the kingdom were well guarded. All the same, he greatly regretted that the duke had been unable to attend the conference which by that time had taken place at Guines. 'If God wishes it', he concluded, 'you will shortly see, that although we are now rebuking you in these letters, certainly we shall always willingly and with all our heart do what you wish'. The promise, as we shall see, was not an empty one.

There can be no doubt that, in the immediate circumstances, Lancaster had suffered a serious diplomatic defeat, and that it was one that was bound to make itself felt in the negotiations at Guines. He had been taken in by Charles of Navarre and outmanoeuvred by Guy de Boulogne. It was the

cardinal who, for the moment, held the trump cards. He had prevented a recourse to arms, not only by the treaty of Mantes, but also by the terms of the truce concluded in December. It had been impossible for Lancaster to come to Charles' assistance immediately at Calais,¹ and by the time the Navarrese envoys had returned to Normandy from Flanders it was already too late. The cardinal was now in a stronger position to press the preliminaries of a peace. But Lancaster had done everything which he could in a difficult situation. The arrangements which he had made for the negotiations at Bruges, as laid down in the instructions given to Byntre, had been concluded prior to his receipt of powers to treat with Charles. He had thus kept the young king interested whilst he got into touch with Edward without committing himself or the king. He had acted independently in an emergency situation, neither having obliged Edward's

1. In reply to Charles' letter of 26 January he wrote, among other things: "chers sirez, la cause pur quoi je ne viegne pas efforcement à Caleys, si est pur ce qe je entre autres sui jurréz à tenir les trewes, et, si je fesise guerre d'illoeques en hors, homme purroit penser qe je ne fesise mie tout à point, car tout plein des gentz ne le saveront mie qe je le fesise pur cause de vous, et auxint ne sui-je mie bien purveu de vous servir en avant qe je ai esté en mon pays" (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.III, p.275; vide supra., pp.463-4 & 464, n.1).

support by acting beyond his powers, nor having surrendered the king's interests by failing to act at all. If Charles had double-crossed him it was hardly his fault. It was better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all. For he had given the young king every reason to believe that he was his friend, and of however little value that might have been personally, it was to prove of great value territorially.

The abortive treaty of Guines

The climax to all this diplomatic activity came in the winter of 1354-5. On 6 April, 1354, a draft peace treaty was initialled, as we might say, at Guines.¹ For obvious reasons Lancaster had nothing to do, directly, with these preliminary negotiations. His name does not appear on the commission issued to the English envoys -

1. Published and analysed by F. Bock, "Some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War (1353-1356)", BJRL, XV (1931), 70-73 and 91-3, Appendix II.

the bishop of Norwich, the earl of Huntingdon, Michael de Northburgh and Reginald de Cobham - on 30 March,¹ and in his letter of 17 March to Guy de Boulogne he had stated that the king did not wish him to be present.² We know, in fact, that he was not there.³ In view of the cardinal's recent diplomatic victory it was hardly advisable that he should be. But it is clear that, in more ways than one, he had a great deal to do with the turn which the negotiations took on this occasion.

It has always been a little hard to understand how the treaty of Guines got so far as a formal draft, particularly since it is usually presented as having been concluded in a very short space of time. It represented a compromise in that both sides gave up what they had

1. Rymer, III, i, 275.
2. "et pur ce qe, tant come appent, il ne plaist mie au Roi monseignur qe nous soions à la dite journée, si vous prions qe en ce nous voillez avoir pur excusé, très reverent et très cher sir" (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.VII, p.279).
3. In his letter of 8 April to Lancaster the cardinal concluded: "Quant à ce que vous nous escrives que vous ne vourriés mie, ne ne poyés estre de parcea, certes il nous semble que vous avés dit voir, de quoi moult nous poise que vous n'y avés esté" (Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, no.VIII, p.361).

hitherto regarded as the essential element in their position. The French were to surrender less territory than had been demanded of them in the summer of 1353, and rather more than they eventually surrendered in 1360: the duchy of Aquitaine or Guyenne, Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Ponthieu, Limoges (if it was found that it did not belong to the duchy), Calais, Marck, Oye, Cologne, Sangatte and Guines; and they were to surrender it without any reservation of sovereignty.¹ There is no mention now of Normandy, of Brittany - where Edward's forces and those of his Breton allies were well established, or of Flanders. In return the king of England would resign his claims to the throne of France. The solemn renunciations were to be made and all final questions of detail settled in the presence of the pope at Avignon before October.²

It has been suggested that here was the treaty that Edward had been looking for all along, that it was John who, 'shaken by the Breton defection' and 'aghast at the

1. Bock, op.cit., 71-2 and Appendix II, 91-2.

2. Ibid., 72-3 and Appendix II, 92-3.

Navarrese intrigue', was 'now ready for the worst of surrenders', and who 'accepted peace preliminaries'.¹ But by the time these were initialled the treaty of Westminster with Charles of Blois was over a year old,² and six weeks had passed since Charles of Navarre had made his peace.³ There could be no question then of 'panic fear' on the part of the French king. Indeed, in many ways, France was a good deal stronger than she had been on the morrow of the fall of Calais. Her influence was predominant in the Low Countries,⁴ she had made steady encroachments on her eastern frontiers - in the Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche-Comté, Verdunois, the duchy of Bar and the bishopric of Cambrai,⁵ and, as a result of the work of Charles of Navarre, Charles of Spain and the count of Armagnac, her fortunes had taken a turn for the better in Aquitaine.⁶

1. E.Perroy, The Hundred Years War, 129, and cf. Bock, op.cit., 79-80.
2. It was concluded on 1 March, 1353, and has been published and analysed by Bock, op.cit., 61-66 and 84-91 Appendix I.
3. Vide supra., p.468.
4. Vide supra., pp.332-3 & 413-5.
5. B.Mendl and F.Quicke, "Les relations politiques entre l'empereur et le roi de France de 1355 à 1356", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, VIII (1929), 481-92, and Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 34-5, for the Dauphiné.
6. Vide infra., pp.595-610.

It was the English, not the French, who had been brought to a surrender. For Edward's prospects were a good deal gloomier in the spring of 1354 than they had been at any time since 1347. His influence in the Low Countries was virtually non-existent: he had lost everything that he had ever held in Flanders, and in Holland and Zeeland.¹ His attempts to renew the war in Gascony in 1349 and 1352 had not advanced his cause one inch, the promised alliance with Charles of Navarre had come to nothing, and he had been losing heavily in the cold war in France itself - in the competition for allegiances in the provinces.² There was now something to be said for a profitable peace, not a complete surrender, but a compromise that would give him good terms.

This change in Edward's fortunes had not occurred suddenly, but slowly and imperceptibly during the years of truce. He had not been rushed into peace proposals by Lancaster's failure with Charles of Navarre, but had

1. Vide supra., pp.413-5.

2. Vide supra., pp.452-3.

been seriously considering them for some time when the alliance with Charles had unexpectedly been offered to him and just as quickly lost. In effect, the negotiations of 1353 had come very near to a peace,¹ and, although nothing positive had been concluded at the December meeting of envoys under the chairmanship of Guy de Boulogne, discussions had taken place and a measure of agreement reached that made it likely that a treaty would be concluded at the conference convoked for 23 ¹³⁵⁴March.²

A letter written to Lancaster by the cardinal at Lyons on 1 February, in reply to a communication from the duke (presumably dispatched before he had word from Charles of Navarre)³ which he had received at Vienne on the previous day, makes it quite clear that arrangements had been made for a meeting of envoys in mid-March to

1. Vide supra., pp.427-40.

2. Vide infra., pp.483-4.

3. Lancaster received Charles' first letter at Malines around 18 January (Delachenal, Premières négociations, 257). It is unlikely that his letter to the cardinal could have reached Vienne from there in less than a fortnight.

discuss the terms of a settlement.¹ For this purpose the English delegates were to cross over to France on 9 March, that is a fortnight before the conference was scheduled to begin.²

One can then understand Guy de Boulogne's concern over the Navarrese affair; it threatened to rapidly change the situation by offering to Edward the alliance which he had been seeking in northern France. But with the conclusion of the treaty of Mantes the English position was the same as it had been before the murder of the constable. It may even have been worse.

It is in fact quite clear that a peace had been decided upon before the spring conference began. The terms of the treaty had obviously been very fully considered before the envoys left for Guines - between

1. The cardinal thanked Lancaster for his letter "contenans entre les autres choses qe le secont dimanche de caresme (9 March 1354), se empeschement de vent ne les destourbe, les messages de vostre part, dont parlé a esté, seront enuoiéz, et qe ceux dont il fu pourparlee y fussent de pardeca", and requested that the duke might be among them "pour muser vous et nous les diz messages" "afin qe a l'aide de Nostre S^r aucun bien desioré de toute crestientee se y face" (É. Perroy, "Quatre lettres du cardinal Guy de Boulogne, 1352-1354", Revue de Nord, XXXVI (1954), pp.162-3, no.III).

2. Ibid.

18 and 23 March,¹ that is a week and more before their procuration was issued to them² - since they were specifically empowered to renounce all Edward's claims to the crown and kingdom of France,³ powers which had not been given in any previous procuration. And it is clear that the French envoys had been empowered to surrender such territories as were in question without reservation of sovereignty: this was already on the books by 10 March.⁴

Ironically enough, the murder of the constable, who had been among the French envoys at the conferences in 1353,⁵ may have helped the cardinal to reach his goal,

1. The bishop of Norwich left his house in Westminster on 18 March and arrived back at his manor of Terling on 17 April; the earl of Huntingdon left his manor of Preston on 23 March and arrived back there on 11 April (E 372/198, m.38d). The bishop of London, Michael de Northburgh, crossed to Calais with them (E 101/313/24).
2. On 30 March (Rymer, III, i, 275).
3. "Necnon renunciandi omni juri, quod habemus in & ad regum sive coronam Francie, & cedendi, remittendi, & quietam clamandi Johanni de Francia totum jus, quod ad nos pertinet in hâc parte" (Rymer, III, i, 275-6).
4. In his letter to the cardinal of 17 March Lancaster wrote: "Nous resceumes voz lettres le Xe jour de march dierrainement passé, à Londres, entre les autres choses contenuz qe, Dieu eidant, vous serrez à la journée ordennée, et qe li Roi devers vous a ordeinné de là envoyer bien souffisamment, le quel, très reverent pier, est auxi ordeiné par le Roi monseigneur, qi, si Dieu plest, y envoira en tele manière qe pur cause qe par decha (sic) en serra nul faute" (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.VII, p.279).
5. Vide supra., pp. 312, 428, 438, 440 n.3.

since, as a result, the most influential French delegates at the spring gathering were all ecclesiastics, over whom the cardinal was likely to have more influence, and they included two other friends of Charles of Navarre - Robert le Coq and the king's chamberlain, Robert de Lorris, who had also been among the negotiators of the treaty of Mantes.¹

It is unlikely that we shall ever know what actually passed between the envoys and the cardinal at Guines, but it is clear that everything was not above board. It looks as if preliminary discussions were to have taken place before the conference officially opened,² and although the Navarrese intrigue prevented the English delegates in question from leaving for France as scheduled on 9 March,³ it is clear that they left between 18 and 23 March, that is before their procuration was issued to them.⁴ We know

1. The French envoys who negotiated the truce and the draft treaty were Pierre de la Forêt, archbishop of Rouen, Guillaume Bertran, bishop of Beauvais, Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, Robert count of Roucy, Gauchier de Chatillon, lord of la Ferté, and Robert de Lorris (Rymer, III, i, 276; Bock, op.cit., 71 and Appendix II, p.91).

2. Vide supra., pp.482-3.

3. Ibid., p.471.

4. Ibid., pp.483-4.

from a letter which was subsequently written by the cardinal to Lancaster, Arundel and Huntingdon that secret discussions took place which concerned the manner in which the negotiations at Avignon were to be conducted, and that any disclosure of what had then been concluded would not only cause a terrific scandal, but was also likely to wreck the treaty.¹ Knowing, as we do, the part which Guy de Boulogne played at Avignon,² we can easily surmise what had been arranged at Guines. Indeed, we have evidence of it in the letter in question, and in the subsequent loss of favour of the cardinal with King John.³

Almost immediately upon the return of the English embassy preparations were put afoot for the forthcoming conference. In the parliament of April-May ¹³⁷⁹ the king's chamberlain, Bartholomew de Burghersh, described the

1. "Si nous doubtons de venir tant devant le temps, que ce ne soit de vne maniere de matiere de descourrir les choses secretes qui ont esté parrees, la quele discouerture seroit vne des choses dou monde qui plus empescheroit ou pourroit empeschier les besoingnes" (Perroy, Quatre Lettres, pp.163-4, no.IV).

2. Vide infra., p. 519.

3. Ibid., p. 518.

state of the negotiations and declared that the king would not accept the treaty without the assent of the magnates and commons.¹ To this the commons replied that whatsoever issue pleased the lord king and the magnates would be agreeable to them. When the chamberlain pressed them for a direct answer to his question whether they would accept a perpetual peace, if it could be obtained, they replied with a general shout of 'Yes, yes'; whereupon Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the king's privy seal, and who had been one of the English envoys at Guines,² instructed a papal notary, John de Swynleye, to embody this opinion in a public instrument as formal evidence of their wishes.

It is, in fact, quite clear that Edward was anxious to hurry up the proceedings. Early in May Lancaster, together with the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, wrote to Guy de Boulogne requesting a safe conduct for Edward's

1. Rot.Parl., II, 262. This parliament sat from 28 April to 20 May (ibid., II, 255 & 256).
2. Vide supra., pp.477-8 & 483-4. He was paid expenses for the period 20 March to 12 April (E 403/374, m.10).

confessor - Brother John de Woderone, and a knight - Sir Richard de la Bere, who were being sent to the curia in a retinue of 30 riders in connection with the treaty; and for safe conducts for prelates and barons, without naming any, amounting in all to 500 riders with 100 extra horse, who were to leave for Avignon by way of Gascony on 24 June.¹ But, as the cardinal pointed out in his reply from Paris on 27 May, it had been agreed at Guines that the English ambassadors should leave for the curia at the beginning of August in order that they might arrive at Avignon in September.² Their plan to leave earlier had caused a good deal of speculation in Paris, and, if they persisted in it, it was likely to result in the disclosure of the secret discussions held at Guines, with all the consequences which that was likely to entail. In the meantime he would see to it that safe conducts were sent for the confessor and the knight, but requested the earls that they should send the names of the ambassadors whom Edward proposed to send to the curia, together with the

1. Perroy, Quatre Lettres, pp.163-4, no.IV.

2. Ibid.

number of horses which each of them required. This would be necessary if he was to send the conducts, but also in order that the French might send a like delegation. He enclosed a copy of the letters that would then be issued, and requested the earls that if other envoys were sent than those then mentioned, they should make sure that they were 'sufficient persons'.

In fact, mutual suspicion was already rampant. It is clear from a letter of the chancellor of France, Pierre de la Forêt, written to Lancaster and Arundel in Paris on the following day, that the earls had questioned the safety of the English envoys in travelling to Avignon; although de la Forêt assured them that they would be given John's letters of safe conduct, providing that he received their names, and that they would be escorted to the curia by French notables.¹ To both the cardinal and the chancellor the earls complained that the count of Armagnac (then John's lieutenant in Languedoc)² had layed siege to Aiguillon, and

1. This letter was written in reply to a letter from the two earls, delivered to the chancellor by Jean le Maingre, or, as he was more commonly known, Boucicaut (Edinburgh University Library, MS. 183, fo.53v).

2. Vide infra., pp.606-10.

that others were also acting contrary to the tenor of the truce.¹ By way of reply, the cardinal maintained that, on the conclusion of the conference at Guines, he had written to all those concerned with the observance of the truce, instructing them to abide by its terms, and in particular to the count of Armagnac whom he had requested to report to John - for which he had not been well received in some quarters in Paris. The chancellor, who feigned not to know of any French violations of the truce, maintained that John had issued instructions to see that it was observed, and that he had recently sent one of the marshals of France, Jean de Clermont, into Saintonge to see that it was. Both he and the cardinal complained of infringements committed in Brittany by Thomas de Holland, of the siege of a number of castles and towns in Saintonge by Anglo-Gascon forces, and of violations committed at sea by English sailors.² If they expected anything to be done about French infringements,

1. Also concluded at Guines on 6 April, 1354, to last until 1 April, 1355 (Rymer, III, i, 276-7, and cf. Bock, op.cit., 73 and Appendix II, p.93).
2. Cf. CCR, 1354-60, 32-3, and Appendix I, no.24.

they must first have something done about their own.¹

Quite why Edward sought to advance the departure of the English embassy for Avignon by some five weeks or more is not clear. It has been suggested that there are many curious points about the way in which the delegation was appointed.² The texts are preserved of one commission which name several envoys including Lancaster and are dated 28 August;³ and there is another commission, dated 30 October, rather differently worded, giving several different names and omitting Lancaster's;⁴ and, it is argued, it was the second commission, not the first, that was effective.⁵

That a conference took place is well known, but its nature has been misunderstood. Both Mollat and Bock thought that the business was transacted after Lancaster's arrival

1. Instructions for its observation in Brittany and Aquitaine had in fact been issued from Guines on 6 April and, subsequently, by Edward on 18 May (Rymer, III, i, 277-8).

2. Bock, op.cit., 73-4.

3. Rymer, III, i, 283-4.

4. Ibid., III, i, 289.

5. Bock, op.cit., 74.

at the curia on Christmas Eve.¹ But a consideration of the time-table will show it to have been a longer and more elaborate affair.

That a plan was drawn up is quite clear. This envisaged preliminary contacts at clerical level, to be followed by the arrival of two 'magnates of the council' under whose supervision the effective negotiations would be carried on before the pope in his private capacity as Stephen Alberti. Already on 20 May, a week before Guy de Boulogne wrote to the three earls, Woderone and de la Bere set out from London for Calais on their way to Avignon to announce the arrival of the English embassy to Innocent,² and on 10 July papal letters of safe conduct were issued for 500 riders who were to escort the ambassadors to the curia.³ They

1. G.Mollat, "Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix entre la France et l'Angleterre (1353-1355)", Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X (1909), 739-40; Bock, op.cit., 74.
2. Mollat, op.cit., 739. De la Bere drew wages for the period 20 May to 12 August for his journey from London to Avignon "in comitiva confessoris domini regis, videlicet Johannis de Woderone" (E 101/313/23). He drew a prest on his wages on 24 May, and a courier was sent to Dover with letters for him on 26 May (E 403/374, m.7).
3. Mollat, op.cit., 739. CPL, III, 615, erroneously says 50 knights.

were now scheduled to arrive around 29 September or 1 November.¹ Six days later, on 16 July, the pope wrote to Edward thanking him for his letters sent with the confessor and the knight, rejoicing in the king's decision to treat with John and send envoys to Avignon, and begging him to see that they came within the allotted time.² De la Bere arrived back in London on 12 August,³ doubtless with Innocent's letters, the safe conducts and a report from Woderone. It was on the basis of the confessor's findings that the first group of envoys set out for the curia.

On 28 August a procuration to treat before the pope was issued to the bishop of Norwich, Michael de Northburgh, Lancaster, Arundel, Bartholomew de Burghersh and Guy Brian.⁴ They were given three letters. The first, 'De tractatu cum ambassiatoribus Franciae coram Papa continuando', took the same form as the procuration which had been issued on

1. CPL, III, 615.

2. Ibid.

3. E 101/313/23.

4. Rymer, III, i, 283-4.

30 March to the envoys responsible for negotiating the treaty of Guines,¹ and is dated at Rockingham. It empowered them (quorum a bishop and the earl or duke) to treat with the French ambassadors of a final peace and truce, to issue letters on the same, and to renounce Edward's claim to the crown and kingdom of France. The second letter, 'De potestate submittendi Regem jurisdictioni Papae, super concordandis in tractatu, coram eodem cum adversario Franciae', was strictly in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Guines, and is dated at Westminster. It empowered them (two for a quorum) to treat before the pope with the French ambassadors of a final peace and all disputes and debates between the two kings, especially over Edward's rights to the crown and kingdom of France, which they could renounce and receive compensation for. They could also conclude an alliance and perpetual friendship between Edward and John, treat of a truce, and give every form of security demanded; and Edward undertook to confirm all that they concluded under the Great Seal. The third

1. Ibid., III, i, 276-7.

letter, 'De potestate submittendi Regem arbitrio Papae, super debatis cum adversario Franciae', also dated at Westminster, was issued in conformity with clause two of the treaty of Guines. It empowered them to submit to the pope's arbitration any disputes which might arise over the definition of the boundaries of the territories to be ceded to Edward.

On the same day, by letters also dated at Westminster, the clergy and nobles appointed proctors - Richard de Wimundewold,¹ Richard de Drax,² William de Loughborough,³ and William de Lynn, dean of Chichester,⁴ doctors of civil law; and Edmund de Grimsby⁵ and John de Welwick,⁶

1. Canon of Lincoln, chancellor of Hereford and dean of Lichfield (CPL, III, index, s.v. 'Wimundewold' and 'Wymundewold').
2. Canon of London (Ibid., III, index, s.v. 'Drax').
3. Archdeacon of Lewes, canon of Exeter and Chichester (Ibid., III, index, s.v. 'Loughborough').
4. Cf. Ibid., III, index, s.v. 'Lenne'.
5. Canon of London, Hereford and Salisbury (Ibid., III, index, s.v. 'Grimesby').
6. Canon of London and Ripon (Ibid., III, index, s.v. 'Wellewik').

bachelors of civil law - whom they empowered to confirm in their names whatever might be concluded by the English ambassadors.¹ Two of them, Grimsby and Welwick, were Lincolnshire men;² Loughborough was a native of Leicestershire,³ Drax came from Yorkshire,⁴ and Lynn probably from Norfolk. Both Wimundewold (who had represented Lancaster in the truce negotiations of 1349-50)⁵ and Drax were or had been advocates at the curia.⁶ Welwick was a royal notary and one of the most senior and distinguished clerks of the privy seal.⁷ Loughborough also appears to have been a chancery clerk and subsequently played an important part in the negotiation of the treaties of Brétigny and Calais.⁸ Lynn was later charged to try to

1. Rymer, III, i, 284-5.

2. CPL, III, 162 & 233.

3. He was among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Newarke College (Ibid., III, 585; A.H.Thompson, The history of the hospital and new college of the annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 30).

4. CPL, III, 180.

5. Vide supra., p.369.

6. CPL, III, 43 & 497.

7. T.F.Tout, Chapters in the administrative history of mediaeval England, III, 222, and V, 37, 77 n.5, 106 & 112.

8. Ibid., III, 226 & 229; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 197, n.3, and 241, n.1.

persuade Edward to treat with the French at the beginning of the Reims campaign of 1359-1360.¹ All of these proctors seem either to have gone to the curia or to have been there already. Drax, Loughborough and Welwick were provided to benefices whilst the English embassy was at Avignon,² and Grimsby died there during the same period.³

In fact this first commission to the English ambassadors was not ineffective. Already on 26 August arrangements had been made for the custody of the privy seal during Northburgh's absence abroad,⁴ and he was given four newly written books 'touching the state of Gascony'.⁵ The following day he and Guy Brian were given a prest on their wages in going to the curia to treat with the French, and Northburgh was also

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 187.
2. Drax and Loughborough to canonries of Chichester on 22 September, 1354, and 7 February, 1355, respectively; Welwick to a benefice in the gift of the bishop, prior and chapter of Durham on 4 February, 1355 (CPL, III, 518, 541 & 547).
3. Some time before 24 September, 1354 (ibid., III, 518 & 542).
4. There is a signet letter addressed to the chancellor on that day: "Depar le roi. Tres reverent piere en Dieu. Come par noz autres lettres eons mande a nostre cher cleric mestre Michel de Northburgh, eslyt de Londres confermez, gardein de nostre priuie seal, qe pour cause qil est ore procheinement a aler en nostre message vers les parties de dela, qil face liuerer a vous meismes mesme le seal a demurer desouz vostre seal en la garde de nos chers clerics Johan de Wynewyke et Henri de Ingelby, ou de lun de eux, etc." (C 81/1334/7).
5. CCR, 1354-60, 83.

given an allowance for a number of horses to take 'muniments and diverse other books' there for that purpose.¹ On 29 August they set out for Avignon by way of Calais in a retinue of 50 riders, possibly together with Bartholomew de Burghersh, the archbishop of Canterbury and Welwick who, on 17 August had come on to the king's pay for a mission to the curia by way of France and Gascony to join Woderone in negotiations with the French, and who also drew a prest on his wages on 27 August.²

It was not until five weeks later that, on 4 October, the bishop of Norwich left London for the curia with his retinue,³ and towards the end of that month Welwick was

1. E 403/374, m.19.

2. Ibid. and E 372/200, m.37. Northburgh disembarked 20 men and horses at Calais on the way to Avignon, Brian 30, and Burghersh and the archbishop an unknown number (E 101/171/3, fo.33). Welwick drew expenses for a journey "ad Curiam Romanam de diversis receptis et expensis per ipsum factis pro predictis negociis ibidem expediendis juxta ordinacionem fratris Johannis de Woderone, confessoris domini regis ... pro quibusdam negociis tractandis, de pace et concordia inter regem et adversarium suum Francie" (E 101/313/22).

3. He was accompanied by 14 esquires and a sergeant-at-arms, 2 masters, 7 clerks, 7 officials and 24 boys in a retinue of 60 horse (E 101/313/21, where the names of each are given).

sent back to England with further letters of safe conduct for the remaining ambassadors, and to report to the king on the progress of the negotiations.¹ On 30 October another procuration, 'De potestatibus super tractatu coram Papa', was issued to the three English delegates then at the curia (Bateman, Northburgh and Brian), together with four members of Edward's Gascon council: Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers, Bertrand, lord of Montferrand, and the lawyer Gerald de Puy.² This was not, as has been suggested,³ a new commission replacing that of 28 August. It was issued in conformity with clause two of the treaty of Guines, empowering the ambassadors named (two for a quorum) to treat before the pope with their French counterparts of disputes that might arise over the definition of the boundaries of the territories to be ceded to Edward. The four Gascons were included because it was over the boundaries of Gascony that difficulties were likely to arise. It was

1. E 403/374, m.19.

2. Rymer, III, i, 289.

3. Bock, op.cit., 16-17.

not issued to Lancaster and Arundel because they had not then left for the curia, and because the business in question was expected to be under way before they arrived in Avignon.

However, the preliminary negotiations were obviously taking longer than had been anticipated, since preparations for the departure of the duke and the earl had been under way for the best part of a month.¹ But on the following day, 31 October, at a meeting of the council in the king's chapel at Westminster, these two were given secret instructions. As well as their formal Latin procuration of 28 August they received two documents in French. One was a secret credential or credence secree, to be shown only if necessary;² the other a really secret set of instructions, laying down just what they might give away in order to secure a general agreement, a document which might be highly embarrassing if it got abroad and which was on no account to be revealed.³

1. The duke drew a prest on his wages for the mission as early as 4 October (E 403/375, m.2).
2. Bock, op.cit., 74-5 and 94 Appendix III.
3. Ibid., 75-6 and 94-6 Appendix IV.

The secret credential is a short document saying very little, the word secre meaning only that it was not so very secret. It was drawn up so as not to reveal too much if it had to be shown; and soon some 'confidants' may have seen it, 'secretly' of course. We learn from it the very humble language which Lancaster and Arundel were to use when they first met the pope at the State Banquet on Christmas Day. They were to tell him that Edward recognised God's goodness to him and that he desired to exert his strength against God's enemies. Of his free will, without coercion, he would give up some of his hereditary rights in order to secure peace with France. If peace could be made on the terms offered he would be content; if not, matters were to stand as though no offer had been made. On account of his deep affection for the pope he had chosen him as arbitrator in the unsettled question of boundaries. The letter of credence or lettre de credence and the credences on these matters or credences sur cestes matieres were to be shown only of necessity.

The really secret set of instructions or charge provided that the ambassadors were to commend the king and queen and their children to the pope. They were to confirm the treaty

of Guines, but the wording here is noteworthy: the duchy of Guyenne and the other possessions named in a cedula which had been sent to the pope through the king's confessor were to be given to the English king as compensation for the French crown. No mention is made of this in the treaty itself, although it had been included in the procuration of 28 August issued to the English ambassadors. The contents of this cedula, namely the possessions claimed by the English, were to be given in the following order: the duchies of Aquitaine-Guyenne and Normandy, the counties of Ponthieu, Angers and Anjou, Poitiers and Poitou, Le Mans and Maine, Tours and Touraine, Angoulême and Angoumois, Cahors and Quercy, Limoges and Limousin, and all the lands, castles and towns acquired since the beginning of the war. To get a bonne pees they could give up Normandy (of which no mention had been made in the treaty of Guines), Cahors, Quercy and Angoulême, unless the last three were found to be part of the ancient duchy of Guyenne, in which case they were not to be given up. Cahors, Quercy and Angoulême were to be claimed as demesne, unless it appeared that the king's ancestors only had feudal superiority. If the ambassadors

had to renounce Angoulême and Angoumois, then to get the bonne pees they were to try to obtain other inland territories as compensation. But they were not to push matters so far as to cause the break up of the whole conference. Concerning the boundaries of the possessions to be ceded by the French, they were first to try to come to an agreement with the French ambassadors before they made use of their power of appointing the pope as an arbitrator. If that did happen they were to complete the whole business before 1 April, 1355. They had to procure every kind of security from the French, since Edward was ready to give any form of security demanded. Finally, they could prolong the truce until Whit-Sunday next.

The duke and the earl had come on to the king's pay a few days earlier.¹ On 3 November they crossed over to Calais on their way to Avignon in a retinue of nearly 500 riders.² We do not know who the French notables were

1. Lancaster on 28 October (E 101/313/25) and Arundel on 29 October (E 403/377, m.8).
2. Lancaster disembarked 317 men and horses at Calais, Arundel 175 (E 101/171/3, fo.33). The duke received £30 from a number of Dover burgesses for the passage of his horses to Calais on 3 November (E 101/313/25).

who escorted them to the curia, nor the route which they took on the long journey south through France,¹ but Knighton gives an engaging account of their arrival in Avignon and of the magnificent state that the duke maintained there.²

'Henry, duke of Lancaster, with the earl of Arundel and many others, arrived at Avignon on Christmas Eve in a convoy of 200 horses, and they stayed there for six weeks in great state. As they approached the city, about 2,000 persons, including bishops, magnates, and citizens and others, came to meet them on horseback; and indeed the number of those who came out to welcome them was so great that from the third hour of the day until vespers it was scarcely possible to cross the bridge leading into the town. When Lancaster came into the city, he thanked them all, and then made his way to the papal palace. On reaching the gateway he got off his horse, went in, and made his salutations to the pope with proper reverence; and after a short conversation returned to his lodging. As long as he stayed in Avignon a vast quantity of food and drink was laid out for those who wished to refresh themselves; his hospitality was so splendid that all the curia marvelled. The wine alone which had been laid down in the cellar

1. On 4 December the mayor and échevins of Amiens addressed a petition touching the infringement of the truce to him (Appendix A, no.24). Could he have been there then?
2. Knighton, II, 78-9.

against his coming amounted to 100 tuns. In fact he showed such courtesy to everyone, and particularly to the pope and cardinals, that everyone said "There is no one like him in all the world".'

The essential truth of this account, and the methods of diplomacy that we may deduce from it, are confirmed by the two ambassadors' expenses accounts.¹ Together these came to £5,648.1s.3d. - the cost of a short campaign. For not only were they given an extra £2,200.13s.11d. towards

1. Lancaster's account has been published by Bock, op.cit., 96-7 Appendix V, after E 101/313/25. Arundel's account is only available from entries on the Issue Rolls (E 403/375 m.8 and 377 ms.8 & 11). The nature of the duke's expenses is further clarified by a Warrant for Issue for the mission (E 404/5/34). The items and figures are as follows:

Item	Lancaster			Arundel		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Wages, 28/29 October - 28 March (£5 the duke, 5 marks the earl)	750	0	0	500	0	0
Escort of knights, esquires and sergeants-at-arms	316	13	4	86	1	0
Disembarkation and re-embarkation of men and horses at Calais	128	0	0			
Grant towards outfit (<u>apparaille</u>) and expenses above wages	1,333	6	8	867	7	3
Unspecified expenses or <u>dettes</u> due at the Exchequer	1,666	13	0			
Total expenses claimed and paid	4,194	13	0	1,453	8	3
Joint total	£5,648	1	3			

their personal outfit and high daily expenses,¹ but Lancaster's account allowed for an additional sum of £1,666.13s.4d. for unspecified expenses.² His bills for this one mission alone amounted to more than twice as much as those for all his other diplomatic missions put together.³

It is unfortunate that we know so little about the French delegation, but it is unlikely that it was any less impressive than its English counterpart.⁴ It was headed by two well known figures at the truce conferences - Pierre de la Forêt and Pierre duke of Bourbon,⁵ who appear

1. "Et lui facez paier a lui (Lancaster) pour son apparaille alant en dit messages, et pour ses expenses q'estoient grandes, alant devers Avynoun, illoeqes demorant, et retornant devers les parties d'Engleterre, deux milles marcs de nostre doun" (E 404/5/34). The specifications are much the same for Arundel on the Issue Rolls (E 403/375, m.8, and 377, m.8).
2. Not 2,000 marks as is erroneously stated by Bock, op.cit., 76.
3. Vide infra., p.879.
4. In his letter to the duke and the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon of 27 May, Guy de Boulogne wrote: "Et certes il est necessitez que nous sachons les noms de ceux qui iront de vostre partie, quar selonc que vous y enuoierez l'on y enuoiera de pardeca" (É.Perroy, Quatre Lettres, no.IV, p.163).
5. Delachenal, op.cit., I, 89, after Grandes Chroniques, 14. Le Baker, 124, adds Geoffrey de Charny, and Knighton, II, 78, the count of Armagnac.

to have left for the curia in November.¹

Lancaster and Bourbon were lodged together in the rooms of Audoin Aubert, so-called cardinal of Maguelonne, a relative of the pope.² The apartment had been richly refurnished for their arrival with hangings of red serge, two large red carpets, red chair covers, red cord and green material.³ The rest of the embassy were lodged at the palace, where a large quantity of carpets, chair covers, table-cloths, counterpanes, serge, linen, velvet and other materials had been purchased for their stay.⁴ Apart from the ambassadors' immediate entourages, the greater part of their retinues of knights, esquires, sergeants and others must have been billeted in the city, and it would be interesting to know what arrangements were made for them - whether they were in different quarters or not - since incidents could have arisen with so many armed men there together.

1. Luce, Froissart, IV, li, n.2; Mollat, op.cit., 741, n.3.

2. Mollat, op.cit., 740.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

There can be no doubt about the magnificence of the occasion. The State Banquet which Lancaster and a good many others attended on Christmas Day appears to have been a very sumptuous affair, and the dinners that were given during the remainder of the ambassadors' stay at Avignon - there were two for Bourbon, another for Lancaster, and one for the two of them together - though not quite so sumptuous were nevertheless very splendid.¹

According to Le Baker, who gives the fullest account of the conference,² the discussions took place between the English and French ambassadors assembled together before the pope and cardinals in consistory.³ But the treaty of Guines was not ratified. There is no direct evidence, such as we have for the negotiations conducted at the curia ten years earlier,⁴ to show which side was

1. Ibid., 740-41.

2. Chronicon, 123-5.

3. Ibid., 124.

4. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, pp.202-56, nos.LVII & LVIII; E.Déprez, "La conférence d'Avignon (1344).L'arbitrage pontifical entre la France et l'Angleterre", Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A.G.Little and F.M.Powicke, 301-20.

responsible for this breakdown. Most English chroniclers blame the French, who are said to have gone back upon what they had agreed to at Guines by insisting upon the retention of suzerainty over Aquitaine and the other territories which were to have been ceded to Edward.¹ Innocent VI and the cardinals were accused of connivance with them, doubtless because - apart from Guy de Boulogne - they did not insist upon the ratification of the treaty as it stood.²

This appears to have been the official attitude adopted by the English ambassadors themselves in a document that has escaped the notice of historians of the conference.³ This is a credential or lettre de credence given to an envoy, Thumas, whom Lancaster and Arundel sent to the Emperor Charles of Luxembourg to make arrangements for treating of an alliance between him and Edward, and which was written shortly after the breakdown of the negotiations,

1. Le Baker, 124; Avesbury, 421; Reading, 118; The Brut, 304-5. But Avesbury appears to have been the source of the passage in Reading, and the Brut translates Reading pretty closely (Cf. Tait's note in Reading, 256). The Anonimale Chronicle, 32, also blames the French, but the Anonymi Cantuariensis, 195, doesn't give any reason for the breakdown.
2. Reading, 118; The Brut, 305; Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, 277-8, and Chronicon Angliae, 31; and Le Baker, 124-5, who makes the point about Guy de Boulogne.
3. Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, pp. 364-5, no. LXXXIII, document II.

apparently at Avignon.

He was to begin by explaining how the treaty had failed because of the attitude adopted by the French ambassadors.¹ All the articles agreed upon at Guines by the envoys for either side, to which they had sworn, and which had been recorded before the pope, had not been ratified.² Innocent had therefore urged them to treat of a new agreement; but Edward had never agreed to this, neither had the English delegates, nor were they empowered to do so.³

He was then to explain how many times Edward had been persuaded to treat with the French, to which he had always graciously inclined and consented; how on every occasion he had entered into negotiations in good

1. The exact words are: "coment le traitié de la pais estoit fallis en deffaut des Franchois" (ibid., 364), which can be interpreted to mean either that the French had refused to ratify it, or that they were now interpreting it in a way that made it impossible for the English ambassadors to ratify it.
2. "tous articles accordé et juré par les consels des II signeurs et recordé devant le pape" (ibid.).
3. "non obstant la requeste faite par le pape que on traitast sur un nouvel, lequel nostre signeur le roy n'eust jamais assenti, ne li signeur qui là estoient, ne ausi pooir n'en avoient" (ibid.).

faith and with honest intentions, but had each time been deceived and cheated right up to that very day, both by the papal court and by others.¹ For the grievances, wrong and great injury which he had endured for a long time were notoriously well-known to the pope and the court.² And so it was that they showed very little favour towards him, as was quite clear from the fact that they encouraged the French in their wickedness to an ever increasing extent.³

This is the explanation adopted - almost too faithfully - both by the majority of English chroniclers, and in official pronouncements.⁴ But the French chroniclers

1. "Item, coment maintes fois on avoit nostre signeur avant mené par blandulations et parolles vicieuses sur traictié de faire vers lui raison et mains assés, auquel tousjours il avoit encliné bénignement et consenti, et tousjours sous l'ombre de bone foi et de loyal entention avoit esté deceus et fraudés jusques en cest présent jour, tant par la court de Rome come par autres" (ibid.).
2. "et coment qu'il fust assés notoire au pape et à la court le grief tort et la grant injure que nostre signeur avant-dit a soustenu de longhe main" (ibid., 364-5).
3. "Si estoit leur faveur assés petite vers nostre dit signeur, ainschois apparoit tout clèrement qu'il confortoient l'adversse partie à persévérer en leur malice, sauve leur grâce, de plus en plus" (ibid., 365).
4. See Edward's letter of 1 June, 1355, to the two archbishops and the bishops (Rymer, III, i, 303). An unpublished letter written to Innocent VI in the following year (15 August, 1356) is couched in even stronger terms (Roman Rolls, 30 Edw. III, m.1; cf. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 92, n.3).

have little or nothing to say on the subject, and those who do make any comment - the monk of Saint-Denis, Froissart and the continuator of Lescot - place the blame upon neither side; agreement just was not reached.¹ And Knighton, whose information may ultimately have come from Lancaster, says that the duke refused specifically to give up Edward's claim and title to the throne of France.²

At first sight this explanation of the Leicester chronicler may seem to be contradicted both by the terms of the procurations issued to the English ambassadors and by the secret instructions given to Lancaster and Arundel.³ But by the time the duke and the earl arrived at the curia their instructions were nearly two months old, the first procuracy four months, and a great deal had taken place in the meantime. For there were two other

1. Mollat, *op.cit.*, 742, after Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 14; Froissart, ed. Luce, IV, 131; Lescot, 95.
2. Chronicon, 78. But this part of the chronicle may have been written many years after the event, see V.H.Galbraith, "The chronicle of Henry Knighton", Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948. A volume of memorial essays, ed. D.J.Gordon, 136-48.
3. Vide *supra.*, pp. 493-5 & 500-503.

factors in the diplomatic situation of the moment: the part played by Charles of Navarre and Cardinal Guy de Boulogne.

It has long been known that in November 1354 the young king of Navarre, having once again quarelled with King John, fled the country to Avignon, where he had several meetings with Lancaster, and when an agreement was concluded between him and Edward.¹ It was Delachenal who first suggested that a document bound up into Cotton MS. Caligula D.III was a copy of a projected alliance drawn up on this occasion.² But he did not clearly make out why Charles had again quarelled with John, and whether the arrangement in question was concluded before or after the rupture of peace negotiations; whether, in fact, Edward's ambassadors had any intention of ratifying the treaty of Guines by the time they arrived at the curia.

For all of these questions there is no direct evidence from which we can draw a definitive answer. But an

1. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 269-70, and more fully in his Histoire de Charles V, I, 87-91.
2. Premières négociations, 264-70 and Pièces Justificatives, 280-2, no.VIII; Histoire de Charles V, I, 89-90.

investigation of the time-table of events reveals several illuminating points. According to the monk of Saint-Denis Charles left his Norman lands for Avignon, stopping off in several places, in November 1354.¹ There seems to have been nothing sudden about his decision to go to the curia. As early as 16 November arrangements were put afoot to receive him there, as they were to receive the English and French ambassadors.² He was to be lodged in the rooms of Arnaud Aubert, bishop of Carcassonne, which were specially refurnished for his arrival and which included one room referred to as 'secret' in the papal accounts.³ During the course of the same month - it is not clear at precisely what date - John issued instructions for the seizure of all the Navarrese lands and castles,⁴ and made his way to Caen

1. "Item, assez tost apres, c'est assavoir environ le mois de novembre, l'an LIIII dessus dit, le dit roy de Navarre se parti de Normandie et s'en ala latitant en divers lieux et jusques a Avignon" (Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 13-14, quoted by Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 87, n.3, and, with slight variations in the transcript, Premières négociations, 269, n.2).
2. Mollat, op.cit., 739.
3. Ibid., 739-40.
4. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 88, after Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 14.

to see that they were carried out.¹ Already on 17 November he was in Rouen.² Two days later he was at Bourg Achard, on the 22nd he crossed the Risle at Saint-Philbert and hurried on the following day to Cormeilles; by 30 November he had arrived in Caen.³

What exactly did John fear? Delachenal hints that the king had discovered that there was more to the murder of the constable than had initially been made known to him.⁴ But could the information which he received of an event then ten months old have resulted in such prompt action? It seems more likely that he was frightened of, or had received details of Charles' present intentions and actions. For about this time Martin Enriquez, one of the most devoted of Charles' Navarrese partisans,⁵ secured

1. "Ou dit mois de novembre, se parti le roy de Paris et ala en Normandie jusques à Caen" (Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 14, quoted by Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 88, n.3).
2. E.Petit, "Sejours de Jean II (1350-1356)", Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1896), 605.
3. His letters were dated at Bourg Achard on 19 November, at Saint-Philbert on 22 & 23 November, at Cormeilles on 23 November, at Caen on 30 November, 1, 3-5, 7 & 9-10 December, at Argences on 12 December, Lisieux on 14 December, Bernay on 17 December and Charlevanne (now La Chaussée, Seine-et-Oise, arr. Versailles, cant. Marly, comm. Bougival) on 22 December. On 24 March he was once again in Paris (ibid).
4. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 87.
5. Ibid., I, 1, 2 n.1, & 421.

the assistance of Thomas de Holland, Edward's lieutenant in Brittany, to conduct a raid into Normandy as far as Caen, the faubourgs of which, as those of Bayeux, they set on fire.¹ When John arrived in Normandy he encountered a resistance which he had not anticipated. Six castles: Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gavray, Avranches and Mortain were held firmly against him.² Was it a coincidence that the storm blew up and that Charles departed for Avignon at precisely the point at which Lancaster and Arundel landed at Calais on their way to the curia?³ Whether premeditated or not it is certain that by the time the duke and the earl arrived at their destination - about the time that John arrived back in Paris⁴ - they

1. "Et l'an LIIII se partit monseigneur Martin de Navarre sans congié, et s'en alla par devers mons. Thomas de Hollande, lors lieutenant du roy d'Angleterre en Bretagne. Et l'an dessus dit, le dit mons. Martin et mons. Thomas firent une chevauchie en Normandie jusques aux faubours de Caen, et en ardirent part(ie) et de ceulx de Baieulx" (L. Delisle, Fragments d'une chronique inédite relatifs aux événements militaires arrivés en Basse-Normandie de 1353 à 1389, 4). The incident here described could not have taken place after the murder of the constable, since Holland was not appointed lieutenant until 18 March (Rymer, III, i, 274), that is a month after the treaty of Mantas. It must therefore have been during the conflict at the end of the year.
2. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 88, after Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 14.
3. They were at Dover on 3 November (E 101/313/25; Bock, op.cit., 76, n.1 & 97).
4. Vide supra., p.515, n.3.

were well aware of what had taken place, and were doubtless in touch with Edward about it. For we know that close contact was maintained. On 15 November Alan de Barley was sent to the duke, who could not have got very far by then since the messenger was only paid five shillings.¹ On 5 December a clerk, John de Kent, was sent to the curia with letters for the bishop of Norwich and other 'magnates', and on the same day diverse valets were paid for taking letters under the secret seal to Lancaster and Arundel.² On 20 February following another clerk, John de Brangtre, was sent to Avignon with privy seal letters for Lancaster, Arundel and 'other magnates'.³ And we know of at least one esquire, Henry de Brarbrok, sent to the king at Woodstock with letters from Lancaster, Arundel, Bateman and Northburgh.⁴ So Edward's instructions on the matter could not have been lacking. In quite general terms then, in view of the readiness shown by both Lancaster and the king to

1. E 403/375, m.12.

2. Ibid., m.17.

3. Ibid., m.27.

4. E 101/171/3, fo.30v.

ditch the projected peace treaty after the murder of the constable in January 1354, was it likely that they would turn down Charles' request for assistance in order that it might be ratified a year or so later? For it must have been quite clear that, after the turn of events in November, he was certain once more to seek English assistance, if he had not been assured of it already by that date.

Whatever John had discovered he had discovered by degrees.¹ Already in September Guy de Boulogne, four times recalled to Avignon,² finally departed for the curia having lost the king's favour.³ In January he was joined there by Robert de Lorris, also among the negotiators of the treaties of Mantes and Guines, and

1. According to the monk of Saint-Denis John was "léger à informer" on the subject (Grandes Chroniques, ed. Paulin, VI, 14, quoted by Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 87, n.2).
2. On 15 & 30 May, 6 June and 5 August (Mollat, op.cit., 741, n.4). But he had been requested first to secure John's permission to leave for the curia, and to act prudently in securing his consent (CPL, III, 615).
3. "...ou mois de septembre, se parti de Paris le dit cardinal de Bouloigne et s'en ala a Avignon et disoit l'en communement qu'il n'estoit pas en la grace du Roy, ja fust ce que par avant bien l'espace d'un an qu'il demouré en France, il eust esté tousjours avecques le Roy si prive comme homme pavoit estre d'autre" (Chronique des régnes de Jean II et de Charles V, I, 46, quoted by Perroy, Quatre Lettres, 161, n.1).

who had similarly been obliged to exile himself from the king's court.¹ And it was in Guy de Boulogne's rooms at Avignon, sometimes in those of the cardinal of Arras, that Charles and Lancaster met in ostentatious secrecy during the night and hatched their stupendous plot.²

How had this come about? Perhaps we should look at the 'projected treaty' itself before seeking an explanation. According to the text printed by Delachenal,³ Charles and Edward were to work together for the conquest of France. When that had been accomplished, Edward would be king; but Charles would be given a number of provinces amounting, in all, to about half the kingdom, and including Normandy, where military operations were to begin.

Delachenal believed this document to belong to 1354 or 1355, since it refers to grievances raised after the murder of the constable in the treaty of Mantes.⁴ But the

1. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 87; Mollat, op.cit., 741, n.3.
2. Delachenal, Premières négociations, 269, and Histoire de Charles V, I, 89; Mollat, op.cit., 742.
3. Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, pp.280-2, no.VIII, and analysed by him on pp.264-7. Cf. Histoire de Charles V, I, 90.
4. Premières négociations, 264 & 268-9.

piece of evidence which seemed to prove beyond all doubt that it was drawn up at Avignon was a note written at the head of the manuscript: "Ceste copie feust trovée entre les lettres de Navarre, escrite de la main l'evesque de Loundres"; and Michael de Northburgh, as he rightly pointed out, was one of the English ambassadors at the curia in the winter of 1354-5.¹

This seemed to prove Delachenal's thesis beyond all doubt. But is the document in question a copy of a 'projected treaty'? The manuscript begins "En noun de Dieu. Amen. Il sembleroit par manère de remembrance que pur treter de faire alliance et amour ferm(e) entre les deux seignurs (se) pourreit faire se qe s'ensuit".² That is to say it is a note of what might be conceded in treating of an alliance between Edward and Charles. It is not a projected treaty but a charge similar to that given to Lancaster and Arundel on 31 October for treating

1. Ibid., 264 & 269-70.

2. Ibid., Pièces Justificatives, VIII, p.280.

of peace with the French ambassadors at Avignon. Clearly it was written by Michael de Northburgh; but did he write it in the winter of 1354-5? According to clause three Charles was to have all that he held in Normandy together with everything else that John held in the duchy, and he was to have it in compensation for the county of Angoulême and several rents due to him at the treasury.¹ But by the treaty of Mantes compensation had been made to him for the county, to an extent that was beyond even his wildest dreams.² Is it likely, when he was to have virtually half of France by the new arrangement, that Normandy should be offered to him in these terms?

It seems more probable that the document was written before the conclusion of the treaty of Mantes, but after the murder of the constable; that is between 8 January

1. Ibid., 265 and Pièces Justificatives, VIII, p.281.

2. Vide supra., pp.468-70.

and 22 February, and that it constitutes the basis of what Edward was offering Charles through Lancaster at Bruges at the beginning of the latter month. It was written by Michael de Northburgh in his capacity as keeper of the privy seal, and, as it happens, we know that he was sent to Flanders some time after the truce conference at Calais in November-December 1353,¹ when, along with Lancaster, he had been among the English ambassadors.² It is possible that this document (which is bound up into Cotton MS. Caligula D.III along with the letters relating to the negotiations between Charles and Lancaster of January-March 1354) was communicated to the duke at Bruges by him, and that it is a copy of a charge, a list of instructions of what the duke could concede to the young king.

Then what was concluded at Avignon? For we know from a speech subsequently delivered to parliament by Sir Walter Mauny that an arrangement of some sort or other

1. E 403/374, m.19.

2. Rymer, III, i, 268. Vide supra., pp.439-40.

was concluded there.¹ Could it have been a treaty based on the document written by Northburgh? Le Baker, who gives a peculiarly full account of the events of 1354, tells us that an arrangement was concluded between Charles and Lancaster after the murder of the constable and before the treaty of Mantes.² But in one of the manuscripts he also says that subsequently, at Avignon, Lancaster received Charles' homage.³ A similar note was added in the manuscript of the Anonimale Chronicle published by Professor Galbraith,⁴ and Sir

1. "Et durante la demoere des ditz Missages a la Court par la dite cause, si vient le Roi de Navarr' sovent au dit Ducs, se compleingnant des grevaunces, tortz & duresces q'il avoit souffert du Roi de Fraunce, affermant & par serment assiant, q'il serroit volentiers Alliance ove nostre Seigneur le Roi contre son dit Adversair ove tut son poair: Et tant empressa le dit Ducs par ses somers parlances, que le Ducs lui promist que l'Alliance se prenoit s'il plust a nostre Seigneur, & que sur ceo il s'apparaillereit si enforciement come il purroit & des gentz & de navie, & se vendroit a les Isles de Gerneseye et Jereseye, pur affermer & assurer l'Alliance avant dite" (Rot.Parl., II, 264).
2. Chronicon, 125.
3. "anno supranominato, invocato presenti sacramento altaris, iuravit fidelitatem regi Anglie, quam dominus dux Lancastrie apud Avinoniam sibi securitate interposita suscepit" (ibid., 125, n.2).
4. "Mesme cel temps qe les messagers Dengleterre furent al courte, le roi de Naverne promyst lealment al duk de Loncastre destre entierment ovesqe le roi Dengleterre encountre ses enemys en eide et en counseille et cella affermer sur le corps et le saunk Nostre Seignour", with "En lauter fist serment" inserted above the line in a different ink (Anonimale Chronicle, 32 & n.2).

Walter Mauny seems to have suggested as much.¹ Now according to clause nine of the document printed by Delachenal, Charles was to do homage to Edward as King of France at a date that was to be determined by him and the duke.² It is possible, therefore, that the agreement concluded at Avignon in the winter of 1354-5 was based upon the terms which were offered to Charles at Bruges in February 1354.³

The conclusions to which this argument is leading, though tentative indeed, are very different from those advanced by Delachenal and Bock. They are as follows. That early in the year 1354 Charles of Navarre, having

1. "...affermant & par serment assiant (i.e. affiant) q'il serroit (i.e. ferroit) volentiers Alliance ove nostre Seignieur le Roi contre son dit Adversair ove tut son poair..." (Rot.Parl., II, 264).
2. "...et en ferra hommage lui meisnés au terme qe serra ordoné par lui et par son piere..." (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.VIII, p.282). Throughout the document Charles is referred to as the 'younger' (meisné) and Edward as the 'elder' (aisné). Lancaster is referred to as the 'father' (piere). These pseudonyms were used elsewhere in Charles' correspondence with the duke. For instance, in his letter to Lancaster of 21 February, 1354, he wrote "quar vraiment nous trovons bien en vous les oeuvres que fils poet trover en bon piere" (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXII, no.VI, p.358), and again on 1 March "par ma foi, très cher père" (Delachenal, Premières négociations, Pièces Justificatives, no.V, p.277). It casts an interesting light on the 'secrecy' of the negotiations of this year.
3. There was nothing Unusual for the terms of an alliance to

had murdered the constable of France, Charles of Spain, on his Norman lands at Laigle, got into touch with Lancaster and, through him, Edward III and the Black Prince, and a meeting was arranged to conclude an alliance at Bruges.

A document containing the conditions that Edward was willing to offer Charles (Delachenal's 'projected treaty') was taken to Flanders by Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the privy seal, and was discussed at the conference at Bruges. There must have been some close and insincere bargaining on this, for the arrangement could not have been attained - France could never have held both Edward and Charles of Navarre. But from Edward's point of view, if Charles could be trusted for the moment, it might be exceedingly useful. Arrangements were made, which were based upon it, for the landing of English troops under Lancaster's command in Normandy. But at the last minute Charles was offered a particularly advantageous peace with King John and, for the moment, the project fell through.

That this was the case was due to the influence which Cardinal Guy de Boulogne had with the French king, and because, ambitious for promotion in the church, and may

be offered more than once. The draft treaty of alliance with William of Hainault and Holland was over a year old when Lancaster took it to the Low Countries for his acceptance in the winter of 1353-4 (vide supra., pp.450-2).

be because he genuinely desired it, he was first and foremost determined to see that the terms of a peace, which were already within reach at the end of 1353, should be formally concluded. And so the treaty of Guines came about. It was Edward, not John, who had to give way on this occasion, for he had been losing heavily during the years of truce, and the defection of Charles of Navarre gave him the final push. But the treaty still had to be ratified at Avignon in the autumn.

At first Edward tried to speed up the business, but as the clauses of the draft agreement were discussed and debated over - for there seems to have been some trouble over the boundaries of the territories which were to have been ceded to him - the months drew by and, in the event, the final stage was not reached until Christmas when Lancaster and Arundel arrived at the curia.

But at the beginning of November things had changed abruptly. King John, having slowly gathered together the strands of information of what had taken place at Laigle,

at Mantes, at Guines, and probably at Bruges; and who had reason to distrust the latest Navarrese strategems, threw over Guy de Boulogne, sought to stamp out Charles, and banished his chamberlain, Robert de Lorris, from his court.

All three made for Avignon, as if, it would seem, by intention. It must have been obvious that the treaty of Guines was on the rocks. Fearing that the French would refuse to ratify it, the cardinal tried to push them into it by allowing Charles and Lancaster to hold conferences in ostentatious secrecy in his rooms. How else can one explain his conduct? But his action had quite the opposite effect. For instead of ratifying the treaty of peace, the English ambassadors negotiated an alliance with Charles. Disconcerting story of a twisted diplomacy in which Guy de Boulogne had brought about more than he had intended to do.

The projected Imperial alliance

Once the treaty had fallen through, Edward's ambassadors

opened negotiations for an alliance with the Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg. The initial conversations took place with the bishop of Mende, who was then at the curia, and it was agreed that an envoy should be sent to present Edward's case to Charles.¹ The credential or lettre de credence that was given to this envoy, Thumas, and which contained the official explanation of the break-down of peace negotiations, has already been referred to.² It also instructed him to request the Emperor for a meeting to be arranged between his council and that of Edward to conclude an alliance between them.³ If Charles agreed, he was to arrange a time and a place for the negotiations in question to take place, and to secure the names of the envoys whom the Emperor proposed to send.⁴

1. "Là fu receue la parllance qui avoit esté entre monseigneur le duc de Lancastre, monseigneur le conte d'Arondel et les autres signeurs du conseil avec monseigneur l'éveske de Mende, qui estoient accordé que on envoiast messages sur ce qui s'en suivent" (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXIII, no.II, p.364).
2. Vide supra., pp.509-11.
3. Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXIII, no.II, p.365.
4. Ibid.

At first sight it would appear that these overtures could not meet with a great deal of success, for nearly all the early influences on Charles IV were French.¹ He had been brought up in France; his father, Jean l'Aveugle, the blind king of Bohemia,² like Louis de Male's father, had died fighting for Philip VI at Crécy; he had been tutored by the abbot of Fécamp, later to become Pope Clement VI, reputed for his Francophile sympathies; he had married a French princess, Blanche of Valois, sister of Philip VI; and he was the brother-in-law of King John through the latter's marriage to his sister Bonne of Luxembourg.

But the political realities of his house counted for more than these personal attachments. French territorial interests conflicted sharply with his own in the Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche-Comté, Verdunois, the duchy of Bar and the Cambrésis.³ An alliance with Edward could therefore be very

1. For the following remarks on Charles' upbringing and early life, see B.Mendl and F.Quicke, "Les relations politiques entre l'empereur et le roi de France de 1355 à 1356", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, VIII (1929), 478-9, and A.Leroux, Recherches critiques sur les relations politiques de la France avec l'Allemagne de 1292 à 1378, 243-4.

2. On this fascinating personage, see R.Cazelles, Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg, roi de Bohême.

3. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 481-92; Leroux, op.cit., 248-52.

advantageous to him in order to check French expansion eastwards.¹ But he had to be careful not to become involved in the main stream of the Anglo-French embroilment.² His policy towards the king of France was therefore one of unfriendly neutrality which, if need be, could be turned into active hostility.³ He could threaten the French with an Anglo-Imperial alliance, and so state his terms in a settlement of the frontier territories.⁴

He had in fact already concluded an alliance with Edward at Prague on 24 June, 1348;⁵ but this agreement, whilst it gave Charles everything he wanted, did not

1. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 479.
2. Leroux, op.cit., 243.
3. P.Fournier, Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138-1378). Étude sur la formation territoriale de la France dans l'Est et le Sud-Est, 452.
4. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 479.
5. Published several times, by: J.P. de Ludewig, Reliquiae manuscriptorum, V, pp.462-5, no.XVII; definitively by S.A.Würdtwein, Nova subsidia diplomatica, XI, 59; and with variants by V.Hruby, Archivum coronae regni Bohemiae, II (1346-1355), pp.75-9, no.69. It has also been analysed by A.Huber, Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV (1346-1378), in J.F.Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, VIII, p.59, no.701. Cf. Leroux, op.cit., 246; Fournier, op.cit., 452; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 269-70; and, most perceptively, Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 477, n.2.

fully meet with Edward's wishes.¹ For although the Emperor undertook not to ally himself with any of Edward's enemies, and agreed to allow Edward to raise troops in the Empire for war against the French, he only undertook to participate directly in the Anglo-French conflict if the king of France usurped Imperial rights. What Edward had wanted, as contained in his letters to Charles of 23 April previous,² was a joint Anglo-Imperial offensive against France for their respective rights. This projected treaty was taken to the Emperor by a chancery clerk, Thomas Brayton, and Sir William Stury, who were empowered to swear to it in Edward's name,³ and by another knight, Gorsorn de Zewele, who was to receive Charles' undertakings.⁴

1. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 477, n.2, and 479, n.5.
2. Dated at Westminster on 23 April, 1348, and published by Huber, op.cit., Reichssachen, p.529, no.39, and, rather worse and wrongly dated, by Ludewig, op.cit., V, 459-61, no.XIV.
3. Procuration to these two, also dated at Westminster on 23 April, 1348, published by Ludewig, op.cit., V, p.461, no.XV. On Brayton himself, see Tout, Chapters, cit.supra., III, 153, and VI, 13-15.
4. Procuration also dated at Westminster on 25 April, 1348, published by Ludewig, op.cit., V, p.462, no.XVI.

Had it been concluded it might have proved extremely useful to Edward in dealing with the situation in Flanders during the course of that year.¹ As it was, the alliance concluded in June was of little immediate use to him, even in the disputed succession in Hainault, Holland and Zeeland,² and when, in the following year, Blanche of Valois having died,³ he commissioned the margrave of Juliers to arrange the marriage of his daughter, Isabella, to Charles,⁴ his proposals were politely but firmly turned down.⁵ The Emperor preferred to stay neutral and chose a German princess.⁶

But there was every reason for Edward to hope that even the alliance concluded at Prague in June would sooner or later place the Emperor firmly on his side. The

1. Vide supra., pp.335-6 & 340.

2. Ibid., p.443.

3. She died at Prague on 1 August, 1348 (Leroux, op.cit., 247; Fournier, op.cit., 453).

4. Procuration issued to him on 1 February, 1349 (Rymer, III, i, 181). Cf. Leroux, op.cit., 247.

5. Leroux, op.cit., 247; Fournier, op.cit., 453.

6. Ibid.

annexation of the Dauphiné by Philip VI in 1349 could have brought it into full operation.¹ Now, at the beginning of 1355, Charles IV, having arrived in Italy to gird the crown of the king of the Lombards at Milan and the Imperial crown at Rome, was informed of the latest French proposals to encroach upon his rights in the frontier territories of the Empire, notably in the counties of Savoy and Provence, the kingdom of Arles, Vienne and Franche-Comté, and was obliged to seek financial and military aid from Barnabo Visconti in order to resist them.² The mission entrusted to Thumas by Lancaster and Arundel was therefore particularly well timed.

We know the details of this envoy's audiences with the Emperor from a memoir or ramenbrance which he kept of his mission.³ He found Charles in Pisa, where he arrived

1. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 478, n.2.

2. Ibid., 480-5. At Milan, in January 1355, he was informed of the treaty of Paris which was about to be concluded between the French and Amadeus VI, count of Savoy. This provided for the cession of territories in Viennois to the Dauphin in exchange for others, and for the marriage of Amadeus to a French princess, Bonne of Bourbon (ibid., 481).

3. The document is entitled "Ramenbrance de l'esloit que Thumas a fait etc. sur la crédençe baillie à Avignon par les signeurs", and has been published by Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXIII, pp.362-4, no.I.

on Monday 2 March. It is clear from his account that he had several audiences with the Emperor between 4 and 17 March, and that Lancaster and Arundel also sent other envoys to Charles together with the cardinal bishop of Mende. The latter appear to have arrived at Pisa on 14 March, when the Emperor verified that the peace negotiations had in fact fallen through, and two days later, notwithstanding his receipt of letters from Innocent VI and the cardinals giving contrary reasons for the rupture of the negotiations, he agreed to send some of his councillors to Lancaster and Arundel to see if an agreement could be concluded. The following morning (17 March), therefore, Thumas agreed to explain more fully to Charles the reason for his mission and the intentions of the duke and the earl therein. He spoke to this effect with the bishop, the marquess of Montferrat, messire Haese, and a good many other persons, presumably Charles' councillors.

Of the subsequent negotiations we know very little;¹

1. Further information could possibly be gleaned from BM Cotton MS. Caligula D.III, fo.128, since Lettenhove does not appear to have published the entire ramenbrance written by Thumas.

but by the time Charles agreed to send envoys to treat with Lancaster and Arundel, the duke and the earl were well on their way home.¹ It was not until August that other English envoys arrived in Prague to conclude the alliance which Edward, through his ambassadors at Avignon, had been seeking, and by then it was too late.²

In effect, the English overtures had served Charles' purposes: he had made good use of them to frighten the French with the prospect of an Anglo-Imperial alliance.³ On 26 August ¹⁵⁵⁵ he concluded a treaty with King John whereby, in return for his friendship (not an effective alliance or anything like military aid), the towns of Verdun and Cambrai, together with Gateau-Cambrésis, were to be restored to him; the Dauphin was to do homage for the Dauphiné and

1. They arrived back in England on 28 March (E 101/313/25, published by Bock, op.cit., 96-7, Appendix V; E 403/377, m.8).
2. Leroux, op.cit., 257-9, whose views on the purpose of the English mission seem much more plausible than those of Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 493, and are in part substantiated by the two documents published by Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXIII, pp.362-5, nos.I & II, which all of them overlooked.
3. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 496. In his ramembrance, Thumas noted that on 12 March the Emperor said "qu'il entendoit à envoyer messages as averssaires etc., et nous en celle eure monstra et dist moult de son secré et volonté" (Lettenhove, op.cit., XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, LXXXIII, no.1, pp.362-3).

restore the town of Vienne; and the count of Burgundy was also to do homage for his county as a fief of the Empire.¹ He offered the English envoys nothing more than his mediation of a truce between Edward and John.² But by that time preparations were well under way for the landing of English troops in Normandy and Gascony.

These negotiations with the Emperor are significant in that they reveal Edward's plans and intentions, at the latest in February 1355. Already by that date his ambassadors at Avignon were engaged in diplomatic preparations for a recommencement of hostilities by way of alliances with Charles of Navarre and Charles of Luxembourg. The first plans for a series of campaigns scheduled for the summer were based upon them; English troops were to land in Normandy,³ Imperial assistance

1. Mendl and Quicke, op.cit., 495-6, who have demonstrated conclusively that Charles took the initiative on this occasion, and that this treaty which he offered John was taken to Paris for the latter's confirmation (ibid., and pp.503-10, Pièces Justificatives, nos.I & II).
2. Leroux, op.cit., 258.
3. They were first to make for the Channel Islands, where a junction would be made with Charles' forces (Cf. Sir Walter Mauny's speech to parliament, cit.supra., p.523, n.1, after Rot.Parl., II, 264).

was to be secured for military operations against France, presumably from the north-east. Bearing in mind the time it would have taken for English messengers to reach Avignon from London, Edward's instructions must have been given very early on in the entire diplomatic proceedings.

XII

THE GENTLE KNIGHT

A knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
And therto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.¹

It is tempting to think that Chaucer might have had his patron's father-in-law in mind when he gave us this portrait of the Gentle Knight; there is so much that fits Lancaster like a glove. But it is more likely that the knight of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales personifies the chivalric concepts of his time, and on the surface of things Henry met with those standards.

1. W.W.Skeat, The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, IV, 2.

Alike to king and aristocracy of his day, he shared a passionate delight in the tournament. Fought in the lists as a series of single combats or joustings, they were made the occasion of much pageantry and afforded opportunity for the display of individual prowess, for hazardous encounters and the winning of knightly reputations. Not least they forged between king and aristocracy the powerful bond of pleasures shared.¹

As early as 1328, when he was likely no more than eighteen, he went to see a tournament at Blythe with his brother-in-law William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.² In the Christmas of 1341, before the truce had been concluded with the Scots, he organised a tournament at Roxburgh, challenged Sir William Douglas to tilt with him, wounded him and forced him to give up the contest.³ Upon the conclusion of the truce he took part in the tournaments organised by the king at Berwick,⁴ and on another occasion challenged

1. M.McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 250-1.

2. DL 41/9/1, m.18.

3. Knighton, II, 23.

4. Ibid.

Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie to a joust and wounded him so severely that he died.¹

In 1344 he was elected captain for life of a group of knights who secured royal authorisation to hold jousts yearly at Lincoln,² and it is clear that the authorisation was given upon the especial request of the earl - "qui in actibus militibus delectatur" - himself.³ It may have been the example of this voluntary association of knights which first suggested to Edward III that he should found a knightly Order.⁴

He organised jousts and tournaments on numerous occasions: at Leicester for the marriage of his daughter Maud to Duke Ralph Staffordland in 1344;⁵ at Lincoln when the county was conferred upon him by the king;⁶ and possibly at Bristol in 1358.⁷

1. DNB., IX, 553.

2. CPR, 1343-5, 196.

3. C 81/294/15900 & 301/16577; Rymer, III, i, 5.

4. McKisack, op.cit., 251.

5. Knighton, II, 30.

6. Le Baker, 97.

7. E.J.F. Arnould, Étude sur le Livre des Saintes Médecines du Duc Henri de Lancastre, LVII; "Henry of Lancaster and his Livre des Seintes Medicines", BJRL, XXI (1937), reprint, 11, who however quotes no authority.

He was naturally present at festivities organised by the king: in honour of the countess of Salisbury in 1342, when, Froissart tells us, for fifteen days the nobility of England, Germany, Flanders, Hainault and Brabant confronted one another in the lists;¹ at Dunstable, and possibly at Northampton and Eltham, during and before Easter 1342;² at the celebrated festival of Windsor in 1344, when the Round Table was instituted and when he appeared (as his father's deputy) as steward of England;³ at Eltham in 1347;⁴ at Lichfield on 9 April, 1348;⁵

1. Froissart, III, i & 3.

2. Murimuth, 123-4. The wardrobe account for this year refers to various articles provided for the king, "his two knights", and esquires for the tournaments at Northampton and Dunstable; and for the king and "his eight knights" for the jousts at Northampton, and tunics and hoods of the same suit for 22 esquires of the king and queen and 3 minstrels. A velvet tunic of arms, "powdered" or covered with small saracens of gold and silver, each having a jewel "with the king's motto" and embroidered with trees and birds, and with effigies of two saracens holding shields of the king's arms, were made for the king to wear at a tournament, also in 1342 (N.H.Nicolas, "Observations on the institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, illustrated by the Accounts of the Great Wardrobe of King Edward the Third, from the 29th of September 1344 to the 1st of August 1345; and again from the 21st of December 1345 to the 31st of January 1349", Archaeologia, XXXI, (1846), 113).

3. Murimuth, 232. Cf., Nicolas, op.cit., 109.

4. E 101/391/15; Nicolas, op.cit.,

5. Nicolas, op.cit., 115-8.

probably at Windsor on 24 June, 1348;¹ and again at Windsor on Saint George's Day (23 April), 1358, when before the captive King John, and perhaps in his honour, single combats took place which were said to transcend everything since the days of King Arthur, and in the course of which he appears to have been wounded in the thigh.²

From the time of the king's return from Calais in 1347 to the end of December of the following year, tournaments took place at Canterbury, Bury-Saint-Edmunds, Windsor, Reading, Eltham, Lichfield and Guildford.³ Doubtless he was present at most of these.⁴

At the tournament at Eltham the king gave him a hood of white cloth embroidered with men dancing in blue habits, buttoned in front with large pearls. Five of these hoods were made - for the king, Henry, Hugh de Courtenay, Sir John de Grey of Rotherfield and Sir John

1. The Black Prince was present (ibid., 125).

2. Reading, 130 & 273-4; Eulogiam Historiarum, 227. Knighton, II, 99, however, by implication excludes him.

3. Nicolas, op.cit., 115-6 & 143.

4. Not, however, in the period 26 September to 16 December, 1348, when he was engaged in diplomatic service (E 372/193, ms.34r-d & E 101/312/33; vide supra., pp. 336 & 344-56).

de L'Isle of Rougemont, Founder Members of the Order of the Garter.¹ In 1348 he received a harness covered with white taffeta surrounded by a blue border from him.² Presents from the Black Prince included a pair of plates for the jousts, a breastplate, and a pair of plates when he returned from Normandy.³

The tournament at Lichfield (9 April, 1348) was celebrated with great splendour, the prevailing dress being a blue robe with a white hood.⁴ On this occasion the jousts consisted of the king (who wore the arms of Sir Thomas de Bradeston) with 17 knights,⁵ and Lancaster with 13 knights.⁶ The king's daughter, Isabel,

1. E 101/391/15. 1,350 large pearls were used (Nicolas, op.cit., 121).
2. Account of John of Cologne, the king's armourer (Pipe Roll, 36 Edw. III, m.50).
3. Black Prince's Register, IV, 247 & 323.
4. For the details in this paragraph, see Nicolas, op.cit., 115-8 & 121.
5. Principally knights of his chamber: Sir Walter Mauny, John de L'Isle, Hugh Courtenay, John Grey, Robert de Ferrers, Richard de la Vache, Philip Despenser, Roger de Beauchamp, Miles de Stapleton, Ralph Ferrers and Robert de Mauley.
6. Lancaster, his 'companion' and 12 knights were given coats and hoods, and are described as "de Secta Regis" (ibid., 117).

afterwards countess of Bedford, 6 ladies of high rank,¹ and 21 other ladies² (who wore coats and hoods of the same materials and colours as the knights, together with various masks and visors)³ took a conspicuous part in the festivities.

Besides the king, the jousters at Canterbury consisted of the Black Prince, Lancaster, the earl of Suffolk and five other knights (to whom Edward gave each a harness of cerulean sindon worked with the arms of Sir Stephen de Cosington).⁴ A number of ladies, who entered the city (along with the jousters) disguised in masks, again seem to have played a prominent part.⁵

1. Throxford, Ulster, Juliers, Wake, Segrave and Darcy (ibid.).
2. Saundrina de la Mote, Eleanour de Merkyngfeld, Phillipa de Bohun, Alicia Belet, Joan de la Mote, Lady Burg de Vaus and Lady Wake; the daughter of Lady Burg de Vaus and her companion, Joan Gamboun, three "domicellae" of Lady Wake, three of the Lady of Ulster, and one of the Lady of Juliers, two "domicellae" of Lady Segrave and two of Lady Darcy.
3. Provided "for their apparel of the king's suit".
4. John de Grey, John de Beauchamp, Robert de Mauley, John Chandos and Roger de Beauchamp (ibid., 118 & 122).
5. They included Lady Burg de Vaus, Saundrina de la Mote, Eleanour de Merkyngfeld, Alicia Belet, Joan Fostebura, a "domicella" of Lady Sybilla Beauchamp and two "domicellae" of the Lady of Ulster, to each of whom the king gave green cloth (ibid., 118). 8 tunics and 8 hoods were provided for the knights and 12 masks for the ladies on entering Canterbury (ibid., 122).

He was a Founder Knight of the Order of the Garter, his name being second on the list following that of the Prince of Wales.¹ The exclusiveness of the Order and the opportunities which it afforded for personal contact with the sovereign soon caused membership to be regarded as a high distinction, and that not only in England.

According to a charter dated at the siege of Calais on Saint Margaret's Eve (19 July), 1347,² together with

1. GCE, II, Appendix B, 534.

2. Ashmole MS. 1137, fo.164. The present whereabouts of the original charter is not known. Cf. A.R.Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages, 23.

William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Reginald de Cobham, Walter Mauny and Stephen de Cosington, he was commissioned to try and judge "toutes manieres de batz darmes et heaumes de dayntz son host en son siege devant Caloys", adjudging the arms "lozenge dor et daszeur" to John de Warbeltone against Tibaud Russel alias Georges. The commissioners appear to have been appointed as deputies or assistants to the constable and marshall, and the adjudication probably took place in Saint Peter's Church outside Calais.¹

Crusading, like the tournaments, provided an outlet for knightly deeds. After the fall of Acre in 1291 crusades to Palestine were no longer possible and it became fashionable among the higher nobility and gentry to fulfill vows by joining the Kings of Spain against the Moors, or the Prussian Knights against their pagan neighbours.² Lancaster was in the fashion. Like the

1. Wagner, op.cit., 23. Sittings before deputies of the constable and marshall were not uncommon (ibid., 23-4).
2. L.T.Smith, "Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby", Camden Society, second series (1894), LII, xv-xvi.

Gentle Knight

Ful ofte tyme he had the bord bigonne
 Above alle naciouns in Pruce
 In Lettow had he reysed and in Ruce,
 No Cristen man so ofte of his degree.
 In Gernade at the sege eek hadde he be
 Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye.¹

We have seen how, together with the earl of Salisbury in 1343, he joined King Alfonso of Castille at the siege of Algeciras, and how he accompanied Giles de Buccanigre, admiral of the Castilian fleet, in a descent on the African coast to attack the Benny Merrin Moors off Ceuta: chivalry with which to impress Alfonso and contemporaries, but chivalry none the less.²

In the lull of fighting in 1351 he resolved to join the Teutonic Knights. Although the Order had no property in England, almost from the beginning they had an annual subsidy from the king. Under Edward III payment was due at the house of the Order in Coblentz, and although it had fallen into arrears, on the reminder of the Grand Master, Kniperodi (1351-82) Edward restored it and promised

1. W.W.Skeat, The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, IV, 2.
2. Vide supra.,

to pay the arrears.¹

Leaving England towards the close of 1351,² together with a considerable retinue,³ he was arrested in High

1. Derby expeditions, cit.supra., xv.
2. CPR, 1350-4, 172 & 191.
3. We know the names of some of those who accompanied him from an entry in the Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348-1358, ed. T. de Limburg-Stirum, I, pp. 383-4, no. CCCCXXX. Since many of the English names printed here have been erroneously rendered, the text has been corrected from a transcript taken in Ghent in 1834, available in the Record Office, PRO 31/8/142, fo.349r-v:

"Ces chevaliers d'Engleterre ont conduit de passer parmi Flandres pour aler en Pruisse, à la pryere de dame Marguerite le Marisscale:

Le baron de Graystok
 Mons' Henry de Percy
 Mons' Jehan de Nevyll
 Mons' Thumas de Courtenay
 Mons' Rogier la Ware
 Mons' Willem Cantellou
 Mons' Nicholas de Rye
 Mons' Richard de Boildend
 Mons' Hughe de Hersy
 Mons' Willem Bernak
 Mons' David de Fletewik
 Sire Willem Latymer
 Sire Richart Plays
 Sire Jehan Gerberghe
 Sire Jehan Camoys
 Sire Robert Totenam
 Sire Rogier Coursoin
 Le conte de Lancastre et toute sa compaignie"

Germany and held to pay a ransom of 30,000 gold crowns for himself and his men.¹ A contemporary German chronicler, Henricus de Hervodia, relates how, whilst crossing the territory of the bishop of Paderborn, the vanguard of the little army conducting the treasury of the duke eastward had a sharp encounter with a gang of Westphalian knights who defeated and robbed them deplorably.² Knighton tells us how, in spite of the check in Westphalia, he continued his expedition to Prussia undeterred, but on finding a truce concluded between the Christians and their heathen enemies, he returned to Cologne and thence to England.³ We know, however, that he got as far as Stettin and was

1. Knighton, II, 68-9.

2. Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive Chronicon Henrici de Hervodia, edit., A.Potthast, Gottingen (1859), 286.

3. Knighton, II, 69.

then intending to continue into Poland.¹ Le Baker tells us that he continued from Prussia into Cracow and Poland,² whilst according to French sources he got as far as Estonia where the Christians made him their captain.³ If we may believe the latter account the duke did have battle with the pagans and the Kings of Estonia and Cracow who are said to have been allied with them. The author gives a somewhat idealised account of how, in a battle with their enemies in which there was "grant chevalerie", "le bon duc" restored the Christian standard which had fallen underfoot in the *melee*. Whatever the case, Lancaster was back in Cologne by 11 April⁴ and in England for the summer.⁵

According to Knighton⁶ (the truth of whose account is

1. There is a charter of his, written at Stettin on 15 January, 1352, by which he promised Prince Barnym, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania, Slavie and Cassubie, that he would do nothing against King Kazimir of Poland, nor against his lands (Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum, II, Leipzig 1863, 516, n.453).
2. Le Baker, 119-20.
3. Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 13-14.
4. According to a letter of the duke of Brunswick, printed in Knighton, II, 69-70.
5. He was at the palace of the Savoy on 10 July (DL 41/9/7, no.1).
6. Knighton, II, 69-70.

made quite clear from a letter of King John),¹ it was rumoured to Henry that the duke of Brunswick, in league with the King of France, intended to capture him as he made his way eastward. How far the ambush in Westphalia saw the hand of Duke Otto it is impossible to say, but certainly Lancaster took the matter seriously. On his return from Prussia, in the presence of the princes of Mark and Juliers and other notables in Cologne cathedral, he related how Brunswick had construed to capture him and his men, to prevent them from fulfilling their crusade and to hand him over to the King of France, adding that he found this action unworthy of a knight and if Otto wished to challenge him to a duel, he would be his man.²

Otto heard of the proposal and sent him a challenge:

"Othes par la grace de Deu duc de Bronneswyk, Seynour de Torynage, Fitz al grant duc de Bronneswyk, al excellent prince et noble Duc de Lancastre.

Sachetz qe les paroles qe vous deystes personnelment de vostre propre bouche en la sovereyn eglise de Cologne

1. A subsequent letter of King John devoted to the reconciliation of Lancaster and the duke of Brunswick, published by Leibniz, Scriptorum Brunswicensia illustrantium, II, Hanover 1710, 47-50, which gives all the details.
2. Knighton and Scriptorum Brunswicensia, loc.cit.

a noun Seynt Pere, le Vendredy procheyn apres la Pasche passee, devant le noble prince Markes de Julers e moltz des honestes chivalers e esquyers, en presence des citisenez de mesme la citee, malveisement, ledement et deshonestment furent mentuz et de nul maner de voir. Queles choses nous meintroms par nostre corps propre e biens contre vostre propre cors, sicom bon et leal seignour estis tenuz e obligee de moustrer devers en malveis e deshoneste e mal homme. Ceste chose ferroms entre le chastel de Gynes et la Seynt Omer, ou la ou nostre seignour le Roy de France certeyn leu moustra. Car illeques a vous e les vous seour condist de l'avantdit seignour ordeiner ne tangeroms, sour quel chose prioms qe respons nous soyt escryt soth vostre seal par le portour de cestez".¹

Le Baker² gives a lively account of the challenge, and for the story it would be difficult to better the words of Stow who drew directly from him for the account which he published in his Annals:

"..Otto, son of the duke of Brunswick, stipendary of the crown of France, sent letters to the duke of Lancaster, who was returned from Prussia, by the tenor whereof he accused him, affirming that, as he was returning from Prussia, by Cologne he maliciously informed the Cologners that the said Otto went about by stealth to have him made prisoner

1. Knighton, 69-70

2. Le Baker 171-2.

and to have him presented to the French king, adding thereunto that, because he never made any such taking of him, he was ready, in the declaration of his good name, by a singular combat, only in the court of the French king, to prove the duke of Lancaster a liar touching the said article. The letters were not sealed, and therefore, least it might have been folly to have given credit to the letter, delivered by a servant, the duke sent two knights to Otto, to learn the cause of the challenge and to demand thereof his letters patents, sealed with his seal of arms..".¹

It is clear from the subsequent letter of King John² that, after the exchange of challenges, there was in fact disagreement as to who was the offended party. Lancaster secured letters of safe conduct from John for Sir Thomas Cok, Sir Stephen de Cosington and Stephen Rumbellow (probably all of them his retainers),³ whom he sent to Paris as his special nuncios to discuss the matter with Brunswick.

The meeting took place in the church of the convent of the Blessed Mary. The nuncios produced a letter from Lancaster which contained the text of Brunswick's challenge,

1. Annals, 397.

2. Scriptorum Brunswicensia Illustrantium, II, 47-50, on which the succeeding information is based.

3. Vide *infra.*, pp.695, 703-4 and Appendix J, p.314.

and asked him if he had sent it. When Brunswick affirmed that he had, they produced a second letter which argued that since this was the case Lancaster was the offended party and that it was up to Brunswick to secure letters of safe conduct for Lancaster and his retinue, and to meet the duke's costs in coming to Paris to settle the matter in the king's court.

The hearing was fixed for 1 September. On 23 August Lancaster secured authorisation from Edward III "to go beyond the seas to excuse himself in respect of things wickedly laid to his charge by the duke of Brunswick" and for a retinue of an earl and 60 men to accompany him.¹ Lancaster, however, did not appear personally in court; Cosington and Rumbellow acted as proctors in the hearing before King John at Saint-Denis on 4 September.

Lancaster's proctors argued that whoever was declared appellant should bear the costs of the defendant and that the money should be handed over immediat^ely upon judgement. Brunswick argued that he did not have the necessary money with him, and in any case he was the defendant. After much debate it was agreed that payment could be held over.

1. Rymer, III, i, 248; CPR, 1350-4, 317.

John declared Lancaster the offended party and arranged for the combat to be held at the Pré-aux-Clercs, Saint Germain-des-Prés, on 4 December.

Knighton gives a fascinating account of the duke's journey to Paris and his magnificent reception there.¹ He crossed to Calais at the beginning of December with a retinue of 50 knights and was met by Jean de Clermont, then marshal of France, as he was approaching Guines.² Conducted from there to Hesdin in great state, James de Bourbon conducted him from there to Paris with equal honour. As he approached the city he was met by a multitude of processions, and the crowds on either side of the walls are said to have pressed so greatly upon his route that it was quite impossible to see him during the course of the day. As he made his way through the throngs John sent for him to come to the Palais-Royal where he was again most honourably received and his company not a little sought after.³

1. Knighton, II, 71.

2. He was John's lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders at the time (Arch. nat., JJ 81, fo.430, no.808).

3. Knighton, loc.cit., and Chronographia, II, 251, which adds: "His diebus, Johannes, dux Briswicensis et dux Lincastrie, Henricus, Franciam petentes, Parisius accesserunt, ubi a rege Johanne magnifice recepti sunt et potissime prefatus dux Lincastrie, cui nobiles Francie magnum vultum fecerunt et specialiter Ludovicus, comes Flandrie, qui eidem semper tenuit societatem".

In an attempt to reconcile the two dukes, the king charged Charles the Bad, the Dauphin and several others of his council with the task of negotiating an agreement.¹ Their approaches were of no avail and a solution had not been found for the day appointed for the combat.

As arranged, everything was set for the duel to take place at the Pré-aux-Clercs on 4 December.² Charles the Bad, the duke of Burgundy and many peers and notables of France were present along with John who had a dais (velvet walls decorated with fleur-de-lys, surmounted by a canopy with a picture of a horse) specially constructed for the occasion.³

Brunswick was first led into the lists by the king's sons, Lancaster was presented by Charles and Phillip of Navarre.⁴ Both French and English chroniclers relate how the two dukes swore their oaths and were ready for battle when John took the quarrel into his hands and had the constable of France lead them out of the lists. In the

1. Scriptorum Brunsvicensia, II, 47; Knighton, II, 71.
2. Scriptores Brunsvicensia, II, 47; Chronographia, II, 251 & n.2; Chronique des regnes de Jean II et Charles V, 36; Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, 25.
3. Arch. nat., KK 8, fo.102 (troisième compte d'Etienne de la Fontaine, argentier du Roi).
4. Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 25.

English accounts of Knighton and Le Baker we may detect a note of nationalism. To conclude Le Baker's account in the words of Stow:¹

"..in the lists, in the presence of the French king, the King of Navarre and the duke of Burgundy, and many peers and others of the realm of France, he mounted his steed in seemly wise, ready in all signs without default, to try the combat, and so stayed until his adversary was ready, and the voice of the herald, and the caution to be had by their common oath, for the assurance of his word and to obey the law. On the contrary part the said Otto scarcely was set on his horse and was not able decently to put his helmet on or wield his spear (or else he fayned), whose unableness being perceived by the French king, the King of Navarre and other, the king took the quarell into his hands; whereupon Otto was commanded first to depart the lists and so went his way, but the duke abode still within them. After this, by commandment of the French king, Otto swore that he should never after that day accuse the duke of Lancaster of that article.." ²

King John's letter of reconciliation tells us no more than that the contestants entered the lists in their armour and had their lances outstretched when, not wishing to see such valiant knights fight for such a futile purpose he had the constable of France lead them out of the lists

1. Le Baker, 121-2; Stow's Annals, 397.

2. See also the account in Knighton, II, 71-3.

and declared that, since what Lancaster had said in Cologne cathedral was other than what had been reported to Brunswick, there was no cause for a duel and no cause for costs. The decision was made by the king in council and letters of reconciliation were drawn up and sealed at Paris on 9 December.¹

On the evening of 4 December John gave a banquet to the contestants in the Palais-Royal;² the constable and marshall of France waited on at table.³ John is afterwards said to have offered Lancaster a choice of many presents, all of which he is reputed to have declined save one thorn from the crown of Christ which lay in the Sainte-Chapelle, the which he brought home and subsequently placed in his college of the Newarke at Leicester.⁴

Concern for him was felt by his closest friends: the consuls of Bergerac sent to Paris to have news of him;⁵ John of Paris brought news to the king and "letters of the good expedition of the lord Duke at Paris" to Leicester

1. Scriptorum Brunsvicensia, II, 49-50.

2. Knighton, II, 73.

3. Arch. nat., KK 8, fo.122 (troisième compte d'Etienne de la Fontaine, argentier du Roi).

4. Knighton, II, 73.

5. Les Jurades de la ville de Bergerac, I (1352-1485), edit. G. Charrier,

corporation;¹ Abbot Clown of Leicester also had news of him and sent one of his servants with similar letters to the corporation;² and a Welsh runner brought news of his safe arrival in Calais.³ Once back in England he joined the king who was spending Christmas at Saint Albans; Edward's congratulations are said to have been profuse.⁴

But his interest in crusading ran deeper than that of any purely military adventurer. It is evident, not only from his reputation, his great religious foundation at Leicester, his other foundations, and his endowment of numerous religious bodies, but also from his authorship of a rather remarkable devotional work which argues the genuineness of his piety.

Like his father and grandfather before him, he was a generous benefactor to the church. He founded a chantry in Saint Mary's, Liverpool,⁵ and a small monastery of

1. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 77.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Knighton, II, 73.
5. J. Elton, "The chapel of Saint Mary del Key, Liverpool", Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, LIV, new series, XVIII (1904), 78-85 & 94-5; and "A history of the chantries within the county palatine of Lancaster", edit., F.R. Raines, Chetham Society, LIX, xxxiv & 86.

Grey Friars at Preston.¹ To Whalley abbey (in want of money to pay for their new buildings) he granted the manor of Standen and the advowson of Saint Michael's chapel in Clitheroe castle on 24 August, 1349;² lands in Blackburn chase and Castleton and one quarter of the bailiwick of Blackburn on 20 and 24 February, 1351, respectively;³ and property in Blackburn chase, Pendleton and Clitheroe on 2 January, 1361.⁴ It was doubtless out of friendship for the sporting Abbot Clown that he granted the great abbey of Saint Mary de Pratis at Leicester permission to enclose and impark their wood

1. "A history of the chantries within the county palatine of Lancaster", II, edit. F.R.Raines, Chetham Society, LX, 208, n.72; described by Leland; cf. Whittaker's Richmonds, II, 427-8.
2. CCR, 1364-9, 239; T.D.Whittaker, History of Whalley (1872), I, 261; and DKR., XXXII, 343, for Standen; "The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey", edit. W.A.Hulton, Chetham Society, IV (1849), 1169-71; and VCH., Lancashire, II, 135-6, for the advowson. The grants were made at Whalley and the Savoy (on the same day), respectively.
3. Whalley Coucher, cit.supra., 1146-8 & 1164-6. Both grants were made at the Savoy.
4. DL 42/1, fos.74-5; Whalley Coucher, cit.supra., 1154-8; Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. Coll., ii, 11; and cf. DL 41/1/33, no.60. Royal licence for the grant (which was made at Whalley) was given on 29 November, 1360 (CPR, 1358-61, 506). He also granted the advowson of the rectory of Preston in Amounderness to the abbey; but this was not realised (H.W.Clemesha, A history of Preston in Amounderness, 29-30; VCH., Lancashire, II, 136-7).

beside the road to Antsey, and stocked it with game from his own park on the other side of the way.¹ The churches of Humberstone and Hungarton were appropriated to them as a result of his personal supplication to the Pope.² He confirmed a number of his ancestor's charters to Furness abbey³ and granted them some property in Lancaster.⁴

The Dominican Friars also benefited from his generosity: at Leicester they received fishing rights in the Soar,⁵ at Thetford the site of the hospital of Maison-Dieu.⁶ He granted Saint Leonard's hospital, Lancaster, to the

1. Knighton, II, 74; A.H.Thompson, The Abbey of Saint Mary in the Meadows, Leicester, 33; J.Nichols, The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester, I, ii, 262.
2. Knighton & Nichols, loc.cit., Thompson, op.cit., 30.
3. CChR, 1341-1417, 444-5.
4. Furness Coucher Book, II, i, Chetham Society, LXXIV, 205, no.22.
5. Nichols, op.cit., I, ii, 295-6 (Leicester castle, 28 February, 1356).
6. CPR, 1348-50, 19; VCH., Norfolk, II, 433-4, no.60 & 451; F.Blomefield & C.Parkin, An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk, I, 424 (London, 2 December, 1347).

nuns of Seton;¹ a house in East Garston and the advowson and right of appropriation of the church there to the nuns of Aumbresbury, where his sister Isabella was prioress;² and the advowson and right of appropriation of the church of Tunstead and the chapel of Saint James within the manor there to the nuns of Campesse.³ To the anchorites of Saint Helens at Pontefract he assigned a livery in the hospital of Saint Nicholas in the same town, and provided for a chaplain to celebrate divine service in the chapel of the house.⁴ He was also interested in the chapel in Pontefract castle, which was well endowed, and he had a fourth chaplain added.⁵

1. E 326/11958 (By Preston, 1 April, 1356) and LR 14/71 (By Lancaster, 6 May, 1356). Royal licence for the grant was given on 1 November, 1354 (CPR, 1354-8, 134 & CCR, 1360-4, 491). His authority to the chancellor of the county palatine to confirm this is Bodleian, Cumberland Cha.2.
2. C 81/300/16406; CPR, 1343-5, 354 (royal licence, 18 October, 1344).
3. C 81/346/21022 & 376/24318; CPR, 1348-50, 560 & 1358-61, 295, (royal licences, for church and chapel respectively, 23 June, 1350 & 7 September, 1359).
4. CPR, 1358-61, 246 (royal licence of 18 February, 1359).
5. CPL, III, 545.

To the parson of Saint Mary's in the Strand he granted a plot of land for the enlargement of the church and churchyard, and another plot (by the Thames outside New Temple Bar) with a chamber built upon it, for a vicarage.¹ As a Founder Member of the Order of the Garter he granted the advowson and right of appropriation of the church of Uttoxeter to the warden and chaplains of Saint George's chapel, Windsor.²

He intervened on behalf of numerous religious foundations to secure royal licences to alienate or acquire property or rights of appropriation.³

He had some claims as a part founder and benefactor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: as alderman of the Gilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary there he used his influence to obtain the necessary licence from the king, and granted the college the

1. CPR, 1354-8, 178 & 488 (royal licences of 16 February, 1355 & 17 December, 1356).
2. CPR, 1348-50, 372 (royal licence of 18 June, 1349). Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Founder Member next on the list after him, likewise granted the advowson and right of appropriation of the church of South Taunton, Devon (*ibid*).
3. CPR, 1338-40, 467; 1340-43, 257, 287, 397; 1343-5, 197; 209, 547; 1345-8, 283, 452; 1348-50, 38, 367, 421; 1350-4, 71, 146; 1358-61, 271.

manor of Barton and the advowson of Grantchester.¹

Provisions for divine service were attached to some of these benefactions. The Dominican Friars at Thetford were to find an altar, vestments, chalice, candles, and other necessaries for a canon chaplain to chant mass daily for the soul of his father as Founder of the hospital of Maison-Dieu.² The prioress and nuns of Campesse were to find a chaplain to celebrate divine services daily in the chapel of Saint James and to support other works of piety.³ The prioress and nuns of Seton were to maintain chantries and other charges on Saint Leonard's hospital "as the duke shall ordain",⁴ and similarly the anchorites of Saint Helen's, Pontefract, were to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service in the chapel "according to the duke's ordinances".⁵ At

1. Masters's history of the college, edit. J.Lamb (1831), 22-3; CPR, 1350-4, 354 & 378-9 (royal licences for the Foundation, 7 November, 1352); CPR, 1358-61, 275 (royal licence for the grant of Barton, 25 August, 1359; this also refers to him as alderman).

2. CPR, 1348-50, 19.

3. CPR, 1358-61, 295.

4. CPR, 1354-8, 134.

5. CPR, 1358-61, 246.

Saint Mary's, Liverpool, a priest was to celebrate for the souls of himself and his ancestors.¹

His final grant to Whalley abbey was conditional upon the abbot and monks finding sufficient sustenance to support a recluse and two women servants in a place within the churchyard of the parish church, perpetually to pray for himself and his ancestors; upon their providing a chaplain from their ranks to chant mass for himself, his ancestors and heirs, in the chapel of the recluse; and upon their finding vestments, a chalice, bread, wine and other ornaments necessary for conducting the same.²

More important than all of these was his foundation of a college in honour of the Annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke at Leicester. In 1331 his father had founded a hospital in her honour to house a warden, four chaplains, fifty poor folk and five women attendants.³

1. Elton, loc.cit., 94.

2. DL 42/1, fos.74-5; Whalley Coucher, cit.supra., 1154-8.

3. A.H.Thompson, The history of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 12, 13. Isabel de Leicester, Edde de Leicester, Juliane Pollard, a young girl of Dudford; Roger de Mirfield, a poor man who had lost his hands; and Nicholas de Camme, a pantry boy of the earl, were among the first poor folk to be admitted (DL 41/9/4, ms.10, 12-14; 5, m.30).

The foundation statutes provided that the warden and chaplains, though secular clerks, were to lead a common life, and to wear a habit with a white crescent and star. The warden was to be elected by the chaplains, and then presented by the patron to the bishop. Of the fifty poor folk, twenty were to be permanent inmates of the hospital, living in a house by the hospital's church, while the remaining thirty, who were to be admitted temporarily, were to be housed on beds in the body of the church.¹

The original endowment consisted of the site of the hospital, four carucates at Leicester, and the advowson of Irchester, Northamptonshire, with certain common rights in the founder's woods around Leicester.² In 1331 Earl Henry added the advowson of Duffield, Derbyshire, to the hospital's possessions, and the rectories of Irchester and Duffield were both appropriated to the hospital when they fell vacant.³ The buildings seem to have been begun in 1330.⁴

1. Thompson, op.cit., 17-19.

2. Ibid., 13-14.

3. Ibid., 20-22.

4. Ibid., 12, n.5.

Certainly work was underway by March of the following year.¹ In 1333 Brother Thomas of Gloucester was "master of works", assisted by others from the Dominican Friars at Leicester.² A laundry was begun during that year; certainly it was completed two years later when new gates to the hospital were constructed.³

It was during the years of truce that the great project of the college was forming itself in Duke Henry's mind. In 1353 he obtained papal permission for the transformation of the hospital into a college with a dean and canons, and in the following year he provided that there should be in the enlarged foundation a dean, 12 canons, 13 vicars, 3 other clerks, a verger, 100 poor folk and 10 women attendants to care for the poor.⁴

In 1355 the endowment was increased by the grant of the manors of Inglesham and Hannington in Wiltshire, Wollaston in Northamptonshire, and Kempsford and Chedworth

1. DL 41/9/4, m.6.

2. Ibid., ms.4 & 6.

3. Ibid., m.9 & DL 41/9/5, m.31.

4. Thompson, op.cit., 26-7.

in Gloucestershire, with the advowsons of Edmondthorpe and Wymondham in Leicestershire, Higham Ferrers and Raunds in Northamptonshire, and Hannington in Wiltshire.¹ Later he exchanged with the college the advowsons of Edmondthorpe and Wymondham for those of Llandefeilog and Pembrey, together with their chapels, in Carmarthenshire, and 1,000 marks rent from his manors of Gimmingham, Methwold, Thetford, Tunstead, King's Somborne, and the lordships of Kidwelly, Carnwyllion, Iscennen, Ogmere and Morgyng: but the payment of this rent was only contingent.²

That he had the advice and counsel of his friend and late servant, John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, at every step is clear enough; but the general shape of the foundation, and perhaps some of the statutes in detail derive almost certainly from his own ideas.³

1. Ibid.

2. CCR, 1354-60, 318.

3. The foundation statutes were initially drawn up by the duke and then revised by Gynewell (Thompson, op.cit., 41). The entire statutes have been published by Thompson in translation (op.cit., 41-81) and the original Latin text is also available (A.H.Thompson, "Notes on the Colleges of Secular Canons in England", Archaeological Journal, LXXIV, 200-39).

On 24 March, 1356, the charter of foundation and endowment was delivered in the church of the New College.¹ The statutes provided that the dean, canons and vicars should all be priests. When the office of dean fell vacant, the canons were to nominate two persons to the duke, to his lieutenant if he should be abroad, or to the duke's heirs after his death, and one of the two was to be chosen for presentation to the bishop. New canons were to be chosen by the duke or his heirs. The dean, canons and vicars were to be allowed to be absent for up to two months every year, provided that no more than three canons and three vicars were absent at any one time.²

The poor folk were all to live together in one house, containing a chapel where masses were to be said daily for the poor. The dean and canons were each to have a separate house, and each vicar was to dwell in the house of one of the canons until a separate house (to include a hall, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse and a great chamber where they were all to dine and sleep) was constructed

1. Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 29-30.

2. Statutes 1, 19, 20 & 30.

for them within the gates of the close. The provost was also to have a separate dwelling house, and a suitable house was to be constructed within the close for six choristers to dine and sleep. Three chests were to be placed in the church; one for ornaments, money for copes and the like; another for jewels and relics; and the third for the books of the chapter.¹

During services the dean and canons were to wear black copes, white surplices and almuces of grey fur; the vicars white surplices, black copes and almuces of black cloth furred with black budge. Otherwise, when resident, the dean and canons were to wear tunics and supertunics reaching to their heels and fastened close, and hosen only of black hue. The serving women were to have a coat and hood. Of the three clerks other than the thirteen vicars, one (who was to wear a surplice and black cope) was to be about the High Altar to kindle lights, fold up the vestments and the like; the other two were to ring bells and help the priests (who celebrated at the altars in the nave of the church)

1. Statutes 17, 62-5 & 70.

when they said masses. The six chorister boys were to wear black copes and surplices. The vergger was to carry the white rod and open and close the gates of the close. One of the canons was to be elected almoner. The sacrist was to find candles, bread, wine, water and other things necessary for the services; he was to look after the sacred utensils, books, bells and vestments, and to see that the church was cleaned.¹

The dean, canons, vicars and other ministers were bound to say matins, vespers and other canonical hours according to the use of the church of Salisbury, and a mass of the day with song, and another of the Blessed Virgin Mary, except on those of her feast days whereon high mass was to be celebrated of her, and matins and vespers of the same Virgin in company without song save on double feasts, and the rest of the canonical hours by day and night alike. A mass in special without song was also to be said, in the first place that which was wont to be said in the chapel of the Blessed Mary on the south side of the church, for the souls of his father and mother, of his departed kinsfolk and all those to whom

1. Statutes 14, 24-8, 53-4 & 58.

he was bound; and in the second place a special mass Salus populi during the lifetime of the duke for himself in chief and for all his friends and well-wishers, at the north altar next the altar of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, and after the duke's decease the mass that was wont to be said for the departed at the same altar for his soul.¹

When the dean was present in church he was to say Confiteor, Misereatur and the absolution every day throughout the whole year, both at prime and compline. All the canons, vicars and ministers, great and small, as they entered and left the church were to bow to the dean, being in his stall, and all were to rise reverently when he entered choir or chapter or when he passed through either.²

The obits of the third earl and Maud, and of the duke when dead, were to be celebrated every year upon their several anniversaries, solemnly and with music in masses and funeral offices; and the dean, canons and vicars were bound each day in their masses to say a

1. Statute 32.

2. Statute 42.

special collect for Edward III and his queen, their children and heirs while they lived, and after their death for their souls and successors as king and queen. No other yearly masses or trentals for the souls of deceased persons were to be celebrated by the canons and vicars, who were to rest content with their stipends.¹

The regulations carefully provided for the maintenance of the morals of the clergy. The canons, vicars and ministers were not to be haunters of taverns, forbidden public assemblies or lawless spectacles, they were not to sleep out, and women could not be lodged with the dean, canons and vicars.²

As established by Duke Henry the college was adequately endowed and the buildings of the hospital founded by his father were greatly extended.³ Leland has left us this description:⁴

"The collegiate church of Newarke and the area of it joineth to another piece of the castle ground. The college church is not very great, but it is exceeding fair. There lyeth on the north side of the high altare Henry Erle of

1. Statutes 37-8 & 45.

2. Statutes 43-4 & 66.

3. Vide infra., pp.575 & 848.

4. The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, edit. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 15-16.

Lancaster, withowt a crounet, and 2 men childern under the arche nexte to his hedde. On the south side lyith Henry the first Duke of Lancaster; and yn the next arch to his hedde lyith a lady, by likelihod his wife".

On the south side of the choir stood the chapel of Saint Mary, another chapel on the south cross isle.

"The cloister on the south weste side of the chirch", he continues, "is large and faire; and the houses in the cumpace of the area of the college for the prebendaries be al very praty. The waulles and the gates of the college be stately. The rich Cardinal of Winchester gilded all the floures and knottes in the voulte of the chirch. The large almose house stondith also withyn the quadrante of the area of the college".

The foundation was not unusual.¹ William Edington, bishop of Winchester (successively the king's wardrober, treasurer and chancellor), founded a similar college at his native village of Edington in Wiltshire in 1347;² and the earl of Gloucester at Pleshey in 1394.³ It was of much the same type as Edward III's colleges at Westminster and Windsor: it was intended for a resident body of dean

1. Thompson, cit. supra., in Archaeological Journal, LXXIV (1917), 139-99.

2. DNB; McKisack, op.cit., 213.

3. CPR, 1392-6, 363 & 367. The earl of Warwick appears to have endowed a similar foundation at Elmley.

and canons with a common fund.¹ Although it was therefore a step in the direction of the chantry college, on the other hand, the prebends were not (as in the ordinary college of chantry-priests) mere fellowships held by appointment of the head of the foundation, but freehold benefices in the presentation of the patrons, to which the bishop instituted.

The college, well endowed with lands and churches, enjoyed a dignity which placed it on a level with older foundations. It quite outstripped the ancient college of Saint Mary in Leicester castle in importance. Its staff, for the most part, was drawn from the neighbourhood: its deans were local men of affairs, often connected by interest with the noble families of Leicestershire and sometimes holding offices under the crown, and its canons (who frequently held rectories in Leicestershire and the adjoining counties) were seldom well known in the world outside. In this respect the chapter differed from the great cathedral and some collegiate chapters, which were habitually reinforced by prominent clerks in the service of the Crown; while on the other hand, it was distinct

1. Thompson, cit. supra., in Archaeological Journal, LXXIV (1917), 198-9, for this and the concluding remarks on the college.

from the groups of poorly endowed priests, bound to perpetual residence, who were the chaplain-fellows of chantry colleges in the later Middle Ages.

The Livre de Seyntz Medicines,¹ written in 1354, is not remarkable as a work of literature; but it is remarkable in coming from a man in his position and in showing, as it does, a lively imagination, some traces of originality within a conventional framework, and a gentleness of spirit and humility which cannot be a literary pose if only because he did not have the literary skill for such an artifice.

The general framework of the book is a kind of allegory by which the author, after taking stock of himself, first lays open before the Divine Physician and his assistant the "Douce Dame", the wounds of his soul; that is his five senses, each of which is infected by seven deadly sins; then suggests, and prays, to obtain the remedies appropriate to each cause of infection.

1. edit. E.J.F. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Texts Society, II (Oxford, 1940). For critical works by the same author, see Étude sur le Livre des Saintes Médecines du Duc Henri de Lancastre (Paris, 1948), and "Henry of Lancaster and his Livre des Seintes Medicines", BJRL, XXI (1937).

As a wounded man needs a physician, so mankind, wounded with various wounds of sin, wounds of ears, eyes, nose and mouth, needs Christ as a physician, to apply remedies. There is an allegorical treatment of the various remedies required: beverages, ointments, lotions, bandages, and so forth. Summarised like that, the work sounds rather banal. The theme is one which could well provide the material for an arid academic exercise; but here the illustrations are taken from personal experience, the work based on personal feelings, and the book rings true.

It is not so much borrowings as reminiscences that one finds in the Livre de Seyntz Medicines. The greatest source which Lancaster exploits is the folk-lore of the Middle Ages in the widest sense.¹ In matters of belief and devotion it reveals religious study such as one finds expressed in a host of didactic works and sermons; in matters of médecine, the practical remedies used by the people and not the knowledgeable treatises of the masters of the time.² For the most part he exploits another source

1. Arnould, Étude, LXXIX-LXXX.

2. Ibid., LXXX.

which is richer because it is more personal: the experiences of a varied career enriched by a keen observation. Whether or not he had read the Chateau d'Amour of Robert Grossetete when comparing his heart to a fortress, he adapted the metaphor to his subject in an altogether independent fashion, using here, as elsewhere, the knowledge of his personal experience.¹ The comparison of the heart to a den of foxes is even more original;² but the comparison of his heart to a market place surpasses the others by far in its originality and in the picturesque.³

This description may well have been based directly on his observation of the market held at Leicester. He tells us what precautions the lord took to prevent illegal sales and the infraction of regulations; to ensure fair sales and the collection of seigneurial dues. We are introduced to the merchandise which the "conroiter" controls, which the "cachepoll" watches with a vigilant eye, charged to carry out his orders according to his contract. We learn of the excesses to which the

1. Livre, 64-84; Étude, LXXXI & XCIX.

2. Livre, 103-116; Étude, CII.

3. Livre, 117-124; Étude, CIII.

market day gave rise: the habitual drunkenness which the tavern-keepers encouraged, of the cooks who praised their foodstuffs, of the young ladies dressed up like Easter Cakes, the shame of those who spent their money in evil places. Nothing is lacking in this description, nor in the allegorical interpretation of the incidents.

Perhaps most interesting of all are the passages which give some insight into his personality. He was a good looking youth in his own estimation.¹ Tall, fair and slim, he took a pride, amongst other things, in the fine rings on his fingers, the elegance of his foot in the stirrup, his shoes, his armour, his ability as a dancer, and the garters which he thought befitted him so well.² There is a contemporary bronze effigy of him on the tomb of Sir Hugh de Hastings at Elsing in Norfolk which suggests a certain elegance,³ and a portrait of him in the robes of the Order of the Garter, dating from around 1430, and possibly sketched (along with others)

1. Livre, 15-16.

2. Ibid., 67, 72 & 77.

3. Reproduced several times: in Doyle's Official Baronage, II, 312, and in J.Hewitt, Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe, II, 195. Ralph Lord Stafford, another of his companions-in-arms in Aquitaine in 1345-6, also appears on the tomb (reproduced, ibid., 144).

for the stained glass windows representing the Founder Knights set up by William Bruges in the chancel of Saint George's Church, Stamford.¹ Another portrait of him possibly relates to his visit to Paris for the duel with the duke of Brunswick.²

Froissart tells us how, after his first victorious raid in Aquitaine, he and his army returned to Bordeaux, where they amused themselves with the citizens and their wives; how at Saint-Jean-d'Angely he made handsome presents to the ladies and damsels of the town, and almost every day gave them grand dinners and suppers.³ He tells us more: how he stretched out his stirrups in the jousts for the ladies, sang love songs and danced elegantly "out of great desire to be praised, then loved, then lost".⁴ We know that there was a "daunsyngchambre" in Leicester castle and a troop of minstrels in his service.⁵ He even confesses that

1. BM, Stowe, 594, fo.8; published by A.R.Wagner, A catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms, facing p.84. They were not originals, but perhaps rejected designs, in any case dating from c.1430 (ibid., 84).
2. Bibl. nat., Collection d'Estampes, vol.I, p.73, no.79.
3. Froissart, III, 63 & IV, 16.
4. "...par grant desir d'estre preizez, puis amez, puis perduz.." (Livre,
5. Levi Fox, Leicester Castle, 19; Bateson, op.cit., II, 109; Black Prince's Register, IV, 90 & 283.

he had a particular fondness for kissing ordinary women rather than women of rank and beauty, for, he says, they didn't disapprove of his conduct.¹ And he lets us know that his sensuality did not stop short at that.

Then these are the reflections on youth of a middle-aged man suffering from gout.² There were, however, compensations. He liked rich food, well spiced and with strong sauces,³ to say nothing of wine "to put myself and my friends out of our senses, for it's a good feeling to be merry".⁴ Sometimes, he over-indulged himself so that his legs were "neither so good nor so ready to bring me away as they were to get me there".⁵ When he came back from Aquitaine, his father's heir, he was given a dinner in his honour by Leicester Corporation which included salmon (his favourite dish)⁶ and lampreys brought all the

1. Livre, 179.

2. Ibid., 76.

3. Ibid., 19-20 & 49.

4. "...pur faire moi et les autres hors de sens - car bien y est celui q'est yvres.." (ibid., 20).

5. "...c'est a entendre q'ils ne sont mye si appareillez ne si prestes de moi reporter ariere come ils sont d'aler la.." (ibid., 75).

6. Livre,

way from Gloucester at an enormous cost and kept alive in fish locks in the Soar to await his arrival.¹

The town watched his career with pleasure and would seem to have been very proud of him. When he was at home the burgesses relations with him were far more intimate than they had ever been with his father. When he hunted in the Frith the town sent wine; when messengers brought news of his welfare in distant countries, they were rewarded.²

He was undoubtedly fond of the hunt and the country:³ he gives us an elaborate description of the digging and smoking out of foxes (even though it is an allegory of a good confession with the shrift father digging out the patient's sins);⁴ he tells us how he liked to hear the barking of the hounds, the song of a nightingale, the smell of roses and violets, musk and lily of the valley - to say nothing of scarlet cloth.⁵ It was doubtless through a mutual

1. Bateson, op.cit., xx & 67-8.

2. Ibid., xx, 65, 68, 77 & 79.

3. For an early indication of his interest, cf. CPR, 1334-8, 434.

4. Livre,

5. Ibid., 10, 214 & 47.

interest in the hunt that he got on with Abbot Clown who was also a man of sporting instincts.¹

The date and authorship of the Livre de Seyntz Medecines are given in a kind of postscript - "This book was begun and finished in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1354. And it was made by a poor miserable sinner called Henri Duc de Lancastre. May God pardon his sins" - with the words Henri Duc de Lancastre written backwards.² There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this statement. There is too much of Lancaster's own life and experiences in the book to credit another with its authorship. The passages on the art of sieges evoke his numerous campaigns, as he himself tells us "as is very often apparent in these wars".³ He alludes to the jousts and tournaments, in which he had so often taken part,⁴ and to the heavy responsibility of an "admiral of a great fleet", a

1. A.H.Thompson, Leicester Abbey, 32-3; Levi Fox, Leicester Abbey, 10.

2. Livre, 244.

3. "...sicom il est bien sovent apparant en ces guerres.." (ibid., 82).

4. Ibid., 78, 138, etc.

responsibility he had known.¹ Towards the end of the book, he offers three excuses for its defects - that he was not qualified for such a work; that, being English, he had little acquaintance with French; and, perhaps most revealing of all, that he was a poor writer, having learnt late and by himself.² This says as much of Lancaster's modesty as it does about the nature and extent of his education; for it is clear that he was fluent in French,³ and it will be noticed that the work was written in that language - not in English or in Latin - and that the year of its writing was the year of the huge display at Avignon and the negotiations with Charles the Bad.

1. "...admyrail d'une grant flete.." (ibid., 93).

2. Livre, 239.

3. Étude, CCVII-CCVIII.

Of the duke's sense of humour there is ample evidence elsewhere. When the earl of Pembroke, having failed to join the main body of the army before the battle of Auberocche, arrived after the victory, Lancaster is said to have greeted him with a smile and remarked 'Cousin Pembroke, welcome. You are just in time to sprinkle holy water upon the dead'.¹ In the deserved rebuke there was no bitterness since Pembroke knew very well that the earl was teasing him, and he took him by the hand.²

When King John challenged him to a battle in Normandy in 1356, he returned the answer that 'he and his friends had come into the country for certain business, part of which had been carried out; they were now going elsewhere to see to the rest, but in order that the French might

1. Arnould, 'Henry of Lancaster and his "Livre des Seintes Medicines"', loc.cit., reprint, 14.

2. Ibid; Luce, Froissart, III, 72-3.

know his whereabouts, he would have a lighted lantern hung up at the rear of his troops"¹ - a witty sarcasm, since John had failed to engage him in battle for a whole week whilst he hastened back to the Cotentin from his raid across Normandy.² No less characteristic of him is the double incident which took place during the siege of Rennes, and which Froissart has narrated in his inimitable way.³

When Edward III wrote to him, requesting his attendance at a council meeting at Westminster to discuss the terms of a peace with France (probably the treaty of London, 1358/9), he replied that he would be present, but in place of the counsel which the king intended to have he would pray God so to counsel him as would be to his benefit and for the good of the realm, for God would give him good counsel on the maintenance of his rights.⁴ Two of the letters written by him at the time of Charles the Bad's double dealing show him to have a caustic wit, but to have been a good sportsman.⁵

1. Knighton, II, 87.

2. Vide infra., 630-1.

3. Froissart, V, 305. Longman (II, 17) gives an abridged version of the episode.

4. BM, Harley 4971, fos.13v-14r (contemporary copies of the two letters).

5. Vide supra., pp.471-4.

The Family

It is not easy to find many months together when Henry can safely be located in England.¹ From entering public life in 1333, to his death in 1361, he spent approximately half of his time on the continent or in Scotland, and there was no single year which he spent entirely in England.² He could not, then, have devoted a great deal of time to his family, of whom (in the absence of his central financial accounts)³ we know almost nothing.

His wife, Isabella, was probably a good deal younger than himself,⁴ but we do not know how old she was when they were married. We know that she survived him,⁵ but not when she died. In their thirty years of married life she hardly appears on record at all. But she must have

1. Vide infra., pp. 841-3, and Appendix I.
2. Calculated from his movements, as given in the text.
3. Some idea of the information that might have been gleaned from these can be had from the material which I have gathered together on his early life from those of his father (vide supra., pp.13-21).
4. Their eldest daughter, Maude, was not born until at least nine years after they were married. She is said to have been 6 in November 1347 (CIPM, IX, 54 & 57), but 22 in 1361 (GEC, VII, 410).
5. This is clear from his will. Vide infra., p.846.

accompanied him to France on some of the many occasions on which he went there on military and diplomatic missions. His sister Eleanour was in Brabant with her husband, John de Beaumont, in 1339-40, and gave birth to her first child, Henry, there,¹ and his two daughters may have been conceived on the continent, Maude in the Low Countries,² and Blanche in Gascony.³

He appears to have seen more of Eleanour than of any of his other sisters after they were married, doubtless because she was first married to his wife's brother, and then to his friend and companion on military and diplomatic missions, Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, or, as he was known to contemporaries, 'Copped Hat'.⁴ They spent much of their time together in their youth,⁵ and two years after Beaumont's death

1. CPR, 1340-1343, 72-3 & 175.

2. Vide supra., p.587, n.4.

3. Lancaster only arrived back from Gascony on 1 January, 1347 (E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d), and Isabella gave birth to Blanche between that date and 3 May, 1347, when she was contracted to marry John, son of John de Segrave (GEC, VII, 410, note g, citing Berkeley Castle Deeds, ed. Jeayes, no.519).

4. Vide supra., p. 14 & n.2.

5. Vide supra., pp. 17-18 & 20.

in 1342 she went to Spain with him and Arundel,¹ who became her husband in the following year.²

Of his other sisters there is little to be said. Two of them were dead by 1349: Isabella, who had entered the alien priory of Amesbury in Wiltshire, and who subsequently became prioress there, and Joan, wife of John Lord Mowbray.³ On Isabella's death he had acquired the old Chaworth manors of Berwick Saint James in Wiltshire and East Garston in Buckinghamshire, which had been settled on her for life by their father.⁴ All four remaining sisters survived him, Mary by little more than a year, Blanche by almost twenty.⁵ It is perhaps Maude who most commands our sympathy. Both her husbands died shortly after she was married to them,⁶ each leaving

1. On 26 March, 1344, letters of protection were issued to her, going on a pilgrimage to Santiago (CPR, 1343-5, 224). On 24 & 26 March similar letters were issued to those going abroad with Arundel and Lancaster (Rymer, III, i, 10 & 11).
2. They were married at Ditton on 5 February, 1345 (GEC, I, 243).
3. Vide supra., p.15, notes 1 & 3.
4. CPR, 1327-30, 474; 1334-8, 553.
5. Mary died in 1362, Eleanour in 1372, Maud in 1377, and Blanche in 1379 or 1380 (vide supra., p.15, n.2, and p.14 notes 2, 3 & 4).
6. Vide supra., p.14, n.4.

her with an infant daughter.¹ Her first husband, William de Burgh, a boyhood companion of Henry,² suffered a particularly violent death when only twenty, murdered at Le Ford on his way to Carrickfergus, by John Logan and some of the Mandevilles.³ It was not until eleven years later, as husband of Ralph de Ufford, Justiciar of Ireland, that she dared to return to that country,⁴ and when he in turn died there two years later, she became an Augustinian canoness at the priory of Campsey Ash in Suffolk.⁵ It is hardly surprising that by this time she appears to have lost full control of her faculties;⁶ but it was perhaps some comfort that Henry was a great help to her. He and his officers assisted her in the administration of her affairs,⁷ and he promoted her foundation of a

1. GEC, XII, ii, 179.

2. Vide *supra.*, p. 16.

3. GEC, XII, ii, 179.

4. CPR, 1343-5, 258-9. Cf., ibid., 1338-40, 305, for her fear of returning to Ireland.

5. GEC, XII, ii, 179.

6. CPR, 1345-48, 449.

7. Ibid., 1345-8, 96; 1348-50, 97.

perpetual chantry of five chaplains to celebrate in the chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Campsey Priory.¹ When this had to be transferred to the town of Bruisyard in 1354, William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, drew up a rule for the priests to live by,² and it bears comparison with the foundation statutes of Newarke College.³ Maude herself transferred to the Order of Saint Clare, and went to live at Bruisyard Abbey.⁴ She lived until the summer of 1377.⁵

There were at least six years between Henry's two daughters. Maude was born some time between 1339 and 1341,⁶ and Blanche in 1347.⁷ According to Atkyns,⁸ he had a son who died in infancy at Kempsford in Gloucestershire, and the tragedy lies behind his grant of the manor to the

1. CPR, 1345-48, 449.

2. Ibid., 1354-8, 484-6.

3. Vide supra., pp. 569-73.

4. GEC, XII, ii, 179.

5. Ibid.

6. She is variously said to have been 6 in November 1347 (CIPM, IX, 54 & 57), but 22 in 1361 (GEC, VII, 410).

7. GEC, VII, 410.

8. R. Atkyns, The ancient and present state of Glosteshire, 490.

dean and canons of his collegiate church at Leicester.

Both daughters were contracted to marry early, Maude to Ralph, son and heir of Ralph Lord Stafford, on 10 October, 1344;¹ Blanche to John, son of John de Segrave, on 3 May, 1347.² A number of manors were settled on Maude and Ralph, but Henry was to have control of them, and the guardianship and upbringing of both daughter and son-in-law until they were of age.³ They were married on 1 November 1344,⁴ but Ralph died three years later.⁵ Both daughters were destined to have more eminent husbands.

Of the two, Blanche was perhaps most like her father. She took after him in many ways. Both Froissart and Chaucer, who knew her well, tell us that she was tall and fair.⁶ If Chaucer's picture is true to the original

1. DL 27/36; Appendix A, no.26. T

2. GEC, VII, 410, note g, citing Berkeley Castle Deeds, ed. Jeayes, no.519.

3. DL 27/36; Appendix A, no.26. The licences for enfeoffment are dated 18 & 20 October (CPR, 1343-45, 366 & 384).

4. GEC, XII, i, 177.

5. CIPM, IX, 56 & 57; CCR, 1346-9, 345 & 347.

6. Froissart in 'L'Espinette Amoureuse':

"...une espinette
Qui florie estoit tout blanche
Hault bien le lonc d'une lance";

Chaucer in the Book of the Duchess:

"A long castel with walles whyte", etc

(Cf. M.Galway, "Froissart in England", University of Birmingham Historical Journal, VII, 1959, 27 & n.23).

she united unusual graces of disposition with a full measure of womanly beauty. The White Lady of the Book of the Duchess¹ was the flower of English womanhood, a blonde with golden hair, tall, graceful, and with something of that ample richness of form so prized by the taste of the fourteenth century. He tells us of her "goodly softe speche", of her eyes "Debonair, goode, glade, and sadde", of her beautiful dancing, sweet singing, laughter and play. From the testimony of both him and Froissart we know that not only did she take after Henry in looks, but that she had inherited his disposition; that she was simple, benign, and not given to malice.² There is much in their portraits of Blanche of Lancaster that rings true to the author of the Livre de Seyntz Medicines.

1. Ed. W.W.Skeat, The complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Minor Poems, pp.277-322, and in particular pp.306-9, 311 & 321.
2. Ibid., and Froissart, 'Le Joli Buisson de Jonece', Poésies, ed. K.de Lettenhove, II, 8.

PART III
THE KING'S FRIEND

XIII

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1355-1357

In spite of reported French attempts to ambush him on his return from Avignon,¹ Lancaster arrived back in London on 28 March.² During the spring and summer at least two fleets were assembled at Plymouth and Southampton, and in the Thames estuary. One was bound for Gascony with an army under the command of the Black Prince, the other for Normandy with an army under the command of the duke.

In the short period of active warfare that followed, from the summer of 1355 to the spring of 1357, the same general strategy of a group of simultaneous campaigns was followed as ten years earlier; but this time the plan is harder to follow because it had to be changed just as it was being put into execution. The original plan seems to

1. Knighton, II, 79; Anonimale Chronicle, 32.

2. E 404/5/34; E 101/313/25 (Bock, loc.cit., Appendix V, 39).

have been two simultaneous campaigns starting in the summer of 1355, the Black Prince in Aquitaine and Lancaster, co-operating with Charles the Bad, in Normandy.

The Background

The truce of Calais had been badly kept, like most long truces of the fourteenth century. It could be better described as an interval between major campaigns than as a cessation of hostilities. The period from 1347 to 1355 was one of widespread activity on the part of the lieutenants. In 1350 Robert de Houdetot, master of the French crossbowmen, and the count of Armagnac took the majority of the places acquired by Lancaster's forces at the close of the previous year.¹ In 1351 the constable Charles of Spain laid siege to Saint-Jean-d'Angely.² The following year Guy de Nesle besieged Fougères.³ In 1353 Louis d'Harcourt and Amaury de Rochechouart, captains serving

1. Vide supra., pp.372-3.

2. Appendix B, IIb, no.8.

3. Ibid., IIc, no.2.

under the command of Arnoul d'Audrehem, laid siege to Surgères from a bastide constructed before the walls of the town.¹ In February 1353 the count of Armagnac began the siege of Saint-Antonin in Rouergue.² He sent companies to besiege other towns and castles, notably Monbalen, situated between Agen and Périgeux.³ In the summer of 1354 Beauville, Fenayrols and other places over a considerable area were besieged.⁴ The outcome of the fighting was that Aiguillon and Prayssas fell to the French.⁵ By the end of the year Armagnac had gained an ascendancy which threatened English possessions in Gascony.⁶

These successes were not achieved solely by military force. The lieutenant's letters for the years 1351-1354 reveal a high proportion of pardons and rewards: much higher than for other periods when reversals in arms resulted in few enticements to a change of allegiance

1. *Ibid.*, IIb, nos.10 & 11.

2. A. Breuils, "Jean I^{er}., Comte d'Armagnac, et le mouvement national dans le Midi au temps du Prince Noir", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LIX (1896), 48.
Cf. Appendix B, IIa, no.24.

3. Breuils, *op.cit.*, 48.

4. Appendix B, IIa, no.24.

5. Breuils, *op.cit.*, 51.

6. *Ibid.*, 52.

and gave little or no 'confiscations' for distribution.¹
The position can be perhaps most satisfactorily explained
by examination of the letters of a number of the most
successful lieutenants.

The activities of Charles the Bad as the king's
lieutenant in Languedoc in 1351 throw an interesting
light upon his shifty politics on the larger stage of
diplomatic intrigue. In August of that year he brought
into the obedience of the French king a number of
influential Gascon seigneurs who had numbered amongst
Lancaster's leading supporters during his two expeditions
in Aquitaine: Raymond Bernard de Durfort, lord of Fenolhac
and Gaynhac, whom the earl had handsomely rewarded for
changing his allegiance;² Arnaud de Durfort, lord of
Bajamont and Castelnoubel, who had served in his retinue;³
and Guillaume Raymond, lord of Caumont, who had already
changed sides three times since the beginning of the war.⁴

1. Table I.

2. Vide supra., pp.214.

3. Ibid., pp.214-5.

4. Royal letters of pardon and rewards granted to him
in April 1342 (Arch. nat., JJ 74, fos.426r-7r, nos.
750-53).

Charles now granted them letters of pardon for themselves, their household servants, subjects, accomplices and adherents; he restored them in their lands and property, hitherto confiscated by the French owing to their defection to the English; and he rewarded them for changing their allegiance.¹

The constable of France, Charles of Spain, lieutenant in the parts between the rivers Loire and Dordogne in the years 1351-3, was no less active. On 26 July, 1351, whilst engaged in the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Angely, he commissioned Arnaud d'Espagne, lord of Montespan, captain and seneschal of Périgord and Quercy, to treat with the inhabitants of Montagnier² (taken by Lancaster in 1345)³ of their submission to the King of France.⁴ On 7 August, by letters drawn up at Périgeux, Arnaud proposed that if

1. Letters of same to Raymond Bernard de Durfort and the lord of Caumont, given at Toulouse on 12 August, 1351, and to Arnaud de Durfort, given at Agen on 28 August, 1351; confirmed by King John in April and May 1353 (Arch. nat., JJ 81, fos.334r-6v, nos.658-60; fos.360r-lv, nos.700-703; & fo.394r, no.747). The consuls of Agen resisted the return of Castelnoubel to Arnaud, and requested the king to revoke the grant (J.R.Marboutin, "Le château de Castelnoubel", Revue de l'Agenais, XXXVIII, 1911, 406-7).
2. Dép. Dordogne; arr. Ribérac.
3. Appendix C, no.8.
4. Arch. nat., JJ 81, fos.291r-2r, no.575.

the inhabitants returned into French obedience, he would confirm their privileges, liberties, usages, customs and conventions, together with those of the lord of the castle and other private individuals; restore the jurisdiction of the burgesses, the parishes within the jurisdiction of the town which were in French hands, the goods of the inhabitants of the town, and those of loyalists in the castle and castellany which had been confiscated by Lancaster; and revoke the ransoms of those inhabitants held prisoner.¹ His overtures proved successful. On 24 September a treaty which embodied these conditions was concluded at Périgeux,^u and confirmed by Guy de Nesle, lieutenant in Saintonge, Limousin and Périgord,^k on the following day.²

On 5 March, 1352, the constable negotiated an agreement whereby Pons de Castillon, lord of Castillon-de-Medoc,³ came into French obedience, together with his men, castles and fortresses, and undertook to serve against the King of England. He was pardoned, together

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. All these letters were in turn confirmed by the king in March 1353 (ibid.).

3. Comm. Saint Christoly, arr. & cant. Lesparre.

with his men, for having supported the English, and confirmed in his possession of Montendre,¹ which had been granted to him by Edward III.² With lands to the north and south of the Gironde estuary, his defection to the French was indeed serious.

If important Gascons had their price the lieutenants were willing and had the powers to pay it. On 3 May, 1352, the constable concluded an elaborate agreement at Limoges with Gaillard de Durfort, lord of Duras, in the Agenais, and Blanquefort, near Bordeaux; his brother, Bertrand de Durfort, lord of Gaiac; and his cousin, Bertrand de Got, lord of Puyguilhem.³ Their importance has already been considered.⁴ In 1345 Lancaster had enticed them into English allegiance with considerable rewards,⁵ and although Gaillard had gone over to the French and back since then,⁶ it is hardly surprising

1. Charente-Maritime, arr. Jonzac, ch.-l. cant.

2. JJ 81, fos.401r-2r, no.759.

3. JJ 81, fo.302r-v, no.586.

4. Vide supra., pp.211-14, etc.

5. Ibid., pp. 211-14.

6. He was in French obedience in March, 1351 (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.186v, no.259).

that the constable did not buy them off with anything less. By the terms of the agreement which he concluded with them they were not to be obliged by any peace, truce or accord which might be drawn up between the two kings to enter the obedience of the King of England; but in any such agreement their lands and places were to be expressly included, they were to recover all their lands and castles held by the English, and they were not to be banished from their property or forced to pay any fines.

They were pardoned for having supported Edward III; the castles, towns and heritages which had been confiscated during the period in which they had embraced the English cause were to be restored; and they were to be permitted to keep or ransom the prisoners which they then held.

A special clause exempted them from all the powers given, and which might in future be given, to Robert de Houdetot, master of the crossbowmen.

By way of remuneration they were to receive 14,000 gold écus to retain men and garrison their castles; and £1,500 tournois (£500 each) pension for life in compensation for their losses in coming into French obedience, or until such time as they recovered the rents which they lost through changing their allegiance.

Under no circumstances would these pensions be annulled, even though Gaillard's castle of Blanquefort had "not been taken from him by the men of the King of England, but by his own enemies". Finally, they were to be given sufficient gold (according to their estates) to prosecute war and defend their places.

A number of clauses laid down special conditions for Gaillard. He was to have £500 tournois rent as heritage, to be assigned in Toulousain or Albi; the places of Moissagnol and Laccort were to be restored to him within a year; and, together with his brother Aimery, he was to be paid back wages due to him for service in the period before his defection to the English.

Some of his household servants and followers were also to be rewarded. Four of his clerks were to be given castellanies and other sufficient offices in France, or provided to the same at the Roman Curia. Another was to be given a benefice in France, or provided to one at the Curia. One of his esquires was to have 200 écus (there and then) for losses which he had sustained in Saint-Macaire; and the holders of

Lemguat were to have 400 écus when they brought the place into French obedience.¹

A final agreement drawn up by the constable in the castle of Cognac on 23 January, 1353, with Raymond IV, vicomte of Fronsac, illustrates well the competition for allegiances that was going on in the south.²

Possessor of a fortress which commanded the confluence of the rivers Isle and Dordogne, Fronsac was the object of solicitations from both English and French kings.

He had served with Lancaster at Saint-Jean-d'Angely,³ and changed allegiance five times between 1336 and 1349.⁴

The agreement of 1353 shows very clearly that the constable was to do everything he could to hold him.

He was acting on a special commission as "lieutenant de monseigneur le roy en ceste partie", and precautions were taken to see that he kept faith.

1. There are a number of documents subsidiary to this agreement (Arch. nat., JJ 81, fo.303r, no.587; fos. 304r-5r, nos.591 & 592; fo.341v, no.669; fo.358r, nos. 694 & 697; & JJ 82, fos.35r-6r, no.57).
2. Confirmation by King John in June 1353 (Arch. nat., JJ 81, fos.397v-8r, no.754); notarial instrument of the keeper of the prévôté of Paris of 30 June, 1353 (Arch. nat., J 637, no.12); seventeenth century copy of this instrument (Arch.nat., J 864/11/12).
3. Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.165r, no.208 (royal pardon of 6 March, 1351).
4. He was in the English side in 1336, went over to the French in 1338, returned to the English in 1340, to the French in 1341, to the English in 1342 and the French at the

By the terms of the agreement Fronsac entered French obedience and renounced his allegiance to Edward III. His right hand placed upon a copy of the Bible, he swore by the Apostles "estre bons et loyaulx et vrai Francois", to the crown and king of France, and his successors, kings of France. He was to live and die in his obedience, without ever leaving it, having regard for his good, honour and estate, and eschewing his damage. He was to support him in all and against all, to do everything in his power to bring other persons and fortresses into the obedience of the king, and to hand over his castles and fortresses to the king or his deputies in time of war, for the king to do what he willed with them providing he hedd and guarded them at his own costs and perils.

In return, Charles pardoned him for his lapsed obedience (together with those in his company who changed

beginning of 1349 (Général Soulé, Le duché de Fronsac des premiers vicomtes aux ducs de Richelieu, Bordeaux 1941, 57-62).

allegiance with him), and restored them in their properties, titles and good repute. If any of the vicomte's castles and fortresses should be lost (being ^{while} in the king's hands for the prosecution of war), then the king was bound to recover them for him and pay for whatever damages they might have undergone. He was to be included in any peace or truce, and was never to be forced to enter English obedience. He could move one sixth of the royal troops around his castles in time of war, and was to be able to appoint persons to collect his rents, revenues and the like without hindrance from the French troops. The king was to make right whatever losses might have been suffered or might in future be suffered by those who had changed allegiance with him.

By way of remuneration, he was to have all the goods of rebels in his vicomté (i.e., all those who did not come into French obedience), to do as he wished with them. All the lands which he held in France before entering English obedience were to be restored to him, notwithstanding assignments made to others, and £1000 rent in Montmorillon in compensation for territories held by the English, until such time as he would be able to enjoy these lands. He was

to have 8,000 gold écus straight reward: 6,000 there and then, and the remaining 2,000 on assignment by the constable.

The agreement was confirmed by King John in the following June, and on the 30th of that month the vicomte appeared before Alexandre de Crèveceur, keeper of the prévôté of Paris, who drew the agreement up into a notarial instrument. Fronsac then affirmed that the following had changed allegiance with him: the abbot and inhabitants of Guîtres; the castle and inhabitants of the castellany of Abzac and its appurtenances; the castle and inhabitants of the castellany of Temple Saint-Michiel and its appurtenances; two knights - Guillaume Ays and Pierre de Bar; and some hundred esquires.

The murder of Charles of Spain in the following January was a blessing to Edward III. But the competition went on. During the course of 1353-54 the count of Armagnac, then lieutenant in Languedoc, brought other important Gascon lords into French obedience. They included the abbot-lord of Clairac and the inhabitants of the town;¹ Bertrand de Conhac, lord of Bolhac;

1. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Tonneins.

Senebrun de Clairac and Petrona de Gaiac; Rudel, lord of a number of fiefs in the neighbourhood of Marmande;¹ Arnaud de Caumont and his sons Anissant and Bego, lords of Saint-Barthélemy,² Tombeboeuf,³ Lauzun⁴ and Puymehan⁵ in the diocese of Agen; Pons and Arnaud de Beauville, lords of Beauville;⁶ and Arnaud-Raymond d'Apronte, lord of Roquorne and Corselles.⁷ They possessed vital lands and castles on the northern banks of the rivers Lot and Garonne between Marmande and Aiguillon, the area of Armagnac's military operations during the course of these two years.⁸ All of them were pardoned for their lapsed allegiance, and rewarded as befitted their territorial importance.

1. He is described as "Rudel, senhor de foyffes en loc de Marmande" (Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.382v-3r, no.597).

2. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Seyches.

3. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, cant. Monclar.

4. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande.

5. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Seyches.

6. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen.

7. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.379r-81r, nos.589-92; fos.382v-3v, nos.597 & 598; fos.317v-8v, no.459; fos.378v-9r, no.588; fos.409r-10v, nos.655 & 656; JJ 84, fo.20r-v, no.26; K 47, no.30.

8. Vide supra., pp.596.

Three of these agreements were concluded by deputies acting on behalf of Armagnac, and subsequently confirmed by him; with the abbot of Clairac by his son, Jean d'Armagnac;¹ with Pons and Arnaud de Beauville,² and Arnaud-Raymond de Apromonte³ by Guillaume, count of Pardiac.

Pons and Arnaud were to enter French obedience together with their castle and place of Beauville and eight other towns, which included Le Mas d'Agenais, Montcuq, Genève, Montfort and Cauzac. They were to be restored in all the territories they held before going into English obedience, and in all those which could be taken from the enemy. They were also to have 15,000 gold écus reward, and the place of Montgrand as soon as it could be taken from Bernard de Durfort. Pons was to be given the jurisdiction of Montfort, (jurisdiction previously granted to the town of Puymirol) and his

1. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.378v-9r, no.588 (confirmation by Armagnac, dated Montauban, 8 June, 1353, and confirmed by King John on 1 October, 1354).
2. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.409r-10r, no.655 (confirmation by Armagnac, dated in his tents before Beauville, 13 May, 1354, and confirmed by King John in October 1354). Documents subsidiary to this agreement are: Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.379r-81r, nos.589-92.
3. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fo.410r-v, no.656 & K 47, no.30 (confirmation by Armagnac, dated in his tents before Festo Podium, 18 May, 1354, confirmation by King John on 1 October, 1354, and inspeximus of same).

brother, Gaubert de Beauville, and a number of his men held prisoner by the French, were to be set free without ransom, whether they wished to come into French obedience or not. A special clause provided that Armagnac was to appoint a captain of Sauvetat who was not an enemy of Pons and, finally, the privileges granted to the inhabitants of Beauville (whether by the King of France or the King of England as duke of Aquitaine) were to be confirmed.

Arnaud de Caumont and his two sons were confirmed in a grant of nine parishes in the district of Castillon¹ and Eymet,² and another in the diocese of Agen; all of which had been granted to Arnaud by Lancaster during his lieutenancy in Aquitaine.³ All the customs, usages, franchises and privileges of their lordships and the inhabitants of the same were to be confirmed. They were to have a pension of £500 tournois per annum in the sénéchaussée of Toulouse

1. Dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot.

2. Dép. Dordogne, arr. Bergerac.

3. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fo.383r-v, no.598 (Dated by Marmande, 2 October, 1353, and confirmed by King John on 1 October, 1354).

until they recovered lands which they stood to lose through changing their allegiance, and a lump sum of 3,500 gold écus for losses which they stood to suffer for losses in expelling those in English allegiance from their lands.

Rudel was to be restored in the possession of Montravel and its appurtenances,¹ to have a lump sum of £500 tournois in the treasury of Toulouse, the goods which Arnaud de Montpezat held in Aiguillon (should the town be brought into French obedience), and a reward of 550 gold écus to his "companhas" for coming into French obedience.²

Arnaud-Raymond of Apromonte was rewarded for changing his allegiance with a grant of 1,500 gold écus, and the restitution (to himself, his men, esquires and vassals) of all their rents situated in France, and the jurisdiction of Clermont as he had exercised it when in English obedience.³

1. Dép. Dordogne, arr. Bergerac, cant. Vélines.

2. Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.382v-3r, no.597 (Dated Marmande, 2 October, 1353).

3. Loc. cit. supra.

An attempt was made to stem this advance in 1352, when the earl of Stafford contracted to take a sizeable expeditionary force to Gascony for six months,¹ and was given a lieutenant's commission over Aquitaine and Languedoc.² But no serious action developed. Although the troops had to be assembled hastily, and their numbers were considerably less than had been envisaged in the indenture; and although the expeditionary fleet was held up at Southampton by contrary winds for the best part of eleven weeks; nevertheless, one cannot escape the conclusion that Stafford accomplished very little in Aquitaine.³

1. Indenture of 3 March, 1352. Stafford was to provide a personal retinue of 500 men-at-arms and 500 mounted archers, and was to have a further 500 men-at-arms (with 'bon chiftins') and 1,000 archers. Edward undertook to provide a further force of 300 men-at-arms and 760 archers under the command of Lancaster or one of the earls of Northampton, Arundel, Warwick or Huntingdon. They were to be ready to cross to Gascony as soon as the lord of Albret 'serront garnir a roy' (BM, Stowe MS 440, fo.9r).
2. Rymer, III, i, 239 (6 March, 1352).
3. Stafford received wages for himself, 4 bannerets, 25 knights, 114 esquires and 234 mounted archers for the period 10 April, 1352 - 1 December, 1352 (E 101/26/25). These forces were held up at Southampton until 24 June, and only arrived in Gascony on 7 July (E 372/197, m.38v). The bulk of the forces were retained in Gascony, to serve both in Stafford's army and in the garrisons of towns and castles, viz: 25 bannerets, 119 knights, 1,117 men-at-arms, 1,328 mounted sergeants, 30 mounted archers and 1,096 foot sergeants; to which can be added a garrison force of 76 men-at-arms under Giles de Valois (ibid). These two accounts, together with three accounts of the constable of Bordeaux (E 101/168/3; 170/12 & 20), provide excellent material for a study of Stafford's expedition. Cf. Le Baker, 121 & 287.

Almost as soon as he left the duchy, the count of Armagnac commenced operations,¹ and it was the achievement of the latter in 1353 and 1354 that caused Edward III and his council considerable concern,² and gave rise to the Black Prince's expedition of 1355-1357.³

The Preparations of 1355-1356

Preparations for the expeditions of Lancaster and the Black Prince were well underway by the beginning of June 1355. The ships arrested for the embarkation of the troops who were to serve under the duke's command were assembled at Rotherhithe under his stremers.⁴ Robert de Morley, admiral of the northern fleet, and John de Beauchamp, admiral of the southern fleet, were to accompany him.⁵ John de Buckingham, keeper of the king's wardrobe, accounted with the Exchequer for the financing of the expedition.⁶ He disbursed sums for payment to the troops to the

1. Vide supra., p.596.

2. Ibid., pp. 489-90.

3. H.J.Hewitt, The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357, 7-8.

4. Avesbury, 425.

5. E 403/377, ms.18 & 24.

6. E 403/377, ms.14-38. No Wardrobe Book appears to have survived for his tenure of office, and his enrolled account with the Exchequer (E 361/4, m.2), is not detailed. The fullest information comes from the Exchequer account of his re-imbusement in the sums which he had expended on the preparations (E 403/377, ms.14-38).

leaders of the retinues serving under the duke's command¹ and to William Eleware, clerk of the king's navy, and James de Beaufort, controller of the king's wardrobe, for payment of the mariners' wages.²

John Grey of Rotherfield, steward of the king's household, was also to accompany him.³

Several retinues were placed under his command. They included those of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton; Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; Ralph, Earl of Stafford; Guy Brian, Geoffrey de Say, Michael de Poynings, Walter Mauny, Reginald de Grey, William la Zouche, Amaury de Saint-Amand, Thomas de Hoggeshaugh and William Graunson.⁴ The king's sons, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt, are also said to have been with him.⁵

Charles the Bad arrived at Cherbourg at the beginning of August with a considerable force of men recruited from his Spanish domains.⁶ In mid-July

1. E 403/377, ms.14-38.

2. Ibid., ms.18 & 24.

3. Ibid., m.25.

4. Ibid., ms.14-38.

5. Avesbury, 425. They were in receipt of wages from Buckingham (E 361/4, m.2).

6. Grandes Chroniques, VI, 16-7.

a number of ships from Bayonne, which had made the voyage north with him, arrived in the Channel Islands and Southampton, and instructions were given for their transfer to the fleet required for the Black Prince.¹

As in 1345, adverse winds again prevented Lancaster from leaving England at the appointed time. Having sailed down to Greenwich on 10 July and navigated the North Foreland he was held up at Sandwich until 15 August, unable to steer south and west down the Channel.² It was with considerable difficulty that the fleet pulled into Winchelsea and then made its way to the Isle of Wight, only to be forced into Portsmouth harbour for shelter.³ It had still not left the English coast when news arrived that Charles had made peace with King John.⁴ The terms of their reconciliation were sealed at Valognes on 10 September.⁵

1. C 81/1334/22; C 61/67, m.5.

2. Avesbury, 425-6; Rot. Parl., II, 264.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 107.

Four days later, on 14 September, he was given a commission as captain-general and lieutenant in Brittany of the king and John de Montfort. The letters patent of appointment were dated at Portsmouth.¹ Such a change of plan, made then and there, may have been intended to preserve intact the military scheme for the year. The Black Prince had left for Bordeaux on 9 September,² and from the strategic point of view it was essential that the two expeditionary forces should make more or less simultaneous landings in France.

Despite attempts to keep the destination of the fleet secret,³ Edward's preparations had been known in Normandy since the beginning of June and the dauphin had taken the precautions usual when an invasion was expected.⁴ By the beginning of September considerable French forces had been built up in the Cotentin, strong enough to make an English landing there too dangerous a venture.⁵ Charles, who

1. C 76/33, m.6.

2. Hewitt, op.cit., 40.

3. In official documents Lancaster's destination is couched in the vague phrase "on the sea", whereas the Black Prince is openly referred to as going to Gascony.

4. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 106.

5. Avesbury, 426.

had commenced hostilities when he arrived at Cherbourg at the beginning of August,¹ may have been obliged to make peace with John when assistance from England appeared to have failed him.

Froissart comments that Philip of Navarre, unlike his brother, did not desert the English alliance.²

Whatever the truth of this statement it is certain that on 7 September, three days before the Peace of Valognes, considerable Navarrese forces came into the king's pay for service in Brittany, and that early in the following year they were accounting with William de Driffield, Lancaster's treasurer of war in the duchy.³ Moreover, the decision to divert Lancaster to Brittany had been taken by 7 September.⁴

1. Grandes Chroniques, VI, 16-7.

2. Froissart, IV, liv & 138.

3. On 7 September Martin de la Scale, a Navareese knight, was paid an advance on the wages for a month of 250 Navareese men-at-arms and 1,500 Navareese infantry going to Brittany on the king's service; a further advance was paid on 26 September (E 403/377, m.37). On 25 May, 1356, Martin Enriquez and Jean Remirez received part payment of a sum owed to them for the wages of themselves and their men-at-arms for service in Brittany, as appeared by bills of Driffield; a further advance was paid to them on 27 May following (E 403/380, ms.6 & 7). On Driffield, vide infra, pp.60&63. Enriquez and Remirez were two eminent captains of Charles the Bad (Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 1, 2 & 2 n.1, 421-2.

4. On 7 September Buckingham was re-imbursed in a sum which he had paid to Driffield as wages for the duke and his retinue, going to Brittany on the king's service (E 403/377, m.37).

On 1 October orders were given to arrest ships for the expedition.¹ On 1 and 10 October letters of protection were issued to several of those going to the duchy with the duke.² Then the plan was oncemore changed. Edward determined to cross to northern France and engage King John in battle.³ Lancaster and the troops who were to have served under his command in Normandy appear to have formed the main body of his army. The forces disembarked at Calais on 2 November and Edward advanced southward to meet King John who had long awaited him. At one point the two armies were only a few miles apart and a battle seemed imminent but, from an obscure set of circumstances, two results emerge: there was no battle and Edward withdrew to Calais. There he received news that the Scots had taken Berwick. There was nothing to be done but to return to England. The raid had lasted for ten days in all.

1. C 76/33, m.4.

2. C 76/33, m.4.

3. For the details see Sir Walter Manny's speech to parliament (Rot. Parl., II, 264, nos.8 & 9); Avesbury, 427-31; Knighton, 83-4; Le Baker, 125-6; Historia Anglicana, I, 280. The raid began on 2 November and ended on 11 November (Avesbury, 427-31).

But the intention to send Lancaster to Brittany had not been dropped. After 26 November letters of protection, which had been issued to those "going across the sea" with him on 20 October and 1 November, were again issued to those "going to Brittany" with him.¹ The first mandate instructing him to take administrative action in the duchy was issued on 30 November.² On 15 December orders were given for the arrest of ships, to be assembled at Plymouth, to transport the troops under his command to the duchy.³ And once again he did not leave. On this occasion he accompanied the king to Scotland to accomplish the re-capture of Berwick.⁴ Edward began the journey north towards the end of November⁵ and we know

1. C 76/33, ms.2-4. They were issued to those "going to Brittany" with him on 26 November, 2 & 18 December and 6 January.
2. C 76/33, m.3.
3. C 76/33, m.3.
4. He was amongst those who were paid wages for service "cum rege in guerra sua in partibus Scocie" (E 361/4, m.2). On the raid see Le Baker, 126 & 291; Avesbury, 431-2 & 450; Knighton, 85; Rot.Parl., II, 264-5, no.10. He was amongst the witnesses to the instruments by which Edward Balliol surrendered all his rights to the Scottish throne to Edward at Roxburgh on 20, 25 & 27 January (Rymer, III, i, 317-8 & 320-2; Rot. Scot., I, 787-8).
5. Avesbury, 432. Edward was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 31 December, and Lancaster seems to have been with him at that point (C 81/365/22966).

Lancaster to have been back in London by the close of March.¹

Meanwhile, the duke's passage to Brittany had been kept in mind. Thomas Dautre, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, was kept in residence in London from 24 December to 1 April, awaiting the wishes of the king's council on the arrest of shipping for his crossing to the duchy.² Once he arrived back from Scotland preparations were again put under way. On 12 March William de Driffied, his treasurer, was paid the first advance on the wages and regard for a quarter of a year of the duke and his retinue of 8 bannerets, 100 knights, 191 esquires and 300 mounted archers going to Brittany in the royal service.³ A second advance was paid to him on 11 April, a third on 12 May and a fourth on 23 May.⁴ Letters

1. He was amongst the witnesses to the royal confirmation of the Berwick charter at Westminster on 28 March (Rot. Scot., I, 792).
2. He was paid for this period "pro vadiis suis morando apud Lond^{on}ium ad attendendam voluntatem consilii domini regis qui existerat super arrestacione navium per costeram maris pro passagio ducis Lancastriae versus partibus Brytanum" (E 403/380, m.12).
3. E 403/378, m.34 & E 403/380, m.5.
4. E 403/378, m.40 & E 403/380, ms.3 & 5.

of protection were issued to those going to the duchy with him on 13 and 20 March.¹ After 2 May a whole batch of letters of protection and general attorney were similarly issued for those going to Brittany in his company, the great bulk between 10 and 20 May, although they continued to be issued until 12 June.²

Preparations for the transport of the troops had taken a similar turn. On 12 March the commissions were issued for the arrest of ships for their passage.³ On 15 March Thomas Dautre was paid for his costs in going to Southampton to make such arrest.⁴ On the same day the sheriff of Southampton was instructed to provide the equipment necessary for the embarkation of the troops,⁵ and accordingly delivered it to the marshal of the duke's household.⁶ On 4 May following Michael de Grendon, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, was paid his wages for

1. C' 76/34, m.18.

2. C 76/34, ms.14-16.

3. C 76/34, m.17.

4. E 403/378, m.35.

5. C 76/34, m.17.

6. E 372/201, m.42v.

going to Southampton with a royal clerk, Richard de Derby, to arrest shipping for the duke's passage.¹ Derby was employed with the payment of the sailors' wages at Southampton during the course of March, April, May and early June.² On 22 April the masters of ships of a good number of southern ports were also paid the wages of the sailors.³ Ralph de Kesteven, another clerk, was similarly employed with the payment of sailors in the ports of Sandwich, Winchelsea, Shoreham and elsewhere during April and May.⁴ At the beginning of June a number of carpenters and masons were conducted to Southampton for embarkation with the forces.⁵

It is not at first apparent why Lancaster's departure should have been so long delayed. We have nothing more conclusive with which to surmise the reason than fragmentary information and the co-incidence of dates. The significant fact is that when the

1. E 403/380, m.1.
2. E 403/378, m.36 & E 403/380, ms.1, 2, 8, 9 & 12.
3. E 403/378, ms.41-2.
4. E 403/380, m.24.
5. E 403/380, ms.9 & 13.

expeditionary force did eventually leave England, at the beginning of June, it was for Normandy and not Brittany.

The Norman Theatre (1356-1357)

On 5 April, 1356, by one of those disastrous coups d'état to which the first two Valois kings occasionally descended, King John had arrested Charles the Bad and several Norman lords at a dinner party given by the dauphin in Rouen castle and had executed, without any form of trial, some of his chief adherents.¹ This brought much smouldering discontent in Normandy to a head and a considerable rebellion was led by Charles' brother, Philip of Navarre, and that odd person, Godfrey d'Harcourt.

Philip immediately put a number of Navarrese fortresses in Normandy into a state of defence and ignored the injunctions of King John to surrender

1. See Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 140-64 for the full story. The following details are based on his account.

them. Pont Audemer, Evreux and Breteuil were immediately besieged by French troops and, when the dauphin arrived on the scene at the beginning of May, civil war broke out in the duchy.¹

Meanwhile, Philip and Godfrey got into touch with Edward III by way of Jean, lord of Morbecque, and Guillaume Carbonnel, lord of Brevands, envoys acting on their behalf; the negotiations were completed by 12 May.² On 28 May Philip and a group of Norman lords issued letters of defiance to King John.³ It was a defiance which they could not have risked without the assurance of assistance from the king of England.

Now let us look at the dates. One set of preparations for Lancaster's crossing to Brittany began in mid-March: the payment of an advance on the wages of the troops, the issue of letters of protection, the arrest of shipping, arrangements for the embarkation of the horses and payment of

1. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 170-4.
2. Letters of protection for their return to Normandy were issued on this date (Rymer, III, i, 328).
3. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 165-8.

the mariners.¹ The process began again at the beginning of May; the very time that the envoys of Philip of Navarre were in England. Yet until the moment of departure of the expeditionary force all of these preparations are said to have been made for a landing in Brittany. There is one exception. On 4 May Richard de Derby was paid wages to distribute to the mariners at Southampton employed on Lancaster's passage to "Normandy and Brittany".² Perhaps more significant, on 25 and 27 May Martin Enriquez and Jean Remirez, two of the most trusted officers of Charles the Bad, received part payment from the Exchequer of sums owed to them for the wages of themselves and their men in Brittany, in part satisfaction of debentures issued to them by William de Driffield, Lancaster's treasurer.³

Avesbury tells us that on hearing Philip's envoys Edward called a council and switched Lancaster to Normandy.⁴ Had Charles the Bad entered into

1. For these details vide supra, pp.619-21.

2. E 403/380, m.1.

3. E 403/380, ms.6 & 7. On Enriquez and Remirez see Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 1, 2 & 2, n.1; 421-2.

4. Avesbury, 461-2.

negotiations with Edward prior to 5 April? Despite the slender evidence the possibility cannot be discounted. It is difficult to understand why the council should have postponed its decision on the arrest of ships for the duke's passage to Brittany from Christmas until spring, why the arrangements made in the last fortnight of March were not succeeded by an actual embarkation until the beginning of June, after the whole picture had changed at the beginning of May. There is every appearance that the expeditionary force was kept waiting for the right moment and that that moment depended not upon events in Brittany, but upon events in Normandy. It may even have depended upon events in Aquitaine. In the official explanation of the executions of 5 April King John claimed that Charles the Bad and several Norman lords had plotted to deliver the duchy of Normandy to the English.¹ Although Edward denied all such complicity in a letter of 14 May² it is impossible to say whether or not that was the case.

1. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 160-2.

2. Ibid., 161.

The embarkation, once begun, was carried out with remarkable rapidity; rapidity made possible by long preparation. Inadequate shipping facilities and the urgency of the situation in Normandy necessitated the dispatch of an advance guard of 140 men-at-arms, 200 archers and 1,400 horses on board 48 transport vessels.¹ The flotilla left Southampton for La Hogue on 1 June; five days later it had returned to collect Lancaster and the remainder of his forces.² On Saturday, 18 June, they disembarked at La Hogue.³

The abbey of Montebourg in the Cotentin had been chosen as the point of concentration.⁴ It was here that the duke (whose total landing force consisted of 500 men-at-arms and 800 archers, and which included John de Montfort) was joined by Philip of Navarre and Godfrey d'Harcourt with 100 men-at-arms, and Robert Knowles who brought a detachment of 300 men-at-arms and 500 archers from the Breton garrisons.⁵

1. Avesbury, 462; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 175.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Avesbury, 463; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 175.

5. Avesbury, 462-3; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 175.

His entire force stood at slightly more than 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers.¹

The immediate object of the expedition appears to have been to raise the siege of a number of Navarrese towns besieged by the French: Evreux, Pont-Audemer and Breteuil.² We have an excellent day to day account of the campaign written at its conclusion by a soldier in the duke's company.³

The march began on 22 June. The first night was spent at Carentan, the second at Torigny-sur-Vire. Saint-Lô was by-passed. The duke halted his troops a day before proceeding in an easterly direction to Evrecy on the 26th and (by-passing Caen) Argences on the 27th. The following day he reached Lisieux, having successfully crossed a marsh formed by the river Dives and its tributaries by way of a strongly fortified pass: the bridge of Corbon. On the 29th he

1. On the figures see R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 176, n.2.
2. Ibid., 175-6.
3. Avesbury, 462-5. The account given by Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 176-9, is largely based on the dispatch, but is substantiated by documentary evidence and other narrative accounts. The following account is taken from these two sources.

advanced north-eastward in the direction of Rouen to Pont-Audemer, besieged by a force under the command of Robert de Houdetot, master of the French crossbowmen, since the end of April. When the enemy heard that he had crossed the bridge of Corbon they withdrew during the night, abandoning both siege engines and artillery. He halted his troops there over 30 June and 1 July in order to look to the future security of the town: mines, which had been driven within four feet of the walls, were filled up; the castle was victualled for a year and a garrison established under the command of a Brabançon knight, Jean de Luk.

From Pont-Audemer he turned south-eastward, marching down the eastern bank of the river Risle in the direction of Evreux, and passed the night of 2 July in the abbey of Bec-Hellouin. The next day he by-passed Evreux to the west and headed for Conches where he had the castle burned. On the 4th he moved south to Breteuil. A French force abandoned their siege of the castle as he approached. He had it re-victualled and, the same day, continued to Verneuil and took the town by assault. It was not

however, until the 6th, after some casualties, that a tower situated within the town capitulated. He had it burned. The troops were allowed to rest there the next day. On the 8th he began a rapid retreat, for King John, together with a large army (which included his eldest son, the duke of Normandy, and his brother, the duke of Orléans) were in pursuit.

Since the beginning of May the duke of Normandy had been in charge of military operations in his duchy.¹ King John had therefore been free to concentrate his attention on the major threat within his kingdom: the Black Prince's army in the south. At the beginning of June he left Paris for Chartres,² where he had summoned an army for 1 June.³ The turn of events in Normandy prevented him from proceeding further. On 8 June he appointed his son John, Count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout

1. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 171-2.

2. Letters were issued by him at Cachan on 2 June (Arch. nat., JJ 84, fos. 304v-5r, no. 597), by Antony on 3 June (ibid., fo. 283v, no. 546), by Saint-Clair-de-Gometz on 5 June (ibid., 305r-v, no. 598), at Saint-Arnoul-en-Yvelines on 7 June (Luce, Froissart, IV, lxx, n. 2), at Gué-de-Longroi on 7 & 8 June (ibid., & Arch. nat., J 188B, no. 1; Appendix B, III, no. 11), by Chartres in June (Arch. nat., JJ 84, fo. 288v, no. 561; fos. 291v-2r, no. 563; fo. 294r, no. 569), and at Chartres in June (ibid., fo. 344v, no. 686).

3. It was only imperfectly obeyed and had to be reiterated on 7 or 8 June (Delachenal, op. cit., I, 186).

the entire provinces of the kingdom to the south of the Loire valley.¹ The commission, the first of its kind to cover such a wide circumscription, gave him full responsibility for the prosecution of the war in those parts. By 22 June, the day Lancaster began his march from Montebourg, King John had passed north to Dreux.² From there he turned north-east in the direction of Mantes and passed down the Seine valley towards Vernon.³ As Lancaster began his march south-east to Bec-Hellouin and Conches he turned south-west to Evreux and Chanteloup, just to the east of the road from Conches to Breteuil.⁴ The two armies had come very close. But John arrived too late to intercept the duke at Breteuil and Verneuil.⁵ It was not until

1. Arch. nat., J 188B, no.1; Appendix B, III, no.11.
2. There is a letter issued by him there so dated (Arch. nat., JJ 84, fo.288r, no.554) and two others, also issued there, simply dated June (ibid., fo.291r-v, no.562 & fo.302v, no.592).
3. There are two letters issued by him dated by Mantes in June (ibid., fo.294r-v, no.568 & fo.322r, no.640), another dated by Mantes in July (ibid., fos.292r-3r, no.574) and two dated by Vernon in July (ibid., fo.293r-v, no.566 & fo.318r, no.630).
4. There is a letter issued by him at Evreux in July (ibid., fos.293v-4r, no.567) and another by Chanteloup, also in July (ibid., fos.316v-7r, no.626).
5. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 178.

8 July, when the duke had begun his retreat to the Cotentin, that he succeeded in moving in upon him at Thubeuf, not far from Laigle.¹ It was here that John sent two heralds to propose a battle. Lancaster declined the offer, in a manner fine enough to cover his retreat, and quickened his pace so as to arrive back at Montebourg in four days by way of Argentan, Thury-Harcourt and Saint-Fromond (9, 10 & 11 July). It was at Saint-Fromond that, not without difficulty, he crossed the river Vire; the French had destroyed the bridge and awaited to ambush his forces. He succeeded, however, in arriving at Carentan on the 12th and Montebourg on the 13th. It was at Montebourg, on 16 July, that the dispatch was written.

The campaign must be counted a success. With a strong, though not very large, force he had made a lightning march across Normandy and successfully revictualled the Navarrese strongholds of Pont-Audemer and Breteuil. On his march he had made the greatest possible use of the cover afforded by the Navarrese

1. The account of the conclusion of the campaign is taken from the dispatch in Avesbury, 464-5, and the account given by R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 178-9.



THE NORMAN CAMPAIGN, 1356

Route of Lancaster ———
 Route of King John ———

lands in western and south-eastern Normandy, avoided such loyal French towns as Bayeux and Caen, and taken great care, for all his fine words, to avoid a battle with the army led by the French king. Any attempt to take Evreux, had he even intended it, would certainly have involved him in such a conflict. His precipitate retreat, though perhaps not wholly in accord with chivalrous notions, was entirely the right thing to do. He had not the strength for a pitched battle: it was King John who missed a great opportunity in not forcing him to fight. He had successfully diverted the French king's attention from the south and returned to his base in the Cotentin with numerous prisoners, a sizeable booty and few losses to his forces.

The results ran even deeper. He had accomplished something sufficiently impressive to strengthen the adherence of important men in the Navarrese party. It is hardly to be regarded as a coincidence that, only five days after his return to Montebourg, Godfrey d'Harcourt attached his seal to an important charter drawn up at his castle of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte in the Cotentin.¹ By its terms he recognised

1. Rymer, III, i, 332. L. Delisle, Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, 88-9.

Edward's right to the crown of France and the duchy of Normandy, promised obedience, homage and service for all the lands which he held in the duchy and bequeathed them to the king should he die without lawful heir of his body. On 1 August Edward took him into his protection.¹ Shortly afterwards Philip of Navarre crossed to England.² On 4 September a treaty of alliance was drawn up at Clarendon in which he recognised having done liege homage to Edward as "King of France and Duke of Normandy".³ It was on the basis of this recognition, which in itself depended upon the success of Lancaster's campaign, that an attempt was made to set up an administration in Normandy in the king's name.⁴

1. Rymer, III, i, 333.
2. He had arrived by 20 August when he was given a royal licence to return to Normandy (ibid., 338).
3. Ibid., 340.
4. J. Le Patourel, "Edouard III, roi de France et duc de Normandie, 1356-1360", Revue historique de droit français et étranger", series IV, XXX (1953), 317-8.

From Montebourg Lancaster made his way into Brittany to take up his appointment as captain and lieutenant of the king and John de Montfort.¹ He was accompanied by the young duke and some 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers.² On 8 August a new commission was issued to him, in substantially the same form as the first but limited to a year's duration, commencing 29 September.³

We know little of his immediate movements on taking up his appointment. He appears to have begun a campaign in Penthievre in August,⁴ and was at Vannes on the 12th of that month.⁵ Certainly he kept in close contact with the king by way of a royal sergeant-at-arms, William de Cornewaill.⁶ For his

1. Avesbury, 468; Le Baker, 139.
2. E. Déprez, "La querelle de Bretagne de la captivité de Charles de Blois a la majorité de Jean IV de Montfort (1347-1362)", Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne, VII (1926), 48-9.
3. Rymer, III, i, 335-6.
4. A. de la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, III, 548-50.
5. There is a letter so dated (C 76/38, m.3).
6. On 25 August he received wages for his expenses in coming from Brittany with letters from Lancaster and returning with letters from Edward (E 403/380, m.23).

part King John, having failed to force Lancaster to a battle, began a magnificent but archaic attempt to take Breteuil.¹ Towards the middle of August news from the south obliged him to abandon the siege and offer the defenders favourable capitulation terms.²

On 4 August the Black Prince had begun the march northwards from Bergerac which brought him to the Loire valley early in September.³ On 28 August he crossed the river Cher and from 7 to 11 September halted on the outskirts of Tours.⁴

The reasons which lay behind the choice of the route have been the subject of some discussion. Dr. Hewitt, the most recent contributor, dismisses three ostensible explanations for the course of the campaign put forward by the prince himself in a letter which he subsequently wrote to the municipality of London: that it was determined by his wish to seek out the count of Poitiers at Bourges, to have news of his father should Edward venture a landing in

1. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 179-84.

2. Ibid., 183-4.

3. Hewitt, op.cit., 102.

4. Ibid., 104 & 107.

northern France and, finally, to join Lancaster in the Loire valley.¹ He concludes that "no dominant strategic plan determined the march",² a view held by both H.B.George and General Kohler before him.³ Delachenal did not openly commit himself.⁴ Let us examine each possibility separately.

Firstly, the advance on Bourges, however slow, was carried out.⁵ Nor was it so pointless as it at first sight appears to have been. The count of Poitiers, as we have seen, had been appointed lieutenant in all the provinces south of the river Loire.⁶

Moreover, we know that he had instructions to lead an army into Gascony, preparations for which dated back to 16 May.⁷ It was at Bourges that he assembled

1. Ibid., 100-1 & 104. The letter has been published by R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 381-4, Pièces Justificatives, no.XI.
2. Hewitt, op.cit., 101.
3. H. B. George, Battles of English History, 68-9; Kohler, Die Entwicklung des Kriegwesens und der Kriegführung in der Ritterzeit, III, iii, 41.
4. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 190.
5. Hewitt, op.cit., 102-4.
6. Vide supra, pp.629-30.
7. Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3.

his forces during the course of June and July.¹

He had a formidable council with him: the marshal of France, Jean de Clermont; Jean le Maingre, called Boucicaut; the seneschals of Poitou, Saintonge and Toulouse; a royal secretary, Pierre de Labatut; and several others.² Reason enough for the prince to seek him out.

Secondly, although Edward did not cross to France in 1356, there are grounds for believing that such a landing constituted part of the plan of campaign concluded in the previous year.³

Thirdly, the postulated juncture with Lancaster. Whether or not the prince initially intended to join

1. There are four letters issued by him at Bourges in his capacity as lieutenant, on 18, 21, 23 & 24 June (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58; Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3; vol.106, Ars, no.11; vol.265, Beguin, no.4), and two by officials we know to have been in his company there on 25 June and 4 July (Pièces originales, vol.265, Beguin, nos.2 & 3, and vol.1732, Locu, no.2).
2. Letters issued by him on the advice of the council or by the council at Bourges (Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58; Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3; vol.106, Ars, no.11; vol.265, Beguin, no.4).
3. There is some suggestion that he had intended to accompany Lancaster to Normandy (Rot. Parl., II, 264, no.7; Knighton, II, 80), and subsequently conducted the raid from Calais (vide supra, p.617).

forces with the duke in the Loire valley, the duke certainly intended to join the prince. In his letter to the municipality of London the prince tells us that on leaving Tours he intended to join Lancaster who had made known his wish to draw towards him.¹ No less than seven **different** chronicles refer to the duke's intention to bring about such a juncture, to his advance to the Loire valley and his failure to cross the river.² The bridge had been destroyed at les Ponts de Cé just south of Angers.

It is difficult to be so certain that "no dominant strategic plan determined the march". It seems unquestionable that a very definite strategic plan had been formulated in 1355 and that it lay behind the preparations of the spring and summer of that year. The prince and Lancaster were to have made more or less simultaneous landings in France; the two fleets had been

1. R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, Pieces Justificatives, 383, no.XI.
2. Chronicon Briocense, Chronicon Britannicum and Chronicon Britannicum alterum published by P.H.Morice, Memoires pour servir de preuves a l'histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne, I, cols.8, 43 & 113-4; P. A. de Berthou, "Analyse sommaire et critique de la Chronique de Saint-Brieuc", Bulletin archeologique de l'Association Bretonne: Memoires, XIX (1900-1), 50; Anonimale Chronicle, 36; Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 45 & 58; Le Baker, 142.

prepared together.¹ Moreover, Lancaster was under a contractual obligation to aid the prince should he need help. The prince's indenture of July 1355 included a clause to the effect that "The king has promised that if it shall happen that the prince is besieged or beset by so great a force of men that he cannot help himself unless he be rescued by the king's power, then the king will rescue him in one way or another, providing that he can be rescued easily; and the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Northampton, Arundel, ~~the~~ March and Stafford have promised and pledged their faith to give without fail all the help and counsel they can in making such rescue".² We have already seen that the earls of Northampton, ~~the~~ March and Stafford were to have accompanied the duke to Normandy.³

This clause is to be seen in the light of almost identical ones included in the indentures drawn up with the king by Lancaster and Northampton in 1345. In the indenture with Lancaster it was expressly

1. Vide supra, pp. 181-2 & 184.

2. E 36/278, m.88d; Black Prince's Register, IV, 145.

3. Vide supra, p. 613.

stated that "the king has agreed that if it shall happen that the said earl is besieged or beset by so great a force of men that he cannot help himself unless he be rescued by the king's power, then the king is bound to rescue him in one way or another, providing that he can be rescued easily".¹ In the indenture with Northampton it was agreed that "in case the said earl or the aforesaid lords are beset or besieged by enemies whom they cannot meet, then the king is bound to rescue them by himself or by other sufficient rescue".²

In 1345 the plan broke down when Edward, having crossed to Flanders with a large army, saw his hopes shattered by the opposition which culminated in the murder of James van Artevelde and was obliged to return to England. But in the following year, when a large French army under the command of the duke of Normandy had been drawn into the south of France, under the guidance of that Norman renegade, Godfrey d'Harcourt, he landed in the Cotentin, captured Caen,

1. E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1.

2. E 101/68/472; Appendix A, no.2.

eventually defeated the main French army at Crecy and sat down before Calais. He had done more. When the duke of Normandy heard of his landing he hurried north to help his father, leaving the Anglo-Gascon forces with a free hand in Aquitaine. Edward had rescued Lancaster in the north of France.

So it was in 1355. In the initial stage the plan broke down owing to the contrary winds which prevented Lancaster from getting any further than Portsmouth before he heard that Charles the Bad had made peace with King John at Valognes. But it is significant that, having crossed to Normandy in the following year, he refused the battle offered by the King of France only to come to meet the Black Prince in the Loire valley when King John moved south to stop his advance. He would have succeeded in joining forces with him had the French not destroyed the bridge at les Ponts de Cé. As things turned out the prince continued his retreat to meet glory alone at Poitiers.

Lancaster had nothing left to do but to return to his command; for he was still the king's lieutenant in Brittany and his commission had just been renewed.¹

1. Vide supra, p.634.

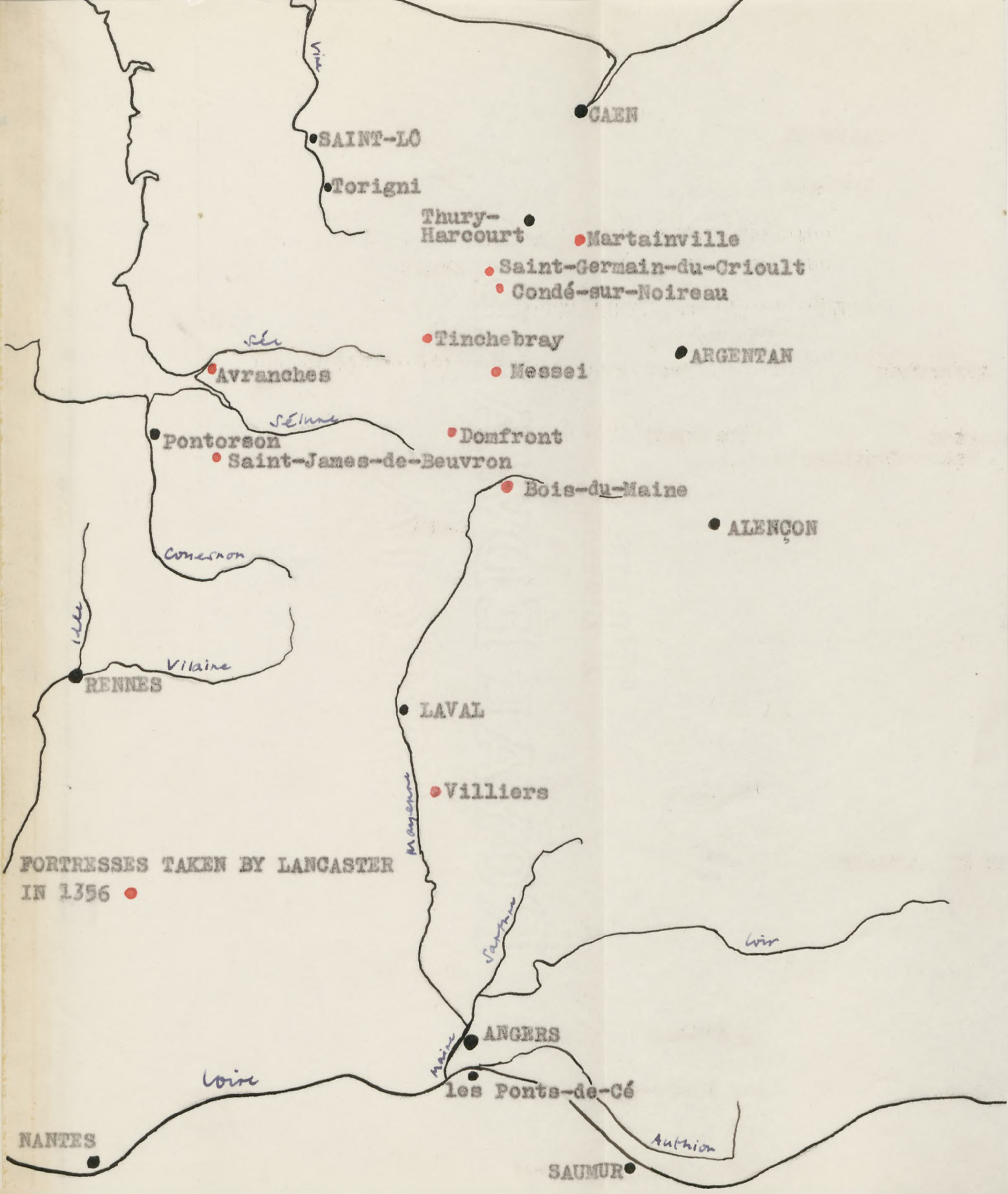
On his way back, however, he laid down a strong line of fortresses along a line stretching northwards through Anjou and Maine into west and central Normandy between Angers and Caen: Villiers, Bois-du-Maine, Domfront, Messei, Tinchebray, Saint-Germain-du-Crioult, Conde-sur-Noireau, Martainville, Saint-James-de-Beuvron and Avranches.¹ This incident has not received much attention,² and it would be interesting to know its purpose, for the garrisons remained under his personal command and the places were treated almost as his personal conquest.³

It has been suggested that the fortresses were intended to render difficult communications between Brittany and the bordering provinces of Normandy,

1. Appendix C:8. Map VII

2. S. Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque, 1380, appears to have been the only person to have discussed it.

3. Cf. Rymer, III, i, 421, & CPR, 1361-4, 495. He appointed Thomas de Uvedale and Thomas Fogg lieutenants to look after his interests at Domfront, Bois-du-Maine, Messei and Conde-sur-Noireau (Arch. nat., X^{1a}.21, fos.73v-5v, no.3); Richard Sholl was appointed constable and William de Tuttebury receiver at Avranches (Arch. nat., JJ 89, no.181). Uvedale was his lieutenant in Brittany (vide infra, pp.751-2); Sholl had been issued letters of protection on 4 July, 1355, to go abroad in his retinue (C 76/33, m.9). They were again issued to him on 23 August, 1359, going abroad in his retinue (C 76/38, m.16). Vide infra, pp.705.



CAEN

SAINT-LO

Torigni

Thury-Harcourt

Martainville

Saint-Germain-du-Crioult

Condé-sur-Noireau

Tinchebray

ARGENTAN

Messei

Avranches

Pontorson

Domfront

Saint-James-de-Beuvron

Bois-du-Maine

ALENÇON

Concarneau

RENNES

Vilaine

LAVAL

Villiers

FORTRESSES TAKEN BY LANCASTER IN 1356

ANTERS

les Ponts-de-Cé

NANTES

SAUMUR

Loire

Authion

Maine and Anjou, and so hinder French assistance to the city of Rennes, subsequently besieged by the duke.¹ Their control would, no doubt, afford some protection to the besieging force, whilst Avranches and Saint-James were strategically important to the defence of Brittany; the French king too appointed a lieutenant to look after his interests there, and he usually established his military headquarters at Pontorson.²

Was Lancaster insuring himself against a change of front on the part of one whose allegiance to Edward was quite recent: Philip of Navarre? Upon the conclusion of his campaign in Normandy he had been expected to look after Edward's interests there, for Philip had crossed to England and it was not until 30 October that he was given a commission as the king's captain and lieutenant in Normandy.³

1. Luce, op.cit., 188.

2. Eg., Mahieu de Roquemort and Jean de Cropvoisin, marshals of Jean, lord of Hangest, lieutenant of King John in those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany, reviewed the troops serving under his command at Pontorson on 1 February, 1356 (Bibl. nat., Pieces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, nos.13 & 14; vol.1774, Luilly, nos.4 & 5 etc). The troops were paid their wages at Pontorson in April and May of the same year (ibid., vol.1474, Hangest, no.8; vol.2103, Nully, nos.2-4; vol.2343, Portal, no.8, etc).

3. Rymer, III, i, 342.

Basically, his adherence depended upon the continuing French imprisonment of his brother, Charles the Bad.¹

If Charles were given his liberty anything might happen. Edward had taken precautions. Lancaster was notified of Philip's appointment and instructed to assist him in both military and general matters.²

The duke had, therefore, a continuing interest in Norman affairs. German mercenaries operated under his command there.³ Avranches was taken from the Navarrese by his troops.⁴ English troops were sent to operate in Normandy, but were not placed under Philip's command; a request that they should be, presented to the king's council on his behalf, was politely but firmly declined.⁵

When Lancaster returned

1. This is made quite clear in the records of his negotiations with the king's council (BM Cotton MS. Caligula D III., nos.43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53 & 56; Appendix A, no.17).

2. Rymer, III, i, 342.

3. On 1 September and 1 December, 1356, he received part payment of sums which he had paid to "Martino de la Carre, Johanni Remeryz et aliis militibus de Alamannia (de comitiva sua)" for their wages in the king's service in Normandy and Brittany (E 403/380, m.24, & 384, m.1).

4. Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel, 5; Fragments d'une chronique inédite relatifs aux événements militaires arrivés en Basse-Normandie, 6; V.Ménard, Histoire religieuse, civile et militaire de Saint-James de Beuvron, 61-2.

5. BM Cotton Caligula D III, no.59; Appendix A, no.17).

to England upon the termination of his command in Brittany he appointed James de Pipe and Robert Knowles (soldiers of considerable reputation) to look after English interests in Normandy, in spite of the fact that Philip's commission had recently been renewed.¹

1. Knighton, II, 99. Philip's commission was renewed on 20 December, 1357 (Rymer, III, i, 385).

XIV

OFFICERS, RETAINERS AND COUNCILLORS

Like the other great nobles of his day, Lancaster had a considerable body of men in his service: household officers and attendants to administer his affairs, maintain his state and dignity, and protect his property and person; men who were bound by indenture to serve him for life in peace and war; men who had taken his fees and wore his livery.¹ This chapter has the limited objective of inquiring into the personnel of his household and retinue. It is an attempt to discover who the men were who did service with him and what their relationship to him was.

1. The baronial following has been the subject of not inconsiderable study during recent years. The principle works referred to, in order of publication, are: K.B.McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism", BIHR, XX (1943-5), 161-80; N.B.Lewis, "The organisation of indentured retainers in fourteenth century England", TRHS, fourth series, XXVII (1945), 29-39; W.H.Dunham, "Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-83", Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXXIX (1955), 1-175; C.Ross, "The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick", Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, XII (1956), 3-22; G.A.Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth Century England (1957), 58-84.

The Officers and Central Officers

Owing to the absence of comprehensive central accounts, there is less known about Duke Henry's system of administration than about his father's or his own successor's.¹ But the normal officers of the baronial household are there. In addition to the wardrober, treasurer, household steward, steward of lands and attorneys-general in his service as earl of Derby, he had a chamberlain, chancellor or secretary, receiver-general, auditors and other, less important officers, as earl and duke of Lancaster.

We know of two esquires who held office as his chamberlain: Simon Simeon (1354) and Robert de la Grene (1355).² Both appear to have been retained by him and their careers will therefore be considered later.³

He had a chancellor who was also called his secretary, and was presumably in charge of the privy seal. The office was held by at least three clerks: John de

1. For the system of administration under his father and John of Gaunt, cf. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, 84-110.

2. CPP, I, 269 & 270.

3. Vide infra, pp. 687-90.

Welbourne (1348, 1349, 1351 & 1355); William de Claville (1353) and Roger de Burton (1355).¹ Both Welbourne and Burton were amongst the witnesses to his charters.²

Welbourne, who is first mentioned as one of his clerks in 1343,³ appears to have acted as his treasurer of war in Aquitaine in 1345-6,⁴ accompanied him abroad, possibly in his capacity as secretary, on the diplomatic mission of 1348,⁵ and on his last command in Aquitaine in 1349-50.⁶

He also had a chancellor of the duchy who was in charge of the great seal, as distinct from the duke's personal or privy seal, and which had authority only in the county palatine.⁷ The only known holder of this office is Henry

1. Welbourne: CPP, I, 151, 166, 173, 213 & 271; Claville: ibid., I, 238; Burton: ibid., I, 275.
2. Welbourne: CPR, 1348-50, 469 & 1354-8, 381 (Savoy Manor, 24 August, 1349; Kingston-Lacy manor, Dorset, 12 August, 1351); Burton: Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 29; CPL, III, 585; Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 113-4 (Newarke church, Leicester, 24 March, 1356; Leicester castle, 6 March, 1361).
3. CPP, I, 56.
4. E 404/508/47 (receipt for wages of troops and garrisons issued to him by John Wawayn, constable of Bordeaux, La Réole, 23 June, 1346).
5. C 76/26, m.9.
6. C 76/27, m.4.
7. Somerville, op.cit., 43-4.

de Haydock, a clerk of the royal chancery who was granted licence to serve him for a period to organise the chancery of the palatinate, and who was probably chancellor during the whole of Henry's ducatus.¹

It is difficult to determine who was the chief financial officer. Later practice would suggest that the surplus revenues from the lands and the casual receipts found their way to the receiver-general; but under his father and Thomas it was the wardrobe^{Let's see} who took this place.²

We know of three wardrobers who served Henry: Peter de Wotton (1343-7); William de Horwich (1353-4); and Robert de Burton (1358-9).³ Wotton qualifies as his chaplain in 1343, household steward in 1344 and clerk of his treasury in 1346.⁴ He was in office as his

1. CPR, 1350-4, 114 & 397. Cf. Somerville, op.cit., 43-4.
2. Somerville, op.cit., 86.
3. Wotton: E 404/502/4 (25 September, 1343); DL 25/984 (8 May, 1344); DL 27/323 (28 June, 1344). Drew up the account of the earl's expenses in Aquitaine in 1345-6 (E 372/191, m.54d); Horwich: CPP, I, 242 (prior to 20 April, 1353); E 404/504/9 (5 March, 1354, when he was accounting for the wages of the earl and his men leaving for Normandy); E 403/373, m.10 (2 November, 1353); E 372/198, m.39d (4 November, 1353); E 403/373, m.31 (12 March, 1354); Burton: DL 29/288/4719 (financial year 29 September 1358 to 29 September 1359).
4. CPP, I, 56, 47 & 111 respectively.

receiver-general in 1347,¹ and appears to have been one of his councillors.²

At least five clerks held office as his treasurer: Nicholas de Hume (1340 & 1343); John Gynewell (1344-6); Henry de Walton (1348-53); William de Drifffield (1354-57, except in 1356, when he was acting as the duke's treasurer of war in Brittany); and Nicholas de Colshull (1355 & 1358).³ Richard de Northwelle held office as his sub-treasurer

1. DL 41/10/34, ms.1 & 2, and DL 42/11, fo.52v (June, July and October, 1347).
2. Vide infra, p.732.
3. Hume: E 403/314, m.4 (16 October, 1340); E 403/331, ms. 1 & 4 (4, 16 & 17 October, 1343). Gynewell: E 403/332, m.2 (16 April, 1344); 336, m.8 (3 October, 1345); 337, m.9 (4 November, 1345); 336, m.49 (10 April, 1346). Walton: CPP, I, 132 (29 May, 1348); E 403/341, m.19 (5 July, 1348); C 76/26, m.4 (15 October, 1348); CPP, I, 152 (11 & 23 April, 1349); *ibid.*, I, 193 (1 February, 1350); C 61/62, m.6 (17 February, 1350); DL 42/11, fo.24v (24 April, 1350); GCR, 1349-54, 376 (17 July, 1351); E 403/359, m.18 (5 December, 1351); DL 29/212/3246, m.1d (6 February, 1352); CPP, I, 225 (21 February, 1352); E 403/362, m.27 (6 September, 1352); 365, m.10 (13 November, 1352); CPP, I, 238 & 239 (25 & 27 January, 1353). Drifffield: E 403/375, ms.2 & 9 (4 & 28 October, 1354); CPP, I, 270 (25 January, 1355); E 403/377, ms.12, 27, 36 & 37 (15 May, 17 July, 5 & 26 September, 1355); 378, ms. 34 & 40 (12 March & 9 April, 1356); 380, ms.3 & 5 (12 & 23 May, 1356); 384, m.15 (13 March, 1357); CPP, I, 298 (1 June, 1357); he was acting as the duke's treasurer of war in Brittany on 25 & 27 May, 1356 (E 403/380, ms.6 & 7). Colshull: CPP, I, 282 (7 February, 1355); E 403/375, m.28 (2 March, 1355); 388, ms.35 & 41 (14 February & 3 March, 1358); 392, m.16 (15 June, 1358).

in 1353.¹

Gynewell first appears in Lancastrian service in 1335,² and qualifies as a clerk of the earl in 1337.³ He appears to have acted as his treasurer of war in Scotland in 1336,⁴ in 1337,⁵ and in the Low Countries in 1338-40;⁶ served as one of his attorneys-general when the earl went abroad in 1340, 1344 and 1346;⁷ as steward of his lands in 1343-5;⁸ his chaplain in 1343;⁹

1. CPP, I, 239 (9 March, 1353).
2. E 403/282, m.10.
3. E 403/294, m.13.
4. He accounted with Richard de Ferriby, keeper of the king's wardrobe, for the wages of the earl and his retinue in Scotland during this year (*ibid.*).
5. BM, Cotton, Nero C VIII, fo.263 (Ferriby's Wardrobe Book).
6. There are two debentures for the wages of the earl and his retinue in the Low Countries in 1338-40, issued on the accounting between him and the keeper of the king's wardrobe, Northwell, at Antwerp on 4 May, 1339 (E 404/501/303) and at Westminster on 8 April, 1340 (E 404/493/8). Letters of protection had been issued to him on 24 June 1338, going abroad in the earl's retinue (C 76/12, m.8).
7. *Vide infra*, pp.659.
8. DL 42/1, fo.198 & DL 41/10/34, m.63 (10 March & 15 April, 1343); CPP, I, 49 & DL 27/36 (23 April & 4 October, 1344); CPL, III, 15 (30 January, 1345).
9. CPP, I, 56 & CPL, III, 130.

and auditor of his accounts in 1344.¹ He was one of his councillors.²

Walton first appears in his service in July 1345, when, together with William de Farley, he was responsible for receiving the wages of the earl and his troops, leaving for Gascony, from the Exchequer.³ He served in the earl's retinue in the duchy, doubtless in some financial capacity,⁴ and later joined him before Calais.⁵ In March of the following year he was appointed to prosecute the execution of certain recognisances made to the earl in chancery;⁶ served as one of his attorneys-general when Henry went abroad in 1348, 1349-50, 1351, 1354 and 1355;⁷ and as lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster when the duke went abroad in 1354 and, possibly, 1359.⁸ He was

1. DL 27/323.

2. Vide infra, p.732.

3. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d. Vide supra, p.180.

4. Letters of protection and general attorney were issued to him on 20 May, 1345, going abroad in the earl's retinue (C 76/20, m.15). He left for Gascony with an advance of money on 19 July, 1345 (E 101/25/9 & E 372/191, m.54d). Vide supra, p.180.

5. Letters of protection, to last until 29 September, 1347, were issued to him on 15 June, 1347, going abroad to stay with the earl (C 76/25, m.25).

6. CCR, 1346-9, 521.

7. Vide infra, p

8. DKR, XXXII, 333 & 599 for 1354, when he attested letters under the palatinate seal. He also attested them on 6 August, 1359, but does not then appear as lieutenant (*ibid.*, 347).

warden of his lands in 1352, and among the witnesses to his charters.¹

Driffield appears as a clerk of the duke's household early in 1353, when he held property in Lambeth.²

Colshull began his career in Lancastrian service with the earl's father; he was his receiver of Tutbury honor in 1329, 1330 and 1333,³ and served as his wardrober.⁴

He continued in the earl's service, acting as his receiver-general in 1353-4, 1356 and 1358-9,⁵ as one of his attorneys-general during his absence on the Reims campaign of 1359-60,⁶ and as lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster during the same period.⁷ He was among the witnesses to charters of both father and son.⁸

1. CPP, I, 225; DL 42/15, fo.48v (Leicester, 7 May, 1356).

2. CPP, I, 242; CPR, 1350-4, 417.

3. DL 36/2, fo.22 (29 August, 1329), cf. EHR., LV, 101; DL 42/2, fo.101v (6 September, 1333). He was receiver of Leicester and Tutbury before June 1330 (DL 25/979).

4. He rendered his final account in 1340 (Somerville, op.cit., 354).

5. DL 29/725/11833 (financial year, 29 September, 1353, to 29 September, 1354); DL 42/16, fo.43v (18 May, 1346); DL 29/367/6130 (financial year 28 September, 1358, to 28 September, 1359).

6. Vide infra, p.660.

7. DKR, XXXII, 340-1 & 347 (November 1359 & January and May, 1360).

8. DL 42/1, fo.69, no.42 (Kenilworth castle, 22 July, 1337); CPR, 1354-8, 381 (Kingston-Lacy manor, Dorset, 12 August, 1351); Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 29 (Newarke church, Leicester, 24 March, 1356); DL 42/15, fo.48v (Leicester, 7 May, 1356).

Henry also had a financial officer to look after his interests in Bergerac. Sir William Darampton and three clerks, Master Jean Vilet, William de Driffield and Adam de Everingham, acted as his attorneys in this respect,¹ and Everingham is specifically described as his 'treasurer of Bergerac',² and elsewhere as his 'receiver in Gascony'.³ This officer accounted with the constable of Bordeaux for wages due to the garrison of the town upon receipt of a warrant from the seneschal of Aquitaine.⁴

1. E 404/508/37 & E 43/81; E 404/500/265; E 101/168/3, fo.12v; E 101/168/3, fo.10v & 170/20, fo.60v. Darampton was also castellan there (E 101/170/12, fo.51v) and Everingham maintained troops in the garrison (E 101/170/20, fo.60v). For Driffield, vide supra., pp.650 & 653.
2. E 404/500/157 & E 101/170/20, fo.82. Also 'treasurer at Bergerac' (CPP, I, 240).
3. DL 29/507/8226.
4. These amounted to £8,380.18s.10d. sterling in the period 28 September, 1347, to 13 September, 1352, including costs of re-enforcements necessary in the period 28 May to 10 August, 1348, 'because the French intended to occupy the place during the truce' (E 404/500/157 & 265, 508/37; E 43/81; E 372/204, m.44; E 101/168/3, fos.10v & 12v & 170/20, fo.82). The constable of Bordeaux in turn accounted with the English Exchequer (E 403/365, ms.14 & 27; 373, ms.7 & 12; 374, ms.7 & 12; 377, ms.22, 25 & 27).

The steward of the lands, the auditors and to a less degree the receiver-general, exercised supervision of the estates. They imparted a unity of control that was further exercised by the council. It is difficult to recognise, as Tout did, a refusal to Lancaster of the power of controlling all his estates by one unified direction, or to follow his observation (seemingly based on no evidence) that the wardrobe organisation of Henry's household proved a sound nucleus for the central authority.¹

We know of seven stewards: John Gynewell (1343-5); Sir Peter de la Mare (1347-8); Sir Hugh de Berewyk (1350 and 1353); Walter atte Bergh (1351 & 1353-4); Sir Robert de la Mare (1355); Robert de Syngleton (1356); and John Cokayn (1360).²

1. Chapters, III, 194.

2. Gynewell: DL 42/1, fo.198 (10 March, 1343); DL 41/10/34, m.63 (15 April, 1343); CPR, 1343-5, 366 & 384, and DL 27/36 (October, 1344); CPP, I, 49 (30 January, 1345). Mare: DL 42/11, fo.52v (October 1347); DL 25/986 & CPP, I, 133 (1348). Berewyk: Somerville, op.cit., 359 (November, 1350); CPP, I, 242 (1353). Bergh: CPP, I, 211 (1351); DL 29/725/11833 (financial year, 1353-4). Mare: CPP, I, 271 (1355). Syngleton: DL 37/2/21 (14 August, 1356), when, however, he may have been steward in Lancs. only. Cokayn: DL 42/15, fo.48v (chief steward beyond the Trent, May 1356); CCR, 1360-64, 15 (chief steward, 17 March, 1360).

Berewyk and the de la Mares appear to have been retained by him and their careers will therefore be considered later.¹ Bergh was steward of Carmarthen and Cantref Mawr by 18 November, 1344;² of Kidwelly by November 1347;³ and of lands south of the Trent by 18 May, 1356.⁴ Auditor of Leicester in 1353-4,⁵ he was an attorney of the Empress Maude and William of Hainault on 17 November, 1361.⁶ After his death (he was in John of Gaunt's service) he was referred to as keeper of lands late of Duke Henry in Wiltshire, Berkshire and other counties in the south and west and in the Welsh marches.⁷

Syngleton was appointed a justice for the statute of weights and measures in Lancashire on 3 May, 1356.⁸

1. Vide infra, pp.683-6.
2. DL 25/339.
3. Somerville, op.cit., 360.
4. DL 42/16, fo.43v.
5. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 79.
6. CPR, 1361-4, 110.
7. John of Gaunt's Register, I, 1800.
8. DKR, XXXII, 344.

Cockayn, son of John Cockayn of Ashbourne, was notable for his service in Lancashire.¹ Appointed steward of the county by the earl's letters, dated at La Reole in Gascony, on 2 November, 1345;² he appears to have held the office during the whole of the earl's life.³ Sheriff of Lancashire in 1345, 1346 and 1348, he died in 1372 and was buried at Ashbourne.⁴

Only Gynewell was an ecclesiastic, the subsequent stewards all laymen, themselves landowners and with an active part in local government, like Walter atte Bergh in Wiltshire or Sir Hugh de Berewyk in Lancashire and Yorkshire. These two were stewards contemporaneously; it seems, therefore, that it had already been found necessary to divide the inheritance into two parts for administration by the steward, and in 1356 Walter atte Bergh is specifically called steward citra Trentam, whilst Sir Peter de la Mare seems to have been confined to the south parts.⁵

1. Somerville, op.cit., 360 & 361.

2. E 159/123, m.327.

3. Somerville, op.cit., 361.

4. Ibid., and E 159/123, m.327.

5. Vide supra., p.656.

The auditors generally worked as a pair. Only four are known: John Gynewell and William Blaby, both clerks; Laurence de Colshull and John Cockayn.¹

We know of four clerks who held office as his receiver-general: Peter de Wotton (1347); Richard de Melbourne (1351, 1353 & 1359); Richard de Walton (1353); and Nicholas de Colshull (1353-4, 1356 & 1358-9).² Wotton and Colshull have already been considered.³ Walton served in his retinue in Aquitaine in 1349-50,⁴ and drew up the expense account for his command there.⁵

1. For Gynewell and Blaby, DL 24/9/41. Gynewell was auditor in 1344 (DL 27/323); Blaby in 1351, and perhaps also in 1346 (Somerville, *op.cit.*, 360). He was presumably still acting in this capacity in 1352 when he went from Leicester to Halton to inspect the accounts of the ministers of Downham and Dalton and assess impounding, and went on from there to Preston, returning through Clitheroe, Halton and Downham (to hear the final accounts) and to supervise buildings and repairs there), DL 29/4/24. Colshull and Cockayn were acting in the financial year 28 September, 1356, to 28 September, 1357 (DL 29/367/6127).
2. Wotton: DL 41/10/34, nos.1 & 2 (June, July and October, 1347); Melbourne; CPP, I, 215 (1351); *ibid.*, 238 (25 January 1353); DL 29/288/4719 & DL 29/367/6130 (in the financial year, 29 September, 1358, to 29 September, 1359); Walton: CPP, I, 240 (9 March, 1353); Colshull: DL 29/725/11833 (Financial year 29 September, 1353, to 29 September, 1354); DL 42/16, fo.43v (18 May, 1356); DL 29/367/6130 (financial year, 29 September, 1358, to 28 September, 1359).
3. Vide *supra.*, pp.649-50 & 653.
4. E 404/508/61 & E 403/355, m.19.
5. E 372/195, m.46.

We know of eighteen who were appointed to serve or who served as his attorney-general; ten laymen: John de Rocheford, Henry Danvers, Sir John de Twyford, Sir John de Seyton, Robert de Hungerford, Walter atte Bergh, Sir Peter de la Mare, Sir Hugh de Berewyk, Robert de Sadyngton and Richard de Wilughby; eight ecclesiastics: John Gynewell, Master Henry de la Dale, Walter Power, John de Saint Paul, Master John de Thoresby, Henry de Walton, David de Wollore and Nicholas de Colshull.

The appointments (always in pairs, but interchangeable) were normally made when Lancaster went abroad on military and diplomatic missions. Rocheford and Danvers, Twyford and Seyton, were appointed on 7 July, 1338;¹ Hungerford and Gynewell, Hungerford and De la Dale, on 22 June, 1340;² Thoresby and De la Dale, Saint-Paul and Power, Gynewell and Bergh, on 26 March, 1344;³ Sadyngton and Wilughby, Gynewell and Power, and De la Dale, on 6 July, 1345;⁴ Gynewell and Power on 18 July, 1346;⁵ De la Mare and

1. C 76/12, m.3.

2. C 76/15, m.18.

3. C 76/19, m.19.

4. C 76/20, m.6.

5. C 61/58, m.2. Gynewell was exercising office on 12 November, 1346 (DL 25/1235).

Power on 24 May, 1347;¹ Saint-Paul and Power, Walton and Berewyk, Walton and Wollore, on 30 August, 1349;² Power and Walton on 3 November, 1354;³ Walton and Wollore on 6 July, 1355;⁴ and Power and Colshull in 1359.⁵ They acted for the duke in matters touching his estates and finances,⁶ and requested letters of protection for those going to serve or serving in his retinue abroad.⁷

Rocheford, Twyford and Seyton appear to have been retained by him and their careers will therefore be considered later.⁸ Wilughby served as an esquire in his retinue in Scotland in 1336,⁹ and held land in

1. C 76/24, m.16.
2. C 76/27, ms.4 & 24. Walton was acting in this capacity on 17 February and 20 April, 1350 (CCR, 1349-54, 203 & 219); 25 June, 1351 (*ibid.*, 370) and 19 November, 1351 (CPR, 1350-4, 179).
3. C 76/32, m.4.
4. C 76/33, m.9.
5. C 76/38, m.16.
6. C.f., e.g., CCR, 1349-54, 203, 219 & 370.
7. Cf., e.g., C 81/1730/9, 25, 28 & 29 for Walton; C 81/1730/23 & 26 for Gynewell.
8. Vide infra, pp. 690-1, 693-4 & 697.
9. E 101/15/12.

Lincolnshire in 1341, when he acknowledged a debt of 2,200 marks to the earl.¹ Power was a clerk of the royal chancery in 1341 (or 1350) and in 1361.² He was a councillor of the earl,³ a feoffee and executor,⁴ and subsequently in Gaunt's service.⁵

There were at least fourteen officers who are described as his valets or donzels: John de Aldewynclle, John Blount, Andrew Braunche, Thomas de Burton, John Cockayn, Thomas Florak, Robert de la Grene, Thomas de la Mare, Roger Perot, Nicholas Peyure, Phillip de Popham, Richard de Radcliffe, John Rithre and Simon Simeon.

All save Braunche, Cockayn, Peyure and Radcliffe were amongst the witnesses to the foundation charter of his college of the Newarke, when they are described as his donzels.⁶ Aldewynclle and Popham are referred to as his "bien amez esquiers" in a request for letters of

1. CCR, 1341-3, 144-5.

2. Somerville, op.cit., 360.

3. Vide infra, pp.732.

4. DL 42/2, fo.224.

5. CPR, 1361-4, 532.

6. Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30.

protection for them to go to Avignon.¹ Aldewyncl, possibly a native of the Lancastrian manor bearing that name in Northamptonshire, and who was among those yeomen who accompanied the elder Henry to France in 1329,² secured a grant for life of the manor of North Standen in Wiltshire from him, in succession to Sir John de Walkyngton,³ as well as two annuities, one of them a confirmation of a grant made by the earl's father.⁴ He served on at least four missions abroad in the duke's retinue.⁵ Popham secured a life annuity of £10 in the manor of King's Sombourne, Hampshire,⁶ together with the bedelry.⁷ He was doubtless related to, perhaps the son of, the elder Henry's "ame vadlet" John de Popham, to whom the third earl had granted a life annuity of £8 in the manor of Everleigh

1. SC 1/40/109.

2. CPR, 1327-30, 442.

3. Appendix J.

4. Ibid.

5. Appendix C, no.9.

6. Appendix J.

7. Ibid.

in Wiltshire.¹ He served in the duke's retinue on the Reims campaign of 1359-60.² Braunche, who is also described as the earl's "vadlet", similarly appears to have served the elder Henry.³ A man of some property (he held the manor of Frome in Somerset),⁴ he accompanied the earl abroad on at least three missions.⁵ Burton is described as one of his valets in 1354, when he brought letters from the duke in Zealand to the king.⁶ He secured a grant of an annuity of 20 marks for life in the manor of Gimingham in Norfolk from him,⁷ as well as the lordship and rent of Irchester in Northamptonshire.⁸ Cockayn, who has already been considered,⁹ is referred to as

1. DL 25/3460.

2. C 76/38, m.16.

3. He is described as "nostre bien ame Andreu Braunche, vadlet nostre treschere fintz le conte de Derby", in a letter of the elder Henry to the chancellor, requesting a release from matters concerning him in the chancery, because he was going abroad in Henry's retinue (C 81/1724/33).

4. On 10 June, 1338, however, he was licenced to grant it to Henry, Sir Walter Pavely and Henry de Merlaunde (CPR, 1338-40, 101).

5. Appendix C, no.9.

6. E 403/373, m.22.

7. CPR, 1350-4, 298.

8. CPR, 1354-8, 51.

9. Vide supra, pp. 655 & 657.

his "bien ame vallet" in 1345.¹ De la Mare is described as one of his valets in 1353, when he presented the king with two dextriers from the duke.² He was son of Sir Peter de la Mare,³ and accompanied the earl abroad on at least two occasions.⁴ Peyure, also described as his "bien ame vallet",⁵ served in his retinue during his first command in Aquitaine and before Calais.⁶ Radecliffe qualifies as his "valet" among the witnesses to one of his charters in 1360.⁷ Son of William de Radecliffe,⁸ who was son of John de Radecliffe,⁹ he was steward of Blackburnshire for the third earl,¹⁰ and subsequently for Henry,¹¹ Several times witness to the latter's charters,¹² he received a grant of the office of guardian of all the

1. E 159/123, m.327.

2. E 403/368, m.11.

3. CPR, 1340-3, 424.

4. Appendix C, no.9.

5. C 81/1724/58.

6. Appendix C, no.9.

7. DL 37/2/104.

8. John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 704.

9. Somerville, op.cit., 372.

10. Ibid., 355.

11. From 27 May, 1353, to 9 June, 1372 (De Hoghton Deeds, 157-223).

12. DL 27/155 (London, 1 March, 1347); Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. Coll., II, 11; Whalley Coucher, Chetham Society, IV (1849), 1154-58; DL 42/1, fos.74-5 (Whalley, 16 December, 1360).

chaces and woods of Lancashire from him.¹ He was subsequently in Gaunt's service.² Simeon and Grene, his chamberlain in 1354 and 1355 respectively, will be considered later.³

There were many others in his service: minstrels,⁴ pipers,⁵ tailors,⁶ armourers,⁷ sergeants-at-arms,⁸ carpenters,⁹ cooks,¹⁰ bakers,¹¹ fishmongers,¹² and a

1. John of Gaunt's Register, I, 704.

2. Ibid., I, 987.

3. Vide infra, pp. 687-90.

4. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 109, etc; Black Prince's Register, IV, 90 ("Master Reymond, minstrel of the duke of Lancaster" - 1353).

5. Black Prince's Register, IV, 283.

6. Walter de Thornton, who received letters of protection to go abroad in his retinue in 1338, and Thomas Thornton, who received similar letters whilst staying in his retinue in Brittany in 1357 (C 76/12, m.8 & 35, m.7).

7. William de Audeley and John de Kirketon, who received letters of protection when he was going to Normandy in 1356 (C 76/34, m.15).

8.

9. Richard de Felstede (vide infra, p. 732).

10. Hugh le Keu and Nicholas de Usk, both of whom received grants from the duke for their services (vide infra., Appendix J).

11. John le Irreys, who was given letters of protection to accompany him to the Low Countries in 1338 (C 76/12, m.18)

12. Robert Pykeman of London, who received letters of protection on 20 May, 1356 (C 76/34, m.14).

most of other, smaller officers, not to consider the local officers on his estates.¹ There is also mention of Derby Herald coming from Prussia with Simon Simeon in 1352.²

About half of the household and central officers were ecclesiastics, including all three chancellors and five treasurers, and at least two of the three known wardrobers. They were rewarded for their services with ecclesiastical benefices which lay upon the Lancastrian estates and, more important, through the duke's promotion of petitions to the Pope.

The Calendar of Papal Petitions throws a most revealing light upon the latter. During his lifetime he asked for 66 prebends and dignities and 32 lesser benefices - of which no less than 80 are for his clerks - only seven less than those asked for by the Black Prince and more than the number asked for by the king between 1342 and 1366.³ ~~The~~

1. Cf. Somerville, op.cit., 361-3, for some of these.
2. Bateson, op.cit., II, 80. He does not appear in Noble's or Weaver's lists.
3. W.A.Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, 49.

All three of his known chancellors or secretaries were promoted by him. Welbourne secured a prebend in Salisbury, canonries and prebends in York and Lincoln, the treasurership of Lincoln and the church of Raunds (of the duke's advowson) and probably a canonry and prebend in Lichfield upon petitions promoted by him.¹ He also secured a dispensation to be non-resident while engaged in his service so that he could receive the fruits of his benefice for two years.² Claville, who is first mentioned as his clerk and envoy in 1352,³ secured dispensation to retain the church of Burton-in-Kendal in the diocese of York and was provided to a canonry and prebend in Dublin and a canonry and prebend in Lichfield on petitions also promoted by him.⁴ Burton was parson of Saint-Gregory's, Sudbury, in 1355 and of Derford in 1360,⁵ and owed a canonry and prebend in Lincoln to him.⁶

1. CPP, I, 56, 78, 108, 151, 166, 213 & 271; CPL, III, 325 & 332; CPR, 1345-8, 435 & 1350-4, 3 & 47.

2. CPL, I, 66.

3. CPP, I, 226.

4. Ibid., I, 226, 238 & 244.

5. CPP, I, 275; CPR; 1358-61, 478.

6. CPP, I, 275; Le Neve, Fasti, II, 185; CPR, 1354-8, 299. He was still in his service in 1360 (CPR, 1358-61, 478), but dead (rector of Stoke) by 1375 (John of Gaunt's Register, I, 204).

Of the three known wardrobers, Wotton, beginning as his chaplain and parson of Edmonthorpe in Leicestershire,¹ secured canonries in Salisbury, Hereford and London, and was provided to prebends in Salisbury and Hereford upon petitions made by him.² Horwich was provided to a canonry in Wells, with expectation of a prebend, upon his petition.³

Whatever Gynewell's origin his earliest ecclesiastical preferments and his usual residence were in Leicestershire.⁴ As early as 1334 he held the benefice of Foston in Guthlaxton hundred and deanery, six to seven miles south of Leicester, and was provided to a canonry of Salisbury with reservation of a prebend.⁵ Sometime between 1336 and 1338 he obtained the prebend of Bedwin.⁶ Meanwhile, in 1337, he exchanged Foston for a canonry and prebend in

1. CPP, I, 56.

2. CPP, I, 56, 79 & 111; Somerville, op.cit., 358; Le Neve, Fasti, I, 526; CPR, 1354-8, 188. He also secured a prebend in Lincoln (CPR, 1350-4, 121).

3. CPP, I, 242.

4. CCR, 1343-6, 654, where he is referred to as "clerk of Leicestershire".

5. CPL, II, 398-9.

6. CPL, II, 532; CPR, 1338-40, 101 & 380; Winchester Episcopal Registers (Sandale, etc), edit. Baigent, 595-6.

Saint Mary's in the Castle, Leicester,¹ where he would be conveniently near his work in the Lancastrian household. He obtained the prebend of Staunton in the conventional church of Wilton in the diocese of Salisbury, which he exchanged for the prebend of Caistor in Lincoln early in 1344.² He continued to hold the prebend of Salisbury and, sometime before June 1343, was presented to the rectory of Llanelly which lay upon the Lancastrian estates in Carmarthenshire.³ He was provided to canonries in Wells and York on petitions of the earl,⁴ and by April 1344 he held the prebends of Wilncote in Tamworth and Imbert Godestre in Saint Martin's-le-Grand, London, in addition to his prebends in Lincoln and Salisbury, his canonry at Wells and the rectory of Llanelly.⁵

1. CPR, 1334-8, 493-4.

2. A.H.Thompson, "The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln, for the years 1347-50", Archaeological Journal, LXVIII (1911), 305.

3. CPP, I, 56 & CPL, III, 130.

4. Ibid., & CPP, I, 49 & CPL, III, 127.

5. CPP, I, 49 & CPL, III, 127. In June 1346 his estate in the church of Llanelly and his four prebends was ratified by the king (CPR, 1345-8, 121 & 129). In the previous month he had been collated to Gilvendale prebend at York (Le Nave, Fasti, III, 189). He had some part in the peace negotiations at Avignon in 1344 (CPL, III, 11).

In 1347 he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln,¹ an office which he held until 1362.² He appears to have discontinued in the earl's service shortly after his election, but it is clear that his friendship with the duke continued. Lancaster drew upon his advice and counsel at every step of his great project of Newarke College at Leicester;³ chose him as one of his executors;⁴ and it was before him that his will was tested.⁵

Walton held the chaplaincy of Saint Michael's in the Castle at Clitheroe by grant of the earl,⁶ and by 1348 was in possession of the rectory of Llanelly in succession to Gynewell.⁷ He secured the rectory of Preston (which was also in gift of the earl) by February of the following year,⁸ and by April, when he is referred to as "of the

1. On 23 March, 1347, he had a bull of provision to the reserved see, voided in February by the death of Thomas Bek (CPL, III, 217). For some un-explained reason his consecration was expressly delayed for three months (ibid., III, 262). This was on 23 May; a week later, on 30 May, the Pope granted him a faculty to obtain consecration from any catholic bishop (ibid.).
2. Thompson, Registers, cit.supra., 302-3.
3. Vide supra., p.568.
4. Vide infra., p.847.
5. Vide infra., p.849.
6. Whalley, I, 257; CPR, 1348-50, 469.
7. CPP, I, 132.
8. CCR, 1349-54, 54.

diocese of Coventry and Lichfield", he held the prebend of Yetminster in Salisbury as well as the rectory of Preston.¹ He was provided to canonries and prebends in York, Hereford and Leicester, canonries in Chichester and Hereford, and secured the archdeaconry of Richmond and a canonry and prebend in Exeter on petitions by him.² By 1355 he held the archdeaconry of Richmond, canonries and prebends in Lincoln, Salisbury, Exeter, Wells; was in expectation of a prebend in York; and held the rectory of Preston.³

Driffield was provided to a benefice (valued at £30) in the gift of the abbess and convent of Wilton upon a petition by him.⁴ He subsequently secured the archdeaconry of Coventry⁵ and a provision to exchange his canonry of Salisbury and prebend of Roftem (both of which he had resigned) with the canonry of Lichfield and prebend of Tervyn.⁶ In 1357 he had a grant for life of the hospital

1. CPP, I, 151-2, 225, 238, 282.

2. Ibid., 132, 151-2, 239 & 282.

3. Ibid., 282.

4. CPP, I, 242.

5. Ibid., 270 & 298.

6. Ibid., 298.

of the Holy Innocents without Lincoln.¹

Colshull was provided to a canonry and prebend in Lincoln on petition by him² and secured the churches of Collingbourne-Ducis (which lay upon the Lancastrian estates) and Stockton, and a canonry and prebend in Wells.³ In 1348 he acquired farms of the earl in Tutbury Honor.⁴

Richard de Walton, his receiver-general in 1353, was provided to a canonry of Salisbury, with expectation of a prebend, on a petition made by him.⁵

The duke exercised this ecclesiastical patronage to reward the leading clerks in his service in much the same way as he granted lands and annuities to the more important of his lay officers and soldiers. That it was intended in such a way is made clear in the case of one of his clerks, Thomas de Buxton, who accompanied him on

1. CPR, 1354-8, 608.

2. CPP, I, 132 & 282.

3. Ibid., 132, 282; CPR, 1350-4, 65.

4. DL 28/32/17, fo.12v. He was dead by 2 July, 1361 (CPR, 1361-4, 131).

5. CPP, I, 240.

the Reims campaign of 1359-60, and who was granted an annuity of 20 marks "until he should be promoted to an ecclesiastical benefice in the earl's patronage".¹

Both Gynewell and Henry de Walton doubtless enjoyed the royal favour. Both are referred to as the king's clerks; Gynewell in 1338 and 1346,² Walton in 1351 and 1354.³

Walton, as we have seen, may have been a clerk of the Exchequer as early as 1345.⁴ He secured grants of two prebends in the king's gift: Hagworth in the church of Saint Mary, Salisbury, and Nassington, in the church of Saint Mary, Lincoln;⁵ and was confirmed in the quasi-episcopal powers which he exercised as archdeacon of Richmond, "by reason of his (the king's) affection for him".⁶ In November 1354 he was ratified in his estate as

1. DL 29/288/4719.

2. CPR, 1338-40, 101; 1345-8, 129.

3. CPR, 1350-4, 36 & 182; 1354-8, 132.

4. Vide *supra.*, p.652.

5. CPR, 1348-50, 549 & 1350-4, 36; but cf. 1354-8, 139.

6. CPR, 1350-4, 182.

archdeacon of Richmond, prebendary of Lincoln and Wells, and parson of Preston.¹ He possessed a lodging in London by 1357,² and in December of the following year was put over the royal wardrobe as Retford's successor.³ Plunged into preparations for the Reims campaign, assisted by William de Farley as controller⁴ (his compatriot in organising the financing of Lancaster's campaign in Gascony in 1345)⁵ he was, however, incapacitated by illness before Edward crossed to Calais, and died at Sandwich sometime before 21 November, 1359,⁶ probably on 2 or 3 November.⁷

1. Ibid., 1354-8, 132.

2. CCR, 1354-60, 366.

3. Tout, Chapters, IV, 136.

4. Ibid., 136-7.

5. Vide *supra.*, p.652.

6. E 404/6/36.

7. Tout, op.cit., 137.

The Retainers

To reconstruct the duke's retinue is not so simple. Contracts for service were not systematically preserved. They were rarely title deeds to more than a life interest and their survival is therefore extremely haphazard, although their absence means nothing. There is also the fundamental difficulty that close connections may not always have been accompanied by formal retainers and, as far as we know, formal retainer was no more binding than simple grant. What we find is a sea of varying relationships. Lancaster had knights to fight, clerks to write, and yeomen to do everything from cooking to collecting rents. His relations with some were precisely defined by contract, with some they were not, and a life retainer need not always last a lifetime.

We know of five men who were parties to indentures with him. Sir Edmund de Ufford, son of Thomas de Ufford, and Sir Ralph de Hastynges were both retained for life, during war and peace, with a fee of 40 marks; Ufford in the manor of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire,¹ Hastynges

1. DL 27/155 (London, 1 March, 1347); Appendix

in the manor of Pickering in Yorkshire.¹ In May 1345 William Bracebridge and his wife granted him the manor of Ulnes Walton in Lancashire, in return for which they took 40 marks rent for life from the manor of Barlow in Yorkshire and £20 rent, for themselves and their heirs, and William agreed to take the robes of an esquire of the earl for life.² Sir Norman de Swinford was retained sometime before 6 February, 1347.³ Richard de Felstede, a citizen and carpenter of London, agreed to take the robes of one of the earl's "gentils hommes" in an indenture by which he undertook work at Kenilworth castle on 16 October, 1347.⁴

Ufford, Hastynges and Bracebridge were, this is to say, to receive fees tied to specific manors in return for some form of service. In the case of Ufford and Hastynges it was for service during war and peace. Ufford was to serve him with 3 men-at-arms in wartime and 1 in peacetime.

1. Dugdale, Baronage, I, 579.
2. "Et le dit William prendra robes de seute d'esquiers de le dit counte a terme de sa vie" (DL 42/1, fo.90r).
3. SC 1/42/64; Appendix A, no.3.
4. DL 42/11, fo.52v; L.F.Salzman, Building in England down to 1540, 436-7; J.Harvey, English Medieval Architects, 105.

They were to take the earl's livery, be paid and fed by him, and come to his service at his command. He was also to have 10 horses, 9 boys to attend them, and a chamberlain dining in the earl's hall (4 horses, 3 boys and the chamberlain in peacetime). Bracebridge was also to take his livery. The contract with Swinford was probably very similar to that drawn up with Ufford. The original does not appear to have survived, but a letter written by Lancaster to the chancellor of England, shortly after he had returned from Gascony in 1347, provides information not only upon the nature of the contract, but also upon it's operative significance.

Swinford's lands in Lincolnshire had been seized by royal officials because he was not then serving in the king's forces in the north of France. Lancaster objected that Swinford was staying with him according to certain conditions drawn up between them, and it was therefore right that he should go with him and that he should not be obliged to go elsewhere with any other.

Ufford, Hastynge and Swinford were, then, retained to serve as soldiers. We know that Ufford and Hastynge served, or were intended to serve, on no less than 6 separate military and diplomatic missions in his retinue,

and Swinford on 4.¹ Ufford, who appears among the witnesses to his charters,² subsequently acquired the manor of Passenham for life from him,³ and served as his steward in Suffolk between 1351 and 1359.⁴

Bracebridge secured a similar grant of the manor of Barlow.⁵ Hastynges was probably a native of Yorkshire and had served the third earl as steward of the honor of Pickering in 1334.⁶ He brought news of the earl in Gascony to Leicester corporation in 1346.⁷

Since Lancaster's career was largely spent in the king's service abroad it is not unreasonable to suppose that the majority and perhaps the most important of his retainers were soldiers, men like Ufford and Hastynges who undertook to serve him in war and peace, and it

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. CPR, 1348-50, 19 (London, 2 December, 1347).

3. He was in possession by 1350 (CPR, 1348-50, 542) and at the time of the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).

4. DL 25/3323.

5. CPR, 1361-4, 50.

6. DL 42/1, fo.192r. He served on several commissions of oyer and terminer in Yorkshire in 1341-2 (CPR, 1340-3, 308, 443 & 551), where he was sheriff in 1340 (Somerville, op.cit., 356).

7. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 65.

follows that these men would figure amongst the names of those who most frequently accompanied him abroad on military and diplomatic missions.

A second test of attachment that may be applied is to inquire into those who had accepted his fees and taken his livery. Feoda and robe were the common fourteenth century words describing the mark of connection with a lord. The indenture and letter patent were its peculiar features. As Mr McFarlane has so adequately pointed out¹ the indenture was a compact between x and y by which x granted y an annual fee in return for which y promised some form of service, commonly for as long as both lived, but not binding upon either. The letter patent, by which x granted y, perhaps for good service done or to be done, though more often for no stated reason whatsoever, an annuity or an estate for life, appear to mark a relationship no less binding. These annuities, like the fees promised to retainers, were generally to be paid from the receipts of some particular manor or lordship belonging to the grantor. In many cases the annuitants were already the

1. K.B.McFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism", BIHR, XX (1943-5), 164.

feed retainers of their lord and the patent merely brought them additional reward; but just as often they were not.

Of 538 men we know to have served, or who were intended to serve, in Lancaster's comitiva during the course of his military and diplomatic duties,¹ 45 were his donees,² and another, Sir Norman de Swinford, we know to have been retained by him.³ 15 of these 46 were amongst the witnesses to his charters,⁴ 9 of them his officers in England and Wales,⁵ Of the remaining 492 only 12 appear amongst the witnesses to his charters,⁶ two were his officers.⁷ Tables can be drawn up to indicate the number of missions upon which these men served.⁸ Many of these, both donees and non-donees, must have been retained by him.

1. Cf. Appendix C:9 for their names.

2. Appendix J.

3. Vide supra., pp.676-7.

4. Vide infra., pp.683-703.

5. Vide infra., pp.683 ff.

6. Vide infra., 704-6.

7. Vide infra., pp.705-6.

8. Cf. Tables 1-3.

Table 1: Total Comitiva

	Number of missions on which served											Total
	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Knights		1		2	5	7	6	8	27	42	93	191
Esquires	1			1	1		2	3	7	32	300	347
Total	1	1		3	6	7	8	11	34	74	393	538

Table 2: Donees

	Number of missions on which served											Total
	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Knights					2	3	2	4	7	7	5	30
Esquires	1			1	1		2		1	2	8	16
Total	1			1	3	3	4	4	8	9	13	46

Table 3: Non-Donees

	Number of missions on which served											Total
	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Knights		1		2	3	4	4	4	20	35	88	161
Esquires								3	6	30	292	331
Total		1		2	3	4	4	7	26	65	380	492

To begin with the donees. We know of 98 who received grants of lands and annuities of him for life.¹ Although the 45 who also served in his comitiva held little more than half of the total grants, they were eminently the most important.²

Table 4

Distribution of grants of lands and annuities between those who served in his comitiva and those who did not

Grant	Total Recipients	Soldiers	Others
Manors	22	16	6
Annuities: £40	2	2	
40 marks	4	3	1
£20	15	13	2
20 marks	7	4	3
£10	10	5	5
10 marks	8	4	4
£5	7	1	6
5 marks	6		6
£1.10s.0d.	3		3
£1	7	1	6
1 mark	4	1	3
Other annuities	12	3	9
Other grants	7	5	2
	—	—	—
Totals	114	58	56

1. Appendix J.

2. Cf. Table 4. The figures are based upon information drawn up in Appendices C, no.9, and J.

We have seen how his leading household and central officers were ecclesiastics, rewarded through his promotion of petitions to the Pope.¹ It is then perhaps not surprising that the major grants were made to soldiers. The remaining 53 went to much less important men, local officers like Ingram Fauconer and Thomas Solleye, or cooks like Nicholas de Usk.² Their fees and rewards were suited to their status.

It is notable that only 3 of the donees who did not serve with him abroad were household and central officers. Sir Hugh de Berewyk, who acquired a grant for life of the manors of East Garston and Market Lavington in Wiltshire of him, in succession to Sir Peter de la Mare,³ was appointed one of his attorneys-general during his absence in Aquitaine in 1349-50,⁴ was steward of his lands in 1350 and 1353,⁵ late steward (probably of Leicester) in 1351-2,⁶

1. Vide supra., pp.666-74.

2. Fauconer was constable of Melbourne castle, Derbyshire, at the time of his death (CIPM, XI, 96). Solleye was his parker at King's Sombourne, Hampshire (DL 28/682/11037). For Usk (CPR, 1354-8, 103). The grants are listed in Appendix J.

3. He was in possession by 1352 (CPR, 1350-4, 146). De la Mare was in possession in 1349 (CPR, 1348-50, 261).

4. C 76/26, m.24.

5. Somerville, op.cit., 359 & CPP, I, 242.

6. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 79.

and steward of Pontefract sometime between 1351 and 1361.¹ Robert de Burton, who received a grant for life of an annuity of £20 in the manor of Methwold in Norfolk,² held office as his wardrober in 1358-9.³ Richard de Ireland, who was made a life grant of the site of the manor of Ulnes Walton in Lancashire by him, was one of his doctors.⁴ He was later appointed surgeon to Edward III⁵ and died in 1372.⁶ Only 2, Berwick and John Talbot, witnessed his charters.⁷

Foremost of the 45 donees who served abroad in his comitiva were a group of soldiers who subsequently became his officers in England. Like the more influential of his

1. SC 1/50/175. He was on several commissions of oyer and terminer in Lancashire and Yorkshire between 1348 and 1353 (CPR, 1348-50, 67; 1350-4, 26 & 449), and a J.P. for the West Riding in 1351 (CPR, 1350-4, 91).
2. He was in possession by 1358 (DL 29/288/4719).
3. Ibid.
4. DL 37/2, m.30d (18 December, 1359). Valued at £10 yearly and confirmed by Edward III (CPR, 1361-4, 251).
5. CPR, 1364-7, 402.
6. John of Gaunt's Register, 1372-6, 270.
7. Berewyk: CPR, 1348-50, 469 (Savoy manor, 24 August, 1349) & ibid., 1354-8, 381 (Kingston-Bacyrmanor, Dorset, 12 August, 1351). Talbot: Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356).

clerks - Gynewell and Walton - they were men who first came to his notice whilst engaged on military missions, the more influential members of his entourage who appear as much in duchy as in royal records.

Most striking are Sir Peter and Sir Robert de la Mare, possibly father and son. Both were granted manors of him for life in Wiltshire (Peter, East Garston and Market Lavington; Robert, Berwick Saint James)¹ and both served abroad in his retinue, Peter on 3 missions (1338/40-1345/6), Robert on 7 (1338/40-1359/60).² Peter (not the Commons Speaker of 1376, but possibly related) appears to have retired from foreign service with him at the conclusion of his first command in Aquitaine, and was from then until his death, probably in 1352, engaged in the ducal service at home.³ He was one of his attorneys-general in 1347,⁴ steward in Wales and steward of his lands in 1348,⁵ and chief steward in

1. They were in possession before 10 March, 1349 (CPR, 1348-50, 261 & 268). Robert held Berwick St. James until his death in 1382 (John of Gaunt's Register, II, 7 66).
2. Appendix . The terminal dates of the campaigns in which they served are given in brackets.
3. He had been succeeded by Sir Hugh de Berewyk in the Wiltshire manors by October 1352 (CPR, 1350-54, 146)
4. C 76/24, m.16.
5. DL 25/986 & CPP, I, 133.

the following year.¹ He frequently served on royal commissions in the years 1346-8, as often as not at the instance of or on complaint by the earl or his officers.² Among the witnesses to his charters,³ he was certainly one of his councillors.⁴

Robert was the younger of the two (he died in 1382)⁵ and played a more notable rôle as a soldier. Like Peter he began his service in the Low Countries in 1338-40, and by 1350 had made himself a sufficiently good reputation to be given responsibilities in the earl's command in Aquitaine.⁶ He did not give up foreign service on becoming steward of his lands in 1355,⁷ and subsequently acted as one of the executors of his will and as one of his feoffees.⁸ He witnessed at least

1. DL 25/3586.

2. CPR, 1343-5, 413, 424, 430, 590; 1345-8, 186, 230, 318, 382, 393, 396; 1348-50, 60, 67, 71, etc.

3. CPR, 1348-50, 19 (London, 2 December, 1347). He also witnessed a grant made to the earl at Barley on 26/29 December, 1337 (DL 25/2182 & DL 42/1, fo.197v, no.122).

4. Vide infra., pp.732-3.

5. John of Gaunt's Register, II, n.766.

6. Vide infra., p.712.

7. CPP, I, 271.

8. Nichola, Royal Wills, 86; CPR, 1358-61, 580. He was acting in his capacity as feoffee until the final agreement of 1365 (DL 27/327; DL 42/2, fo.234).

four of his charters.¹

Simon Simeon and Robert de la Grene, his chamberlain in 1354 and 1355 respectively, both acquired manors of him and did service abroad in his comitiva. Simeon, whose name occurs again and again in the official records of more than fifty years, began his career as a yeoman of the third earl,² and rose to prosperity in the service of the Lancastrian household. One of the earliest mentions of his name is as a defender of Caerphilly castle against Queen Isabel.³ He accompanied the elder Henry abroad in 1329⁴ and, together with John Blount and the earl's hounds, we find him hunting deer at Duffield, Needwood and elsewhere on the earl's estates in the following year.⁵

1. DL 25/248 & 2303 (1344); CPR, 1348-50, 469 (Savoy manor, 24 August, 1349); DL 25/1860 (By Leicester, 27 March, 1356); Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356). He was also among the witnesses to a grant of the third earl to Henry at Tutbury castle on 31 August, 1344 (DL 25/2302).
2. CPR, 1327 -30, 442.
3. Ibid., 13 & 18.
4. Ibid., 442.
5. DL 41/10/34, no.45.

He first appears in the younger Henry's service as an esquire in his retinue in Scotland in 1336,¹ and distinguished himself in the campaigns there and elsewhere in France,² serving on no less than eleven missions in the earl's retinue.³ The place with which he seems to have been most closely connected was Grafton Underwood, near Kettering in Northamptonshire.⁴ Qualifying as one of the earl's donzels or household esquires in 1344,⁵ he subsequently witnessed several of his charters,⁶ was appointed master and keeper of his game in England and

1. E 101/15/12.

2. CPR, 1358-61, 431. Whilst serving with him in Flanders in 1338-40, before the alliance was made with Artevelde, he was taken and imprisoned in the castle of Rupelmond near Antwerp (C 81/285/14958 & CPR, 1338-40, 393; 1340-3, 298).

3. Appendix C, no.9.

4. CPR, 1338-40, 393; 1340-3, 334 & 488; 1343-5, 26; 1348-50, 57 & 265; 1381-5, 387.

5. CPP, I, 46. However, he appears to have been one of the king's yeoman throughout the duke's lifetime (Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, lxxv; CPR, 1338-40, 393; 1340-3, 298 & 1358-61, 431) and he is referred to as the king's "bien ame vallet" in 1342 (C 81/285/14958).

6. DL 27/155 (London, 1 March, 1347); CPR, 1354-8, 381 (Kingston Lacy manor, Dorset, 12 August, 1351); Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356); Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 113e4 (Leicester castle, 6 March, 1361). He was also among the witnesses to a grant to the earl at Otteford on 29 November, 1348 (CCR, 1346-9, 610). Together with the duke, and at the duke's instance, he was admitted to the fraternity of Newstead in 1356 (Chapters of the Augustinians, Oxford Historical Society, 62).

Wales in 1349,¹ steward of Lincolnshire in 1361² and, finally, one of his feofees and executors.³ He was rewarded for his services with grants of the castle and manors of Castleford and Kilburn in Yorkshire, and Ugley in Essex; lands and tenements in Belper, Derbyshire, and Sibsey in Lincolnshire; and sufficient housbote and heybote for his manor of Newstead in Lincolnshire, and his house of Oulton, near Rothwell, within the duke's parks of Pontefract, Rothwell and Ackworth in Pontefract honor.⁴

After the duke's death he was active in the service of his son-in-law: his steward in Lincolnshire and Bolingbroke,⁵ he was frequently employed in his affairs.⁶ He founded and endowed a chantry in the chapel on the mount at Pontefract - the scene of the execution of

1. CPR, 1348-50, 350.
2. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 116.
3. DL 42/2, fo.224.
4. Castleford, Kilburn and Ugley by 1349 (C 81/341/20581); held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50). For the lands and tenements (C 81/341/20581 & CCR, 1354-8, 601). CPR, 1358-61, 566 for housbote and heybote. Cf. Appendix
5. John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 82 & II, ii, 1129.
6. Ibid., I, i, 1434, 1514, etc.

Earl Thomas¹ - and took an interest in other churches on the ducal estates.² Long after his death (he disappears from view about 1385) he was remembered as "Simkyn" by the inmates of Henry's college at Leicester.³

Grene secured a grant of the manor of Rye in Gloucestershire from him,⁴ served on no less than three missions abroad in his retinue (1349/50-1359/60),⁵ and was among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Newarke College.⁶

Another esquire, John de Rocheford, acquired life annuities of him of £20 in Bolingbroke castle in Lincolnshire and £10 in the manors of Kingston Lacy and Shapwick in Dorset,⁷ served in his retinue in Scotland and the Low Countries (1336-1338/40),⁸ was deputed one

1. Ibid., I, pp.126 & 127.

2. Ibid., II, 1459.

3. Thompson, Leicester Newarke,

4. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).

5. Appendix C, no.9.

6. Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356).

7. The £20 in Bolingbroke castle was confirmed by John of Gaunt: he was in receipt of it in the financial year 1368-9 (DL 29/262/4069). The annuities of £10 in Kingston Lacy and Shapwick were held at Henry's death (CIPM, XI, 94, no.118; DL 41/4/11, m.

8. Appendix C, no.9.

of his attorneys-general in 1338,¹ acted as his attorney for taking seisin of Shenston manor in Staffordshire in 1343,² was bailiff of Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1352³ and constable there four years later.⁴ He witnessed one of his charters.⁵

Sir Robert Bertram,⁶ by contrast, does not appear to have entered Lancastrian service until 1355, when he was scheduled to embark for Normandy with the duke.⁷ He served in his retinue in Brittany and on the Reims campaign,⁸ and was constable of Dunstanbergh castle in Northumberland (where he held a life annuity of £20 of him)⁹ at the time

1. C 76/12, m.3.

2. DL 42/2, fo.116.

3. CCR, 1349-54, 409.

4. DL 42/2, fo.91.

5. DL 25/1860 (By Leicester, 27 March, 1356).

6. Sheriff of Northumberland in 1345-6 (E 159/122, m.21), he was present at the battle of Neville's Cross on 17 October, 1346, as sheriff, when he took William Douglas prisoner (Lettenhove, Froissart, V, 490-1).

7. Appendix C, no.9.

8. Ibid.

9. Held at the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 101).

of his death.¹

Walter de Byntre, possibly a native of Bintree in Norfolk, his sergeant in 1344-5,² acquired a grant of a marsh near Yarmouth of him,³ and served in his retinue on no less than five separate missions (1344-1353/4).⁴ The duke's private envoy during the negotiations with Charles the Bad in 1354,⁵ he was a person who could be entrusted with the highest affairs of state. He died in 1381.⁶

John de Aldewyncle, Thomas de Burton, Nicholas Peyure and Phillip de Popham, valets who were at once his donees and members of his retinue on military and diplomatic missions, we have already dealt with.⁷

Another group of men were the soldier-retainers, men who do not appear to have been his officers, but who were his donees, and who did service abroad with him.

1. CIPM, XI, 101.

2. Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 62.

3. Held until his death in 1381 (John of Gaunt's Register, II, f. 581, 582 & f. 590).

4. Appendix C, no.9.

5. Vide supra., pp.460-2 & 464-5.

6. John of Gaunt's Register, loc.cit.

7. Vide supra., pp.661-4.

Most notable here are Sir Reginald and Pagan de Mohun, both of whom were among the witnesses to the indenture of retainer between the earl and Sir Edmund de Ufford,¹ and who served on six and seven separate missions, respectively, in his retinue between 1336 and 1350.² Pagan, who served on every military expedition down to his second command in Aquitaine (1336-1349/50),³ acquired grants for life of the manor of Ebboth in Monmouthshire⁴ and an annuity of £20 in the town of Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire.⁵ Reginald, who appears to have missed only the siege of Calais during the same period (1336-1349/50),⁶ had a similar annuity in Godmanchester.⁷

Sir John de Seyton, who was also a witness to the indenture with Ufford,⁸ served in his retinue on seven

1. DL 27/155 (London, 1 March, 1347); Appendix A, no.22.

2. Appendix A, no.22.

3. Ibid.

4. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).

5. He was in possession by 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.9 & 10).

6. Appendix C, no.9.

7. He was in possession by 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.74 & 75).

8. DL 27/155 (London, 1 March, 1347); Appendix A, no.22.

separate missions (1336-1356/8),¹ six of them between 1336 and 1347, and secured a life annuity of £20 in the manor of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire of him.² Sir John de Walkyngton also began his career in his retinue in Scotland in 1336 and served on five missions between then and 1347.³ He witnessed at least two of his charters,⁴ and acquired grants for life of the manor of North Standen in Wiltshire⁵ and annuities of 40 marks in Rolleston, Staffordshire,⁶ and £5 in the manor of Marchington in the same county.⁷ He may have been related to William de Walkyngton, who appears among the witnesses to his charters⁸ and who acquired three Derbyshire manors and an annuity of £10 from his father.⁹

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. He was in possession by 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.5 & 6).

3. Appendix C, no.9.

4. DL 25/248 & 2303 (1344); CPR, 1348-50, 469 (Savoy manor, 24 August, 1349).

5. He was in possession by 17 August, 1349 (CPR, 1348-50, 366).

6. He was in possession by 25 April, 1349 (CPR, 1348-50, 282).

7. He was in possession by 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.17v).

8. Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356).

9. DL 42/16, fo.43v.

Sir Nicholas Gernoun, another soldier who began service in Scotland in 1336,¹ also served during his second command in Aquitaine,² acquired a life annuity of £20 in the manor of Tunstead in Norfolk³ and witnessed one of his charters.⁴ Sir Stephen de Cosington, possibly of Cosington in Leicestershire, served on no less than four missions (1344-1349/50)⁵ and acquired a grant for life of the manor of Hartley Mauditt in Hampshire.⁶ He was one of the duke's nuncios and proctors sent to Paris touching Lancaster's quarrel with the duke of Brunswick in 1351.⁷ Thomas de la Ryvere acquired an annuity of £10 in the manor of King's Somborne in the same county,⁸ two watermills at Hungerford in Berkshire,⁹ and served in his

1. E 101/15/12.

2. E 404/508/78; E 403/355, m.19.

3. Acquired in 1350 (CPR, 1350-4, 16), payed in 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720), and still held in 1383 (John of Gaunt's Register, II, 807).

4. CPR, 1348-50, 469 (Savoy manor, 24 August, 1349).

5. Appendix C, no.9.

6. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50; CIPM, XI, 95). He also held land of him at Glyve in Kent and Kingston Bagpuize in Berkshire (CIPM, XI, 108).

7. Scriptores Brunswicensia Illustrantium, 47-8.

8. Held at the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 95, no.118).

9. Appendix J.

retinue on at least eight separate missions.¹ Sir Richard de Shelton served on five missions (1336-1347)² and acquired an annuity of 10 marks in the town of Hinckley in Leicestershire.³ Edmund de Bulstrode acquired an oven in Leicester⁴ and served on five missions (1347-1356/8).⁵ Sir Roger Lestraunge of Knockin acquired a grant for life of the manor of Dunham in Cheshire of him,⁶ and served on four missions in his retinue. (1347-1356/8).⁷ Sir Thomas Florak, son of Pounz and Joan Florak, Lancastrian tenants who secured a grant for life of property in Amesbury, Wiltshire, from Earl Thomas,⁸ acquired a life annuity of 10 marks in the manor of Collingbourne Ducis in the same county,⁹ was among the

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. Appendix C, no.9.

3. He was in possession by 1352 (DL 41/10/34, no.61) and at the time of the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 92).

4. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).

5. Appendix C, no.9.

6. Black Prince's Register, III, 438-9.

7. Appendix C, no.9.

8. Holmes, op.cit., 136.

9. He was in possession by 10 November, 1350 (CPR, 1350-4, 8).

witnesses to the foundation charter of Newarke College,¹ served on three missions in his retinue (1349/50-1359/60),² and was given administrative responsibilities during his command in Brittany.³ Sir John de Twyford the younger acquired a life annuity of 20 marks in the manor of Hinckley in Leicestershire,⁴ and served in his retinue in Scotland and the Low Countries.(1336 & 1338/40).⁵ His father, Sir John de Twyford the elder, held annuities of both Earl Thomas and the third earl,⁶ served in Henry's retinue on three occasions (1336-1341),⁷ and was killed in the tournament organised by him with the Scots at Berwick in 1341.⁸ He had previously served in the third earl's retinue in Scotland,⁹ appears among the witnesses to several of

1. Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 30 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356).
2. Appendix C, no.9.
3. Vide *infra.*, pp.753-4.
4. He was in possession by 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31v).
5. Appendix C, no.9.
6. Holmes, op.cit., 67, 71 & 142.
7. Appendix C, no.9.
8. Knighton, II, 23.
9. C 81/1730/27A.

his charters,¹ and had a farm in the manor of Hinckley in Leicestershire of him.²

Another group entered his service at a later stage, men who had not done service in Scotland or during his first great command in Aquitaine, or who made their names during his later campaigns.

John de Neumarche served in his retinue in Brittany and on the Reims campaign (1356/8-1359/60),³ received an annuity of £14 in the manor of Cridling in Yorkshire of him by October 1354,⁴ and was granted the entire manor for life in 1361.⁵ One of his executors,⁶ he was subsequently retained by John of Gaunt.⁷ Similarly,

1. DL 42/1, fo.24v, no.35 & DL 27/192 (Kenilworth castle, 28 September, 1333); DL 42/1, fo.66v, no.31 (Kenilworth castle, 28 December, 1337); DL 42/1, fo.197v, no.123 & DL 27/212 (Kenilworth castle, 13 January, 1338); DL 25/2084 & DL 42/1, fo.76v, no.67 (Leicester, 26 December, 1338).
2. DL 41/9/5, nos.11, 12 & 13.
3. Appendix C, no.9.
4. CPR, 1354-8, 114.
5. Royal licence for the grant was given on 6 February, 1361 (CPR, 1358-61, 543); he held it at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).
6. Nichols, Royal Wills, 86.
7. Vide infra., p.725.

Sir Nicholas de Tamworth, who was to have served in his retinue in 1355, made a handsome profit in the war in Brittany during his command there,¹ and subsequently served in his retinue on the Reims campaign (1355-1359/60),² only acquired his annuity of £20 in the manor of Kingston Lacy in Dorset a few days before he died.³ Sir Thomas de Hereford served in his retinue on three occasions, all after 1347 (1347-1356/8),⁴ and secured a life annuity of £20 in the manor of Tunstead in Norfolk.⁵

Sir Edmund de Perpoint and Sir Thomas de Uvedale each acquired annuities of £40 (Perpoint in the manor of 'Whassingborgh' in Bolingbroke honor, Uvedale in the manor of Methwold in Norfolk)⁶ and each served in his

1. He held lands of Eleanour, Countess of Ormond, widow of Sir Thomas Dagworth, in the duchy (SC 6/1121/6) and received 12,000 florins for the evacuation of Courcelles (S.Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, 471).
2. Appendix C, no.9.
3. The grant was confirmed on 19 March, 1361(CPR, 1361-4, 3).
4. Appendix C, no.9.
5. He received payment in the financial years 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).
6. They were in possession by 1358 (DL 29/262/4069 & DL 29/288 4719 & 4720).

retinue on three separate missions (1347-1359/60 & 1345/6-1359/60).¹ Uvedale, who appears to have been intended to accompany Princess Joan to Spain in 1348,² played an important rôle in his administration of Brittany,³ and was later given responsibility for negotiating the execution of the treaty of Bretigny-Calais.⁴ Both he and Tamworth appear to have entered royal service on the duke's death, they may have been retained by the king.⁵

There were several who only served on one mission in his retinue.⁶ Sir Hugh de Camoys (1345-6) acquired the manor of Longstock in Hampshire.⁷ Sir Frank de Hale

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. Judging by his receipt for her journey there (E 43/462). The trip may have been made in Lancaster's company (Rymer, III, i, 154). Vide supra., pp.164-5.

3. Vide *infra.*, pp.751-2.

4. P.Chaplais, "Some documents regarding the fulfillment and interpretation of the Treaty of Bretigny, 1361-9", Camden Miscellany, XIX, third series, LXXX, index, s.v. 'Uvedale'.

5. There is a receipt, dated at Calais on 14 June, by which they acknowledge receipt of £33.6s.8d. and £25, respectively, "pour deniers a nous duez en l'eschekier des noz fees" (E 43/451).

6. The dates are given in brackets immediately following their names. For the sources, see Appendix C, no.9.

7. Licence for the grant was given on 8 October 1350 (CPR, 1348-50, 573). He was in possession at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50; CIPM, XI, 95).

(1345-6) secured the manor of Weston Patrick and an annuity of £20 in the manor of King's Somborne, also in Hampshire,¹ together with the manor of Wynchfeld-by-Odyham which he received by demise of the duke.² Sir John de Boyville (1345-6) acquired a grant of the manor of Marchington in Staffordshire,³ Sir John de Dyneleye (1348) the manor of Downham in Lancashire,⁴ and Nicholas de Panetria (1349-50) the manor of Torrisholme in the same county.⁵ A clerk, Thomas de Buxton (1359-60), had an annuity of 20 marks in the manor of Tunstead in Norfolk, to be held until he was promoted to an ecclesiastical benefice in the earl's patronage.⁶ Peter de Melbourne (1336) secured an annuity of £10 in the manor of Shelston in Staffordshire,⁷ and Henry Roos (1356-8) a similar annuity in Tunstead, Norfolk.⁸

1. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50; CIPM, XI, 95).
2. Held at the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 95).
3. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).
4. Granted 22 September, 135 (DL 37/1, m.6d). Pardon for acquisition without licence, 30 October, 1357 (CPR, 1354-8, 626).
5. Held at the duke's death (CPR, 1361-4, 50).
6. He was in possession by 1358 (DL 29/288/4719).
7. Held at the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 93, no.118). It stood at £3.6s.8d. in 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r) and at £5 in 1352 (DL 28/32/18, no.14).
8. He was in possession by 1358 (DL 29/288/4719).

John de Elmeshale (1338-40) acquired an annuity of 10 marks in the manor of West Derby in Lancashire,¹ Sir John de Hastang (1347) 10 marks in the manor of Hinckley in Leicestershire and £2 in Leicester manor,² and Hugh le Keu (1345-6) who served as a cook in his first command in Aquitaine, 1 mark in the manor of Shelton in Staffordshire, and a grant of lands and pasture.³

Apart from these there was a final group of men who did service with others besides Lancaster. Sir Bernard Brocas received a life annuity of £20 of him in the issues of the honor of Pontefract⁴ and served on four separate missions in his retinue (1349/50-1356/8).⁵ He was the king's controller of Bordeaux in the years 1338-54.⁶ Sir Nigel Loring, who acquired an annuity of £20 in the manor of Gimingham in Norfolk⁷ and who

1. Granted 1 May, 1345 (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 623)
2. Held at the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 93).
3. He was in possession of the annuity in 1352 (DL 28/32/18, nos. 12 & 13) and at the time of the duke's death (CIPM, XI, 93). For the lands and pasture, cf. John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 748.
4. He was in possession by 25 February, 1358 (CPR, 1358-61, 20)
5. Appendix C, no. 9.
6. PRO Lists and Indexes, XV (Various Accounts), 129-31.
7. He was in possession by 1358 (DL 29/288/4719).

served in his retinue during his two commands in Aquitaine and accompanied him on his crusade to Prussia (1345/6-1351/2),¹ had previously been retained by the king² and was later in the Black Prince's service.³ Uvedale and Tamworth, as has been seen, may also have been retained by the king.⁴

It remains to inquire into those for whom there appears to be no evidence of grants of lands and annuities, but who we know to have served in his comitiva on several occasions.

There are eighteen knights who served on upwards of four missions who must have been closely connected with him: Sir Theobald Trussell (1336-1359/60) on 10; Sir Nicholas de Ry, son of Edmund de Gosberkirk (1342/3-1359/60), and Sir Alexander Aunsel (1345/6-1359/60) on 8; Sir Thomas Cok (1336-1349/50), Sir Adam de Everingham of Laxton (1342/3-1359/60), and Sir Phillip de Lymbury (1344-1359/60) on 7; Sir Roger Beler (1340-1359/60), Sir Edmund de Everard

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. He was in receipt of an annuity of 20 marks of him in 1341 (E 101/389/8, m.9).

3. His chamberlain in 1355, he distinguished himself at the battle of Poitiers and was subsequently granted an annuity of £83.6s.8d. of him (Hewitt, op.cit., 23, 130 & 161; and cf. 83, 141 & 145).

4. Vide supra., p.700.

(1338/40-1359/60), Sir John de Grey of Codnor, senior (1338/40-1354/5) and Sir Hugh de Hastynges (1336-1359/60) on 6; Sir John de Grey of Codnor, junior (1341-1355), Sir Richard de Haveryng (1338/40-1359/60), Sir Hugh de Meignill (1342/3-1356/8) on 5; and Sir Richard de Hebden (1345/6-1359/60), Sir Avery de Sulny (1336-1356/8) and Sir William la Zouche of Haryngworth (1342/3-1359/60) on 4.¹

Ry, Aunsel, Lymbury and Hebden held property in Lincolnshire.² Trussell, Cok, Everingham, Lymbury and Hastynges were witnesses to his charters.³ At least five of them (Cok, Aunsel, Lymbury, Meignill and Hebden) were entrusted with important responsibilities during his commands abroad.⁴

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. E 159/123, ms.126 & 139; Wrottesley, Crécy and Calais, 147.

3. Trussell and Everingham: Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 29 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356); Cok and Hastynges: DL 25/248 & 2303 (1344); Lymbury: John of Gaunt's Register, I, 739 (1 February, 1359). Cok was also witness to two grants made to the earl: DL 25/2182 & DL 42/1, fo.197v, no.122 (Barley, 26/29 December, 1337); DL 25/2486 (London, 10 May, 1345); Hastynges and Meignill to one: DL 25/2302 (By Tutbury castle, 31 August, 1344).

4. Vide infra., pp.711-15.

For the others we have very little evidence of connection. Of the 26 who served or were to have served on at least three separate missions, 20 are known to have been knights.¹ Only one, John Blount, was an officer and witnessed one of his charters.² Two of the remaining six, his valet Braunche and his clerk Welbourne, we have already considered.³ One of the esquires, Sholl, was given responsibilities during his command in Brittany.⁴ Longeford may have been retained by the king.⁵

Of the 65 who served or were intended to serve on at least two missions, 35 are known to have been knights, 27 esquires and 3 clerks.⁶ Five of the knights appear

1. Appendix C, no. 9.

2. He was constable of Kenilworth in 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo. 39v) and among the witnesses to a charter in 1344 (DL 25/248 & DL 25/2303).

3. Vide supra., pp. 648, 661, 663 & 667.

4. Appointed constable of Avranches (Arch. nat., JJ 89, no. 181). Vide supra., p. 642, n. 3.

5. He received a grant of the guard of the hundred of 'Tatemonestowe' in Staffordshire in 1340 for his good service and "en recompensation de certaines fees annuels es queux nous lui estoies tenuz" (C 81/272/13670).

6. Appendix C, nos. 9.

amongst the witnesses to his charters,¹ one, Scargill, appears to have been both officer and councillor of the earl.²

Of the remaining 380 who served or were to have served on one mission only 88 are known to have been knights,³ One appears among the witnesses to his charters.⁴

It has been suggested that life engagements for war and peace strengthened the royal contract armies of the fourteenth century at their weakest point by providing some continuity of service and that, in the main, it was the indentured retinues, retained to serve their lords during war and peace, who mitigated the instability of

1. Causton: CPR, 1348-50 (London, 2 December, 1347); Ferrers: Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 113-4 (Leicester castle, 6 March, 1361); the Moubrays: Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 29 (Church of Newarke College, Leicester, 24 March, 1356); Scargill: DL 42/1, fos.89r-90v (Kenilworth, 20 August, 1347).
2. For his position as officer, cf. Somerville, op.cit., 361, 363 & 461. He was among the witnesses to a series of transactions, by way of an indenture made at Kenilworth on 20 August, 1347, when the earl's 'counsail' is said to be dealing with the matter in question (DL 42/1, fos. 89-90v).
3. See Appendix Js,
4. Sir Robert de Ufford, at London on 2 December, 1347 (CPR, 1348-50, 19).

the contract armies by providing a force always ready and under contract to serve whenever it was required.¹

The extent of continuity of service in Lancaster's comitiva can be seen from the figures available in tables 1-3, which indicate the number of missions on which all those known to have gone abroad with him served.²

The number of donees who served in his comitiva on military and diplomatic missions was not very large in proportion to the total size of the troop. Only 5 of the 16 knights and 8 of the 83 esquires named on his pay roll for service in Scotland in 1336, and 1 of the 8 bannarets and 14 of the 87 knights named on his pay roll for service in Aquitaine in 1345-6 are known to have been his donees.³

1. Lewis, op.cit., 33; McFarlane, op.cit., 164.

2. Vide supra., p.681.

3. E 101/15/12 & E 101/25/9; Appendices C:9 & J. In 1336 they included Sir Ralph de Hastynges (6), Sir Reginald de Mohun (6), Sir John de Seyton (7), Sir Richard de Shelton (5), Sir John de Twyford (2); Pagan de Mohun (7), Simon Simeon (11), John de Walkyngton (5), Nicholas de Gernoun (2), Peter de Melbourne (1), John de Aldewyncle (2), Edmund de Bulstrode (5) and John de Rocheford (2). In 1345-6 they included Sir Frank de Hale, banneret (1); Sir Stephen de Cosington (4), Sir Norman de Swinford (4), Sir Ralph de Hastynges (6), Sir Peter de la Mare (3), Sir Thomas de Verdoun (2), Sir Nigel Loring (3), Sir John de Seyton (7), Sir Richard de Shelton (5), Sir Reginald de Mohun (6), Sir Robert de la Mare (7), Sir John de Walkyngton (5), Sir William de Trussell (2), Sir John de Boyville (1) and Sir Nicholas Peyure (2). The figures in brackets indicate the total number of missions they are known to have served on.

Full lists of the names of those who made up his comitiva on other occasions do not appear to be extant, but it is clear that the donees formed no more than a nucleus of their number.¹

Table 5

Mission	Total men-at-arms	Total known men-at-arms	Total of donees who served
1336 Scotland	100	94	13
1338-40 Low Countries	93	70	14
1340 Low Countries		6	1
1341 Scotland		11	1
1342-3 Brittany	182	48	11
1343 Spain		3	
1344 Aquitaine-Spain-Avignon		40	10
1345-6 Aquitaine	250	173	23
1347 Calais		81	18
1348 Calais-Flanders		17	2
1349-50 Aquitaine		41	15
1354-5 Avignon	317	9	2
1355 Normandy-Brittany		72	7
1356-8 Normandy-Brittany		80	15
1359-60 Reims campaign	582	78	13

1. Cf. Table 5. The sources for the figures of Total men-at-arms are given in the narrative chapters; of Total known men-at-arms (i.e., by name) in Appendix C:9; and of Total of donees who served (also by name) in Appendices C, no. 9 & J. For a further key to the missions, see Appendix C, no.9.

Similarly the number of those who served in his comitiva on several occasions, both donees and non-donees, amounted to no more than a small proportion of the total troop.¹

Although the number of possible retainers - the donees and those who served on a more permanent basis - were not very large in proportion to the total size of his comitiva they formed a nucleus around which other less stable elements could collect. They gave support to the national military system by bringing in recruits and increasing it's stability.

It was this nucleus of men who were given posts of responsibility in Lancaster's commands in France. This is particularly true of his administration of Brittany.

Prevented by more immediate matters from taking up his appointment for almost a year, it was one of his annuitants,² Sir Thomas de Uvedale, a soldier who had done service with him during his first command in Aquitaine and who subsequently served in his comitiva on the Reims campaign,³ who was appointed his lieutenant during his absence, and who

1. Cf. Tables 6-8. The figures are based upon Appendices C:9 & J, and (for the total troop) as given in the narrative chapters.

2. Vide supra., pp.699-700.

3. Appendix C:9. He was taken prisoner in Aquitaine in 1345-6 (SC 1/42/62).

Total Comitiva							Table 7: Donees							Table 8: Non Donees																
missions on which served:							Number of additional missions							on which served:							Number of additional missions on which served:									
&4	&5	&6	&7	&8	&9	&10	None	&1	&2	&3	&4	&5	&6	&7	&8	&9	&10	None	&1	&2	&3	&4	&5	&6	&7	&8	&9	&10		
4	3	3			1	1	1	4			3	2	2				1	60	11	5	1	1	1	1				1		
5	5	3	1		1	1	1	3	1		3	1	3	1			1	28	11	7	3	2	4					1		
	2					1											1	1		1	1		2							
1	1							1										5	2	1		1	1							
5	5	4	2		1	1			1		3	3	2	1			1	16	6	5	2	2	2	2	1			1		
	1	1																1					1	1						
2	3	6	2			1				1	1	3	3	1			1	11	7	5	2	1		3	1					
8	6	6	3		1	1	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	1			1	87	29	15	6	4	3	3	2			1		
6	5	5	3		1	1	1	2	2	3	4	1	3	1			1	24	19	7	2	2	4	2	2			1		
1	1	2	1		1		1			1								7		2		1	1	2	1			1		
2	2	4	2		1	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	2				1	9	5	5	1	1		2	2			1		
	1		1			1				1							1	2	1	2			1		1					
7	2	1	3		1			1	2	3				1				36	7	8	1	7	2	1	2			1		
2	2	3	3		1	1	1	1	5	3		1	2	1			1	46	4	6	2	2	1	1	2			1		
1	5	3	3		1	1	2	2	4			2	1	1			1	34	11	7	4	1	3	2	2			1		

Table 6:

Mission	Total troop	Total known by name	Number of additional				
			None	&1	&2	&3	
1336	Scotland	100	94	61	15	5	1
1338-40	Low Countries	93	70	29	14	8	3
1340	Low Countries		6	1		1	1
1341	Scotland		11	5	3	1	
1342-3	Brittany	182	48	16	6	6	2
1343	Spain		3	1			
1344	Aquitaine-Spain- Avignon		40	11	7	5	3
1345-6	Aquitaine	250	173	90	32	18	8
1347	Calais		81	25	21	9	5
1348	Calais-Flanders		17	8		2	1
1349-50	Aquitaine		41	11	6	9	3
1354-5	Avignon	317	9	2	1	2	1
1355	Normandy-Brittany		72	36	8	10	4
1356-8	Normandy-Brittany		80	47	5	11	5
1359-60	Reims campaign	582	78	36	13	11	4

continued to hold the office once he had taken up his commission.¹ Uvedale was assisted in his duties by Sir Phillip de Lymbury (served on 7 missions, witness to his charters, held property in Lincolnshire)² and Sir Alexander Aunsel (served on 8 occasions, held property in Lincolnshire)³ who had previously been given responsibilities in Aquitaine.⁴ He dispatched his ducal treasurer, William de Driffield, to arrange the payment of the troops.⁵ Another annuitant, Thomas Florak (member of a Wiltshire family of tenants who had benefited from the patronage of Earl Thomas)⁶ and one of his clerks, Richard de Walton (one time receiver-general of his lands),⁷ acted as his receiver of the town of Bécherel.⁸

The same is true of his commands in Aquitaine. The three men whom he appointed to appraise the horses of his troops

1. Vide infra., pp.751-2.
2. Ibid., and supra., pp.699-700.
3. Vide infra., p.753, and supra., pp.703-4.
4. Lettenhove, Froissart, IV, 241 & 246; XVII, 161.
5. Vide infra., p.753.
6. Vide supra., pp.696-7.
7. Ibid., p.658.
8. E 101/174/12.

in the duchy in 1350 - Sir Robert de la Mare, Sir Stephen de Cosington and Sir Thomas Cok¹ - were all men whom he could rely upon.² Both de la Mare and Cosington were certainly his donees,³ and probably Cok was too.⁴ A soldier of some repute,⁵ he was marshall of the army during his first command in Aquitaine,⁶ when he was also among those who appraised the horses of the troops.⁷ Appointed captain of Villefranche,⁸ one of those subsequently sent to take charge of Aiguillon,⁹

1. E 404/508/51-79.

2. Vide supra., pp.685-6, 695 & 703.

3. Ibid., pp.685 & 695.

4. There is a letter close of the duke in which he is described as "nostre cher compaignon monsieur Thomas Cok" (DL 41/10/34, no.66).

5. Froissart (Lettenhove, IV, 303) calls him "un bon chevalier engles".

6. E 159/123, ms.99d & 125.

7. Ibid.

8. Lettenhove, Froissart, IV, 303, 306 & 355.

9. Ibid., IV, 337, 338, 505; XVII, 177.

among his council of war,¹ his capabilities singled him out for succession to Sir Ralph de Stafford as seneschal of the duchy - an appointment made by Lancaster himself.² In 1351 he acted as one of the nuncios and proctors sent to Paris by the duke to deal with his quarrel with Otto of Brunswick.³

Others served as captains and castellans, soldiers like Sir Frank de Hale, a bannaret in his retinue in Aquitaine in 1345-6,⁴ donee,⁵ given command of Auberoche by the earl and in charge there during the siege,⁶ said to have been one of the marshalls of the army along with Sir Walter Mauny,⁷ rewarded for his services with a grant of the strategically important castle of Rocheford in Saintonge,⁸ he subsequently played an important rôle as captain there.⁹ Similarly Sir Hugh Meignill of Hornby

- 1.
2. *Vide supra.*, p.231
3. Scriptores Brunswicensia Illustrantium, 47-8.
4. E 101/25/9, m.3.
5. Appendix J.
6. Froissart, III, 61, 64 & 70.
7. Ibid., III, 46.
8. CPR, 1345-8, 560.
9. *Vide supra.*, pp.241 & 247.

who served on 5 missions in his retinue¹ and was appointed captain of Aiguillon during the long siege by the duke of Normandy,² or Uvedale, Thomas Fogg and Richard Sholl, whom he entrusted with an impressive list of fortresses taken on his way back from the Loire valley in 1356.³ These men could be safely entrusted with posts of responsibility for the greater control he exercised over them than others. The devolution of responsibility to men who had a strong tradition of service with him was of fundamental importance for the effective prosecution of the war, particularly when the primary difficulty facing a king's lieutenant in France was the control of men placed under his command.⁴

And there are many more examples of such men: Sir Richard de Hebden (served on 4 missions, held lands in Lincolnshire)⁵ was among those specially selected to serve with him during his first command in Aquitaine,

1. Appendix C, no.9.

2. Bertrand, op.cit., pp.151 & 354.

3. Vide supra., p.642, n.3.

4. Ibid., infra., pp.777-84.

5. Ibid., supra., pp.703-4.

one of his council of war, and among those sent to take charge of Aiguillon after the duke of Normandy had raised the siege.¹ And there were others of whom Froissart speaks, soldiers like Sir Stephen de Gumby, Sir John de Neville and Sir John de Lenedale.²

No less important was the part played by his ducal officers. Although the accounts of his treasurers of war do not appear to have survived, it is fairly clear that one of his clerks, his wardrober or his treasurer, dealt with the financial side of his missions abroad. Gynewell (his treasurer in 1344-6)³ acted in this capacity in Scotland in 1336 and in the Low Countries in 1338-40.⁴ Wotton (his wardrober in 1343-7)⁵ accompanied him to Brittany in 1342-3⁶ and Aquitaine in 1345-6⁷ when he drew up the account of his expenses.⁸ John de

1. Lettenhove, Froissart, IV, 214, 216, 218, 253, 337 & 338.

2. Ibid., IV, 214, 216, 218, 239, 240, 245, 246, 249, 251, 252, 255, 259, 261, 269 & 337-8; XVII, 161 & 177.

3. Vide supra., p.650.

4. Ibid., p.651.

5. Ibid., p.649.

6. C 76/17, ms.22 & 26 (letters of protection to last until 25 December, 1342, issued to him on 8 & 29 September, 1342). The request for this is extant (C 81/1724/36).

7. C 76/20, m.15 (letters of protection of one year's duration, issued to him on 20 May, 1345).

8. E 372/191, m.54d.

Welbourne (his chancellor and secretary in 1348, 1349, 1351 & 1355)¹ also appears to have been acting as his treasurer of war in the duchy in 1346,² accompanied him on the diplomatic mission of 1348,³ possibly in his capacity as secretary, and on his second command in Aquitaine in the following year.⁴ Richard de Walton (his receiver-general in 1353)⁵ served in his retinue in Aquitaine in 1349-50⁶ and drew up the expense account for his command there.⁷ William de Horwich, acting in his capacity as wardrobe, accounted with the Exchequer for the wages of the earl and his retinue intended to leave for Normandy in the spring of 1354.⁸ He had previously been responsible for receiving his expenses for the diplomatic mission to Hainault, Holland and Zealand.⁹

1. Vide supra., pp.647-8.
2. E 404/508/47 (receipt for wages of troops and garrisons issued to him by John Wawayn, constable of Bordeaux, La Reole, 23 June, 1346).
3. C 76/26, m.9 (letters of protection to last until 28 December, 1348, issued on 25 September, 1348).
4. C 76/27, m.4 (letters of protection and general attorney to last until 28 March, 1350, issued to him on 30 August, 1349).
5. CPP, I, 240 (9 March, 1353).
6. E 404/508/61 & E 403/355, m.19.
7. E 372/195, m.46.
8. E 404/504/9 (Aquitance for £1,000 for the same, London, 5 March, 1354).
9. E 372/198, m.39d.

William de Driffield (his treasurer in 1354-7)¹ acted as his treasurer of war in Brittany in 1356.² And there were others whose co-operation he could rely upon, soldiers like Sir Bernard Brocas, an annuitant who held office as the king's controller of Bordeaux during his two commands in Aquitaine,³ and clerks like Henry de Walton, one of his leading officers,⁴ who was put over the royal wardrobe at the time of the Reims campaign.⁵

His comitiva was built up by engaging retainers not only to serve in person, but also by a series of sub-contracts raising a subordinate troop or comitiva to serve under his command, thereby greatly assisting him to develop and control his retinue by relieving him of his responsibility of selecting, equipping and commanding it's rank and file.

Although no sub-contracts appear to have survived, investigation of bills of request for letters of protection provides a clear insight into the manner in

1. Vide supra., p.650.

2. E 403/380, ms.6 & 7. Vide supra., p.650, & infra., p.753.

3. Vide supra., p.702.

4. Vide supra., pp.650, 652-3, etc.

5. Ibid., p.674.

which he built up his comitiva for service in the king's wars. By good fortune two separate files of such bills are extant.¹

Letters of protection and general attorney for soldiers who were to serve in his comitiva were variously requested on his own testimony² and that of his attorneys.³ Occasionally they were requested by soldiers in his comitiva for men-at-arms and others in their followings.⁴ These not only give us an indication of the troops chosen to serve in his retinue (of which fuller and more specific information can be had from the enrollments of the actual letters, recorded in the Scottish, Gascon and Treaty Rolls), but also of the numbers and sometimes the names of those taken to do service with him by the bannarets and leading knights of his following.

The fullest bill is a list of names of those chosen to go to Aquitaine with him in 1344.⁵ Sir John de Norwich

1. C 81/1724 & 1730.
2. C 81/1724/42, 58; 1730/31, 34, 39, 44, etc.
3. C 81/1730/9, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, etc (Henry de Walton and John Gynewell).
4. C 81/1724/55 (Everingham); 1730/43 (Pagan de Mohun), etc.
5. C 81/1724/49.

was to serve with 10 men-at-arms,¹ Sir William la Zouche with 8, Sir Richard FitzSimon with 5, Sir John Lovel with 4; Sir Adam de Everingham, Sir Nicholas de Ry and Sir Phillip le Despenser with 2,² and Sir Hugh de Meignill, Sir William Marinyon and Sir James de Audeley with 1.³

We know the names of the followings of three of the bannarets who served in his comitiva in Aquitaine in 1345-6. Sir John de Grey of Codnor was accompanied by 12 men-at-arms,⁴ Sir Adam de Everingham of Laxton by 2,⁵

1. In 1347 he was accompanied by Geoffrey de Vernoun who had served in Lancaster's retinue in Aquitaine in 1345-6 and who held property in Norfolk (E 159/123, m.172), although he had letters of protection to go abroad with Lancaster in 1347 (C 76/24, m.5).
2. Everingham was accompanied by William de Langeton, John Hemmenhale and a clerk, William de Middleton. He requested and received letters of protection for them (C 81/1724/55 & C 76/19, m.19).
3. The others were Sir Edmund de Ufford, Sir Thomas Cok, Sir Stephen de Cosington, Sir Reginald de Mohun, Sir John de Walton, Sir Robert de la Mare, Sir Richard Rouclyff, Sir John de Seyton, Sir John de Bredon, Pagan de Mohun, John de Walkyngton, Simon Simeon, Thomas de la Ryvere, Walter de Byntre, Richard Bretvill and Robert Bertonill.
4. John, son and heir of Richard de Grey of Codnor; Roger Beler, Gervase de Clifton, Peter de Wokyndon, Richard de Strolleys, Hugh de Shirfield, William Fanel, John de Sandwich, Simon Segre, Robert de Clifton; Roger, son of Alice, late wife of Roger Beler; and Roger, son of Roger Beler. They are named with him in a bill of request for letters of protection (C 81/1727/60) and were given such letters to go abroad on his comitiva on 28 May, 1345 (C 76/20, m.16).

by 2,¹ and Sir William la Zouche of Totteneyns by at least 1.² Two other bannereys, Sir Frank de Hale and Guillaume Sanche, lord of Pommiers, were each accompanied by 3 knights.³ Sir Andrew Luterele, Sir Ralph de Hastynges, Sir Arnald de Durfort and the mayor of Bordeaux were each accompanied by a compaignon.⁴

The information on Sir John de Grey's following is fairly abundant. There are other bills of request for letters of protection for men-at-arms who were to accompany him on other missions to Scotland and France, when we know he served in Lancaster's comitiva, and the names of some of these appear on several occasions.⁵ And there were others who commanded followings of their own; Sir Gerard Salvayn of Herswell who brought 7 men-at-arms to do service with the earl on

1. John Bosoun of Claxton and John Paynel. They both received letters of protection going abroad in his retinue (C 76/20, ms.16 & 17), and both appear on Lancaster's pay roll (E 101/25/9, m.3).
2. Robert Burdet of Hovecote. He was given letters of protection for service in the retinues of both Zouche and the earl (C 76/20, ms.15 & 16), and was on Lancaster's pay roll (E 101/25/9, m.3). He subsequently served in Lancaster's comitiva before Calais (C 76/25, m.25).
3. E 101/25/9, m.3.
4. Ibid.
5. C 81/1727/61, 63 & 65-9. Notably his two sons, John and Roger de Grey, Richard de Grey of Landeford, and Peter de Wokyndon, John de Havering, Thomas Fylol, Hugh de Shirfield and Richard de Strolleys, whose names occur on several occasions.

one occasion,¹ Sir Theobald Trussell who requested letters for Thomas Reuljan,² Adam de Repynghale who accompanied Sir Thomas de Roos,³ Roger Chetewynd who served with Sir Thomas Lestraunge of Knockin,⁴ and William de Beaver who served with Pagan de Mohun.⁵ Soldiers of standing like Sir William de Meignill and Sir John de Twyford took their valets with them.⁶

There are not a few examples of generations of the same family who did service with the house of Lancaster: Roos, Holand, Melbourne, Nevill, Longeford and the Greys of Codnor, who successively served Thomas, the first

1. His son Gerald, George Salvayn, Roger de Grymeston; Richard, son of William de Wetwang; Thomas de Oyetham; Richard, son of Richard de Lascy; and William, son of William de Oyahen, who are described as going "cum praefato Gerardo Salvayn in societate com' Launcestre" in a bill for letters of protection (C 81/1730/8).
2. C 81/1730/3.
3. C 81/1724/50 & C 76/12, m.8.
4. E 101/25/9, m.3.
5. There is a bill of request for letters of protection in which Pagan describes him as "mon compaignon en la compaignye mon seigneur de Lancastr" (C 81/1730/43).
6. There are bills of request for letters of protection for Meignill and his valet Reginald Regny of Ludeford (C 81/1730/30) and of Henry de Caumbes of Keleby, valet of Sir John de Twyford, going to Scotland in Lancaster's retinue (C 81/1730/27A).

duke and John of Gaunt.¹ Others, like the Everinghams of Lastingham, Audeley, Asteley, Bures, Colvill, Hastang, Ferrers, Florak and Lestraunge, John de Dalton, Hugh de Meignill and John de Twyford, served with both Thomas and Henry.²

1. William de Roos was retained by Thomas with a fee of £40 (Holmes, op.cit., 142) and Thomas de Roos by Gaunt, also with £40 (John of Gaunt's Register, I, Index, 945). Cf. also ibid., I, 393 & DL 29/262/4069. John de Holand, son of Robert de Holand (Register, I, 103) was one of Thomas's most prominent supporters (Holmes, op.cit., 72), served with him in Scotland (C 81/1730/5) and was successively in the service of Lancaster and Gaunt (Register, I, Index, 379; Armitage Smith, John of Gaunt, 441). John de Melbourne was a donee of Henry, in his service abroad, and a retainer of Gaunt (Armitage Smith, op.cit., 445). Nicholas de Longeford had an annuity of 20 marks "pur son service en guerre" from Thomas of Lancaster and was subsequently retained for life during war and peace by John of Gaunt in 1372 (Holmes, op.cit., 135 & 71, n.5; John of Gaunt's Register, I, 803). Ralph de Nevill had an annual retaining fee of £40 of Thomas (DL 41/1/37). John de Nevill, lord of Raby, was a retainer of John of Gaunt (Register, I, Index, 393). For service under Henry, cf. Appendices C, no.9, and J.
2. Everingham, Audeley, Asteley, Bures, Colvill and Hastang were all retained by Thomas; Audeley was to produce 30 men-at-arms, Asteley, Colvill and Hastang 10 each; Everingham 3 and Bures 1 (Holmes, op.cit., 141). Florak's family were amongst Thomas's donees (ibid., 136). Ferrers and Lestraunge were to have served in his retinue in Scotland (C 81/1730/4, 5 & 7); Ebulo Lestraunge married his widow (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, 34). Hugh de Meignill was also scheduled to serve in Thomas's retinue in Scotland (C 81/1730/5). Dalton and Twyford were his donees (Holmes, op.cit., 139 & 142). For service under Henry, see Appendices C, no.9, and J.

There was surprisingly little continuity of service from his father's lifetime. Sir William Trussell and Sir Thomas de Verdoun (whom we know to have served in his retinue on at least two military and diplomatic missions)¹ had each been granted annuities of £20 in Leicester honor by the third earl.² The grant to Verdoun (to be had out of the manor of Raunds) was subsequently confirmed by Henry.³ Trussell was also one of his father's officers.⁴ His son Theobald served on no less than ten missions in Henry's retinue; Verdoun's son, John, on one.⁵ The families of Twyford, Blount and Walkyngton were also prominent in the service of both father and son.⁶

Lancaster was 35 by the time his father died. He had, by then, estates and property of his own with officers and a council to administer them. An entourage distinct from

1. Appendix C, no.9.
2. Appendix J.
3. Ibid.,
4. Steward in Northamptonshire of the honor of Leicester in 1337 (DL 41/9/5, m.23); escheator south of the Trent in 1340 (CCR, 1339-41, 366).
5. Appendix C, no.9.
6. Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, 354-7; Holmes, *op.cit.*, 67-8; CPR, 1327-30, 442. Also John de Aldewyncle and Simon Simeon (CPR, 1327-30, 442).

that of his father was therefore growing up around him. It is perhaps significant that several of his most prominent donees - Sir Peter and Sir Robert de la Mare, Sir Hugh de Berewyk, Sir John de Walkyngton, Sir Frank de Hale, Sir Stephen de Cosington, Sir Hugh de Camoys, Sir Thomas Florak, John de Aldewyncle and Phillip de Popham - held manors or annuities tied to manors which he inherited by way of his mother, Maude Chaworth, in Hampshire and Wiltshire,¹ several of which were granted to him and his wife in or before 1337.²

With his successor there is much stronger continuity. Gaunt inherited some of Lancaster's leading men. It is possible to cite no less than 50 families who served in his

1. Notably, Weston Patrick, East Garston, Hartley Mauditt, King's Somborne, Longstock, Berwick Saint-James, North Standen, Market Lavington and Collingbourne Ducis (Somerville, op.cit., 18). For Henry's donations in and of these manors, see Appendix J.
2. Notably, Longstock, Hartley Mauditt and Weston Patrick, together with a rent from King's Somborne, granted to him and Isabella in 1337, and Berwick Saint-James, settled on Isabella in 1330 (Ibid., 38). The manor of Ebboth in Monmouthshire, which he granted to another prominent servitor, Pagan de Mohun, had been granted to him in 1333, and was part of his father's inheritance from Edmund of Lancaster (ibid., 38 & 18). He also acquired the manor of Barlow in 1338 (ibid., 38), which was later granted to William Bracebridge for life (Appendix J).

retinue who had previously done service with Henry.¹ Nor is it difficult to find examples of individuals who did service with the first duke and who subsequently served in Gaunt's retinue: Sir Ralph de Hastynges and Sir Norman de Swinford who had been retained by the first duke; Sir Frank de Hale, Pagan de Mohun, Peter de Melbourne, John Neumarche, John de Rocheford, Simon Simeon, John Talbot, William del Halle and Thomas Tottebory who were his donees; other notable soldiers like Sir John de Seyton, Sir Richard de Haveryng, Sir Avery de Sulny, Sir Nicholas de Longeford, Sir Ralph Paynel and Sir Andrew Luterel; and others like Sir Richard de Aberbury, Sir John de Dalton, John de Loudham, Thomas de la Mare, Sir Thomas de Metham, Sir John de Nevill, Sir Robert and Sir Thomas de Roos,

1. Roos, Nevill, De la Pole, Lescrop, Marinyon, Aberbury, Blount, Bosevill, Brettenille, Bushy, Cauntelough, Cheyney, Clifton, Curson, Dalton, FitzWilliam, FitzSimon, the Greys of Codnor, Hale, Hastynges, Haveryng, Longeford, Loudham, Luterel, De la Mare, Metham, Paynel, Plays, Radeclive, Rouclyff, Rocheford, Seyton, Scargill, Talbot, Burton, Chetewynd, Deyncourt, FitzRalph, Freville, Gerberge, Halle, Heseden, Holand, Melbourne, Neumarche, Simeon, Swinford, White and Tottebory appear amongst the list of retainers of Gaunt published by Armitage Smith, op.cit., Appendix III, 440-6. Sulny appears in John of Gaunt's Register, II, ii, index, p.406. The majority also served in Henry's comitiva and some were his donees (Appendices C no.9, and J).

Sir Richard de Rouclyff, Sir William de Scargill
and John White.¹

Service in retinues other than that of Lancaster was not, however, uncommon. Soldiers who served in his comitiva in Aquitaine - Sir Stephen de Cosington,

1. All except Talbot and Tottebory appear on a nominal roll drawn up for the first duke (Appendix C, no.9). These two, together with De Hale, Hastynges, Neumarche, Rocheford, Seyton and Simeon, appear among his donees (Appendix J). Hastynges and Swinford were certainly retained by him (vide supra., pp.675-8).

All except Nevill, Swinford, Sulny and Thomas de Roos appear amongst the list of retainers of Gaunt published by Armitage Smith, op.cit., Appendix III, 440-6. Evidence of these four as his retainers is to be found in John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 50 & Index, pp.393, 400 & 406; ii, 945. Hastynges, Longeford, De la Mare, Metham, Scargill and Neumarche are also cited amongst his retainers in the register (ibid., I, i, 803, and ii, Index, pp.381, 391, 393 & 403). Hastynges, Metham, Rocheford and Swinford were scheduled to serve abroad in his retinue in 1373 (ibid., I, i, 49 & 50). By 1368 Luterele had an annuity of 40 marks of him, and the first duke's annuities to Rocheford and Robert de Roos had been confirmed by him (DL 29/262/4069). Both Hastynges and Sulny served as his local officers (Register, I, i, 755; ii, 1022, 1112, 1144, 1162, 1173, 1222, 1464, 1047, 1759, 1760), as did Simeon (vide supra., p.689). Mohun was a donee of both Henry and Gaunt (Appendix J; John of Gaunt's Register, I, ii, 1231 & 1741) and was particularly active in Henry's service (Appendix C, no.9).

Other possibilities are Bertrand de Bolyngbrok, William de Huntynghfeld, Nicholas de Kyrkham, tenants of Gaunt (Register, I, i, 83 & 131; ii, 880 & 1810); John de Hemmenhale and Kyrkham, scheduled to accompany him abroad in 1373 (ibid., I, i, 50); his "bien ame servant William Baker" and his "bien ame John de Elmeshale", donees (ibid., I, i, 441 & 603), all of whom did service with Henry (Appendix C, no.9).

Sir Nigel Loring, Sir William Trussell, Sir Nicholas de Goushull, Sir John de Norwich, Sir Robert de Nevill, Sir William la Zouche of Lobesthorpe, Sir John de Lymbury, Sir Andrew Luterel and Sir Walter de Pavely - and others who had served with him - William de Kyngeston and Sir William de Ferrers, lord of Groby, - also served in the duchy in the Black Prince's comitiva.¹

Only three of these (Cosington, Loring and Trussell) were Lancaster's donees, but they were also annuitants of the prince.² Loring had previously been retained by the king³ and later served as chamberlain to the prince.⁴

Sir Hugh de Hastynges served in Lancaster's comitiva on at least six missions,⁵ but also seems to have been connected with the earl of Pembroke. He served in Pembroke's retinue in Aquitaine in 1345-6,⁶ and was granted the manor

1. Hewitt, The Black Prince's Expedition, 23, 130, 158, 202, 203, 207, 209 & 215 for service with the prince; Appendix C:9 for service with Lancaster.
2. Ibid., 161-2. Nevill also acquired an annuity of 100 marks of him, and Luterel a gift of £20 (ibid., 161)
3. He was in receipt of an annuity of 20 marks of him in 1341 (E 101/387/8, m.9).
4. Hewitt, op.cit., 23.
5. Appendix C, no.9.
6. C 76/20, m.16. He was among those who distinguished themselves in the escarmouch on the bridge before Bergerac (Luce, Froissart, III, 48).

of Oswaldbek in Nottinghamshire by him.¹

The manors and annuities tied to manors held by the duke's donees, like the Lancastrian estates themselves, were scattered throughout England and Wales; there was no particular concentration in any one county or region.² The same appears to be true of the non-donees who did service with him abroad: their lands were scattered throughout the country, although there may have been some concentration in Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk of those who appear most frequently in his service.³

1. He was in possession by 28 January, 1342 (CPR, 1340-3, 368).

2. Cf. Appendix J.

3. Eleven in Lincolnshire: Sir Nicholas de Ry and Sir Alexander Aunsel who served on 8 occasions, Sir Phillip de Lymbury who served on 7, Sir Richard de Hebden who served on 4; William Beaufou, Walter de Trykyngham and William Wite who served on 2; and Sir Stephen de Gumby, Sir Andrew Luterel, Sir Thomas de Ufford and Sir Richard de Wilughby who served on one (C 81/1760/12; E 159/123, ms.79, 124, 126 & 139; Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, 147 & 167; CPR, 1341-3, 144-5; 1345-8, 82; 1358-61, 16). Six in Norfolk and Suffolk: Sir Hugh Trussebut, Thomas Bacoun, Robert de Bosevill and Geoffrey Vernoun who served on 2 occasions, and Richard Chaumpaigne and John Warde who served on one (E 159/123, ms.102 & 172; Wrottesley, op.cit., 150 & 152). Sir Hugh de Hastynges who served on 6 missions held lands in Nottinghamshire and Hampshire (CPR, 1340-3, 368 & 1343-5, 128); Sir William Lovel, served on one, held lands in Northants., Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire and Norfolk (Wrottesley, op.cit., 142, 143, 154-5); Sir Hugh de Meignill of Hornby, who served on 5, in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Wyrn, Staffordshire and Berkshire (E 159/123, m.127d); Sir William la Zouche of Haryngworth, served on 4, in Devonshire; Sir Andrew Luterel, served on one, in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire (E 159/123, m.124); etc.

The Councillors

Since much of Lancaster's time was taken up by military and diplomatic affairs, necessitating prolonged absences abroad, it is only to be expected that his council would be largely responsible for the administration of his estates. On such occasions he clearly could not deal with even the more important questions relating to his lands, although when John of Gaunt was abroad and the council in England had supervision of his estates, he sent instructions to it.¹

The duke's council comprised, we may guess, his most important servants and retainers. On the one hand it would include his chief household and central officers: wardrobers, treasurers, receivers, auditors, stewards, attorneys and the like; on the other hand the soldiers who held lands or annuities of him and who appear most prominently in his entourage in England as abroad.

Apart from the councils of the king and queen,² the

1. John of Gaunt's Register, II, nos.1235 ff.

2. H.Johnstone in J.F.Willard and W.A.Morris, The English Government at Work, 1327-1336, I (1940), 291-4.

only lay councils which have until now been satisfactorily examined are those of the Black Prince¹ and John of Gaunt.² These investigations tell us that they comprised the magnate's leading knights, clerks and officials, the first two acting as a central advisory body linked with the estates by the officials who made the regular perambulations. The work of the council was on the borderline between justice and administration. They were competent to deal with difficult cases and disputes between two or more lords. They not only made decisions and gave advice about the exploitation of the estates, but also received petitions from tenants and lesser officials and gave judgement on them. As the fourteenth century wore on they appear to have become courts of appeal which cut across the custom of the manor.

Whilst he was earl of Derby, Henry attended meetings of his father's council, but he also had his own council

1. M. Sharpe in Tout, Chapters, V, 382-8.
2. John of Gaunt's Register, ~~1379-83~~, I, xi; 1379-83, II, xlvi; R. Somerville, "The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber", TRHS, fourth series, XXIII (1941), 159-77; R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, I, 121-30; A. E. Levett, "Baronial councils and their relation to manorial courts", in Studies in Manorial History, edit., Cam, Coate & Sutherland; For the council of the bishop of Durham, cf. G. T. Lapsley, County Palatine of Durham, 138 ff; and of the abbot of St. Albans, Levett in TRHS (1924).

which not only gave it's assent to his action, but is also found determining which manors should be included in a grant.¹

His council after he became earl of Lancaster was associated with him in executive action; inquisitions taken before local stewards were returned before him as duke and his council; the duke and council considered petitions; matters from local courts were reserved for it's consideration.² In May, 1346, the council assigned William Laurence and William Blaby to make an extent of the earl's lands in Lancashire. The council fixed the amount of rent payable and, on another occasion, it examined evidence of title and as a consequence discharged a rent.³ After an outbreak of lawlessness in the same county his "consail" advised him that a commission of oyer and terminer provided to deal with the matter was not sufficient and that a general commission should therefore be requested from the chancellor.⁴

1. DL 40/1/11, fo.46v; 42/1, fo.89b & 42/2, fo.398b.

2. DLR, XXXII, 333 & 339, with council, or duke and council, in note of warranty (ibid., 341 & 344).

3. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, I, 83.

4. "come nous serons avisez par nostre consail que la commission d'oir et terminer en le countie de Lancastre ne soit pas sufficient a chastier les meffesours ne a punir les horrible trespas" (SC 1/42/65).

The most valuable evidence concerns a "conseil" held at the Carmelite Friars in London on 23 May, 1348, when the Warenne and Lancaster claims to Winterbourne Earls in Wiltshire (and other manors of an arrangement of 1319) were discussed. Sir Peter de la Mare (steward of his lands), Sir Richard de Wilughby, Master Henry de la Dale and Walter Power (his attorneys-general in 1345-7) were present.¹

What seems to be a record of his council entering into an agreement with a London carpenter is an indenture between the carpenter, Richard de Felstede, and John Gynewell (his treasurer and attorney in 1346), Peter de la Mare (steward of his lands) and Peter Wotton (his receiver-general), by which Felstede undertook to make roofs for the hall, pantry, buttery and kitchen of Kenilworth castle, and to take the robes of one of the earl's "gentils hommes".² Although they are not expressly described as his councillors there can be little doubt that they formed the council or part of it.³

1. "Au conseil tenuz a les freres carmes, le xxij iour de Maij L'an xxij, en presence de Mons' Richard de Wilughby, mons' Piers de la Mare, Richard de la Pole, Hamond Derworth, William de Skippewych, Henr' de Motlowe, maistre Henr' de la Dale et Wauter Power, assentu est que ... etc (DL 42/11, fo.67).

2. DL 42/11, fo.52v. Vide supra., p.676.

3. Under John of Gaunt his council entered into such an agreement (John of Gaunt's Register, II, 795).

In July 1341, Sir Peter de la Mare, John Gynewell, Sir Hugh de Hastynges and Simon Simeon were appointed to speed the collection of the wool assignment in order to pay off the king's debts to the Bardi and Perruzi, and so secure Lancaster's release.¹ Again, it is fairly clear that they formed his council or part of it. De la Mare was sent out to the Low Countries to deal with his release.²

His council in England must, however, be clearly differentiated from the councils of war which advised him on military matters during his commands abroad, and from the ducal councils which assisted him in the work of administration in Gascony and Brittany.³ When the "consiliarii ducis Lancastriae" include the King of Navarre and his brother Giles,⁴ it is evident that only temporary advisers are meant.

The council is elusive, but if we conceive it in a loose form as the most important members of his entourage, we might re-construct its composition from witnesses to his charters, as Lapsley did for the council of the bishop of Durham.⁵

1. CPR, 1340-3, 247.

2. Ibid., 176-7.

3. Vide supra., pp.280-5, and infra., pp.754-60.

4. Knighton, II, 73.

5. Op. cit., 138.

XV

THE KING'S CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT
IN BRITTANY, 1355-1358.

Just over a year had passed since Lancaster had first been appointed captain and lieutenant in Brittany. It must have been a year full of exasperations for him. After all the pains which he had taken with Charles the Bad at Avignon during the Christmas of 1354, and the preparations for war in Normandy in the following summer, the young king of Navarre had again played a double game. The subsequent raid around Calais and the relief of Berwick had kept him employed in the field, but these were no occasions to show his qualities as a commander. Only after three months of waiting had he at last crossed to Normandy, and the campaign which he had conducted there, although highly successful, had only a limited objective. The main theatre of action was in the south, and his failure to join forces with the Black

Prince, which was probably an essential point in the military scheme for the year, had angered him not a little.¹ It must have been galling to have had no share in the glory and profits of Poitiers. He had, it is true, taken an impressive line of fortresses on his way back from the Loire valley, but, in view of the prince's victory, contemporaries were not likely to be impressed. As autumn closed in, and he returned to his command, he determined upon an ambitious military enterprise - to capture the Breton capital for the young claimant to the duchy.

English occupation forces had then been present in Brittany for some fourteen years. When the succession dispute had broken out in the duchy in 1341 Edward III had found himself involved, quite apart from any immediate military preoccupation, by reason of the keen interest which the kings of England had shown in the affairs of the duchy since the Norman Conquest and, equally, because the dukes of Brittany held the earldom

1. According to the author of the *Chronicon Britannicum alterum* he was "valde iratus" (P.H.Morice, Memoires pour servir de preuves a l'histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne, I, col. 113).

of Richmond in England.¹ Between 1342 and 1345 Edward (allied to John de Montfort, one of the claimants, and perhaps also his suzerain) enjoyed the right to collect the ducal revenues and garrison the ports and castles which he required, in return for his military assistance. After 1345, when Montfort had done homage to him and entrusted him with the guardianship of his infant son, he assumed both the suzerainty and custody of the duchy. Nevertheless, he had not come to acquire the entire possession of Brittany, which remained divided between the partisans of Montfort and those of his rival, Charles of Blois.

The government established by Edward III in those regions of Brittany in his control was first and foremost of a military order.² However, the normal

1. For the connection see P. Jeulin, "Un grand 'Honneur' anglais. Aperçus sur le comté de Richmond en Angleterre, possession des ducs de Bretagne, 1069/71-1398", Annales de Bretagne, XLII (1935), 265-302; and "L'hommage de la Bretagne en droit et dans les faits", ibid., XLI (1934), 380-473.
2. For the following remarks I am indebted to the article of Professor J.H. Le Patourel "L'administration ducal dans la Bretagne Montfortiste, 1345-1362", Revue historique de droit français et étranger, series 4, XXXII (1954), 144-7.

framework of the ducal administration continued to function as far as possible. It is quite clear that, although the king only claimed the feudal suzerainty and the custody of the duchy, he must safeguard the traditional basis of government which his ward would one day be called upon to restore. The principal royal officer in Brittany received, then, besides the military titles of captain and lieutenant, the more general title of guardian. It seems, equally, that he had always exercised his functions in the name of the king of England and of John de Montfort; but, after 1354, his letters of investiture gave him the power, in precise terms, to act in the name of the king "and in the name of John de Montfort, who is now under our guardianship". In addition to his military responsibilities this officer was also authorised to appoint and dismiss the ducal officers and, in a general manner, to supervise the entire administration.

Lancaster's successive commissions as captain and lieutenant were defined in these terms. They were three in all: the first of 14 September, 1355; the second of 8 August, 1356 (limited to a year commencing 29 September)

and the third of 25 July, 1357 (also limited to a year).¹ All were made in the name of the king and John de Montfort. They gave him full military authority, with powers to lead an army and occupy the country, and over-riding administrative authority, with powers to dismiss and appoint local officials at his discretion. He could receive rebels into the king's obedience, grant them letters of pardon, and reward them with grants of land and revenues accruing from the war; conversely, he could confiscate the lands of those who deserted the king's allegiance and employ them as he thought best. He had, this is to say, not only the powers of lieutenants in Brittany before him, but almost identical ones to those which he had previously exercised in Aquitaine.

The Siege of Rennes (1356-1357)

The only notable feature of Lancaster's command in Brittany is the long siege which he conducted of the city of Rennes. Ostensibly, it was undertaken for Montfort, who had accompanied him on the Norman campaign

1. C 76/33, m.6; Rymer, III, i, 335-6 & 361-2.

upon the king's command, and entered the duchy upon its conclusion.¹

The young claimant was no more than fifteen years of age at the time. Since his infancy he had been brought up in England; he may even have passed some of his time in the Lancastrian household.² His mother, who had brought him over in the fateful winter days of 1343, had become insane and languished her last years in the castle of Tickhill in Yorkshire.

Montfort's cause had enjoyed success and suffered setbacks from both a military and a political point of view, but his position would doubtless have been worse had it not been that in 1347 his rival Charles of Blois was captured by Sir Thomas Dagworth at La Roche-Dérien and brought to England where he was subsequently held prisoner. In the spring of 1353 an arrangement had been concluded for his release, but from a confused set of circumstances one fact emerges: that it was never

1. Avesbury, 462; Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 175; E. Deprez, "La Querelle de Bretagne de la captivité de Charles de Blois à la majorité de Jean IV de Montfort (1347-1362), I: Pendant la captivité de Charles de Blois (1347-1356)", Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne, VII (1926), 47-9. On 13 July 1356, he is referred to as "Johanni duci Brytanum, ituro in obsequio domini regis, de ordinacione ipsius regis, versus easdem partes (Brytanum)" E 403/380, m.16.

2. Froissart (ed. Lettenhove, XII, 168) claims that he did.

implemented and that Charles remained a prisoner.¹ But, in the summer of 1356, the situation changed. On 10 August, two days after Lancaster had been given his second commission in Brittany, a treaty was concluded for his release.² A safe conduct had been issued to him on 7 August,³ and some two weeks later he landed at Tréguier.⁴ Lancaster, having laid siege to La Roche-Dérien and fortified Lannion, was then at Guingamp.⁵ On 2 October he began the siege of Rennes, the capital of Brittany, the old administrative centre of the duchy, and which had remained constantly loyal to Charles of Blois.

Edward could not have chosen a more opportune moment to free Blois. The conditions of his release made it unlikely that he could make too much trouble: he had undertaken to take no military action in the duchy until the completion of the agreement, which involved the payment of a huge ransom of 700,000 florins

1. F. Bock, "Some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War (1353-1356)", BJRL, XV (1931), reprint, 4-11.
2. E 30/74 (original); EHR, XLV, 368, no. 113 (copy); Rymer, III, i, 336 & 337. Cf. Deprez, op.cit., 50 sqq.
3. C 76/34, m. 10.
- 4.
- 5.

in gold écus.¹ For his part Montfort came into Brittany as duke to secure his heritage, backed by a substantial force under Lancaster's command. He was present with his lieutenant at the siege of the Breton capital.²

Unable to participate personally, Charles of Blois had to **appeal** to Paris for the assistance of the dauphin.³ French help could not be very great, but Thibaut, lord of Rochefort, was appointed captain in the duchy and given command of a small force of 1,000 men-at-arms and 500 archers with which to relieve the city.⁴ By 20 December he had established his headquarters at Vitré, some 36 kilometres due east of the city.⁵ Early in the following year Guillaume de Craon was given a lieutenant's commission in

1. S.Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque, 191; Bock, op.cit., 11.
2. Chronicon Britannicum, col.8; Chronicon Briocense, col.43; Chronique de Saint-Brieuc, 50; Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 58. There is an act of his, dated at Rennes on 5 January, 1357, made on Lancaster's advice (Morice, op.cit., I, col.1512).
3. He had reached Paris by 24 November, when he issued letters there (Morice, op.cit., col.1512). Froissart, V, 87 & 305, well understood his position.
4. Morice, op.cit., I, cols.1513-4.
5. Bibl. nat., Clairambault, vol.96, no.5 (20 December, 1356); 106, no.166 (4 April, 1357); 86, no.45 (5 April); 16, no.168 (9 April); 86, no.146 (13 April); Luce, op.cit., 192-3.

Anjou, Maine, Poitou and Touraine, and appointed captain of the relieving forces.¹

The siege, once begun, lasted for more than nine months (2 October, 1356, to 5 July, 1357).² It has been greatly studied, not for Lancaster's part in it, but because one of the captains in the defending force was the young Bertrand du Guesclin.³ Any real discussion of it is, however, limited by the evidence. The principal source is Cuvelier's poem, the Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin.⁴ Apart from this account there are several chronicles, of varying merit, which treat of the siege.⁵

1. Arch. nat., JJ 87, fo.18r-v, no.37 & no.127.
2. Chronicon Britannicum alterum, col.113; Froissart, V, xxii, n.2.
3. Notably, Luce, op.cit., chapter VII, 185-229; and an article by the same author, "Du Guesclin au siège de Rennes", BEC, LII, 615-8. There is an account in A. de la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, III, 551-9, and another by R.Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 266-7 & 308.
4. Edit. E.Charrière, 2 vols. (1839) in Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, series I.
5. Notably, Knighton, II, 93, 94 & 95-6; Chronique de Richard Lescot, 110-3; Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 58-60; Chronicon Regum Francorum, 380-1; Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, 111; Froissart, V, xxii, 85-7 & 304-8; Anonimale Chronicle, 40; Chronicon Britannicum alterum, cols.113-4; Chronique Normande, 117 & 304; and Reading, 114-5. There are also mentions of it in the Chronicon Britannicum, col.8; the Chronicon Briocense, col.43; the Chronique de Saint Brieuc, 50, and in Walsingham's Historia Anglicana, 283.

Cuvelier's poem is the most exhaustive and the least reliable. It was not written until some quarter of a century later (between 1380 and 1387), by which time Du Guesclin had become something of a legendary figure.¹ The author was one of the last minstrels; he sought to emulate the heroic poets of the eleventh century, and made good use of his imagination.² He claimed, however, to have his evidence from Du Guesclin's companions and to have utilised the chronicles of Saint-Denis, whilst Lemoine has shown that he had utilised the notes used by the continuator of Richard Lescot.³ It is possible that, for this period, he had a more or less accurate written source, for along with controversial information one can find accurate facts.⁴ Although Cuvelier is our main source we must remember that he wrote more to amuse than to instruct.⁵ Our discussion needs, therefore, be of limited encompass.⁶

1. Luce, op.cit., BEC, LII, 615; A.Molinier, Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie, IV, 70 ff.

2. Molinier, op.cit., IV, pp.70-71.

3. Ibid., IV, 711

4. Ibid.

5. Luce, op.cit., BEC, LII, 615-8, cf. J.Lemoine, "Du Guesclin, armé chevalier", BEC, LVI, 84-9.

6. Luce, op.cit., BEC, LII, 615.

Lancaster's forces are said to have been those with which he had conducted the raid in Normandy: some 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,400-1,500 archers.¹ He deployed these troops around the ramparts, assigning detachments to guard the principal gates.²

The defending forces appear to have been under the command of Bertrand de Saint-Pern as captain of the city, and the lord of Penhoet, called Tort-Boiteux, as castellan.³ Du Guesclin was not initially among them.⁴ His name does not appear on any of the surviving musters of men-at-arms of the defending force or of any of the forces responsible for re-victualling the city.⁵ He played an important role, but was not well known at the time.⁶ He was neither castellan nor captain and commanded neither the castle nor the walls, at least at the beginning.⁷ His plan was to intercept Lancaster's convoys

1. Luce, op.cit., 191.
2. Ibid., 201. Knowles was in charge of one of them (ibid., 191). Cuvelier (op.cit., I, p.41, lines 1066-9) ands John Chandos, James d'Audley and the earl of Pembroke, but it is evident that none of these could have been present.
3. Luce, op.cit., 189-90, quoting Bibl. nat., français, no.4987, fos.59v-60r for the captain, and Cuvelier, op.cit., I, p.41, lines 1056 & 1057 for the castellan.
4. Luce, op.cit., BEC, LII, 615.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

and supplies from the rear by way of ambushes, mostly carried out by night.¹ Early in March, however, he entered the city with considerable supplies of food.²

The siege shows many curiously archaic features. To begin with, as a method of conducting warfare it did not conform to the more advanced military notions of the day, which regarded challenges in open country to be eminently superior.³ Raids deep into enemy territory and the by-passing of centres of real resistance had shown themselves to produce results out of all proportion to the effort put into them. There was a good deal of jousting and courteous visits as between besiegers and besieged⁴ - still very much in the tradition that regarded war as a large scale tournament. Lancaster's methods, moreover, were old-fashioned. He began with an attempt to mine the walls.⁵ When this failed he tried to induce the garrison to

1. Luce, op.cit., 201; Lescot, 111.

2. Luce, op.cit., 204-5; Lescot, 112; Chronographia, 381.

3. P.Pieri, Il rinascimento e la crisi militari italiana, Bibliotheca di cultura storica, 45 (1952),

4. Cuvelier, op.cit., I, p.62, ff.

5. Ibid., I, pp.43-5, lines 1113, 1118-9, 1135-8, 1180-4.

surrender by starving it out,¹ which has always been in the fashion, though if French traditions may be believed his blockade was far from complete.² But his gigantic beffroi, a huge wooden tower on wheels, rolled up to the battlements to enable the besiegers to enter the town over its walls, met the obvious fate which such machines had so often met with in the past - the defenders waited until it was just completed, and then sallied forth to set it on fire.³

In Lancaster's defence it must be said that he was battling against unfavourable circumstances. It was a particularly harsh winter and his troops were encamped in provisional barracks in open country.⁴ Meanwhile, a truce had been concluded at Bordeaux on 23 March,⁵ one of the clauses provided for the immediate raising of the siege. The Black Prince was to send him letters requiring this, together with a copy of the truce and the powers entrusted to the prince, and these would

1. Ibid., I, p.46, line 1202; Luce, op.cit., 201.
2. Cuvelier, op.cit., I, pp.46-7, lines 1206-40; Luce, op.cit., 203-5; Lescot, 111; Chronographia, 381.
3. Cuvelier, op.cit., I, pp.69-70, lines 1850-77; Luce, op.cit., 211; Lescot, 111, Chronographia, 381.
4. Knighton, II, 93; Luce, op.cit., 218.
5. Rymer, III, i, 349.

appear to have been delivered by Sir Stephen de Cosington, who was formerly in the duke's service.¹

The prince's requirement was not effective, and on 28 April the king was obliged to write to Lancaster ordering him to comply.² Thomas Hoggeshawe was probably the bearer of these instructions.³ Lancaster did not raise the siege. On 4 July Edward again wrote to him, this time threatening his wrath: 'You still have not raised the said siege, which surprises us much and displeases us greatly'.⁴ These letters appear to have been delivered by Richard de Totesham.⁵

Why did Lancaster not raise the siege? It has been suggested that Edward's orders were insincere.⁶ Certainly, Lancaster's intentions must have been known to him, for he had been in constant contact with the duke. Thomas Rede brought letters from Lancaster;⁷

1. Black Prince's Register, IV, 269. For Cosington's service with the duke, vide supra., pp.695 & 712.
2. Rymer, III, i, 353.
3. He left London on 7 May "cum lettris regis versus Reys in Britanum directis Duci Lancastriae" and arrived back there on 30 July (E 101/313/27 & E 403/387, m.6).
4. Rymer, III, i, 359.
5. E 101/313/32 & E 372/202, m.34d.
6. Lemoine, in Lescot, 112, n.1.
7. He received £2.0s.0d. on 10 October, 1356, for "nuper venienti de partibus Brytanum cum lettris Ducis Lancastriae directis domino regi"(E 403/382, m.2).

Thomas Dautre brought letters from the king.¹ But had Edward made every effort to ensure that his injunctions were promptly obeyed? Hoggeshawe did not leave London until 9 days after the first order was issued,² and Totesham was sent a remarkably long way round. The crossing was made from Dover to Calais, and thence to Rennes.³ He had only reached Gisors on 27 July, although from there he was given a safe conduct as far as Avranches by escorts provided by both the king and the dauphin.⁴ The siege had been raised by the time he arrived.

Or was it that honour and profit were at stake? The end of the siege was a kind of truce between the opposing forces. For 100,000 crowns (60,000 from the city and 40,000 in ransoms from prisoners) Lancaster

1. He received £4.5s.0d. on 18 November, 1356, for his journey "nuper misso versus partibus Brytanum cum lettris directis Duci Lancastriae". He set out on 31 August and arrived back on 24 October, travelling by way of Southampton-Cherbourg. He was given a safe conduct through Normandy by 8 men-at-arms and 12 archers (E 403/382, m.13).
2. E 101/313/27 & E 403/387, m.6.
3. E 101/313/32 & E 372/202, m.34d.
4. E 101/313/32 & Bibl. nat., français 25701, no.116.

agreed to withdraw;¹ but not until he had been allowed to plant his banner on the walls and to hold the keys of the city for a few hours.² He entered with 10 knights, accepted wine from Du Guesclin and retired immediately.³ Honour was saved; but the military significance of all this was nothing, perhaps less than nothing.

Either explanation is possible - Lancaster had sworn from the outset not to leave before he had placed his pennant on the battlements⁴ - but there is another. According to the author of the Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois the duke had undertaken and continued the siege for John de Montfort.⁵ The Anonimale Chronicle is even more explicit:⁶

'The aforesaid cardinals (mediating the truce of Bordeaux) humbly requested the Prince of England (the

1. According to the author of the Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, 111, he was paid 60,000 gold écus 'for his costs'. Knighton, II, 95, says he got 100,000, also 'for his costs'. The Chronicon Britannicum alterum, cols.113-4, probably clarifies the difference. According to this account the duke got 60,000 gold florins in écus from the city, and 40,000 écus in ransoms from prisoners.
2. Chronicon Britannicum alterum, col.114.
3. Cuvelier, op.cit., I, p.74, lines 1983-2007.
4. Ibid., I, p.43, lines 1114-7.
5. "Et là vint à lui le conte de Montfort pour qui il avoit empris le siege et y tint le siege l'espace d'ung an ou environ" (Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 58).
6. Anonimale Chronicle, 40.

Black Prince) that he would order his messengers with his letters to the duke of Lancaster, who was besieging the city of Rennes in Brittany, that he would abandon and depart from the said siege; and the prince did so, and the king of England also ordered him, by his letters, to depart from the said city of Rennes on pain of forfeiture. To this order the duke humbly replied that he was not conducting the quarrel of his liege lord, but was conducting the quarrel of the duke of Montfort, and it would therefore not be honourable to so suddenly give it up; and for these reasons he stayed there and nobly continued, continuing the said siege until the said city of Rennes had been surrendered to him and placed at his grace and wishes to do that which he pleased".

As an explanation it is not out of line with the dual form of Lancaster's commission, as lieutenant for the king and John de Montfort. The young claimant was present at the siege and we know him to have been making grants in the duchy in his own right as duke (albeit on Lancaster's advice).¹ It may account for the new form of Lancaster's appointment on 25 July: he received one commission, almost identical in form with the previous two, in the name of the king and John de

1. Morice, op.cit., I, col.1512.

Montfort, and another in the king's name alone, omitting all references to Montfort.¹

The Administration

Lancaster did not come home immediately after the siege. For more than a year he retained his responsibilities as the king's captain and lieutenant in Brittany, and it seems that he spent a good deal of that time in the duchy.² From the first he performed all his administrative duties by deputy.

Sir Thomas de Uvedale, who appears to have been one of his retainers,³ was appointed his lieutenant.⁴

Together with Sir Phillip de Lymbury, who was probably

1. Rymer, III, i, 361 & 362.

2. Cuvelier, *op.cit.*, I, pp.78 ff., says he laid siege to Dinan, but this seems unlikely.

3. Vide supra, pp.699-700.

4. There are two documents referring to him as "lieutenant en Bretagne pur noble sire le duc de Lancastre, garde de illoeges" (E 101/175/1, nos.78 & 80), and another in which he is referred to as "lieutenant de Bretagne pur le duc de Lancastre du temps q'il avoit la garde de la duche de Bretagne", which also makes it clear that he had been issuing letters there under his seal (E 101/175/6, no.1). There is also a royal mandate of 1 March, 1358, issued to him as "lieutenant of the duke of Lancaster, captain and lieutenant in Brittany", ordering him to publicly forbid breaches of the truce (C 76/36, m.13).

also retained by him,¹ Uvedale received possession of the duchy, in Lancaster's absence, from Sir Thomas de Holand, the duke's predecessor as captain and lieutenant, and subsequently handed it on to his successors, Sir Robert de Herle and John de Buckingham.² Letters of safe conduct were addressed to both of them as well as to Lancaster,³ and in his capacity as the duke's lieutenant Uvedale was instructed to publicly forbid breaches of the truce.⁴

Roger David, who was also among those to whom letters of safe conduct were addressed,⁵ appears to have acted as deputy for him on the military side and was in charge of the receipt of military re-enforcements from England requested by the duke for a number of garrisons in the duchy.⁶ An English soldier who had secured himself a business-like marriage

1. Vide *supra*, pp.703-4.

2. *Rymer*, III, i, 403.

3. C 76/35, m.9 (26 July, 1357) & C 76/36, m.11 (17 June, 1358).

4, C 76/36, m.13 & *Rymer*, III, i, 389 (1 March, 1358).

5. C 76/35, m.9 (26 July, 1357) & C 76/36, m.11 (17 June, 1358).

6. C 76/35, m.2 (13 January, 1358). *Rymer*, III, i, 387, wrongly dates this 23 January.

with a Breton widow, Jeanne de Rostrenen, vicomtesse of Rohan, he had acquired grants of all the rents due to his wife and a third of those accruing from the vicomté of Rohan; a dowry of her first husband, Alain, vicomte of Rohan; the revenues of the castles of Guéméné-Guingamp and Pestivien; and the guardianship of the castle of Quimperlé.¹

Another probable retainer, Sir Alexander Aunsel,² assisted Lymbury in his governmental duties.³

In the sphere of financial administration, his ducal treasurer, William de Driffield,⁴ appears to have been responsible for paying the wages of the troops and was already acting in this capacity in Brittany before the duke took up his command.⁵ Thomas Florak (apparently another retainer)⁶ and Richard de Walton

1. Déprez, op.cit., 43-4.

2. Vide supra., pp.703-4 & 711.

3. CPR, 1358-61, 225.

4. Vide supra., pp.650, 653 & 671-2.

5. E 403/380, ms.6 & 7; vide supra., p.624.

6. Vide supra., pp.696-7.

(one time receiver-general of his lands)¹ acted as receivers of the town of Bécherel.²

Apart from such personal officers, Lancaster was advised by a council which was largely Breton in composition and which included members of the council which had advised Duke John III prior to his death in 1341, John de Montfort prior to his death in 1345, and which was to advise Duke John IV after 1362. This council, amongst other things, provided a measure of continuity and made possible an easy change over from the administration of one lieutenant to that of another.³

In 1360 it included amongst it's members Jean de Lomene, archdeacon of Vannes; Henri de Kaër, Bonabé de Callac, Jean de Bouelau, Jean Coupegorge and Jean Barbu; all of them Bretons. They were appointed together by John de Montfort to represent his interests

1. Vide *supra*, p.658.

2. E 101/174/12.

3. In 1359, for instance, it was this "conseill de noz ditz seignours (the king and Montfort) en Bretagne" which verified that the abbey and convent of Notre Dame de Prières, near Vannes, were accustomed to receive certain rents in the farms of Ploërmel (E 101/175/1, nos.78 & 80).

at the drafting of the treaty of Calais.¹

Coupegorge had a long record of ducal service to his name. A Breton by birth,² during the period 1334-41 he served more or less continuously as the duke's attorney in England.³ By the winter of 1339 he held office as receiver of his lands in England.⁴ He was an executor of Jean de Bretagne.⁵

During the course of his stay in England he was also in royal service: in December 1335, together with Sir William Daubeneye, he was appointed to conclude

1. Rymer, III, i, 508; Morice, op.cit., I, cols.1537-8, where, however, Jean Batwallon and the abbot of Notre Dame de Prières appear in place of Lomene and Bouelau. The above six, however, appear in the two mandates for the payment of their expenses, where they are referred to as "conseillers et bienvoillauntz de monseigneur Johan, duc de Bretagne, counte de Montford", and "aucuns chevalers et autres du consail .. Johan de Montfort, duc de Bretagne". They were going to Calais "pour y estre de son consail, et en aide de li encontre Charles de Bloys, son adversaire, qi doit estre illeques .. a cause de la question q'est parentre eulx sur la duchee de Bretagne" (E 101/175/1, nos.65 & 66).
2. CPR, 1338-40, 93.
3. Ibid., 1330-34, 545; 1334-8, 245 & 412; 1338-40, 30, 93, 207 & 423; Rymer, II, ii, 1024; Morice, op.cit., I, col. 1393.
4. CCR, 1339-41, 334.
5. Ibid., 1337-9, 393.

a marriage alliance with the duke;¹ in 1338 he was a royal clerk.² Following Edward's intervention in the succession dispute, he was appointed treasurer of Brittany, and held office during the period 1343-5.³ There can be little doubt of the important part which he played in both royal and ducal service. He had a life annuity of 400 ecus in the revenues of the duchy by grant of the king;⁴ was rewarded with the living of Whimple in the diocese of Exeter in 1345;⁵ and in 1353, when he again appears as a royal clerk, he was residing in Brittany.⁶

1. CPR, 1334-8, 191.

2. CPR, 1338-40, 93.

3. E 372/188, m.55.

4. Royal mandate under the privy seal, Westminster, 7 December, 1360, instructing Giles de Wyngreworth, then treasurer of Brittany, to pay "nostre bien ame Johan Coupegorge, cleric", what was in arrears to him of the annuity, whilst he was treasurer, "prestement, et sanz delaye, par ensi q'il n'eit matire de se pleindre a nous desonc par default de son paiement. Et ce ne lessez, car nous vous fasons savoir que, pour le bon lieu que le dit Johan nous ad tenu devant ces heures, nous volons q'il soit le mieulz serviz, aussint q'il soit le plus favorez, en reson de toutes choses queux il avera affaire devers nous" (E 101/175/6, no.21).

5. CPR, 1343-5, 480.

6. Letters of protection and safe conduct for him to return to Brittany with his men and horses, having been in England by the king's orders on royal business (CPR, 1350-4, 492).

Barbu, who is elsewhere referred to as "one of the council of the said duke",¹ was retained in that capacity by the king's lieutenant in the duchy,² possibly Lancaster who granted him an annuity "for his good counsel and service".³ He was also among those who represented Montfort's interests at the drafting of the treaty of Guines in 1354,⁴ and together with Lomene and Callac he took part in the transactions whereby Montfort was invested in his duchy in the summer of 1362.⁵ He was still a councillor of the duke in 1366.⁶

Kaër, also a Breton, was admiral of the duke and keeper of the coast at Auray in the spring of 1341.⁷

1. "Johan Barbu, un du conseil du dit duc" (E 101/175/6, no.11).
2. "Come par noz lieutenantz avant ces heures en celles parties eust este retenu nostre ame Johan le Barbu de noz conseil" (E 101/175/6, no.11 & E 101/175/7, no.15).
3. "Tielx fees come le duc de Lancastre dona et graunta au dit Johan pour son bon conseil et serveys, le temps q'il feut gardien de Bretaigne" (E 101/175/6, no.11).
4. Acknowledgement of payment of a sum "donez a dit Johan Barbu pour ses coustages devers le trete de Guynes es busoignes du duc de Bretaigne" (ibid.).
5. Rymer, III, ii, 662-4; Morice, op.cit., I, cols.1537-8; E 101/175/7, nos.5 & 6.
6. Arch. nat., J 241 B, no.49.
7. CPR, 1340-3, 210.

Together with Tanneguy du Chastel and Geoffrey de Malestroit, he qualifies as one of the duke's petits bachelers in November 1341.¹ He was joint captain of the castle and town of Brest during the critical month of February 1342, along with Tanneguy,² who, together with John Hardeshull and John Castidele, was serving as one of the duke's lieutenants during his imprisonment in Paris.³

Callac, a native of the diocese of Vannes, and probably son of Denis de Callac, a victim of Philip VI, may have originated from the town of that name south-west of Guingamp.⁴ He held property in the duchy, and was retained in the royal and ducal service there by Robert de Herle when lieutenant and guardian.⁵ Together with Lomene, Barbu, Bouelau, Jean de Saint-Gilles and Ian de Guérande, he was engaged in the transactions

1. Morice, op.cit., I, col.1428.

2. Arch. nat., J 241 B, nos.43 & 43 bis; Appendix A, nos.

3. De la Borderie, op.cit., III, 484.

4. B.A.Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Les Papes et les ducs de Bretagne. Essai sur les rapports du Saint-Siege avec un état (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 133, I, 351). Callac is situated in the departement du Cotes du Nord, 28 kilometres to the south west of Guingamp.

5. He had an annuity of 200 gold ecus in the receipt of Vannes, by grant of Edward, in consideration of the losses and destruction to his property in the duchy by reason of the war (E 101/175/1, nos.27-9; 175/6, no.22). For his retention by Herle, see E 101/175/1, no.30; 175/6, nos.23-4

whereby Montfort was invested in his duchy in the summer of 1362,¹ and along with Jean de Saint-Gilles, a knight of the diocese of Nantes, he was among those who agreed to the treaty of Guerande on behalf of Montfort in 1364,² and one of the Breton Montfortists in the entourage of Duke John IV during that year.³

Jean de Bazvalan, a knight of the diocese of Vannes, who was also among those Bretons appointed by Montfort to look after his interests at the drafting of the treaty of Calais,⁴ was subsequently one of the most active servants of John IV; one of his entourage in 1364, beneficiary of diverse apostolic privileges in the following year; and one of his ambassadors to the Pope in 1372.⁵

It is unfortunate that we cannot get a closer insight into the part played by the council in the

1. Rymer, III, ii, 662-4; Morice, op.cit., I, cols.1547-8; E 101/175/7, nos.25 & 30.
2. Morice, op.cit., I, col.
3. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, op.cit., I, 351.
4. Ibid; Rymer, III, i, 508; Morice, op.cit., I, cols.1537-8.
5. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, I, 351-2.

day to day administration of the lieutenants, but although a substantial number of their mandates have survived,¹ none appear to include any note of warranty.

In addition to his military responsibilities Lancaster was authorised to appoint and dismiss the ducal officers and, in a general manner, to supervise the entire administration. We know of few appointments made by him other than those of Florak and Walton as receivers of Becherel, and possibly Barbu as a councillor. Monicot de France was appointed captain of the castellany of Conk,² and Tanquy de Kaermawen as captain in the district of "Kenedily, Selzploc and Donther".³ Matthew de Gournay received a grant from him of the castle and domain of Brest and the town of Saint-Mathieu, together with the breffs, customs, admiralty and fisheries during his lieutenancy,⁴ and there are a number of other grants.⁵

1. E 101/174/6; 175/1; 175/6; 175/7.

2. C 76/35, m.7.

3. C 76/36, m.11.

4. Rymer, III, i, 383-4.

5. C 76/38, m.3, etc.

The military personnel was largely made up of Englishmen subject to the authority of the captain and lieutenant.¹ A large number of Bretons were, however, involved in the defence of castles occupied in the king's name, and a number of fortresses were even commanded by native captains, partisans of John de Montfort.²

In the sphere of civil administration the traditional organisation of justice appears to have been maintained.³ Not only do the courts of the baillages appear to have continued to function, but a court of appeal was to be established at Vannes (by the seneschal of the duchy - an office apparently revived by Edward III) with cognisance throughout those parts of Brittany in English control, just as in normal times the court of the bailli of Rennes had cognisance throughout the duchy, save in the baillage of Nantes.

The admiralty rights appertaining to the duke seem also to have been continued. Edward III was

1. Appendix F, Table B, and cf. also Table A.

2. Ibid.

3. For the following remarks on the civil administration, see Le Patourel, op.cit., 145-6.

frequently requested to settle maritime disputes; he introduced safe conducts in his own right. "Brefs de Bretagne" were sold at Bordeaux (after 1360 at La Rochelle also) as they had been in the thirteenth century. These "brefs" were prepared by the English treasurer in Brittany and sent by him to the officers accountable in Guyenne, which suggests that certain elements of the central organisation of the ducal finances had been taken over by the treasury. It is more difficult to get an exact idea of the functioning of the local financial organisation which always had a completely domanial character; the revenues, tolls, customs, fishing rights, etc., seem generally to have been divided up between the English captains and castellans, whether for their own or the king's profit, depending on the nature of their commissions. It is improbable, in any case, that any of these ducal rights were allowed to lapse.

Army Finance And Control Over The Forces

One of the foremost problems with which the king's captains-general and lieutenants in Brittany had to deal

was that of maintenance of control over the forces placed under their command. Basically, the problem was one of finance, that first condition of successful discipline: regular wages. It was a relatively simple matter to pay an expeditionary force for a short period of service compared to the effort required to finance and supply a series of allied garrisons over an indefinite number of years. What Henry V and Bedford achieved in Normandy in the fifteenth century,¹ Edward III was unable to achieve in Brittany in the fourteenth.

In any consideration of the financing of the English forces in France during the reign of Edward III a distinction must be made between what we may call, on the one hand, the armies of movement, and, on the other, the armies of occupation. Whilst Professor Prince

1. Cf. R.A. Newhall, The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424; A study of fifteenth century warfare; and Muster and Review: A problem of English military administration, 1420-1440, for a full discussion of the position under Henry V and Bedford. There are also three valuable articles by Miss B.J.H. Rowe: "The estates of Normandy under the duke of Bedford, 1422-35"; "Discipline in the Norman garrisons under Bedford, 1422-35"; and "John Duke of Bedford and the Norman Brigands", in EHR, XLVI (1931), 194-208 & 551-78; XLVII (1932), 583-600.

has made detailed investigations into the recruitment, size and financing of the former,¹ the latter appear to have received no attention at all.

The armies of movement were sometimes commanded by the king, sometimes by his captains-general and lieutenants. Only when command was delegated do the forces appear to have formed contract armies.²

When the king was in command, or intended to assume command at a later point, the troops were financed through the wardrobe, which accompanied him. This was the case with the campaigns in Scotland in the winter of 1334-5 and the summer of 1335; in the Low Countries in 1338-40; on the Crécy-Calais campaign of 1346-7; and the Reims campaign of 1359-60; on all of which occasions the king was in command of his

1. Notably, "The Indenture System under Edward III" in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait (1933), 283-97; "The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III", EHR, XLVI (1931), 353-71; and "The payment of army wages in Edward III's reign", Speculum, XIX (1944), pp.137-60.
2. None of the armies commanded by Edward III appear to have been raised by contract. For the use of the indenture system when command was delegated see Prince in Essays, cit.supra., pp.287-8; and EHR, cit.supra., pp.364-5 & 369-70.

forces from the beginning.¹ So also in Scotland in 1334, 1336 and 1341, and in Brittany in 1342-3, when he intended to assume command at a later point.² The position was basically the same in 1355, when he intended to join Lancaster in the campaign arranged with Charles the Bad, and when, the plan having broken down, he subsequently led an army on a raid around Calais, and afterwards to relieve Berwick.³ On all these occasions the troops were financed through the wardrobe, and since the king was in command, or intended to assume command, they were never raised by contract.

When the king was not in command and did not intend to assume command the troops were financed either directly or indirectly by the Exchequer. This was true of the forces commanded by the earls of Arundel and Salisbury as captains and leaders of an English army in Scotland in 1337,⁴ and of the contract armies

1. Prince in *Speculum*, cit.supra., 139, 147 & 153.

2. Ibid., 139 & 150.

3. Vide *supra.*, pp.612-9, and *infra.*, pp.870-2.

4. Vide *supra.*, pp.31-2.

commanded by the king's captain-general and lieutenants in Aquitaine: Lancaster in 1345-6, Stafford in 1352, the Black Prince in 1355-7;¹ and of the forces commanded by Lancaster in the duchy in 1349-50.² All accounted, either directly or indirectly, with the Exchequer.

All of these armies operated on a short service basis. They were made up of troops organised in companies under the command of the king or his captains-general and lieutenants, with fixed rates of pay and conditions of service. They were not expected to remain in France beyond the period necessary for the conclusion of a campaign, and, upon that conclusion, they returned to England and came off the king's pay, whether from the Wardrobe or the Exchequer. They were permanent only in so far as the troops were likely to serve again in future companies sent out from England.

1. The indentures are, respectively, E 159/123, m.254 (Appendix A, no.1); BM, Stowe, MS 440, fo.9r; Black Prince's Register, IV, 143-5. Lancaster's account with the Exchequer is E 101/25/9 (enrolled, E 372/191, m.54d); Stafford's, E 101/26/25. The prince appears to have accounted with the constable of Bordeaux, judging from money advanced to the Bordeaux treasury by the Exchequer (E 372/207, ms.55r-7d).
2. He accounted with the constable of Bordeaux, who in turn accounted with the Exchequer. The principal accounts are C 81/347/21134; C 61/62, ms.3 & 1; E 403/355, m.19; to be seen in conjunction with E 372/195, m.46 & E 404/5/32. Vide *infra*, pp.867-70.

Quite different the armies of occupation. The effort required to finance and supply a series of allied garrisons, to sustain that effort over an indefinite number of years, and maintain central control at the same time was considerably greater than the effort required to finance, supply and control the armies of movement sent out from England for a limited period of campaigning.

The problems of providing for an English army of occupation in France appear to have arisen for the first time in Brittany.¹ Upon the conclusion of the treaty of Malestroit and Edward's return to England in 1343, part of his forces had to be left behind to garrison the towns and castles which had been brought into his control. Provision for their maintenance had already been made in the previous year in two agreements concluded with Joan of Flanders. By the terms of the first, in return for Edward's military assistance Joan agreed to provide him with £2,000 of bullion and plate, and to put at his disposal such

1. There are earlier analogies in southern Scotland during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, and in Wales during the reign of Edward I; later analogies in Calais and the Charente towns after 1346/7 and in Normandy and throughout France after the campaigns of 1355/6.

towns, ports and castles as might be necessary for the lodgement of English troops and for the conduct of his military operations.¹ By the terms of the second, in place of the £2,000 paid to Edward, all the ducal revenues were to be placed in his hands, to be collected by his officers.²

Before Edward left Brittany in 1343 he appointed John Hardeshull and Ivon de la Roche, lord of Lohéak, his captains and lieutenants, and empowered them to raise and receive all rents and other profits in the duchy as Duke John of Brittany had previously done.³ John Coupegorge was appointed treasurer of the duchy and was responsible for the payment of the troops serving under their command.⁴

When the next expeditionary force was dispatched under the command of the earl of Northampton in 1345, only the initial wages were paid by the Exchequer. In the indenture by which the earl undertook to go to Brittany as chevetain et gardien, it was agreed that he should receive wages and regard from quarter to quarter,

1. Rymer, II, ii, 1189.

2. Ibid., 1205.

3. E 372/188, m.55.

4. Ibid.

(the initial instalment to be paid before he left England), and that a clerk was to be appointed to pay those English troops in the duchy who were not organised in retinues.¹ John Charnels was appointed treasurer and receiver of all the ducal revenues, and was charged with the payment of the troops serving under Northampton's command.²

When Thomas Dagworth was appointed captain and lieutenant in 1347, all the issues of the duchy were made over to him for his own use for as long as he held the custody of the duchy.³ By this it was clearly intended that he was to collect the ducal revenues to keep the war going, pay the troops and expenses of administration, and take charge of the fortresses and castles.

In theory, then, the troops were to be paid out of the ducal revenues. In practice this was hardly ever the case. Both Coupegeorge and Charnels, treasurers and receivers in the years 1343-6, presented accounts to the Exchequer.⁴ They reveal that no ducal revenues were

1. E 101/68/4, no.72; Appendix A, no.2.

2. E 101/68/3, no.61; Appendix A, no.4.

3. E 101/25/19, m.1; Appendix A, no.27.

4. E 372/188, m.55 and E 101/25/5 & E 372/198, m.41, respectively.

collected and that money had to be advanced to them from the Exchequer in order to pay the lieutenants and the troops under their command.¹

The same is true of Dagworth's lieutenancy. He was paid by the Exchequer for his service as deputy to Northampton in 1346,² and although the indenture which he drew up with the king in the following year provided for his entire payment from the ducal revenues,³ the account which his widow, Eleanour, countess of Ormond, presented to the Exchequer reveals that no revenues were in fact collected and that she had to be paid the sums due to Dagworth by the Exchequer.⁴

The constant state of war made it all but impossible to raise or collect the ducal revenues. Already in 1344 a Breton merchant petitioned the king that the profits

1. Charnels's account reveals that owing to "guerram tam fortem in partibus illis existentem nullus exitus inde percipi potuit" (E 372/198, m.41). Sums were advanced by the Exchequer for the payment of himself; Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon; the earls of Northampton and Oxford; Michael de Ponynges, Edward de Montague and William de Kildesby (*ibid.*). For wages paid by the Exchequer to Courtenay, see E 372/200, m.40.
2. E 101/25/17. For his indenture of appointment as Northampton's deputy (28 January, 1346) see Prince in EHR, *cit.supra.*, 370-1.
3. Appendix A, no.27.
4. E 101/25/19, m.2.

which customarily accrued from the sale of ducal "brefs" should be made over to the receiver in order that the troops could be paid.¹ It is quite clear, however, that this and other sources of ducal revenue proved insufficient for the maintenance of the forces.

The accounts of Giles de Wyngreworth, treasurer and receiver during the years 1359-61, show quite clearly how, in fact, the troops were paid.² Moreover, it is apparent that the picture with which they provide us is not unique to the period which they cover, but was the normal state of affairs.³

An arbitrary levy, either in goods, money or labour services, was placed on a series of parishes organised in reventions around the three chief fortresses of Vannes, Bécherel and Ploërmel. These ransoms constituted by far the greatest source of revenue: 85% of total receipts in the financial year commencing 29 September, 1359; 76% in the financial year commencing 29 September,

1. Request that they should be "myses et deliverez en la meyn de celui q'est resceviour en noun de vous et du duk de Bretagne, a le fyn que l'on puisse paier les soudors de Bretagne" (C 81/297/16125).
2. E 101/174/4 & 5; 175/5; & 176/9. Cf. Appendix F, Table A.
3. Ibid.

1360; and 72% in the period 29 September, 1361, to 24 June, 1362.

Although there were other sources of revenue which appear to have been ducal, their collection seems to have been restricted to the area within the jurisdiction of the town of Vannes, and they formed only a small proportion of the total income. They included a custom on wine and other merchandise entering the town, a custom on corn shipped to Bordeaux, a corn levy and a custom on corn called "capitanesse", farms from the mills of the town, "confiscations" or escheats within the reventions of the town, and prize money accruing from ships wrecked on the Breton coast.

The sale of ducal "brefs", as we have seen, was continued, and a custodian appointed for the collection of the issues.¹ In the early years of the war he was made accountable to the treasurer of Brittany,² but

1. See the indenture with Charnels (Appendix A, no.4) and his enrolled account with the Exchequer (E 372/198, m.41). We know of the appointment of two custodians, Hugh Martin, and a citizen of Bordeaux, William de Wakefield (Rymer, III, i, 466 & 432).

2. Appendix A, no.4 & E 372/198, m.41.

later, possibly out of administrative convenience, to the constable of Bordeaux.¹

The revenues raised from these sources were expended on the wages of the captain-general and lieutenant, the treasurer of the duchy, and their retinues; and on the wages of the captains and garrisons of the three principal towns.²

Outside the three towns the position varied. Some towns and castles were farmed out to their captains and castellans for sums payable to the treasurer of Brittany or directly to the Exchequer.³ Some were held by right of conquest, sometimes with the king's consent, or by grant of the king or his lieutenants. Others were held by hereditary right. In these cases the holders were expected to see to their defence.

1. On 1 January, 1360, after Edward had taken the custody of the duchy into his hands, he ordered Martin to hand over the brefs in his custody, together with the profits arising from their sale, to John de Stretle, then constable of Bordeaux (Rymer, III, i, 466). These profits appear in Stretle's enrolled account with the Exchequer (E 372/207, m.57d; Appendix E, Table A).
2. E 101/174/4; Appendix F:A. This was the position in 1359-60, but in 1360-2 the ransoms and other revenues due at Becherel were made directly over to William de Latimer, captain and lieutenant of the duchy, and those of Ploermel to Richard de Grenacres, who held the town for a farm payable direct to the Exchequer (E 101/175/5 & 176/9) Appendix F, Table A.
3. Cf. Appendix F, Table, A.

The financing of occupation forces by means of ransoms is particularly evident in Brittany owing to the survival of Wynngrewoth's accounts and a series of documents subsidiary to them.¹ It was not, however, unique to the duchy.

The garrison of Lusignan in Poitou was financed from a ransom area attached to the castle as early as 1346.² The fortresses taken by Lancaster on his way back from the Loire valley in 1356 were financed by ransoms answerable to them.³ The practice was common to allied garrisons throughout France after 1356.⁴ Many of the payments made to captains for the evacuation

1. See Appendix F for the accounts. The subsidiary documents are to be found among the Exchequer Accounts Various, E 101/174/6, 10, 12; etc.
2. Arch. hist. Poitou, XIII, xxxvii.
3. See the documents quoted in Appendix C:8, part III, notably, Rymer, III, i, 421.
4. See the treaty concluded at Auxerre on 1 December, 1359, between Robert de Fiennes, constable of France, and the English captains of Regennes and La Motte de Champlay, in which it is agreed that the captains are not to make war "es pays raenconnez aux dictes forteresces ... ne au pais raenconne a la forteresce de Ligny le Chastel", although they could levy "tous les vivres qui sont accordes sur leur pais raenconne" (Rymer, III, ii, 461-2). Similarly, in the following year, the earl of Warwick undertook to surrender certain fortresses around Paris "et avec ce les papiers des rencons appartenanz es diz chasteaux" (Arch. nat., Xla.20, fos.218v-9r; Appendix A, no.13).

of castles and fortresses in the years immediately following the treaty of Bretigny, were not simply payments for them to depart, as what they claimed due to them from reventions on the surrounding countryside which had not been paid, or in lieu of them.¹

Many of these castles and fortresses were regarded by their captains as personal property, acquired by right of conquest, and therefore not to be surrendered without adequate compensation. In a dispute taken before the parlement de Paris in 1362 by Sir Thomas de Uvedale (one of Lancaster's retainers and his lieutenant in Brittany),² concerning the fortresses taken by Lancaster's troops on their return from the Loire valley in 1356 (which the king committed to the duke, who subsequently surrendered his rights in them to Uvedale), it was adjudged that a peace treaty

1. Cf. P. Chaplais, "Some documents regarding the fulfillment and interpretation of the treaty of Bretigny (1361-9)", Camden Miscellany, XIX, third series, vol. LXXX, 18-20 & 42-5. On page 42, for instance, the fortresses in Berry are said to have been bought from the English "par finances outre toutes les restes que leur devoit sur les pais de leur rencons".

2. Vide supra., pp. 699-700 & 751-2.

did not necessarily nullify an agreement made between the subjects of the contracting parties when they had been involved in a personal dispute.¹

Charles the Bad was obliged to pay the captains of the castle of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte in Normandy 12,000 frans d'or in order that they should not put the Cotentin to ransom during a period of three months.²

Equally important was the question of supply. Neither the armies of movement nor the armies of occupation appear to have had any regular system of supply; they were expected to live on the country. The armies of movement might be supplied for the sea-voyage,³ but no more. Calais and the Charente towns, isolated outposts of enormous strategic significance,

1. Arch. nat., X^{1a}21, fos.73v-5v, no.3.

2. Arch. nat., K 49, nos.46, 48 & 32. During this period they were to take neither "homme, somme, rasone, bestes de chevauchier, aucuns blez, vers ou seliz", nor any other goods save "herbes, fuerre et fain pour fourrages". This attempt to deal with the "angloiz de Saint-Sauveur qui couraient et vouloient arranchonner la terre ... et prenoient ses gens prisonniers" seems, however, to have been ineffective.

3. Lancaster had in 1345 (E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1).

could be supplied by sea.¹ Some towns and castles in Gascony were provisioned at the expense of the Bordeaux treasury.² But in Brittany and elsewhere in France the occupation forces seem to have been supplied by reventions, usually paid in kind.³ Grants made of castles and towns, however, usually implied provisioning on the part of the holder.⁴

The problem of maintaining control over the forces was intimately connected with the problem of financing them. The importance of security of pay in maintaining discipline in the contract armies is well known.⁵ The haphazard and uncertain methods

1. For Calais, see the accounts of the treasurers and controllers of the town amongst the Exchequer Accounts Various, E 101/167/8, etc., 170/16, 171/1, etc., 173/6, etc., 174/1, etc. See also E 358/1 and Pipe Roll, 25 Edw III, m.28. For the Charente towns, vide supra
2. E 101/166/11; E 372/207, m.53d;207, m.46d; Appendix E Table A.
3. Vide supra, pp.771-6 , and Appendix F, Table A. See, however, a number of accounts for victuals for Gascony, Calais and Brittany in 1351 (E 358/1, m.2).
4. When Lancaster entrusted Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers with the custody of the castle of La Reole in 1345 "idem Guillelmus castrum illud suis sumptibus et expensis salvo custodiri fecit velimus de victualibus et aliis pro custodia castri praedicti necessariis iubere detet provideri" (C 61/60, m.14).
5. Prince, in Essays, cit.supra, 287.

of finance, and the financial impossibility of maintaining occupation forces in several regions of France for an indefinite period, presents quite a different picture with the armies of occupation. The problem of control was already evident in Gascony in 1341,¹ but it is to Brittany and Normandy that we must look for the details of a situation which must have been common to all English occupation forces in France.

The forces placed under a lieutenant's command overseas consisted roughly of two sections; those soldiers who were indented and the troops hors de retenu² who were chiefly volunteers, soldiers of fortune who were fighting for profit³ or working out pardons from the king for past misdemeanours.⁴

1. Vide supra, p.152.

2. They are so described in Northampton's indenture (E 101/68/472; Appendix A, no.2), and as "les communes en la compagnie du dit conte" in the case of Lancaster (E 159/123, m.254; Appendix A, no.1).

3. See, for instance, Sir Walter Bentley's petitions to the king and council (Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, 340), and those of Phillip of Navarre (BM, Cotton, Caligula D III, no.59; Appendix A, no.17, 59).

4. See CPR, 1345-8, 80, 81, 82, etc.

Not only were the mobile troops indented: the advantages of the indenture system had in fact been applied to the defence of castles and fortresses. The prospective captain was in charge of the castle itself, responsible for the efficiency of the garrison and the repair of fortifications in return for stipulated wages and dues.

Authority over the indentured captains of towns and castles was sometimes given in the first instance by enjoining the captain, in his writ of appointment, to be intendant and obedient to the lieutenant.¹ It was given to the lieutenant generally in the writ intendendo attached to the lieutenant's own commission.

An equally serious problem appears to have been that of controlling the volunteers, described by Sir Walter Bentley as "neither knights nor esquires, but men of little value".² Their ranks were sometimes swollen by former members of indented retinues whose term had expired and for whom pay had ceased to be forthcoming. The common opinion of the time, that soldiers

1. Rymer, III, i, 507 & 169.

2. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, 340.

of fortune went to war on the understanding that they should make a profit out of it, aggravated the problem of the captain and lieutenant's authority over them.

What might be called the official attitude towards the volunteers is illustrated by the negotiations between Phillip of Navarre and Edward, shortly after Phillip had been appointed captain and lieutenant in Normandy.¹ The council at first refused to give Phillip command of all the English troops in the duchy. They argued that since the volunteers had gone to Normandy partly at their own expense, and quite reasonably expected to make a profit out of their fighting, they could not therefore, without being paid, be bound to be obedient to Phillip. The council would only go so far as to say that in an emergency they should go to his assistance and that he would be expected to help them when in difficulties.

It was in Brittany where the existence of hordes of volunteers, of captains and castellans, not all unindented, made the problems of the lieutenant's control over the forces most acute. The situation was aggravated

1. BM, Cotton, Caligula D III, no.59; Appendix A, no.17.

there by the forces being in the nature of an army of occupation. The troops were not always engaged in fighting, they were not mobile, and the volunteers had time to establish themselves.

Sir Walter Bentley, captain-general and lieutenant in the duchy in the years 1350-3,¹ realised that unless he was given specific powers to command all the English troops, not only would the inhabitants become hostile to the king's cause, but the captain-general and lieutenant himself would have no real control over Brittany.

A memorandum which he sent to the council, explaining his difficulties in detail, gives a clear picture of the kind of indiscipline which the captain-general and lieutenant had to contend with.²

In the four principal towns and other fortresses and towns theoretically under his control the Bretons were going over to the enemy because of the extortions practiced by large numbers of undisciplined soldiers not being properly paid. Castles and fortresses won from the enemy were regarded by the captains as their

1. Appointed in September 1350 (Rymer, III, i, 204); succeeded by Sir John Avenal in April, 1353 (Rymer, III, i, 257).
2. Lettenhove, Froissart, XVIII, 339-43, Pièces Justificatives, LXXIX.

personal property, from which they put the surrounding countryside to ransom. At the front they moved from district to district extorting all they could from one area before moving on to another. The soldiers did not want to live in garrisons unless they were paid very high wages and they could not be mobilised when needed. Then when they had enriched themselves sufficiently they bought safe conducts for a high price and made their way back to England.

The council saw the point of the memorandum and responded by giving Bentley extensive powers of supervision and inspection over the garrisons and the numbers they contained. All men in the garrisons were to be paid by the king to discourage pillage, which was forbidden. There was provision for those not wishing to be on the king's pay roll. They were to give a third of their spoils to the lieutenant. The castellans came in for particular attention. All the castles captured were to have a castellan intendant to the captain and lieutenant. Those who captured a castle who did not want to receive the king's wages might keep the moveable goods found there, but the castle itself was to be handed over to the captain and lieutenant. The lieutenant could also enter towns that

the captains claimed as their own, and no one could leave Brittany without the permission of the lieutenant.

The status and authority Bentley was intended to have was summed up by a paragraph stating that all keepers of castles and fortresses and everyone else in the king's obedience was to be intendant and obedient to the captain and lieutenant as to the king himself on pain of loss of life and limb.

Bentley tried to augment the ducal revenues in two ways. His suggestion to the council that he should take over confiscated lands given to individuals to help pay for the maintenance of the troops was rejected and it was ruled instead that where the financial obligations were being fulfilled from the confiscated land the owners should remain undisturbed. He was more successful when he stipulated that when he appointed a castellan he gave him the revenues belonging to the castle, any balance that remained after the expenses of the garrison had been met was to be paid over to him.¹

The authority the lieutenants had to deal with their refractory forces was not always effective in spite of the

1. Rymer, III, i, 247.

attempts to give real control. Sir John Avenal, Bentley's successor as captain-general and lieutenant in the duchy,¹ was given very definite disciplinary powers,² but had the greatest difficulty in forcing the captains to obey him.³ What emerges quite clearly from these efforts, however, is that power was given in the realisation that to be effective at all, the lieutenant must be obeyed as the king would be obeyed. To some extent Lancaster was able to solve this problem by giving his retainers and ducal officers key positions of responsibility in the duchy.⁴

Lancaster returned to England in the first half of 1358;⁵ he had wished to come home immediately after the

1. Rymer, III, i, 257.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 261.

4. Vide *supra*, pp.751-4.

5. Both Reading (130 & 273-4) and the Eulogiam Historiarum (227 & 311) say that he was present at the Grand Jousts in London on 23 April, 1358, and both state that he was wounded in the leg, but Knighton (99), by implication, excludes him from the jousts. Letters were still being addressed to him as captain and lieutenant in Brittany on 17 and 25 June (C 76/36, m.11), but to Uvedale alone, as his lieutenant, on 5 August, touching the handing over the duchy to the new captain (Rymer, III, i, 403). Sir Robert de Herle and John de Buckingham were appointed captains and lieutenants jointly on 8 August (ibid., 404).

raising of the siege of Rennes, but the king had instructed him to remain until the following year, to leave everything in good order, and to bring John de Montfort back with him.¹

The earldom of Moray

On 5 April, 1359, David II of Scotland, lately returned into his kingdom after eleven years captivity in England, created him earl of Moray, for himself and his heirs male with remainder, for their life only, to his daughters Blanche and Maude.²

It is difficult to determine why this grant was made to him. Although his wife, Isabel, had Scottish blood in her (being the daughter of Henry, first lord Beaumont, earl of Buchan through his wife Alice, first daughter and co-heir of Alexander Comyn),³ there is no apparent

1. De la Borderie, *op.cit.*, III, 559, quoting an instruction given to Thomas Hoggeshawe for the duke, dated June 1357 (Bibl. nat., collection Bréquigny, LXXVI, fo.73).
2. DL 27/38; CDRS, IV (1357-1500), 3.
3. GEC, II, 59-60 & VII, 409. Isabel's brother, John, second Lord Beaumont, who had married Henry's sister Eleanour, died in 1342, leaving a son aged two (ibid., 61).

claim which she could pass on to her husband to succeed Thomas Randolph in the earldom, although her father had numbered among the Disinherited who had a particular quarrel with the Randolphs and had led Balliol to his coronation.¹

The reasons which lay behind the grant may well be hidden in the negotiations for the ransom and release of David II. In the course of these negotiations David had expressed his willingness to agree to the restoration of the Disinherited and, should he die childless, the succession of one of Edward III's sons to the throne of Scotland; proposals rejected by the Council General of Scotland, both in 1351 and 1364.² However, in the latter assembly John of Gaunt was considered as a candidate and found acceptable to some, both because, as a younger son, he would not be King of England, and because, through his wife's connection

1. E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, Edward III and David II (Historical Association Leaflet, 1954), 6-7.
2. Ibid., 15-16 and, by the same author, "Papers relating to the captivity and release of David II", Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, third series, IX (1958), 6.

with the Scottish Earls of Buchan, the future king would thus be half a Scot.¹ The marriage between John of Gaunt and Blanche was celebrated on 19 May, 1359, less than six weeks after Henry's creation as earl of Moray.² Lancaster does not appear to have used the title in the two years till his death.³

1. Papers, etc., cit.supra., 6-7, 49-50 & 55-6.

2. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 286.

3. He did not, for instance, style himself earl of Moray in his will (vide infra., pp. 854-5).

XVI

THE DUKE'S LAST CAMPAIGN

Lancaster's last great expedition to France was also the king's last great expedition. The campaign of 1359-1360 was intended to deliver the coup-de-grace, and its destination was a great coronation ceremony in Reims Cathedral. With the king of France a prisoner in London, France torn by civil strife, with Anglo-Navareese forces swarming in Normandy and up to the gates of Paris, with half Brittany and most of Aquitaine in English hands, with English garrisons establishing themselves in Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and even Burgundy, it really seemed as though the moment had come. The strategy of provincial opportunism had done its work; now was the time to revert to the single grand army marching straight to its goal, a goal that could now be defined.

There is not a great deal to be added to Delachenal's account of the campaign, published over half a century ago.¹ The main evidence which has since come to light consists of the wardrobe account of William Farley,² from which Professor Prince has calculated the strength of the expeditionary force,³ and which helps to fill in some of the gaps in the king's itinerary;⁴ and a narrative of the expedition to be found in the Anonimalle Chronicle, which gives a peculiarly full and valuable account of the itinerary of the English army after the treaty of Brétigny.⁵ Whilst these do not greatly affect Delachenal's account of the campaign, the significance of the abortive treaties of London which gave rise to it, and the treaty of Brétigny in which it resulted, have, on the other hand, recently been the subject of an important reinterpretation.⁶ This chapter has the limited objective of investigating Lancaster's part in the expedition

1. Histoire de Charles V, II (Paris, 1909; repr.1927), chapter IV.
2. E 101/393/11.
3. "The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III", EHR, XLVI (1931), 367-8.
4. Cf. Professor Galbraith's notes in The Anonimalle Chronicle, 167-8, and Tout, Chapters, IV, 145.
5. Edit. V.H.Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), 49-50.
6. J.Le Patourel, "The treaty of Brétigny, 1360", TRHS, 5th series, X (1960), 19-39.

in the light of this evidence.

When Henry returned from Brittany in 1358, King John, who had been brought from Bordeaux to London in the previous year, was staying at the sumptuous manor of the Savoy, situated on the road from the City to Westminster at Temple Bar.¹ The duke, who was created Earl of Moray by David II of Scotland on 5 April,² appears to have spent much of the next year at Leicester and elsewhere on his estates.³ He may have taken part in the jousts put on for John at Windsor on Saint George's Day,⁴ and would naturally be present at the marriage of his youngest daughter, Blanche, to John of Gaunt at Reading on 19 May, 1359, and at the festivities which

1. He was lodged there from his arrival in London on 24 May, 1357, until 4 April, 1359, when he was taken to Hertford castle. On 4 August following he was removed to Somerton castle in Lincolnshire (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 56-7, 77-8, 142-3, 179 & 183).
2. CDRS, IV, p.3, no.9.
3. See his itinerary in England (Appendix I).
4. Reading, 130 & 273-4, and Eulogiam Historiarum, 227, say that he did, and that he was wounded in the leg; but Knighton, II, 99, by implication excludes him. Vide supra., p.542, n.2.

accompanied the occasion, in which he doubtless took part.¹ But some of his time must also have been taken up with the negotiations which were proceeding in the capital.²

On 23 March, 1357, while the Black Prince and his royal captive were still at Bordeaux, a truce of two years duration had been concluded there at the instance of the papacy.³ After they arrived in London on 24 May, negotiations for John's release, which had begun in Gascony, were continued, and a year later these resulted in a ransom treaty (8 May, 1358) which Delachenal called the first treaty of London. By the terms of this agreement Edward was to acquire an enlarged Aquitaine, Ponthieu, Calais and the county of Guines, all in full sovereignty,

1. On these, see Reading, 131-2 & 274-5. The schedule of wedding presents from members of the royal family, dated 20 May, is extant (E 101/393/10), and there are details of other presents entered on the Issue Rolls (S.Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, 14, n.1). Lancaster took Blanche to Leicester 'before the marriage' (M.Bateson, Records of the borough of Leicester, II, 109).
2. Cf. two letters which appear to relate to these (BM, Harley 4971, fos.13v-14r; Appendix A, no.28).
3. For the following account of the negotiations of 1357-9, see Le Patourel, op.cit., 19-31.

the suzerainty of Brittany, and a sum of 4 million gold écus, of which 600,000 florins, due by 1 November, were to be paid before John could be released. That his territorial demands were less than those which he had made in 1353-4 was due to the fact that nothing whatever was required of him in return. The concessions were to be made as part of the price to be paid for John's conditional release. But by December the treaty had failed,¹ and preparations were immediately put under way for what was intended to be the decisive campaign in France. During February and March mobilization was in full swing and the truce of Bordeaux was due to expire on 9 April.

Quite why Edward agreed to extend the truce until 24 June and to negotiate a new agreement with John (Delachenal's second treaty of London, dated 24 March, 1359) is not altogether clear; but this time he demanded far greater territorial concessions from the French.

1. It is difficult to say precisely when and why it broke down (ibid., 27-8), but it is quite clear from a letter of Charles of Navarre that it was before 12 December, and it would seem that it was Edward who had given it up (E. Perroy, "France, England, and Navarre from 1359 to 1364", BIHR, XIII, 1935-1936, 153).

He now wanted Touraine, Anjou, Normandy and the county of Boulogne in addition to the lands stated in the agreement of the previous May. Moreover, although the ransom remained at the same figure as in 1358, the French were now given four months in which to raise a first instalment of 3 million florins instead of six months in which to raise 600,000.

What, in effect, Edward was asking for was nothing less than the old Angevin Empire, together with the counties of Ponthieu, Boulogne and Guines, and the town of Calais, all in full sovereignty and completely detached from the kingdom of France, and a sum of money five times larger than one which the French had previously been unable to raise in two thirds the time. In return he would renounce his claim to the French throne. These demands were so outrageous that it is difficult to believe that they represented a sincere proposal for peace on Edward's part. And so it must have seemed to the French Estates when, on 25 May, they courageously rejected the treaty as neither acceptable nor practicable.

Edward received the news from Paris during the first half of June,¹ and his military preparations, which had

1. Certainly before 16 June (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 141, n.1).

been proceeding since the close of the previous year,¹ were rapidly speeded up.² During the course of August and September a vast expeditionary force of about 11,900 men - surpassed in size only by the Crécy-Calais armies - was assembled for his last campaign.³ It included the Black Prince, Lancaster, 10 earls, 20 bannarets, 870 knights, 3,800 men-at-arms, 5,500 mounted archers, 300 household clerks and 'the like, 30 grooms and porters, 200 artificers and 1,100 Welsh foot.⁴ A great convoy of wagons was got together, since the army would depend for all manner of war stores and weapons, ammunition, equipment, clothing, tentage and the like, on what they could carry with them.⁵

In the event Edward was not ready to move until late in the autumn, and by then the situation in France was a good deal less menacing than it had been a year earlier. The regent's authority was beginning to make itself felt, the Estates were now quiet, the Jacquerie had been quelled,

1. Ibid., II, 144; Prince, op.cit., 367, n.4.

2. E 404/495/40, 41, 82 & 88-91.

3. Prince, op.cit., 368.

4. Ibid.

5. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 150.

and the Navareese war had been brought to an end.¹ Had Edward ignored Charles the Bad in his military plans, had he decided that it was time to throw him over since he had recently been making much of his claims to the throne of France,² or had Charles decided that he had more to gain from an agreement with the regent?³ Whatever the case the young king made peace with the French court at Pontoise in August,⁴ and he subsequently remained non-participant and neutral when he might have been useful.⁵ Moreover, Edward's security was very bad in 1359. It was known that he would make for Reims as early as 10 July,⁶ so that the citizens had time to complete and strengthen the new defences of the city.⁷ When he arrived there in December

1. For these, see Delachenal, op.cit., I, chapters IX & X, and II, chapter I.

2. Ibid., I, 418.

3. See his curious letter to Edward of 4 April, 1359 (Perroy, op.cit.,

4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 119-32.

5. Perroy, op.cit., 152.

6. P.Varin, Archives administratives de la ville de Reims, III, 140-1; Delachenal, op.cit., II, 145-6.

7. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 154-7.

he faced the prospect of a long siege, miles away from base, and in the depth of winter. He was, in fact, more than a year too late.

The progress to Reims

Edward and his generals were probably not unaware of what lay ahead of them. Provisions were made to meet the rigours of winter and a march across a landscape denuded of food by war, the Jacquerie and the regent's express command.¹ The army would have to subsist for once upon its own commissariat. Among the supplies loaded onto the baggage-wagons were hand mills to grind corn and ovens to bake it, falcons and dogs for the chase, and small portable boats for fishing.²

There is no direct evidence bearing upon Edward's military plan for this campaign and no dispatch relates its progress. Before he left England he is said to have sworn never to return until he had put an end to the

1. Ibid., II, 150 & 152.

2. Ibid., II, 150.

conflict either by war or a peace.¹ Judging from subsequent events he had decided upon a peaceful progress to Reims for his coronation, but fully prepared to meet opposition from the regent should he choose to give him battle. He may have hoped to secure the support of the archbishop of Reims, Jean de Craon, for the ceremony, and to persuade the citizens to open the gates of the city for that purpose.² If the plan miscarried he would have no alternative but to fight, presuming, of course, that the regent would risk a battle.

The way in which the campaign progressed would appear to bear this out. During the course of the summer a swarm of troops from Flanders and the Empire had assembled at Calais for the campaign and were causing Edward some embarrassment since they not only left little room for lodging or stables for horses, and used up supplies of food, wine, hay and oats then in the town, but they were also expecting to enrich themselves from

1. Ibid., II, 148; J. Barnes, History of Edward III, 566.
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 155 & 157; H. Moranvillé, "Le siège de Reims, 1359-1360", HEC, LVI (1895), 90-91.

the spoils of France.¹ It was therefore decided to send Lancaster across to Calais in charge of an advance-guard to rid the town of these new-comers.² The plan also had the merit of facilitating the transport of the expeditionary forces, whose crossing might otherwise be further delayed by a shortage of transport vessels,³ and of allowing a reconnaissance of the route to be taken by the king on his way to Reims.⁴

Around 1 October the duke disembarked at Calais and collected together the troops who had gathered there for the campaign.⁵ It is not possible to estimate the strength of the entire forces, English and foreign, who then came under his command;⁶ but his personal comitiva was the largest he ever took to France (some 1,105 men in all: 6 bannarets, 90 knights, 486 esquires, 423 mounted archers, 91 Welsh foot, 5 vintenars, a constable, doctor,

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 146-7; Froissart, V, 190-1 & 390-1.
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 146; Knighton, II, 105-6; Anonimale Chronicle, 44; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 186-7, ed. Maxwell, 145-6.
3. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 186, ed. Maxwell, 145.
4. The route of his preliminary chevauchée roughly approximated to that later taken by the king (See Map VIII).
5. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 146-7.
6. Cf. ibid., II, 147, n.1.

standard-bearer and a crier),¹ and we know the names of some of the foreigners who accompanied him from Calais with their contingents.²

The route of his preliminary chevauchée across Artois and Picardy was worked out by Delachenal.³ By-passing Saint-Omer and Béthune, he halted four days at the abbey of Mont-Saint-Eloy (situated 9 kilometres to the north of Arras) to refresh the troops and their horses, and then advanced to Bapaume and Péronne, destroying the surrounding countryside. From Péronne he swung westward down the Somme valley in the direction of Amiens, where there was a panic among the citizens, who believed the

1. E 101/393/11, fo.79v.

2. Froissart, V, 194 & 393. Henry of Flanders received wages for service as a bannaret, with a retinue of 1 bannaret, 18 knights and 73 esquires, for the period 6 September to 31 October; Frank de Hale, also as a bannaret, with a retinue of 16 knights and 218 esquires, in the period 23 August to 31 October; Walter Mauny, also as a bannaret, with a retinue of 6 knights, 20 esquires and 60 mounted archers, for the period 7 October to 18 May, and an additional bannaret, 2 knights and 23 esquires for the period 7 October to 25 November; and Jean de Gommeignies, also as a bannaret, with a retinue of 50 esquires, in the period 10 September to 24 December (E 101/393/11, fos.80v & 86r-v).

3. Op.cit., II, 147-8, and see the account in Barnes, op.cit., 565-6.

town threatened on 18 October. An attempt to take Bray-sur-Somme (which would have got him across the river) met with a stiff resistance and some casualties. His troops had to wade shoulder deep through the moats to the foot of the walls,¹ and were attacked in the rear by a small force commanded by Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint Pol, then lieutenant in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois, and Raoul de Renneval, who had recently been given joint charge of Amiens.² His failure to take the town determined the movement down stream to Cérisy, where he finally crossed the Somme on 1 November. He could not have proceeded much further when Edward, who had disembarked at Calais with the main body of his army on 28 October, recalled him to that town.

1. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 187, ed. Maxwell, 146.
2. Froissart, V, 193 & 392-4. Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, was appointed lieutenant in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise, on 14 July, 1359, and was still exercising the office on 16 March, 1360 (Appendix B, Ie, no.8; IIe, no.8; III, no.20). For Renneval's appointment see Luce's note in Froissart, V, lvi, n.2.

Edward spent about a week in Calais, organising and arraying his forces before departing on 4 November.¹ He had divided his troops into three columns: one he kept to himself, which included his sons Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley, John de Montfort and the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury and Oxford; another he gave to the Black Prince, which included John of Gaunt and the earls of Northampton and Stafford; the third, temporarily under the command of the earl of March, he intended for Lancaster.²

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 150-1. There are a number of royal letters, given under the privy seal, which are dated at Sandwich on 28 October, but at Calais on 2 & 3 November (Lescot, Appendix I, 208).
2. Anonimale Chronicle, 44; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 187, ed. Maxwell, 146; Froissart, V, lviii-lix, 199-200 & 399-400; Knighton, II, 106. Cf. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 151. Lionel of Antwerp had a retinue of 1 bannaret, 6 knights, 32 esquires and 40 mounted archers; Edmund of Langley 6 knights, 15 esquires and 46 mounted archers; the earl of Warwick 1 bannaret, 36 knights, 82 esquires and 120 mounted archers; the earl of Suffolk 19 knights, 40 esquires and 60 mounted archers; the earl of Salisbury 15 knights, 34 esquires and 50 mounted archers; the earl of Oxford 1 knight, 8 esquires and 10 mounted archers; the Black Prince 7 bannarets, 136 knights, 443 esquires and 900 mounted archers; John of Gaunt 2 bannarets, 35 knights, 162 esquires and 200 mounted archers; the earl of Northampton 2 bannarets, 29 knights, 128 esquires and 200 mounted archers; and the earl of Stafford 3 bannarets, 30 knights, 86 esquires and 120 mounted archers (E 101/393/11, fos.79r-80r). There is no record of wages paid to John de Montfort.

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Constable of England, had crossed over to France six days in advance of the king and had conducted a raid down the coast by way of Boulogne to Étapes, which was burnt, doubtless as a precaution against possible French naval attacks on the English transport vessels.¹ It is likely that Lancaster, who was returning to base by way of the Somme valley,² joined up forces with him to the south of Calais, when he made contact with the other two columns and when general policy was discussed, presumably after he had given a report.³ It was at this juncture that most of

1. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 187, ed. Maxwell, 146. However, the French appear to have attempted nothing (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 149-50).
2. "et le dite duke retourna par la test del ewe de Summe destruyaunt la pais en viroun" (Anonimale Chronicle, 44). This appears to be the only account of his return route.
3. "et si encontrerent le bone duke de Loncastre, envenaunt devers le roy a vint lieus de Kalays od soun poier avaunt dite et illeques pristerent lour conseil emsemble, coment pluis profitable fuist affaire et quel pays lour viage prendre" (ibid.). According to Froissart (V, lviii, 194, 200 & 394), who appears to have been in Calais at the time (M. Galway, "Froissart in England", University of Birmingham Historical Journal, VII, 1959, 23), the junction took place 4 leagues from Calais, on a plain between that town and the abbey of Licques (Pas-de-Calais, arr. Boulogne, cant. Guines). Sir Thomas Gray, who took part in the campaign, implies that they met after Edward had left Calais (Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 187, ed. Maxwell, 146).

the foreigners who had served with the duke were discharged.¹ The work of devastation and looting had achieved the desired results and, with possible resistance eliminated, Edward was now able to begin his progress to Reims as befitted a king who had come to take up his inheritance and to secure the allegiance of his subjects. From this point his army advanced to its destination in three parallel columns, a formation it kept until the end, doubtless for reasons of supply.²

The itineraries of the forces under the command of the king and the Black Prince are known in some detail.³ The troops under Edward first made for Saint-Omer, crossed Artois (by-passing Arras), Cambrésis (by-passing Cambrai), Vermandois, Thiérache, Laonais (by-passing Laon), entering Champagne in the closing days of November, and crossing the Aisne to arrive before Reims on 4 December.

1. Froissart, V, lviii, 195-7 & 394-7; Delachenal, op.cit., II, 148.
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 151, and Anonimale Chronicle, 44-5.
3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 151-2, the sources there cited, and the Anonimale Chronicle, 45.

The route of the troops under the prince is particularly well documented since the author of the Scalacronica, Sir Thomas Gray, was among them and noted the principal stops: Montreuil, Hesdin, through Ponthieu and Picardy, then, after crossing the Somme at some unknown point, Nesle, Ham, Saint-Quentin and finally, before Reims, two places in Champagne - Rethel (where the French burned the town to prevent him from crossing the Aisne) and Château-Porcien (where he succeeded in crossing the river). The interesting thing about these two itineraries is that, as far as the river Somme, they roughly correspond with that of Lancaster's preliminary chevauchée.¹

The route now taken by the forces under the duke's command is much less well known, perhaps because they did not set out from Calais with the main army. All that can be said is that his troops proceeded at more or less equal distances from those of the king and the prince,² and that they passed by Saint-Quentin on 26 November.³ It was probably

1. See Map VIII.

2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 152.

3. This may be deduced from the incident in which Bartholomew de Burghersh was involved in the neighbourhood of the town on that date (ibid., and the sources there cited), since we are told by Gray that Burghersh was an officer in Lancaster's column (Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 188, ed. Maxwell, 148).

at this point that the three columns, which had lost contact during the course of the march, encountered on 28 November.¹ Another council was then held, at which Lancaster was present, before they continued their descent on Reims through new country on the following day.²

At the beginning of December the expeditionary forces took up quarters at a number of places encircling the city: Edward at the abbey of Saint-Basle and subsequently at Verzy, the Black Prince at Villedomange, the earls of Richmond and Northampton at the abbey of Saint-Thierry, Lancaster at Brimont, the earl of March at Cernay-les-Reims, and John de Beauchamp at Bétheny.³

1. Knighton, II, 105. The junction could hardly have taken place in the region of Beaurieux or Amifontaine as has been conjectured by Moranvillé (op.cit., 93, n.3), since neither of these places were on the Black Prince's route (see Map 8). Delachenal, op.cit., II, 153, does not commit himself.
2. Knighton, II, 105; Delachenal, op.cit., II, 153 & n.5.
3. The quarters taken up by the forces are given, though with some discrepancy, by the author of the Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, 251-2, and Moranvillé, op.cit., 93. According to Froissart, V, lx, Edward lodged at Saint-Basle, the Black Prince and his brothers at Saint-Thierry, and the rest of the army in villages around the city. We know that Edward was at Verzy on 25 December and 6 January (E 101/393/11, fo.59), and there are surviving letters dated there on 26 December, 1 & 5 January (C 81/380/24437-40; Rymer, III, i, 453). Cf. Anonimale Chronicle, 167, and Lescot, 208.

The siege, if it can properly be called that, lasted for more than five weeks.¹ During this period no attempt appears to have been made to take the city by assault, and operations were probably confined to a simple and not very effective blockade.² The headquarters of the army were so far away that Edward can hardly have been thinking of active military operations in which his presence would be necessary every day.³ It seems much more likely that he was waiting to be informed that the gates of the city had been opened for his entry. Villani speaks of the consideration which was shown to the citizens and of positive offers which were made to persuade them to come over to the English cause.⁴ According to Knighton Edward issued

1. Apparently from 4 December until 11 January (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 153-4, 154, n.1, 160-1 & 161, n.1).
2. Ibid., II, 157 & 159.
3. His own headquarters were some ten miles away from Reims at Saint-Basle and Verzy, those of the Black Prince five miles at Villedomange (See Map 8).
4. "Il gennajo MCCCLIX (sic) il re d'Inghilterra pose campo vicino alla città di Rens, usando cautela di non fare loro guasto di fuori, e per più fiare con belli modi cercò, con impromesse di magnificare et d'essaltare quella villa sopra tutte quelle di Francia, che li fosse prestato l'assento, che in quella città potesse prendere la corona di Francia, promettendo a tutti di trattargli benignamente" (Matteo Villani, lib.IX, cap.lxvii; Muratori, XIV, cols. 587-588; cited by Delachenal, op.cit., II, 157, n.3).

strict injunctions that the inhabitants were to be treated as friends and the troops behaved as if they were on their own soil.¹

What action there was took place in the environs of the city, most of it over 30 miles to the east, and was probably occasioned by the need to keep the troops employed, since unemployment in the field breeds indiscipline.² Several detachments were sent out. Whilst Eustache d'Auberchicourt, the celebrated partisan, ravaged the banks of the Aisne, and Bartholomew de Burghersh, together with contingents from the retinues of John of Gaunt and the Black Prince, besieged Cormicy (20 December), Lancaster, Gaunt, the earl of March, John Chandos and James Audley took and burned Cernay-en-Dormois (30 December) and, having joined up forces with d'Auberchicourt, Autry and Manre, which suffered a

1. "... venit rex cum omnibus suis ad villam de Reynes (sic) et recipiebant se hospicio ex omni parte villae, et quieverunt pacifice nulli malum aut molestiam inferentes. Et fecerunt convivia unusquisque dominus cum alio acsi in proprio solo fuissent in Anglia" (Knighton, II, 107).
2. Details of these operations are to be found in Moranvillé, op.cit., 94-8, and Delachenal, op.cit., II, 159-60. I find it difficult to accept his view that the purpose of the raids was to secure victuals.

like fate (1 January). There had been plenty of room for individual prowess, but the profit of this enterprise went to d'Auberchicourt who, having collected reventions from the surrounding countryside, later sold Autry to the duke of Bar for 7,000 gold florins de principal, and Manre and Attigny to the count of Flanders for 25,000 gold deniers.

These diversions had advanced Edward's cause not one inch. Reims still held out. Moreover, it was a particularly wet winter and the rain, which had slowed down the army on the march across northern France, still continued to pour.¹ As a result the horses, picketed out in the open, suffered severely. It had been impossible to bring a large quantity of oats for them and they were badly in need of forage. Among the men morale must have been falling. Edward and his generals were clearly aware of all this and that the gates of the city were still held against them. It was decided to put the army on the move. On 11 January the siege was raised.² The troops

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 153 & 160.

2. Ibid., II, 160-1.

departed during the night, and in good order.

The march into Burgundy

It seems fairly clear that on abandoning Reims Edward's plan was to proceed into Burgundy in order to secure the support of the young duke, Philip de Rouvre, perhaps the most important of the twelve peers of France, to his coronation at some future date.¹ If we may believe Villani there were already signs of

1. In his act of obligation of a treaty subsequently concluded with the king at Guillon (10 March, 1360), the duke referred to Edward as "Haut prince et puissant le roi d'Angleterre, procedant sur la demande qu'il fait pour la couronne et royaume de France, feist son chemin avec grant ost par nostre pais de Bourgogne, etc." (Rymer, III, i, 474). Referring to this treaty Villani (ubi supra., col.598) comments "Del mese di maggio MCCCLX il giovane duca di Borgogna, seguendo il consiglio de' suoi baroni, prese accordo col Re d'Inghilterra in questa forma, che il Re si dovesse partire del paese, et il duca a lui dovesse dare in tre anni cento venti migliaja di montoni d'oro, come ne toccasse per anno. E oltre a ciò, c'havendo il Re d'Inghilterra a sua coronazione del reame di Francia per boce d'imperio, che la sua sarebbe la seconda. Sotto questa concordia assai grande al re d'I., più per l'honore della promessa e della boce del duca che per altra cagione, il re d'I., con tutta sua hoste si parti de Borgogna etc." The last part should probably read "E oltre a ciò, c'havendo il re d'Inghilterra (1) a sua coronazione del reame di Francia per boce de' (or di) XII pari, che la sua sarebbe la seconda" (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 170, n.4). Whose was to be the first voice? That of Edward, as duke of Gascony, or of the archbishop of Reims, Jean de Craon?

discontent in the duchy with interference from Paris,¹ and it is possible that negotiations were begun whilst Edward was before Reims.² The movement south was not altogether occasioned by the need to find forage for the horses.

The army first made for Châlons, which it did not attempt to take, but proceeded up stream the Marne to Pogny, where it was obliged to halt for over a week whilst the bridge across the river was repaired, before proceeding into southern Champagne.³ Once again the troops

1. "Il duca di Borgogna era un giovanetto, ed elli, e suoi baroni erano mal contenti del Re di Francia, perche havea la duchessa madre del detto duca tolta per moglie, e la sua dote assai, havea preso tutte giuridizioni del paese. La quale cosa fu cagione di non prendere quella franca difesa contro a gli' Inghilesi, che si potea pigliare" (Villani, ubi supra., col.589). This view is born out by a number of documents in the registers of the parlement de Paris (Arch. nat., X^{1a}27, fos.231r-2r, no.39; X^{1a}22, fos.268v-9r, no.95; etc. Vide infra., p.815).
2. "Les bourguegnons, pour la tres grant paour qu'ilz ourent du roy Edouart et des Angloiz, vindrent à son siege de Rains parler à lui pour raenconner leur pais" (Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, 100). The Burgundians appear to have taken the initiative (Arch. nat., X^{1a}27, fos. 231r-2r, no.39; Chronicon Angliae, 40; Knighton, II, 110).
3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 161. Edward's letters were dated at Pogny on 10, 19 & 26 January (C 81/380/24441-3; Lescot, Appendix I, 200), but at "The town of Saint George by the castle of Beauford in France" (CPR, 1358-61, 328). The castle of Beaufort, today Montmorency (Aube, arr.Arcis-sur-Aube, cant. Chavagnes) is situated south of the Marne. According to the Anonimale Chronicle, 45, after crossing

moved in three columns for reasons of supply.¹ They crossed the Aube and then the Seine, the latter in two places, at Pont-sur-Seine and Méry.² By-passing Troyes - where the remaining German contingent left - they now turned due south into Burgundy.³ The right column, under Lancaster's command, may have advanced as far as Provins, by-passing Sens en route.⁴ The Black Prince descended to Auxerre, badly in need of forage for his horses, and lodged at Égleny, where his troops suffered more from the enemy than they had done any other time hitherto during the expedition.⁵ The earl of March, now in command

the Marne he raided as far as Châtelraould-Saint-Louvent, and we know him to have been at Trouan on 2 February (E 101/393/11, fo.59; Anonimalle Chronicle, 167). See Map The halt at Pogny was not made to transact the ransom of the duchy of Bar, as suggested by Delachenal, (op.cit., II, 161, n.5), but to repair the bridge over the Marne (Anonimalle Chronicle, 45; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 189, ed. Maxwell, 149). The ransom was negotiated at a later stage, probably at Méry (Anonimalle Chronicle, 45; Froissart, V, 223).

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 161-2.
2. Ibid., II, 162; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 189, ed. Maxwell, 150.
3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 162.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., II, 162-3; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 189, ed. Maxwell, 150.

of a separate detachment of the army, made his way to Saint-Florentin, whilst Edward, passing near to Cerisiers and Briennon l'Archevêque, rejoined him at Armancon, in the neighbourhood of Saint-Florentin.¹ From here they made their way to Pontigny, where the entire army reassembled.² The Anonimalle Chronicler's story of the pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Edward there, and the severe orders which were given against pillage,³ require at least to be weighed against the general assumption that the abbey was plundered.⁴

The troops were shown the way down the Serain valley from Pontigny to Chablis by one Jean Pounteney.⁵ From here diverse fractions of the army made for Tonnerre,

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 163.
2. Anonimalle Chronicle, 45. E.Petit, Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne, IX, 183, conjectured that the junction took place at Tonnerre (Delachenal, op.cit., II, 163).
3. "... tange a labbaye de Pountenay en la counte de Ausere ou gist le noble Confessour seint Edmunde de Pounteney iadys ercevesqe de Cauntirbiry; et illeques le roy Dengleterre et le prince et les autres seignours du roialme Dengleterre et plusours des les communes alerent nupees et deschauncez en pereginage et fesauntz lour devocion et offrissent al dit corsant comaundaunt as toutz gentz del oste sour payn de la vie et membre et forfeiture de lour biens pur sauver et garder et esparner toutz les biens, mobles et nyent mobles pertinauntz al dite abbeye saunz ascune destruccion fair" (Anonimalle Chronicle, 45-6).
4. Cf. Froissart, V, lxx & 415; Denifle, op.cit., I, 249; Delachenal, op.cit., II, 163. We know that Edward offered £7.13s.4d. at the shrine of Saint Edmund (E 101/393/11, fo.59; Anonimalle Chronicle, 167).
5. E 101/393/11, fo.71; Anonimalle Chronicle, 168.

which was taken by assault, whilst Edward followed the course of the Serein to Noyers, where the castle was likewise taken, l'Isle-sur-Serein, where he rested his troops awhile, and Guillon, where he arrived on the night of 19 February.¹ It was here that the army once again reassembled.

Edward spent the best part of a month at Guillon.² He passed his time neither disagreeably nor unprofitably. Froissart tells us how the army had brought with them on their baggage-wagons tents and pavilions, hand-mills to grind their corn, ovens to bake bread, forges to make shoes for their horses, and several dinghys and small boats made of leather in each of which three men were able to fish in the ponds and rivers.³ For his own

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 163-4.

2. His letters were dated there on 28 February, 1, 8 & 16 March (C 81/380/24446-8; CPR, 1358-61, 328 & 329; Lescot, Appendix I, 208). The various instruments of the treaty of Guillon are dated 10-20 March (Arch. dép. Côtes d'Or, B 11922).

3. Froissart, V, 225.

diversion Edward had brought 30 falconers on horseback, hawks, sixty couple of hounds and as many greyhounds, besides those hawks and hounds which some of his nobles had brought with them, with which he hunted and hawked each day by the river at his pleasure.¹

Nevertheless, there was more serious business to be attended to. Whilst the marshals of the army conducted foraging raids into the surrounding country,² on one of which Roger Mortimer was killed,³ Edward and some of his other nobles were busy negotiating a treaty with the Burgundians,⁴ which was perhaps the primary reason why he had entered the duchy in the first place.⁵

Since the death of Eudes IV (1349), who had reunited the county of Burgundy with his hereditary lands, the duchy of Burgundy had been in the hands of the infant

1. Ibid.

2. See Delachenal, op.cit., II, 165-6, for these.

3. Apparently at Rouvray on 26 February (ibid., II, 165, n.2). On 1 March following, John de Beauchamp, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed constable of the army, as also of Dover castle and of the Cinque Ports, in his place (Rot. Franc., 34 Edw. III, m.45; CPR, 1358-61, 328).

4. The king's sons Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley, Lancaster, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, Henry Percy, Walter Mauny, Guy Brian, Reginald de Cobham and John Chandos were amongst those who undertook to observe the treaty then drawn up (Arch. dép. Côtes d'Or, B 11922).

5. Vide supra., pp. 809-10.

Philip de Rouvre, who was married to one of the richest heirs in Christendom, Margaret, daughter of the count of Flanders and Nevers, Louis de Male.¹ But Philip, who died on 21 November, 1361, when he was only sixteen, never had any control of affairs. His authority was purely nominal.

An even greater weakness was the reunion of the county with the duchy, since the nobility of the former were very proud of their independence and resented the resulting French influence in their affairs. Some of them, like Jean de Neufchâtel, were either in English or Navarrese pay, or both, and employed themselves on exploits of brigandage in the duchy. It was that faction which was hostile to the French monarchy which negotiated the treaty of Guillon.²

The principal clauses are well known.³ For a ransom of 200,000 gold moutons, payable in three terms, Edward undertook to restore the fortress of Flavigny (taken by

1. For the following remarks, see Delachenal, op.cit., II, 166-9, and supra., pp. 809-10 & 810, n.1.
2. Arch. nat., X^{1a}27, fos.231r-2r, no.39; Delachenal, op.cit., II, 169.
3. Cf. Rymer, III, i, 473-4, and Delachenal, op.cit., II, 169-71. I am presently preparing a paper on this subject.

an English esquire, John de Harleston, in January of the preceeding year) and, by implication, to evacuate Burgundy, since he agreed to a three years truce. If, subsequently, the duke should fail to give his support, as a peer of France, to Edward's coronation, the truce was no longer to hold good and Burgundy would again be prey to English troops.¹

There can be little doubt that, from Edward's point of view, the most important clause of the treaty was that whereby Philip obliged himself to his consecration.²

The promise of a respite from hostilities, the threat of their recommencement, and the ransom demanded for immunity were all intended to persuade the duke to stand by it. A similar ransom had been demanded from the duchy

1. "Item, accordé est expressement que, ou cas que nous nous vourrions faire sacrer, par l'accord de la plus grant partie des piers (pairs) de Ffrance, et le duc de Bourgoigne contredisoit, ne ne vourroit faire à nous, come au roi de Ffrance, ce q'il doit faire, qe les avant dites trieves adont perdent lour force; et nous purrons si avant proceder encontre le dit duc et son païs, come si les dites trieves ne eussient esté prises ne accordées" (Arch. de la Côte-d'Or, B 11922; cf. Rymer, III, i, 473).
2. Vide supra., p.816, n.1.

of Bar,¹ others were subsequently demanded from the county of Nevers and the barony of Donzy,² and it would be interesting to know if the treaties drawn up on these occasions contained more than purely financial clauses.³

The march to Paris

Up till now Edward had been following a perfectly logical plan. Having failed to persuade the citizens of Reims to open their gates to him, and in view of the privations which winter forced upon his army, he had been obliged to temporarily abandon his primary objective. But he had secured the support of the duke of Burgundy, and perhaps of others, for his coronation at some future date. It now remained to force the regent to fight, and if he should be successful in battle not only Reims but the kingdom of France would be his.

1. Anonimale Chronicle, 45; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 188, ed. Maxwell, 149. Cf. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 161, n.5.
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 173, n.4.
3. This could possibly be discovered. The treaty with the duchy of Bar involved the sending of hostages to England in default of payment of the ransom (Arch. nat., X^{1a}21, fos.261v-2r, no.32).

Towards the end of March, having achieved his purpose in Burgundy, Edward left Guillon for Paris.¹ The regent had gathered together his forces within the walls of the city and, since he had so far refused to meet Edward in battle, it would be necessary to bring him out or to force him into a surrender. He may even have hoped for assistance within the capital itself, for in December a plot had been laid to assassinate the regent, apparently at the instigation of Charles the Bad.²

Edward's army left the valley of the Serein for that of the Cure, where it was again divided into three columns.³ The troops with Edward assembled at Asquins, those under Lancaster and the Black Prince moved into formation some two to four leagues away, at Saint-Père and Pierre-Perthuis. After a halt of several days they proceeded into the valley of the Yonne, the majority of them crossing the river at

1. Probably not later than 20 March, by which date the negotiations at Guillon were certainly completed (Arch. dép. de la Côte d'Or, B 11922). According to Delachenal (op.cit., II, 173) Edward was not then heading for Paris, and it was not until he received news of the French descent on Winchelsea (15 March) that he determined to make for the capital, "qui ne paraît avoir été la conséquence d'un plan de campagne arrêté à l'avance". But his route across the Cure and the Yonne was the obvious one to take (see Map).
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 173-6.
3. Ibid., II, 172-3.

Coulanges. Edward himself went up stream to the village of Asnois, where the ransom treaties with Nevers and Donzy were probably concluded.

The army could now approach Paris by a march north between the Loire and the Yonne and south of the Seine.¹ The routes taken by the three columns are not known in detail. Both the king and the prince went through the Gâtinais; Edward apparently to the west, by way of Montargis, Beaune and Boëse,² his eldest son to the east, by way of Tournelles and Moret.³ Nothing is known of the route taken by Lancaster, but it probably still lay between the other two. Perhaps more significant is that the troops now turned to destroying the countryside on their way to the capital, according to Knighton burning, killing and devastating everything around them.⁴ During the last days of March

1. See Map VIII.
2. This appears to be the only possible interpretation of the itinerary given in the Anonimalle Chronicle, 46. Cf. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 191, ed. Maxwell, 153.
3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 185 & n.3.
4. "Unde rex movit exercitum usque Parisius incendendo, occidendo et undique devastando" (Knighnton, II, 111). Cf. Anonimalle Chronicle, 46.

they took up quarters some 12 to 20 miles south of the city: Edward in an old residence of the dukes of Burgundy at Chanteloup, his sons and the rest of his army in the surrounding villages between there and Corbeil and Longjumeau.¹

Edward remained at Chanteloup throughout Easter week.² It was at this point that peace negotiations were opened with the French.³ Innocent VI had been pressing these for some time. As early as 18 November of the previous year he had entrusted a mission to Simon de Langres, general of the order of Friar Preachers, and William de Lynn, dean of Chichester.⁴ On 4 March following André de la Roche, abbot of Cluny, and Hugues de Genève, lord of Anthon, were given charge of another.

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 186; but see the following note.
2. According to the *Grandes Chroniques* (cited by Delachenal, op.cit., II, 186 & n.6, and 187 & n.8) he stayed there from 31 March until 7 April, but the Anonimale Chronicle, 46, says from 28 March to 8 April, and his letters were dated there on 6, 7 & 10 April (C 81/380/24449-24451; Rymer, III, i, 480; Lescot, Appendix I, 208-9).
3. For the following remarks see Delachenal, op.cit., II, 186-8.
4. Rymer, III, i, 455.

Papal efforts at mediation may have begun whilst Edward was at Guillon.¹ As a result of the endeavours of Simon de Langres arrangements were made for their resumption, and a conference was held in the leper house at Longjumeau on Good Friday (3 April).² Lancaster was at the head of the English delegation, which included the earls of Northampton and Warwick, John Chandos and Walter Mauny.³ The regent was represented by Robert de Fiennes, constable of France, Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut, marshal of France, the lord of Garençières, Ainaud de la Tour, lord of Vinay, Simon de Bucy, Guichard d'Angle and several others, secretaries and councillors.⁴ No record exists of the discussions, but it is unlikely that Edward took them very seriously since they were not resumed the following day. According to the continuator of Richard Lescot's chronicle his demands were still too great.⁵

1. "In quadragesima sequenti rex Edwardus habuit tractatum cum Francis, aderantque unus cardinalis et unus legatus; sed non cepit effectum" (Knighton, II, 110-11).

2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 187.

3. The duke's column of the army appear to have been quartered in Longjumeau.

4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 187.

5. Lescot, 144.

There was no truce during the conference. Jean de Venette has left us a sad story of that fateful Easter week.¹ Whilst the peace discussions were in progress the fortified church of Orly was taken, as later was that of Chastres, where the inhabitants had taken refuge and suffered a horrible fate. On Good Friday and Easter Saturday Montlhéry and Longjumeau were burned. The smoke and flames rising from the fires were clearly visible in Paris, where the inhabitants of the faubourgs and the surrounding countryside had fled for protection. On Easter Saturday the two famous butcheries of Saint-Marceau and Saint-Germain were moved inside the city walls, and orders were given for these two faubourgs and that of Notre-Dame-des-Champs to be burned as a measure of defence. Venette tells us how lamentable it was to see men, women and children so desolate, and how on Easter Sunday he saw priests of ten country parishes communicating their people and keeping Easter in various chapels or any spot they could find in the monastery of the Carmelite friars in Paris.

1. The Chronicle of Jean de Venette, ed. R.A.Newhall, 93-101. Cf. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 188-9.

Edward's forces were in fact rapidly encircling the city.¹ The bulk of his army took up positions along the heights to the south-west, between the left bank of the Seine and the Bièvre.² He appears to have established himself at Châtillon, above Montrouge,³ whilst his lieutenants occupied Issy, Vanves, Gentilly, Cachan and Vaugirard.⁴ The intention, fairly clearly, was to bring the French out to fight.⁵ But the regent had given strict orders that no resistance was to be shown to the English provocations.⁶

The arrival of the abbot of Cluny now resulted in another peace conference, apparently held on 10 April, also in a leper house called la Banlieue, situated on the road from Paris to Orléans at the extremity of the plain

1. Cf. Appendix I, no.13.

2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 189.

3. Ibid; but he was still at Chanteloup on 10 April (Lescot, Appendix I, 208-9).

4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 189.

5. Cf. Anonimale Chronicle, 46; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 193, ed. Maxwell, 156-7; Knighton, II, 111.

6. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 190.

of Tombe-Issoire.¹ The delegates for either side were the same as those who had met at Longjumeau, and once again no agreement was reached.²

On 12 April, therefore, Edward arrayed his forces before the walls of the city and sent Lancaster to one of the gates to demand battle of the regent, assuring him that if he were defeated he would never again claim the crown of France.³ But Charles prudently declined, for there was little that Edward could then do. A demonstration on the part of several detachments of his troops covered his withdrawal during the course of the same day.

The withdrawal from Paris and the treaty of Brétigny

It is not at all clear what Edward's plans were at this juncture. His failure to secure a favourable peace or to force the French to fight had certainly determined

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Reading, 135-6, and cf. also Froissart, V, lxix, 230-1 & 423; Anonimale Chronicle, 46; Lescot, 144-5; Knighton, II, 111; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 193, ed. Maxwell, 156-7; Jean de Venette, 102; Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, I, 259.

the withdrawal from Paris; but where was he heading for now? According to Froissart he intended to pass into Beauce and then down the Loire valley into Brittany, where he would rest and recuperate his army till the late summer and then return to besiege Paris,¹ and Gray, in his Scalacronica, asserts that he had to find fodder for the horses, it being lacking outside Paris.²

At first sight what we know of the weather and the itinerary of the army would appear to bear this out. On Monday, 13 April, there was a terrible storm, mentioned by nearly all the chroniclers, notable for the heavy rain and large hailstones, and during the course of which both men and horses died.³ According to the Chronicle of London the day became known as Black Monday.⁴ In point of fact it was a particularly bad day of a particularly wet winter.⁵

1. Froissart, VI, 1.

2. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 193, ed. Maxwell, 158. None of the other chronicles gives any indication of where he was making for.

3. Knighton, II, 112; Anonimale Chronicle, 46; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 193-4, ed. Maxwell, 158; Froissart, VI, iv, 4-5 & 238; Reading, 137; Lescot, 145; Chronique Normande, 152; Jean de Venette, 102; Chronicle(s) of London, ed. N.H.Nicolas, 64, ed. C.L.Kingsford, 13.

4. Chronicle(s) of London, ed. N.H.Nicolas, 64, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 13. The Anonimale Chronicle, 46, says "mauveys lundy".

5. Eulogium Historiarum, III, 228; Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 193-4; ed. Maxwell, 158. *Vide supra.*, p.808.

We know that over 1,200 horses were lost by the troops alone during the course of the campaign, to say nothing of those drawing the baggage-wagons.¹ According to Knighton so many perished on that one day that the army was immobilised, making it necessary to return to England.² But the storm occurred near Chartres,³ and we know that the troops continued to march south towards the Loire by way of Bonneval and Chateaudun, apparently with Vendôme as

1. According to my calculations from ^{Farley?} Ferriby's account (E 101/393/11, fos.79r, ff) compensation was made for 1,201 horses lost by the troops, but this figure presumably does not include those used for carrying supplies. More puzzling, costs for transport to Calais were met for only 4,513 horses as opposed to 10,425 on the return voyage (ibid). Were some unaccounted for, or were they collected in France?
2. "Nam in eorum reditu de civitate Parisiensi versus partes de Orlions in Bevosina subito supervenit horribilis tempestas tonitruui fulguris deinde grandinis, et occidit gentes absque numero et plusquam vj. millia equorum, ita quod cariagium exercitus defecit fere in toto, et oportuit necessario redire versus Angliam ... Quando rex disposuit se redire versus Angliam, tum propter necessitatem tum propter formam tractatus, quaecunque habebant miserunt flammae et incendio prae defectu cariagii, tentoria, utensilia, currus, sellas, et caetera quasi cuncta" (Knighon, II, 112). Cf. also Anonimale Chronicle, 46, Lescot, 145, and Jean de Venette, 102.
3. This is clear enough from the chronicles, although only Froissart (VI, iv, 5 & 240) appears to say so precisely.

their objective.¹

So far it would appear that Froissart might be right. But from Chateaudun the army swung east in the direction of Orléans,² and it was only the arrival of the abbot of Cluny, once again endeavouring to conclude a peace,³ that brought it to a halt at Tournoisis and Nids.⁴ What is significant about this apparent change of direction is that Edward was moving south by much the same route by which he had come north from Burgundy.⁵

This time the abbot's overtures were taken seriously and Edward agreed to treat. According to Froissart Lancaster was now urging him to accept the French proposals.

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 192, and the sources cited in n.2; Anonimale Chronicle, 46-7; Chronique Normande, 152.
2. Knighton, II, 112; Anonimale Chronicle, 47.
3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 192.
4. Edward's letters were dated at Tournoisis-et-Nids on 18, 27 & 28 April (C 81/380/24452-24454; Lescot, Appendix I, 209).
5. See Map VIII.

"Monsigneur", he is reputed to have said to the king, "ceste guerre que vous tenés au royaume de France, est moult mervilleuse et trop fretable pour vous. Vos gens y gaignent, et vous y perdés et alewés le temps. Tout consideret, se vous guerriés selonch vostre oppinion, vous y userés vostre vie, et c'est fort que vous en venes ja à vostre entente. Si vous conseille que, entrues que vous en poés issir à vostre honneur, vous en issiés et prendés les offres que on vous presente; car, monsieur, nous poons plus perdre sus un jour que nous n'avons conquis dedens vingt ans".¹

The duke had been an advocate of peace for some time now.² What weight his advice bore with the king is another matter;³ but essentially he was right. It was not, as has

1. Froissart, VI, 4.

2. Vide *infra.*, pp.852-3.

3. According to Froissart (VI, iv, 4-5) it was the storm that determined Edward to treat; but this is most unlikely (Delachenal, *op.cit.*, II, 191-2; S.Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, 306 & n.1}.vide *supra.*, p.826).

been pointed out,¹ that Edward had been beaten in the field, for the French had wisely refused to meet him in battle;² it was not that his army was demoralized by the storm on Black Monday; it was the fact that he, the Black Prince, Lancaster and all those commanders who had been so successful on their own, had taken over to France one of the largest armies ever seen there and achieved nothing. It was, in fact, a failure of strategy, and if we may believe Froissart it may have been Edward's own.³ Either the duke or the chronicler was right, whoever had gained from the war up till now it was not the king. It

1. J. Le Patourel, "The treaty of Brétigny, 1360", TRHS, 5th series., X (1960), 32.
2. The comments of the Chronique Normande, 149, are very much to the point: "Mais pou de temps y sejourna (i.e., before Paris) et ne conquist en ce voyage nulle ville qui face à compter, et si assaillit il Bray sur Somme et Crespy en Lannois et pluseurs autres, où il eut pluseurs de ses gens mors et blechiez, mais il ne trouva en ce voyage qui le combatist à plaine bataille".
3. "... se vous guerriés selonch vostre oppinion, vous y userés vostre vie ...", etc. (Froissart, VI, 4; vide supra., p. 828).

was from peace that Edward was to have his return, even if it was not altogether what he had wanted.¹

Negotiations began towards the end of April,² probably while Edward was at Tournoisis and Nids.³ The regent responded to the king's overtures by sending some of his councillors to Chartres with full powers and a special mandate to represent him.⁴ There were sixteen delegates in all, led by the bishop of Beauvais and accompanied by two secretaries or notaries.⁵ They left Paris and arrived in Chartres on 27 April, but were obliged to come further south, doubtless to

1. Froissart's comments (VI, 4) are illuminating: "La estoient, en le cambre dou roy d'Engleterre sus son logeis, ensi comme il cheoit a point et qu'il se logoit sus son chemin, tant devant le cité de Chartres comme ailleurs, des dessus dis trettieurs francois grans offres mises avant, pour venir a conclusion et a fin de guerre et a ordenance de pais, asquelz coses li rois d'Engleterre fu trop durs a entamer; car li intentions de lui estoit tele que il voloit demorer rois de France, comment que il ne le fust mies, et morir rois de France, et voloit ostoier en Bretagne, en Blois, en Tourainne cel esté, si com ci dessus est dit".
2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 192.
3. He was there on 18, 27 & 28 April (C 81/380/24452-24454; Lescot, Appendix I, 209).
4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 193.
5. Ibid., II, 193-5.

Tournoisis and Nids, where Edward and his council were encamped.¹ Upon requesting the king where the conference should take place, he replied that he was returning to Chartres.² In fact he established his quarters at Sours, about two leagues from Chartres, and it was at Brétigny, a hamlet of the parish of Sours, that the negotiations took place.³

The English delegates, again led by Lancaster, opened discussions with the French on 1 May, and an agreement was reached within a few days.⁴ Delachenal thought that this was possible only because the treaty which was now concluded at Brétigny and dated 8 May was no more than a revival of the First Treaty of London of 1358, of which only the details needed to be modified.⁵ The negotiators were doubtless not starting from scratch; the ground had

1. Ibid., II, 195-6, and supra., p.827, n.4.

2. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 196.

3. Ibid. His letters were dated at Sours on 5, 6, 8 & 9 May (C 81/380/24455-6 & 24458-9; Lescot, Appendix I, 209).

4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 196-8 & 198, n.1.

5. Ibid., II, 196-201. For the following remarks on the treaty, see Le Patourel, op.cit., 31-3.

been worked over many times since the beginning of the war, and particularly in the last three years; but the total effect of this treaty was very different from either of its two predecessors.

Edward now had to give way on almost every major point. For although, at first sight, the territorial concessions demanded of the French, though much less than those of 1359, do not seem to differ greatly from those of 1358; and although Aquitaine was defined rather more generously, this did not compensate for the loss of the sovereignty of Brittany, which he had very largely been exercising during the past eighteen years. More important, whilst in 1358 King John's promise to renounce his sovereignty over the lands to be ceded appears to have been balanced by no comparable renunciation on Edward's part, Edward now undertook to renounce, after John had made his renunciation, the crown and kingdom of France and the homage, sovereignty and domain of Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty and homage of Brittany and Flanders. Moreover, these would not be mere empty words. In some sense he had possessed all these things, and he had even gone a long way towards establishing his claim to the

French throne. John's ransom was reduced from four to three million florins, of which 600,000 was to be paid before his release (or within 7 months) and the remainder in annual instalments of 400,000, a more realistic schedule than hitherto. Edward was to give up his alliance with the Flemings, in so far as it still held good, in return for John's abandonment of the Scots, and the castles which the English had occupied in territories which were to remain French were to be evacuated.

Only the fear of imminent disaster, and the realisation that the vast effort put into his last campaign had brought him no nearer to his goal, can have persuaded Edward to negotiate such a treaty. But it was provisional. It still had to be ratified by the two kings at Calais; several matters - mostly concerned with the practical application of the principles which had been agreed upon - were left for discussion when they were to meet; and, most important, the French had to find the first instalment of the ransom and do several other things.

On 8 May the delegates for either side exchanged the ratifications and oaths that concluded their missions.¹

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 200.

The regent and the Black Prince had still to give their approval, and to this end some of the French delegates, together with six English knights, left for Paris on 9 May and secured an oath from the regent on the following day, and the six English knights then left with six French knights to receive that of the prince in the church of Notre Dame at Louviers on 15 May.¹

Louviers was one of the places at which Edward stopped on his return to England by way of Honfleur.² He seems to have had no part in the negotiations at Brétigny. On the conclusion of the treaty he left Sours with his entire army for le Neubourg, where he appears to have stayed for 8 days before leaving for Honfleur with his four sons, John de Montfort, the earls of Northampton and Suffolk, and several others.³ From le Neubourg he was conducted to Thibouville (where we know him to have halted on 12 and 13 May),⁴ by Robert

1. Ibid., II, 200, 207-11.

2. Ibid., II, 211.

3. Anonimale Chronicle, 49.

4. C 81/380/24460-2; CPR, 1358-61, 329; Lescot, Appendix I, 209.

de Vipount, Mapino Marell and Pierre de Morance.¹ A French esquire, Richard de Thibouville, conducted him from there to 'Dounpere', and Jean Dunpere from there to 'Russenville'.² On 18 May he crossed from Honfleur to Rye and made post haste for Westminster, where he arrived the following day.³

The main body of the army returned from le Neubourg by way of Calais, crossing the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche and the Somme at Picquigny.⁴ Once again the troops were divided into three columns.⁵ The first, under Lancaster's command, took the most easterly route; the second, made up of the forces previously in the king's column,⁶ were

1. E 101/393/11, fo.71; cf. Anonimale Chronicle, 168.

2. Ibid.

3. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 211-2.

4. Grandes Chroniques, VI, 214; Froissart, VI, 246; Anonimale Chronicle, 49-50; cf. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 212, n.3.

5. Anonimale Chronicle, 49-50, for the following details.

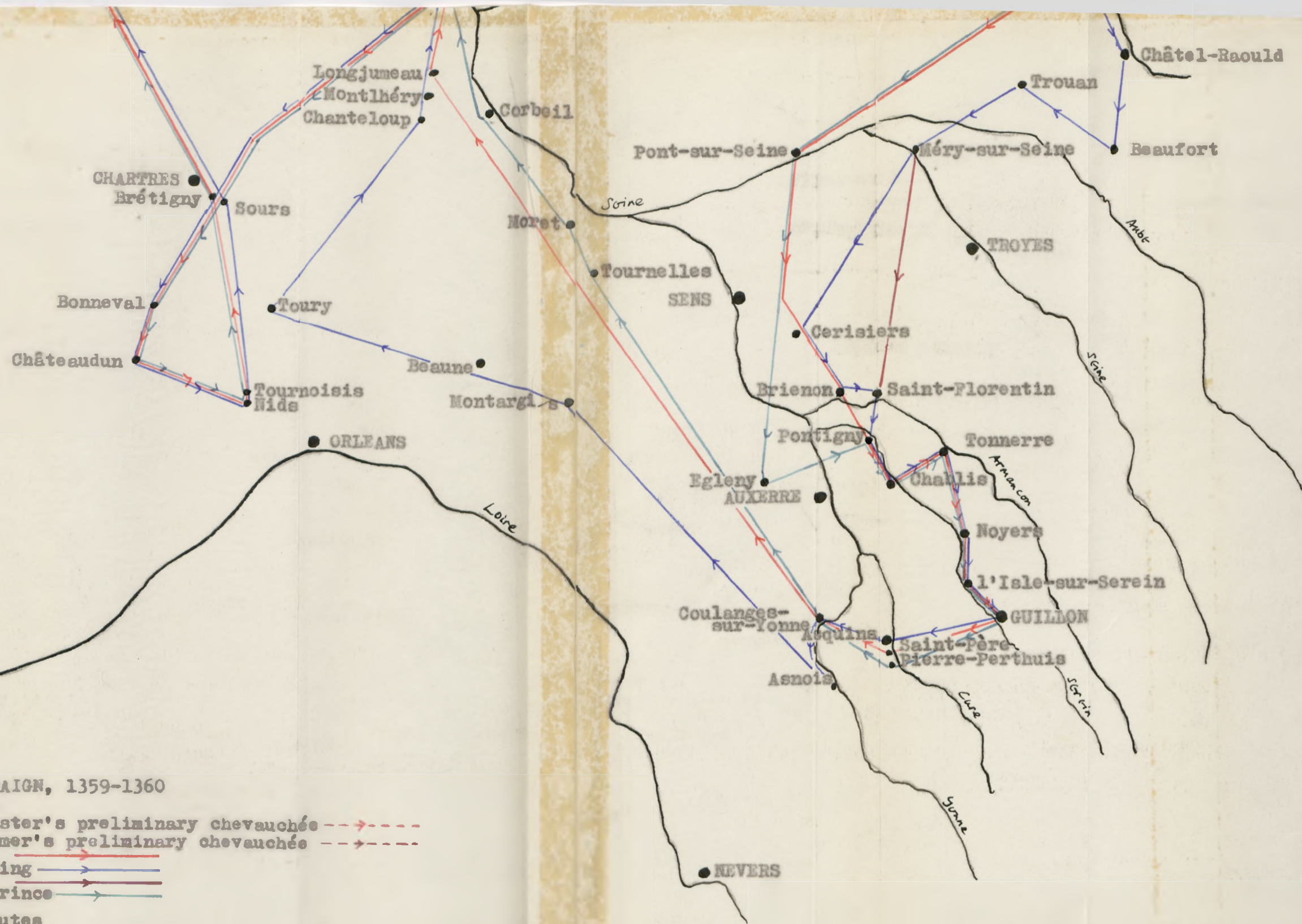
6. Now commanded by Walter Mauny, Reginald de Cobham, and the lord of Grey, then steward of the king, according to the Anonimale Chronicle, 49. But Mauny came off the king's pay on 18 May (E 101/393/11, fo.80v), and John Grey, steward of the household until his death in August 1359 (Tout, Chapters, III, 219; VI, 43), could not have served in the expedition. Reginald de Grey served on the expedition as a bannaret, but also came off the king's pay on 18 May (E 101/393/11, fo.81r). Perhaps the chronicler refers to Guy Brian, John Grey's successor as steward (Tout, op.cit., VI, 43), who did service as a bannaret until 31 May, as did Reginald de Cobham (E 101/393/11, fo. 80v).

in the centre; and the third, made up of the forces previously in the Black Prince's column,¹ took the most westerly route. Having embarked at Calais they arrived back in England during the last week of May.² Only the earl of Warwick, who had been appointed the king's lieutenant in Normandy,³ remained in France to attend to the execution of the treaty, to prevent violations of the truce and, doubtless, to keep an eye on Charles the Bad.⁴

The negotiations at Calais

Nothing is known of Lancaster's movements during

1. Apparently now commanded by the earl of Stafford and the prince's steward, Richard de Stafford (Anonimalle Chronicle, 49-50; cf. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 196, ed. Maxwell, 161). The earl continued to draw wages down till 31 May (E 101/393/11, fo.80r), and Richard was in the prince's retinue (Rymer, III, i, 443).
2. Lancaster and his retinue came off the king's pay on 23 May, the others between then and 31 May (E 101/393/11, fos.79r, ff.).
3. No written commission appears to have survived, but he drew wages in this capacity for himself, 21 knights, 59 esquires and 100 mounted archers for the period 25 May to 29 September (E 101/393/11, fo.87r). He was succeeded as lieutenant in Normandy by Sir Thomas Holand, appointed 30 September, 1360 (Rymer, III, i, 509 & 510).
4. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 212, and cf. Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, 196, ed. Maxwell, 161, and Appendix I, no.13.

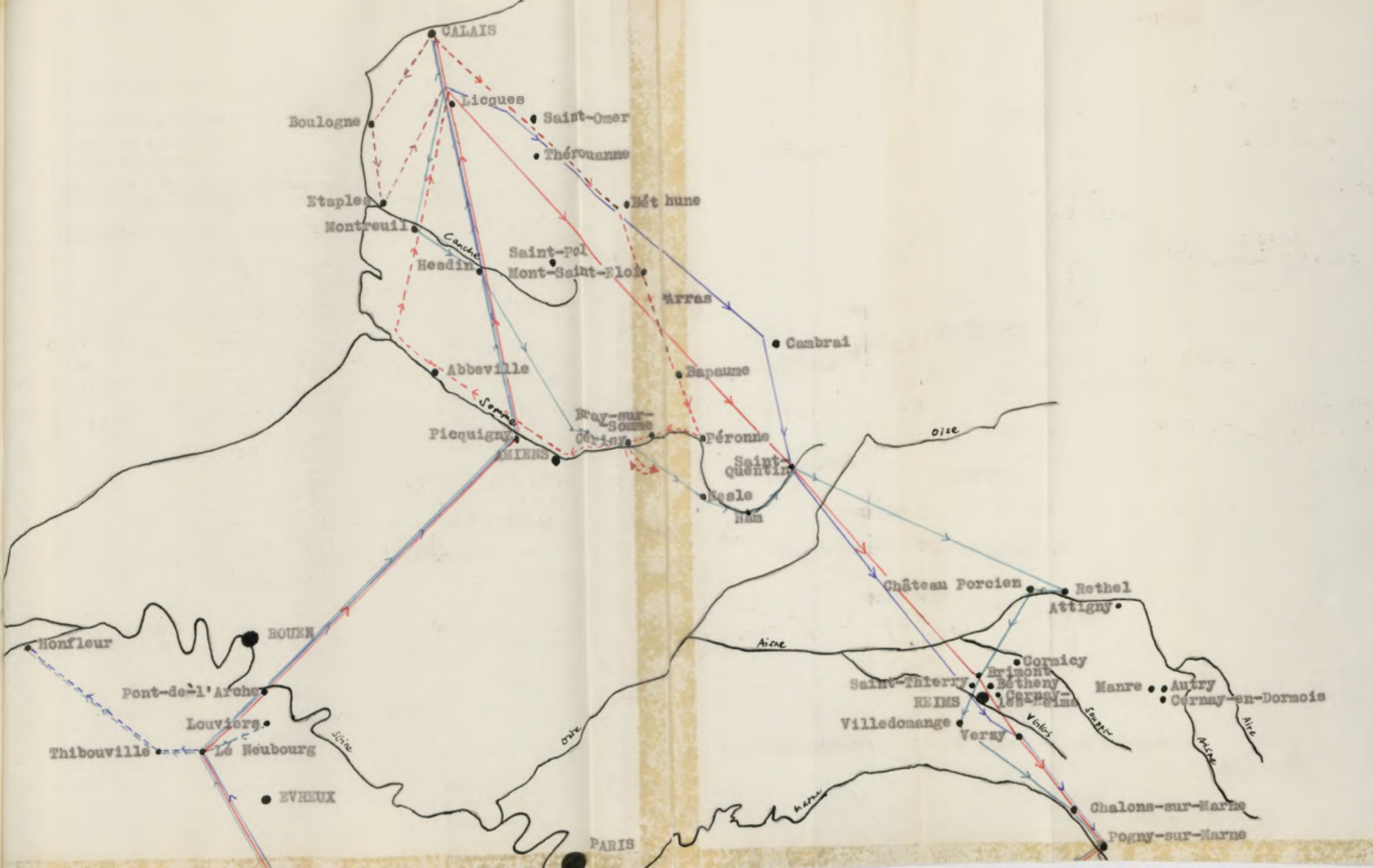


THE REIMS CAMPAIGN, 1359-1360

- Route of Lancaster's preliminary chevauchée - - - - -
- Route of Mortimer's preliminary chevauchée - - - - -
- Route of Lancaster - - - - -
- Route of the king - - - - -
- Route of Mortimer - - - - -
- Route of the prince - - - - -

Conjectured routes





June and July. He appears to have been at Leicester in the middle of August,¹ but before the month was out he once again left his palace of the Savoy for Calais.² It was to be the last time he would make that by now familiar crossing to France.

There was a good deal of business to be transacted at Calais before the treaty concluded at Brétigny was formally ratified by the two kings and before John could be released.³ It was to be decided how and when the renunciations should take place, when and in what manner the hostages should be released, and how a settlement of the Breton dispute might be reached. According to the time-table prescribed at Brétigny, John was to be brought to Calais by 15 July, the first instalment of his ransom was to be paid within four months of that date, and when this had been done, when certain of the hostages had surrendered themselves, and when the town and fortresses

1. His letters were dated there on 15 August (M. Bateson, Records of the borough of Leicester, II, 111-3), but at Cowick, near Goole, Yorkshire, on 12 August (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 745).
2. E 101/314/3; E 404/6/40.
3. For the following remarks on the conference at Calais, see Le Patourel, op.cit., 33-9.

of La Rochelle and the county of Guines had been handed over, all within the same four months, he would be released.

On 22 May, three days after Edward had returned to Westminster, John published his acceptance of the treaty, and on 14 June following the two kings exchanged promises of ratification. Arrangements were soon put in hand for transferring John to Calais, where he landed on 8 July after a leisurely journey. Before the end of the month a complete plan and time-table appears to have been drawn up for the discussions which lay ahead.

The plan provided for preliminary contacts at clerical level, followed by an imposing delegation of 'magnates of the council', under whose supervision the effective negotiations would be carried out before the king arrived. In France, the regent moved from Saint-Omer to Boulogne on 23 August, and the following day the English 'magnates of the council', headed by the Black Prince and Lancaster, left their respective castles and palaces for Calais, and remained there until early in November.¹ Evidently the discussions were protracted, for the business took a long

1. Ibid., 35; but cf. also E 404/6/40, nos.86 & 98, in addition to the accounts cited in note 10.

time, and Edward, who seems to have thought that a fortnight would suffice for the work, did not arrive in Calais until 9 October. It may have been before or after this date that the articles touching the renunciations were taken out of the main treaty and legislated for separately. But this was natural and inevitable.

The littere cum clausula c'est assavoir, which embodied the agreement as to the occasion and the procedure of the renunciations, provided that the king of France should transfer the lands and rights in question by 24 June, 1361, if possible, and that letters recording that the renunciations had been duly made should be sent, by each side, to Bruges, and exchanged there by 15 August, or, if this were possible, by 1 and 30 November respectively.

Had Edward's policy been to secure the French king's renunciations in advance of the transfer of territories? It looks suspiciously as if he were hoping to secure the territories assigned to him soon, or at once, with, or even without, the French king's renunciations, and then to find reasons why he should not make his own. Even now he may not have been reconciled to the abandonment of his

dynastic claims. It is indeed likely that he was trying to recover what he had lost at Brétigny.

The final ceremonies took place on 24 October, when the solemn ratification of the treaty took place in the church of Saint-Nicholas at Calais.¹ Lancaster was naturally present on this occasion,² he swore to various instruments of which it was composed,³ and played the leading part in reconciling Charles the Bad with John.⁴ The same day he did homage to the king of France for those lands which his father had held in Champagne before the outbreak of the war,⁵ and he was present at the great banquet given by the two kings, probably the same evening,⁶ before John was released on the following day.⁷ On 3 November he arrived back at his palace of the Savoy.⁸

1. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 252.

2. Rymer, III, i, 518.

3. Ibid., III, i, 518, 531 & 534.

4. The agreement, dated at Calais on 24 October, 1360, was mediated by Lancaster and Walter Mauny, acting on behalf of Edward (PRO 31/8/134, no.233, after Arch. nat., JJ 96, no.140, and K 166).

5. Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, 326-7, and n.l; Lescot, p.147, no.303

6. Froissart, VI, xv & 53; but the Chronique de Jean II et Charles V, 320-21, says 12 October.

7. Delachenal, op.cit., II, 259.

8. E 101/314/3; E 404/6/40, no.86.

The duke's last days

Very little is known of Henry's movements after he returned to England. He may have been at Whalley for Christmas and the New Year,¹ but probably returned to London for the parliament convoked for 24 January.² Affairs of state necessitated frequent sojourns in the capital (attendance in council and parliament; immediately before and after military and diplomatic missions), and it was doubtless the need for a residence suitable to his dignity which had led him to have a palace erected in his manor of the Savoy.³ Reputed to have been built from the booty won at the capture of Bergerac at an estimated cost of 52,000 marks,⁴ work seems to have commenced on it in 1349-50.⁵ In April 1350 he had been

1. His letters were dated there on 16 December and on 2 January (DL 42/1, fos.74-5; Appendix
2. He had been summoned to it on 20 November (CCR, 1360-64, 147). It sat from 24 January to 18 February (W.Stubbs, The constitutional history of England, II, 433, n.1), but the rolls of its proceedings are not extant.
3. For the dates of his residence there see Appendix
4. Knighton, II, 32 & 118.
5. His letters were dated 'London' in 1344 and 1347, but at the 'manor of the Savoy' in August 1349 and February 1350 (Appendix I).

buying up land and property adjoining the manor in the parishes of Saint-Clement and Saint-Mary's-in-the-Strand outside Temple Bar.¹

He had a considerable choice of castles for his residence.² In 1351 he had spent a good deal of his time at his manor of Kingston Lacy in Dorset,³ doubtless because it was conveniently situated for his duties as Admiral to the West and Warden of the sea coasts of Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire and Wiltshire; offices to which he was appointed during the course of that year.⁴ But Leicester castle was undoubtedly his favourite residence.⁵ The numerous presents which he received from the borough corporation indicate frequent sojourns there,⁶ and his longest period of residence appears to have been in the first half of 1356, before the embarkation for

1. DL 42/11, fo.24r-v.

2. Vide infra., p. 855.

3. Appendix I.

4. Rymer, III, i, 215 & 217-8.

5. Appendix I.

6. M. Bateson, Records of the borough of Leicester, II, xx, 60, 67-8, 76-7, etc.

Normandy, when he was settling the final details of his great foundation of the Newarke.¹ After his father's death in 1345 he never lived for very long at any of the other castles.²

By that time the residential aspects of Leicester castle predominated over considerations of defence.³ Within the enclosure the main buildings were situated around a square court. They included a great chamber and a suite of private apartments for the duke, his family and guests; a hall, which formed the communal living room and dormitory for the majority of the castle residents; a chapel, dancing chamber, and a kitchen block with its buttery, pantry, bakehouse, skullery, larder, saucery, spicery, chandlery and cellar.

Another group of buildings had to do with the administration of his estates and the exercise of his judicial rights. The existence of a treasury at the castle seems to indicate that his favourite places of residence were also the headquarters of his chief financial

1. Appendix I.

2. Ibid.

3. For the ensuing remarks on the castle, see Levi Fox, Leicester Castle, 13-24.

officer. It acted as a strong room for his money and valuables, and as a muniment room for his charters, account rolls and other important documents. There was a house for the chief forester near to the castle, the castle prison and prison house, stables and miscellaneous buildings, the remaining space in the enclosure being taken up by gardens.

The furnishings were meagre, since the various household departments carried much of their effects and equipment with them from one residence to another. Despite the growth of a money economy a lord still needed to move round his estates and the duke was never at Leicester for a very long time. His father had been a very heavy charge on the borough during the last fifteen years of his life (1330-45), most of which was spent at Leicester.¹

The popularity of Leicester forest as a hunting place² doubtless accounted for much of the duke's partiality for Leicester castle. Here he could hunt the fallow deer with his pack of greyhounds, to say nothing of the smoking and digging out of foxes.³ In

1. Bateson, op.cit., II, xix-xx.

2. Levi Fox, Leicester Forest, 28.

3. Ibid., 44.

1352 he had a new hunting lodge erected in the Frith¹ (that part of Leicester forest adjacent to the town of Leicester),² at a well known site which was then called 'Briddesnest',³ and this lodge was pre-eminent as a centre of sporting activity.⁴

In March 1361 the duke passed his last days at the castle.⁵ The end was very near. On the 15th, doubtless already suffering from the plague, he made his will there.⁶ He wished to be buried on the south side of the high altar of the college which he had founded, that is on the opposite side to where his father was buried, within three weeks of his death. If he died at Leicester his body was to be carried to the Parish Church three days before

1. DL 29/212/3246; vide infra., p.858.
2. Levi Fox, Leicester Forest, 31.
3. Ibid., 32.
4. Ibid., 34.
5. Bateson, op.cit., II, 113-4, 116-22, 122-3 & 124, and works quoted in n.6 below.
6. J.Nichols, A collection of wills of the Kings and Queens of England, 83-7; N.H.Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, I, 64; A.Gibbons, Early Lincoln Wills, 24; E.Baines, History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, I, 334-6; English translation in Thompson, Leicester Newarke, 37-9.

his funeral, and divine service was to be performed there with 23 torches. Twelve torches and two cloths of gold were to remain to the church, and the curates were to have his best horse or its value in money. From the Parish Church he was to be carried to the college; the cortège was to be without vanity or parade, as of armed men, horses with trappings or other vain things. Fifty poor men, half of them dressed in white, the other half in blue, bearing 100 torches, were to walk by his body. The horse was to have five wax tapers, each weighing 100 pounds, and four great funeral lights. The king and queen, the Black Prince and his brothers, his wife Isabella, his sisters and their husbands, and other great folk of his blood were to be warned of the funeral. He beque^eth^red 50 linen cloths to be divided among poor needy folk. No cost was to be spared on the day to giving food to the country people and the commons of the town, whilst persons of religion were to be looked after. To the collegiate church he devised all the wax and cloths of gold, his private altar-furniture, hangings, ornaments and other relics of his chapel.

He appointed John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, William Clown, abbot of Leicester, his sister the Lady Wake, Sir William Walkington, Sir Robert de la Mare, Sir John Buckland, John Charnels, Walter Power, Simon Simeon and John Newmarch his executors. All his goods, silver plate and furniture were placed at their disposal to pay his debts and reward those of his poor servants who had never been rewarded, and to finish the collegiate church and all the houses which he had devised and ordained round about it. Anything which then remained they were to put to the profit of his soul. If they could be honestly informed that he held lands which were not his by right, so that his estate therein could not honestly be held by his heirs, they were to persuade the heirs to return such lands to their rightful owner or owners. If they were informed that he had received wrong of others, they were to forgive it in discharge of his soul. If anything was in doubt or undeclared in his will, they were empowered to interpret it.

He did not make any of the detailed and specific bequests so beloved of medieval testators. He could not by law dispose of his lands in his testament, but he

adopted the expedient, then becoming common, of enfeoffing his executors, or some of them, in part of his lands. Accordingly, on the day after he had made his will he obtained licence from the king to enfeoff the executors named in his will (but excluding the Lady Wake, the abbot of Leicester, Sir William Walkington, and including the earl of Arundel) in certain of his possessions in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire and Northamptonshire - including Bolingbroke and Tutbury honors.¹ The trust was evidently intended to provide funds for the additions to Saint Mary's College, and for the payment of his debts.²

On the morning of Tuesday, 23 March, 1361, he died at Leicester, a victim of the plague.³ Edward appears to have received the news in Windsor Park on the 25th. In a letter under the secret seal, so dated, he instructed the chancellor to issue briefs "diem clausit extremam",

1. CPR, 1358-61, 580.

2. Ibid., 575. A later agreement between Gaunt and the trustees provided that they should have sufficient timber for work on the college ordered by the duke (DL 42/2, fo.234).

3. Bateson, op.cit., II, 124; Reading, 150.

as many and in such manner as appertained, and to issue them as quickly as he could.¹ The custody of his lands was entrusted to his son-in-law John, Earl of Richmond.² On 30 March the will was proved at Leicester before John Gynewell.³ On 14 April he was buried in the church of Newarke College on the south side of the high altar.⁴ The royal family were present at the funeral and the Black Prince placed two cloths of gold on his bier.⁵

1. C 81/1334/53.

2. Ibid., and CFR, 1356-69, 157-8.

3. See references for the will, given above.

4. L.Toulmin-Smith, The itinerary of John Leland in or about 1535-1543, I, 17.

5. Register of Edward the Black Prince, 1346-1365, IV, 73.

XVII

THE KING'S 'DEAR COUSIN'

For over twenty-five years Lancaster had played a leading part in almost all of Edward's enterprises abroad, or as we might say, in all foreign affairs, military, diplomatic and administrative; so much so that the various shrievalties and other offices that he held in England can have been regarded only as a means of increasing his income.

In general terms, this is not perhaps altogether surprising. Clearly he had ability and he had charm; he was closely related to Edward and of much the same age; his father had taken a leading part in the revolutions and scuffles that had put Edward on the throne, and it was he who had knighted the young king on his accession. It is not altogether unreasonable

to suppose, since they shared a passionate interest in tournament and display, all the magnificent ritual of chivalry, and since they doubtless shared the same view of Edward's rights and obligations, and opportunities, in Scotland and in France, that one may divine, even in the conventional phrases of state documents, the real affection and respect in which Edward held his 'cousin'.

This is evident in Henry's creation as earl of Derby, his elevation to the rank of duke, in the grants made to him on these occasions, when he came of age, and in acknowledgement of his services in Aquitaine. But it is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by his imprisonment in the Low Countries for the king's debts to the Malines and Louvain creditors, in sums for which he was personally bound. The day to day details of Edward's attempts to get his 'dear cousin' out of prison are as revealing as is Henry's action in itself.

Of Lancaster as the king's intimate and trusted counsellor it is impossible, in the nature of things, to say very much; but it cannot be doubted that he held

that position. He had a great deal of influence with Edward, and clearly he played an important part in shaping decisions in the royal council, particularly on military and diplomatic affairs. It seems likely that he persuaded the king to accept papal arbitration of a peace settlement in 1344, and subsequently urged him to renew hostilities and send him to Aquitaine in the following year. He was almost certainly the principal architect of the secret treaty of Dunkirk, and of the campaigns of 1349-50 that were to have resulted from it. The battle of Les Espagnols-sur-Mer may have been fought as a result of his reports, and we have seen the part he played at Avignon in the winter of 1354-5. It is tempting to believe that he was an advocate of peace - though not at any price - after his visit to Paris in 1352. He had the confidence of both pope and king, he promoted the negotiations with Guy de Boulogne, and he may have been moved by conscience. For it was during these years that Livre de Seyntz Medicines was written, that his great collegiate church was founded, that middle age drew on. He tired of the Breton lieutenancy and urged

Edward to make peace in 1360. But virtually no council records have survived to pin his influence down, so that there is nothing of which we can be very sure.

Beside the king's favour, and no less important, Lancaster from the time his father's death was, next the king, perhaps the richest man in England, with broad lands and liberties well distributed over much of the country. Though he drew the king's pay when serving abroad, it was his landed wealth in England that gave him a secure hold upon that vast retinue which, at the siege of Calais, even exceeded that of the Black Prince in numbers; and, already in the fourteenth century, it was his retinue that gave a man his standing and his personal influence in society and in the army and, when it could be marshalled on so princely a scale, destined its leader for the highest commands and responsibilities in military, administrative and diplomatic affairs. As powerful a reason as any for entrusting such responsibilities in France to Lancaster was that his landed inheritance not only gave him the wherewithall to support a sizeable personal retinue and enabled him to call out his tenants

to do service in the king's wars; but, possibly more important, it supported a machinery of government that could be placed at the king's disposal, men who could promote the king's business by promoting that of their lord, and it produced men who were a power in the land. A noble who could wield such power in England could wield it abroad in the king's service too. Perhaps it was better that he did.

The Lancastrian Estates

The Lancastrian estates, at the time of Duke Henry's death, extended into thirty English and three Welsh counties, and included the lordships of Bergerac, Beaufort and Nogent in France, together with some property in Calais.¹ For a short time, too, he had some property in Saint-Jean-d'Angély.² In his will he styled himself

1. CIPM, XI, 92-116, no.118 & CPR, 1358-61, 580 for the English and Welsh estates; CFR, 1356-68, 163-6 & DL 41/4/12, for Beaufort and Nogent. For Bergerac (which reverted to the crown, being held in tail male) and the Calais property, vide supra., pp.
2. Vide supra., pp.257-8.

'Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln and Leicester, Steward of England, Lord of Bergerac and Beaufort'.¹

He held twenty-three castles situated in the north and west.² They fall into three main groups: those of the Welsh border, the Midlands and the North. In Monmouthshire they included Whitecastle, Monmouth, Skenfrith and Grosmont. These four castles were flanked on the south by the strongholds of Carmarthen and Glamorgan: Kidwelly, Iskennyn, Carreg Cennen and Ogmere. The castles of the Midlands stretched out in unbroken continuity to the North: Tutbury, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Halton, Kenilworth and Leicester, Melbourne, Higham Ferrers, Lincoln and Bolingbroke, Liverpool, Clitheroe, Lancaster and Hornby; whilst far up in the North his banner waved from Dunstanburgh.

1. It has been published several times: J.Nichols, A collection of wills of the Kings and Queens of England, 83-7; N.H.Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, I, 64; A.Gibbons, Early Lincoln Wills, 24; E.Baines, History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, I, 334-6; and there is an English translation in Thompson's Leicester Newarke, 37-9.

2. CIPM, XI, 92-116, no.118 & CPR, 1358-61, 580.

In the absence of comprehensive central accounts for Duke Henry's time - such as the accounts of wardrobers and receivers-general, and auditors' valors, from which Mr Somerville has calculated the incomes of Earl Thomas, Henry's father and John of Gaunt¹ - it is not possible to say with any certainty what Henry's income from his vast estates amounted to. Inquisitions Post Mortem are available,² but in general these cannot be trusted as a source for incomes.³ Some incomplete figures can, however, be arrived at.

There is an abstract of the charges in his ministers' accounts for the year ending Michaelmas 1348, from which the following figures are taken.⁴

1. Op.cit., I, 78, 84-5 & 90-3.
2. DL 41/4/11 & CIPM, XI, 92-116, no.118.
3. G.A.Holmes, The English Nobility in the Reign of Edward III, (thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Cambridge, 1953), Appendix D, 267-74. For a discussion of the sources see C.D.Ross and T.B.Pugh, "Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth Century England", ECHR, second series, VI (1953), 185-94.
4. DL 28/32/17. This must be used with caution since it is incomplete. In the figures given in the accompanying table, gross values relate to rents, farms and other fixed profits; casuals to sales of produce and the like. Feudal incidents and profits from franchises and courts are listed for assessment, but no figures are given.

	Lancashire			Tutbury Honor			Bolingbroke Honor			Leicester Honor		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gross Values	528	8	6½	750	16	9½	643	11	5¼	786	0	1½
Casuals	84	9	1½	220	2	7	184	8	3	308	11	2¾
Total Charge	612	17	8	970	19	4½	827	19	8¼	1,094	11	4¼

The gross value of his estates in Lancashire and the honors of Tutbury, Bolingbroke and Leicester thus amounted to £3,506.8s.1d.¹ Only reprises - fees and livery of officers, annuities paid to retainers - are listed on the discharge side, and these amounted to no more than £241.17s.6¼d.²

These figures can be supplemented from two surviving honor accounts, and a valuation of the majority of the estates made shortly after the duke's death in 1361 to facilitate their partition between his two daughters, Maude and Blanche.

One of these accounts, made by his auditors, John Cockayn (also steward of his lands) and William de Blaby,

1. i.e., realized gross profits in 1347-8; £3,559.11s.6½d. if we included £53.3s.5½d. rents not received; and £3,563.9s.0d. if we included £3.17s.5½d. fall in rents charged.
2. £4.8s.4d. in Lancashire, £36.10s.1¼d. in Tutbury Honor, £58.3s.9d. in Bolingbroke Honor and £142.15s.4d. in Leicester Honor. Details of some of these payments are to be found in the Chapter XIV chapter and Appendix J.

for Pontefract honor in the year to Michaelmas 1357,¹ supplements one gap in the abstract of 1348, and reveals the extent of Edward's appreciation of the earl's work in Gascony. The gross charge amounted to £1,696.0s.1¼d. (including £269.7s.5d arrears), the discharge to £1,375.6s.6¾d., leaving £320.13s.6½d. unexpended. The profit which Henry derived from the honor was, of course, considerably greater than the figure given as unexpended would at first sight appear to suggest. Medieval accounts must not be read as if they were cast in modern form.

This is well illustrated by the second account, which is that of John Hayward, receiver of Leicester honor, for the year to Michaelmas 1352.² Total revenue was put in charge at £635.9s.5d. (including £26.3s.10d. arrears). Much of this was at the duke's disposal, for although the discharge amounted to £652.4s.9¾d., of this sum £478.6s.9¾d. was spent on building (£286.7s.2¼d. on Newarke hospital and £181.19s.7½d. on a new hunting lodge in the Frith at Leicester) and £102.18s.0d. was

1. DL 29/507/8226.

2. DL 29/212/3246.

made over to his treasurer, Henry de Walton, in London on 6 February.¹

The valuation of 1361, although incomplete, is by far the most comprehensive.² His possessions in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Wales were valued at £1,187.3s.3d., £982.0s.4½d. and £1,180.0s.0d. respectively; in Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Dorset at £597.9s.3½d; in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland at £372.14s.10½d; in Cheshire at £312.11s.5½d; in Northumberland at £220.15s.8½d; in Huntingdonshire at £183.4s.0d; in Gloucestershire at £121.19s.4½d; and in Warwickshire at £72.4s.6d. Beaufort and Nogent in France were valued at £400.0s.0d. The total valuation thus stood at £5,630.0s.0d.

The figure excludes those possessions in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire and Northamptonshire - including Bolingbroke and Tutbury honors - in which the duke enfeoffed some of his executors shortly before his death;³

1. Of the remainder, £62.15s.0d. was paid out in fees and annuities to officers and others, £8.6s.1d. in alms, and £3.10s.0d. in repairs.
2. CFR, 1356-68, 163-6.
3. CPR, 1358-61, 580.

Bergerac and Calais in France;¹ and a number of manors granted for life to retainers who survived him.² We have already seen that Bolingbroke and Tutbury honors were put in charge at £1,798.19s.0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the year to Michaelmas 1348.³ These, together with the other possessions in which he enfeoffed the executors, could not have been much less than £2,750 gross annual value.⁴ He would thus appear to have been assured of over £8,380 gross from his English and Welsh possessions alone.

This figure may be compared with those given by Mr Somerville for Henry's father, uncle and son-in-law. In the year to Michaelmas 1331, Earl Henry's possessions

1. Bergerac reverted to the crown on his death (vide supra.,
2. CPR, 1361-4, 50.
3. Vide supra., p.857.
4. The principal Norfolk possessions (manors of Gimingham, Thetford, Methwold and Tunstead) were put in charge at over £700 in the years to Michaelmas 1359 & 1360 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720); the manors of Rushden and Raunds, and the manor and hundred of Higham Ferrers at over £230 in the years to Michaelmas 1348, 1356 and 1363 (DL 28/32/17; 29/324/5292 & 5293); and Matlock at £27.10s.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1361-2 (DL 29/367/6135). Possessions in which he enfeoffed his executors which are not accounted for are: the manor of Waithe (Lincs.), the hamlets of Challenge Wood and Newborough (Staffs.), the hundreds of Gallow and Brothercross (Norfolk), and the knights fees and advowsons in Norfolk.

were put in charge at £8,073.16s.10½d. (£6,408.12s.7¼d. not including £1,665.4s.3¼d. arrears), of which a net amount of £6,876.11s.8d. was at the earl's disposal.¹ The total charge of John of Gaunt's estates stood at £12,335.4s.3½d. and £12,473.17s.0½d. in the years to Michaelmas 1394 and 1395 respectively;² whilst Thomas of Lancaster had an income of £6,661.17s.11d. from his lands.³

The bills for the campaigns

There were other reasons why the co-operation of the magnate class was essential to Edward III: they had to command his armies if he was to finance his war in France. For although the troops they contracted to raise, as the commanders themselves, were usually paid by the king there was often a wait of several years before full

1. Somerville, op.cit., 84.

2. Ibid., 92.

3. Ibid., 78.

payment of wages was made.¹ Payments were often made in advance or during the course of a campaign; but just as often they were not.² The sums involved were enormous, and the annual war budget in the later years of Edward III was very commonly £50,000.³

The financial relations of Lancaster with the king are therefore illuminating. Examination of the Exchequer accounts indicate that he usually received fairly full

1. Appendix H.

2. Ibid.

3. G.A.Holmes, The English Nobility in the Reign of Edward III (thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Cambridge, 1953), Appendix C.

payment of the wages and other expenses due to him; but there was often a wait of several years involved.

He received fairly prompt payment of the monies owing to him for service in the Scottish campaigns. The bill for the campaign of 1334-5 came to £488.6s.8d. wages: £300 for men-at-arms, £188.6s.8d. for archers.¹ The king granted him an advance of £300 for this retinue: £50 was paid to John Gynewell on 21 October, 1334; £100 on 26 October following; and the remaining £150 on 27 December.² For wages in 1335 he received £199.11s.8d. on 23 October and £113 on 26 October, 1335.³ The bill for the campaign of 1336 totalled £1,103.13s.8d: £1,151.0s.4d. wages; £152.13s.4d. for replacement of horses lost.⁴ On 12 March, 1337, Dinus Forsetti, Peter Byre and fellow merchants of the Bardi were ordered to meet a debenture under Ferriby's seal for £507.10s.0d. of this sum;⁵ this appears to have been fulfilled before

1. BM, Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, Cotton, Nero C VIII, fos. 233v & 252v.
2. E 403/279, ms.2 & 13.
3. For the bill see Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit. supra., fo.236. The debenture under his seal is E 404/492/373, and payment recorded in the Issue Roll, E 403/285, m.2.
4. Ferriby's Wardrobe Book, cit.supra., fos.240 & 259, and E 101/15/12.
5. CCR, 1337-39, 41. Cf. Rymer, II, ii, 935.

24 May following.¹ A further £333.6s.8d. was paid to him by the Peruzzi on or before 21 June 1336,² another £200 was met by Ferriby on 11 December,³ and the final debt cleared up on 1 February, 1347.⁴

There was greater delay in the payment of wages and other expenses due to him for service in the early campaigns on the continent. The bill for his service in the Low Countries in 1338-40 totalled £6,658.8s.4d: £5,768.15s.0d. in wages; £785.13s.4d. for the replacement of horses lost; and £104 for the return shipment of horses from Sluys.⁵ A debenture for £1,624.19s.8d. of this, issued on the accounting with Northwell, was paid in two installments: £624.19s.8d. on 19 February, 1339, and the remainder on 3 August following.⁶ Another debenture for £1,239.1s.4d., issued on the accounting with John Gynewell at Antwerp on 4 May, 1339, after various disbursements was finally

1. Ferriby received payment of this sum from the Exchequer on that date (E 403/294, m.13).
2. Ferriby received the same sum from the Exchequer on that date, it having been received from the Peruzzi by Lancaster (E 403/288, m.14).
3. E 403/291, m.12.
4. E 159/123, m.12 & cf. m.124d.
5. E 36/203, fos.131, 142, 125v & 153.
6. Ibid., fos.6 & 7v; E 403/305, m.28.

met on 14 June, 1340;¹ but two other bills, one for £1,471.4s.0d. issued on the accounting with the earl at Antwerp on 16 November, 1339, and another for £785, issued on the accounting with Gynewell at Westminster on 8 April, 1340, were not finally met until 17 and 27 January, 1348, respectively.²

The accounting for his service in the Low Countries in 1340 is more difficult to trace, possibly because of his imprisonment at Malines in September of that year.³ He was due £1,034.3s.8d. in wages,⁴ but the total account clearly came to more than this figure if we include replacement of horses and costs of shipment. A debenture for £1,270.14s.10d. was issued on the accounting with him at Ghent on 2 October, 1340, and this was finally met, after several disbursements, on 28 November, 1343.⁵

1. E 404/501/303; E 403/307, ms.6, 7 & 21.

2. E 404/493/37 & 8.

3. The account for his imprisonment is given above,

4. E 101/389/8, ms.11 & 14.

5. E 404/490/331; E 403/314, ms.4 & 7; 321, m.2; 327, ms.2 & 27; 326, ms.3, 7 & 18; 327, m.17; 328, m.25; 330, ms.2, 3 & 15.

Similarly for the Scottish expedition of 1341-2, he was due £933.6s.8d. wages;¹ but the debenture, issued on the accounting with him at Stretford-atte-Bowe on 13 March, 1342, was not met until 17 January, 1348.²

The bill for the campaign in Brittany came to £2,906.0s.2d.³ He was assigned some £1,764 of this from the wool subsidy.⁴ Two bills were issued to him: one for £1,213.8s.4d. made on the accounting with him at Westminster on 8 May, 1343; the other for £199.6s.8d. (in respect of replacement of horses lost), made on the accounting with him at Stretford-atte-Bowe on 27 April, 1344; but neither were met until 17 January, 1348.⁵

According to his account rendered at the Exchequer he was due no less than £38,574.3s.8½d. for his lieutenancy in Aquitaine in 1345-6.⁶ £20,845.14s.10d. of this sum was paid to him during the period before

1. E 36/204, fo.102; the bill is included on fo.126.
2. E 404/490/173; E 403/340, m.25. The royal order to pay is E 404/5/30.
3. E 36/204, fos.106 & 108v.
4. CCR, 1341-3, 572 & 590-1; 1343-6, 10.
5. E 36/204, fo.126; E 404/490/171 & 172; E 403/340, m.25.
6. E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d.

and during his service in the duchy.¹ Of the remaining £17,728.8s.10½d. he received £6,317.8s.9d. in part payment of a bill for £9,374.8s.9d. on 17 January, 1348, and the remaining £3,057.7s.2d. on 5 July following.² Two other sums, one of £2,526.6s.7d., and another of £1,205 were also paid to him on the same day.³ On 5 December, 1351, he drew £5,194 for debts of the king then outstanding, but the sum was replaced on 3 October, 1353, he having been satisfied elsewhere by then.⁴

For his service in northern France and before Calais in 1347, a debenture for £8,727.0s.6d. drawn up by Walter Wetwang, was met on 5 July, 1348.⁵

The bill for his second campaign in Aquitaine in 1349-50 amounted to £7,837.6s.10d: £5,538.3s.4d. in wages; £595.1s.4d. for horses sold to the constable of Bordeaux; £529.17s.2d. for the expenses of his return

1. Ibid.

2. E 403/340, m.25; 341, m.19. The royal promise to pay this bill is CPR, 1345-8, 348. He restored £2,300 of this on the same day however and only reclaimed it on 12 October, 1352 (E 403/365, m.3 & E 401/390, sub. 17 January, 1348).

3. E 403/341, m.19.

4. E 403/359, m.18; E 401/422, sub 3 October.

5. E 404/510/8; E 403/341, m.19.

from Bordeaux with his retinue; £874.5s.0d. for troops held up at Plymouth; £166 paid to John de Beauchamp for the wages of sailors also held up at Plymouth; and £133.6s.8d. paid to John de Wesenham, the king's vintnar, for 20 casks of wine.¹

A debenture for the £5,538.3s.4d. wages was drawn up by John de Stretle, constable of Bordeaux, on the accounting with Lancaster's treasurer, Richard de Walton, at Bordeaux on 8 March, 1350.² On 12 June Edward ordered the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to pay or assign this sum to the earl, together with other payments made by him to the constable, and for the horses handed over to him.³ They were also instructed to account with him for the £874.5s.0d. due to him for the troops held up at Plymouth and the £529.17s.2d. for the costs of his retinue returning from Gascony.⁴ On 13 December he received

1. C 81/347/21134; C 61/62, ms.3 & 1; E 403/355, m.19, which are to be seen in conjunction with E 372/195, m.46, which is (i) a detailed account of payments for men-at-arms and archers to have been sent out to Gascony to join him, and (ii) a statement of payments made for the wages of himself and his retinue returning from Gascony; and E 404/5/32.
2. E 404/508/8.
3. E 404/5/32.
4. Ibid., and E 159/126, ms.91 & 91d.

£1,724.15s.6d. in payment of sums other than the £5,538.3s.4d. wages of his retinue in Aquitaine and the £595.1s.4d. in respect of horses handed over to the constable.¹ Meanwhile, on 8 September, 1350, the constable of Bordeaux was instructed to assign £5,600 to the duke's attorney in the duchy and to present his account to the Exchequer which was to be responsible for the payment of the remaining £2,237.6s.8d. of the total bill.² This sum was, however, paid by the Exchequer on 12 September, evidently until the earl's attorney in Gascony had received full payment.³ This was not forthcoming by 20 January following when, upon Lancaster's request for payment, Edward again instructed the constable to pay the sum to the earl's attorney.⁴ However, Lancaster restored £5,238.14s.9d. on 13 December, and the remaining £361.14s.9d. of the total £5,600 on 4 October, 1353, by which time full payment had presumably been made.⁵

1. E 403/355, m.19. The constable received payment of both of these sums from the Exchequer on 13 December, 1350, apparently having paid them to Lancaster (E 403/355, m.19).
2. C 61/62, m.3. The order to the chancellor to instruct the constable of Bordeaux to this effect is C 81/347/21134.
3. E 403/352, m.10.
4. C 61/62, m.1.
5. E 401/404, sub. 13 December.

On 19 August, 1350, he received £666.13s.4d. in part payment of 5,000 marks granted to him for his "great costs and expenses necessarily despended on his last voyage to Gascony".¹

The expenses which were incurred in preparing for an expedition are well illustrated by those made for the campaigns of 1354 and 1355, which did not materialise.² On 5 March, 1354, he received £1,000 advance on wages of himself and his retinue going to Normandy,³ and a further £1,592.13s.6d. on 26 May following "in recompense for diverse costs and expenses which he had stood in arraying and getting ready both himself and his men-at-arms to go to Normandy".⁴

On 9 June, 1355, the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer were instructed to pay wages and regard for a quarter of a year for the duke and his retinue, as to others in his company at sea.⁵ The

1. E 403/347, m.22.

2. Vide supra., pp.

3. E 404/504/9.

4. E 403/374, m.7.

5. E 404/5/34.

following day John de Buckingham, keeper of the king's wardrobe, received £2,631.8s.4d. wages and £800 regard for the duke and his retinue for a quarter.¹ On 5 September his treasurer, William de Driffield, received a further £200 wages, and two days later Buckingham received a similar sum from the Exchequer by way of re-imbusement of an equivalent sum which he had paid to Lancaster and his retinue going to Brittany.²

At the beginning of November, however, Buckingham drew a further £300 which he had paid to Lancaster and his retinue for service "in parts of France".³ This appears to be the first payment for the raid from Calais which he made with the king in late 1355. A week later, on 13 November, he drew a further £200 paid to the duke for the same purpose.⁴ There is a debenture for £2,132.19s.1½d. issued on the accounting with him at Stretford-atte-Bowe on 24 May, 1356, which was met

1. E 403/377, m.17.

2. E 403/377, ms.36 & 37.

3. E 403/378, m.12.

4. Ibid., m.14.

in three installments: £266.13s.4d. on 3 June, 1356; £666.13s.4d. on 10 May, 1357; and the remaining £1,199.12s.5½d. on 28 July following.¹

On 12 March Driffield oncemore received £1,000 as first payment of £3,609 wages and £666.13s.4d. regard for a quarter for himself and his retinue going to Brittany; another £1,000 on 11 April; another on 12 May, and a further £336 on 23 May.² Wages and expenses in Brittany were probably met out of the ducal revenues.³

The bill for the Reims campaign of 1359-60 totalled £17,415.12s.0¾d: £11,535.8s.0d. wages; £3,502.0s.8¾d. regard; £2,109.13s.4d. for the replacement of horses lost; and £268.10s.0d. for the return shipment of horses from Calais.⁴ A debenture for £12,571.13s.7d. in part payment of this was drawn up on the accounting with him in London on 31 January, 1361.⁵ Edward ordered the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to meet this on 9 February; but it was not finally met until 16 February, 1362.⁶

1. E 404/487/160; E 403/380, m.8; 387, ms.6 & 24.

2. E 403/378, ms.34 & 40; 380m ms.3 & 5.

3. Vide supra., pp.

4. E 101/393/11, fo.79v.

5. E 404/499/387.

6. Ibid., and E 404/6/40, no.41 for the warrant.

The overall position can most easily be seen in tabular form:

Campaign	Bill			Known Amount Paid			Last Known Payment
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Scotland 1334-5	488	6	8	300	0	0	27 December 1334
1335				232	11	8	26 October 1335
1336	1,303	13	8	Total			1 February 1347
Low Countries 1338-40	6,658	8	4	5,120	14	4	27 January 1348
1340				1,270	14	10	28 November 1343
Scotland 1341-2	933	6	8	Total			17 January 1348
Brittany 1342-3	2,906	0	2	Total			17 January 1348
Aquitaine 1345-6	38,574	3	8½	Total			(?) 5 December 1351
Calais 1347				8,727	0	6	5 July 1348
Aquitaine 1349-50	7,837	6	10	Total			13 December 1350
Normandy 1354				2,592	13	6	26 May 1354
Normandy Brittany 1355				3,831	8	4	7 September 1355
Around Calais 1355				2,632	19	1½	28 July 1357
Normandy Brittany 1356	14,275	13	4	3,336	0	0	23 May 1356
Reims 1359-60	17,415	12	0¼	12,571	3	7	16 February 1362

Wages and expenses due to him in respect of military service between 1334 and 1360 thus amounted to more than £99,679.19s.4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., of which at least £92,169.16s.11d. was paid by 16 February, 1362. Service in the Low Countries and France down to his first expedition in Aquitaine in 1345-6 involved the greatest delays in payment. The clearing up of most of these debts in January 1348, after the king returned from Calais, and the relatively prompt payment of subsequent bills can probably be attributed to the success of the campaigns of 1345-7, which are the turning point in the fortunes of the war. It may also be attributed to the king's gratitude to Lancaster for his considerable contribution to the achievement of these years. Since it was during the course of 1348 that Henry greatly extended his landed inheritance, his income must have risen enormously.

That the major expeditions involved considerable financial outlay is made quite clear by the figures for his two expeditions to Aquitaine and the Reims campaign. Only a magnate of considerable territorial and financial resources could undertake an enterprise on

this scale, since the indications are that the captains paid their troops the wages specified by the king during the course of the campaigns.¹ Before the Black Prince undertook the expedition to Aquitaine in 1355 the project was considered by his council in consultation with the king's council.² The financial outlay involved had doubtless to be considered and weighed against probable profits to be made. Although, as Professor Prince has pointed out, a simple knight like John Chandos, with very meagre fief holdings, could muster in 1359 a contingent which surpassed in size and quality that of most of the

1. The financial relations of the war captains with their troops are not well documented. The indications are that the arrangements were very similar to those made by the captains themselves with the king (A.E.Prince, "The indenture system under Edward III", Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, 291 seq.). The sub-contracts generally stipulate payment to the troops of wages as paid by the king, but very few such sub-contracts are extant. The only two of which I know for the reign of Edward III are the contract between Hugh fitz Simon and Ralph Stafford in 1347 (Wrottesley, Crecy and Calais, 192) and the contract between Roger Maltravers and the Earl of Salisbury in 1372 (E 101/168/4, no.107). There are a number of sub-contracts made by Sir Thomas Felton in 1381 (E 101/68/8 & 9) which are of a similar kind. The journal of John Henxteworth for the Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357 (H.J.Hewitt, The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357, 81 seq.), is the only account which I know of for the reign of Edward III which records payments made to the troops.
2. BM, Harley 4971, fo.14r; Appendix A, no.29.

the baronage;¹ nevertheless, the important military commands - such as those of Lancaster in Aquitaine, Normandy and Brittany; of Northampton in Brittany, and the Black Prince in Aquitaine and Languedoc - for financial as much as any other reason, went to the magnates. To some extent Edward III had to get his armies on hire purchase. The military expeditions of his reign were joint stock undertakings between himself and the military commanders. The men, money and administrative machinery which Lancaster's landed inheritance placed at his disposal were essential to the king in his prosecution of a full scale war in several different regions of France. This was the inevitable outcome of the delegation of military command which his effort necessitated.

Since the outlay involved in the case of diplomatic missions was not often great, both full and prompt payments were made. For his wages as earl of Derby and Lancaster he was entitled to 5 marks a day; as duke of

1. Prince, op.cit., 283.

Lancaster to £5.

On 12 August, 1343, Peter de Wotton, his treasurer was paid £300 for his mission to Avignon.¹ For the negotiations held at Calais in 1348 he received £307.13s.4d: £273.6s.8d. wages; £31.4s.0d. transport costs; £3.2s.8d. customs.² £56.13s.4d. was paid to him on 10 October; the remaining £241 by brief of the privy seal on 13 December; both within the period of the mission.³ For negotiations at Calais in 1351 the bill totalled £154.6s.8d: £100 wages; £54.6s.8d. transport,⁴ £133.6s.8d. of this sum was received from the Exchequer; the remaining £21 assigned in London.⁵

For the negotiations between Calais and Guines in the spring of 1353 he was due £178: £150 wages; £28 transport costs.⁶ This was paid on 10 July, after his return to England, compliant with royal instructions of

1. E 403/327, m.32.

2. E 372/193, m.34d.

3. Ibid., and E 403/344, m.3. The royal order for payment is E 159/125, m.63.

4. E 372/198, m.38.

5. Ibid., and E 403/344, m.3.

6. E 101/313/19 & E 372/197, m.38d.

23 April.¹ For his mission to Guines to treat with the councils of France and Flanders and the subsequent journey to Holland and Zealand in 1353-4, his attorney, William de Horwych, presented a bill for £536.14s.2d; £510 wages; £26.14s.2d. transport costs.² £76.13s.4d. of this sum was paid on 4 November, 1353; £52.17s.0½d. on 12 November; £80.9s.7d. on 20 November; £4 (for wine consumed during the negotiations) from John de Middleton, receiver of the king's victuals, by Calais on 17 January, 1354; and £332.14s.2d. on 24 May following.³

For the mission to Avignon in 1354-5 he received the enormous sum of £4,194.13s.4d: £750 in wages; £316.13s.4d. for the costs of his retinue; £128 transport costs; and £1,333.6s.8d. granted by the king for his dress and other expenses above wages.⁴ He received £1,333.6s.8d. from the Exchequer in October, 1354; £30 from certain burgesses of Dover before crossing to Calais; another £1,333.6s.8d. on 3 March, 1355.⁵ He also received payment

1. Ibid., and E 403/368, m.17.

2. E 372/198, m.39d.

3. Ibid., and E 403/373, ms.12 & 20; 374, m.7.

4. E 101/313/25, and the royal mandate for payment of 15 May, 1355 (E 404/5/34).

5. Ibid., and E 403/375, ms.2 & 28; 377, m.22.

of another bill for £1,666.13s.4d. for unspecified expenses: £666.13s.4d. in October, 1354, and the remaining £1,000 less the previous surplus of £168.13s.4d. on 1 July, 1355.¹

Finally, the bill for negotiations in Calais in 1360 amounted to £367.2s.8d: £355 wages; £12.2s.8d. transport.² He received £140 from the Exchequer on 6 August, before leaving on the 24th, by way of his clerk, Robert de Burton; the remaining £227 was paid on 19th February following, by virtue of a royal mandate under the privy seal of 10 February.³

The overall figures are as follows:

Mission	Bill			Known Amount Paid		Last Known Payment
	£	s.	d.	£	s. d.	
Avignon, 1343	300	0	0	Total		12 August 1343
Calais/Guines & Flanders, 1348	307	13	4	Total		13 December 1348
Calais, 1351	154	6	8	Total		
Calais/Guines 1353	178	0	0	Total		10 July 1353
Guines, Holland & Zealand, 1353-4	536	14	2	Total		24 May 1354
Avignon, 1354-5	4,194	13	4	Total		1 July 1355
Calais, 1360	367	2	8	Total		19 February 1361

1. Ibid.

2. E 101/314/4.

3. Ibid., E 404/6/40, no.86; E 403/404, m.28.

Conclusion

In the final analysis one need look no further than to the close friendship that existed between the king and Henry to understand the leading part which the duke played in affairs. Throughout his life there is no evidence of serious discord between them. Similarity of interests, companionship in arms, the bond of shared experiences, strengthened their friendship as the years went by. That Henry, unlike his uncle Thomas, used his resources in the king's service is part of the wider theme of Edward's harmonious relations with his magnates; but that the duke was given the highest place in the realm outside the royal family is the mark of the high esteem in which Edward held his 'cousin'. In a sermon written during the reign of Henry V, the author, perhaps inspired by an earlier poem on the death of Edward III, told his audience of the good old days when the English navy sailed in security, with the king as its rudder, this gode comenes as the mast, Duke Henry as the barge, and gode prezeres as the following wind in its sails.¹

1. G.R.Owst, Literature and the pulpit in medieval England, 75.

No doubt the good old days were not as rosy as they then seemed, but what is significant is the extent to which the author identified Duke Henry with the interests and well-being of the kingdom.

App.	A	Unpublished documents	H	1-72
App.	B	King's Letters (Frank)	"	77-143
	I	Let of Letters	"	78-85
	II	Income of Letters	"	86-150
	III	Commissions of Letters	"	151-153
App.	C	Lancaster Campaigns	"	154-263
	C1		"	155-205
	C2		"	206-208
	C3		"	209-212
	C4		"	213-222
	C5		"	223-226
	C6		"	227-231
	C7		"	232
	C8		"	233-239
	C9		"	240-263
App.	D	Green Armes	"	264-287
App.	E	Green Finances	"	288-289
App.	F	Proctor Administration	"	290-297
App.	G	Sum. paid for prisoners of Wales	"	298-301
App.	H	Excheq. Treasr Accounts 1372-77.	H	303-4
App.	I	Lancaster Money in England	"	305-311
App.	J	Lancaster Annals	"	312-320
		Source Bibliography	"	321-362

FOWLER, KENNETH ALAN
2

PART IV
APPENDICES, SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX A
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
1908

1927

I. LIST OF THE DOCUMENTS

1. Indenture of war between the king and Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, concerning an undertaking by Lancaster to go to Gascony as the king's lieutenant, Westminster, 13 March, 1345.
2. Indenture of war between the king and the earl of Northampton, concerning an undertaking by Northampton to go to Brittany as captain and guardian, Westminster, 17 April, 1345.
3. Indenture of war between the king and the earl of Pembroke, concerning an undertaking by Pembroke to go to Gascony in the company of the earl of Derby, Westminster, 11 April, 1345.
4. Indenture of service between the king and John de Charneles, clerk, concerning an undertaking by Charneles to go to Brittany as treasurer and receiver of the revenues appertaining to John, duke of Brittany, Rockingham, 25 November, 1345.
5. Indenture between Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, lieutenant of the king in Aquitaine and Languedoc, of the one part, and Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, and his brother Bérard d'Albret, lord of Vayres, of the other part, touching the custody of the town of Bergerac, by Bergerac, 10 September, 1345.
6. Petitions made by the seneschal of Gascony to the king, possibly spring, 1344.
7. Petitions of the jurats and community of La Réole to the king, together with the king's replies; early summer, 1347.
8. Petitions of certain burgesses of La Réole to the king, together with the king's replies; early summer, 1347.
9. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 25,000 gold florins to Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, and others, for the purchase of Jacques de Bourbon, count of Ponthieu and La Marche, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 12 February, 1357.

10. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 17,000 gold florins to Bertrand, lord of Montferrand, and others, for the purchase of Jean de Chalon, count of Auxerre, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 9 March, 1356/7.
11. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 12,000 gold florins to Menaud de Béarn, knight, and others, for the purchase of Arnoul d'Audrehem, marshal of France, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 12 February, 1356/7.
12. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 10,000 gold florins to Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, and Raymond de Montaut, lord of Mussidan, knights, for the purchase of Bonabés de Rouge, lord of Derval, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 23 March, 1356/7.
13. Instrument by which the earl of Warwick, marshal of England, undertakes to have a number of fortresses around Paris evacuated; Paris, 13 May, 1360.
14. Letter of William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, prisoner of the king of France, setting forth the conditions of his release; Bois de Vincennes, 2 June, 1342.
15. Letter of King Philip, setting forth the conditions of the release of William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, his prisoner; Bois de Vincennes, 2 June, 1342.
16. Letter of Sir Thomas Percy, granted permission to leave prison to seek the money for his ransom, by which he promises to return to Paris as a prisoner of the king of France; Paris, 10 January, 1370/1.
17. Documents touching the appointment of Philip of Navarre as the king's captain and lieutenant in the duchy of Normandy; 1357.
18. Memoir touching Lancaster's lieutenancy in Poitou; 1349.
19. Confirmation by King John of an agreement whereby Raoul de Caours undertakes to return into French obedience and service; Paris, September, 1350.

20. Treaty between Raoul de Caours and the king of France; Paris, 4 January, 1350/1.
21. Agreement concluded between the envoys of Edward III and those of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, Dunkirk, close of 1348.
22. Indenture by which Henry Earl of Lancaster retains Sir Edmund de Ufford for life during peace and war; London, 1 March, 1347.
23. Letter of the earl of Lancaster to the chancellor of England concerning the seizure of lands of Sir Norman de Swinford in Lincolnshire; Lee, 6 February (1347).
24. Petition of the mayor and échevins of the city of Amiens to the duke of Lancaster, touching the infringement of the truce; Amiens, 4 December, 1354.
25. Letter of Pierre de la Forêt, archbishop of Rouen and chancellor of France, to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Arundel, touching infringements of the truce and the forthcoming conference at Avignon; Paris, 28 May (1354).
26. Contract between Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, of the one part, and Hugh d'Audley, Earl of Gloucester, Ralph de Stafford and his wife Margaret, of the other part, for the marriage of Ralph's son and heir, Ralph, to Henry's daughter, Maud; London, 10 October, 1344.
27. Indenture between the king and Thomas Dagworth, by which Thomas undertook the custody of the duchy of Brittany; before Calais, 10 January, 1347.
28. Letter of Edward III to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, requesting his presence at Westminster for the conclusion of a peace treaty with King John, 4 November (1358); together with the duke's reply.
29. Letter of Edward, prince of Wales, to William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, requesting his presence on an expedition which he had undertaken to make to France.

30. Letter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, requesting some baron to join his retinue on an expedition to be made to France by the prince (1355).

APPENDIX A

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

In transcribing the following documents I have adopted the practice of French scholars and followed the rules recommended by the Société des anciens textes français.¹ Information on the diplomatic of each is preceded by the letters A: original; B: copy; a: published document.

1. Indenture of war between the king and Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, concerning an undertaking by Lancaster to go to Gascony as the king's lieutenant, Westminster, 13 March, 1345.

B. Public Record Office, Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Memoranda Rolls, E 159/123, m.254 (enrollment of original on parchment).

Ceste endenture, faite entre nostre seigneur le roi, d'une parte, et monsieur Henri de Lancastre, conte de Derby, d'autre parte, tesmoigne que le dit conte, par comaundement nostre seigneur le roi, ad empris d'aler en Gascoygne, a y demorer come lieutenant le roi pour un demy an, si guerre soit, et a faire le bien q'il poet ove cink centz hommes d'armes, milles archers, dont cink centz serront a chival et cink centz a pie, et outre cink centz Galeys a pie. Et du noubre susdit, deux centz et cinquante hommes d'armes, et deux centz et cinquante aultres a chival, serront a la retenance propre du dit conte, c'est assavoir soi, oytisme a banere, quatre vintz et douze chivalers, et cent et cinquante esquiers. Et nostre seigneur le roi lui perfournira des gentz d'armes, archers

1. P.Meyer, "Instructions pour la publication des anciens textes français", BÉC, LXXI (1910), 224-33; M.Roques, "Regles pratiques pour l'édition des anciens textes français et provençaux", ibid., LXXXVII (1926), 453-9; C.Brünel, "A propos de l'édition de nos textes français du Moyen Age", Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de France (1941), 67-74.

et gentz Galeys tanque au noubre susdit. Et le dit conte, ove sa retenance susnomee, serra au port de Southamptoun le veille de la Pentecost proschein avenir pour passer versus les dites parties de Gascoigne. Et meisme la veille de Pentecost soit le primer jour de demy an avantdit pour acompter des gages, et pour touz autres covenances composees en ceste endenture, s'il soit garni par maundement du roi, par covenable temps, de prendre autre jour par defaute de navie que ne soit mye pleynement venue. Et est l'entencion toutes voies que le jour q'il vendra a la meer sur son passage il commencera d'aconter. Et le dit conte prendra pour lui meismes sys soldz et oyt deniers le jour, pour chescun banaret quatre soldz, pour chescun chevaler deux soldz, pour chescun esquier douze deniers, et pour chescun archer a chival sys deniers; les queux gages, pour sa retenue propre pour le demy an avantdit, amontent a quatre mille quatre centz quatre vintz douze livres sept soldz et quatre deniers, et ovesque ce il prendra pour regard, pour meisme le temps, troys mille troys centz trente et trois livres sys soldz et oyt deniers; les queles summes amontent en tout a sept mille oyt centz vint et cink livres quatorze soldz, dont il serra paie dedeinz un moys apres la Pasque proschein avenir de cynk mille livres.

Item, il avera assignement, sur la disme de Seint Eglise du terme de Seint Barnabe proschein suant, de mille oyt centz vint et cynk livres quatorze soldz.

Item, sur la quinzisme de la commune du terme des Touz Seintz proschein suant, mille livres.

Item, le dit conte avera eskippeson pour lui, ses gentz, chivaux et vitailles, en alant et venant as custages nostre seigneur le roi.

Item, les chivaux du dit conte et de sa retenance serront prisez a covenable pris devant lour eskippeson en manere acustumee; et en cas q'aucuns des ses gentz d'armes ne se voillent monter des chivaux decea la meer, mes faire le pourveance par delea, que adonques, meismes ceux chivaux soient prisez illoeques par le conestable de Burdeux en la manere suisdite et a quel heure que nul homme d'armes perde chival avant prise que de temps lour chivalx q'ils pourvoierent soient prisez par le dit conestable en convenable manere come desus est dit.

Item, est ordene que un clerc suffisant soit assigne pour paier gages a les communes qi serront en la compaignie du dit conte, aussibien decea la mer come delea, et serra meisme clerc covenablement estuffe d'argent pour faire meisme les payementz, et si ne ferra nul payement saunz l'avis et comaundement du dit conte.

Item, le roi voet que en cas que prisons soient pris es dites parties par la dit conte ou les soens, q'il puisse faire d'eux sa volente et q'il puisse avoir toutes autres avantages de guerre, forspris villes, chastelx, terres, rentes et hommes, a quiconque q'ils soient; pour queux choses le dit counte avera pleyn poair par commission de les doner ou lesser selonc ce q'il verra que mieux soit pour le profit nostre seigneur le roi.

Item, il avera pleyn poair par commission de seisir en la mein le roi toutes terres, tenementz, villes, chastelx, franchises, custumes, profitz des monoyes, et toutes autres choses en queconque manere a la duché de Guyenne, en nul temps regardantz en qi meins q'il soient devenuz, par la ou il verra q'il le puisse faire par bone et juste cause, et de les tenir ensi en pees, en la mein nostre seigneur le roi, tanque il lui eut eit certifie issint que par son avis il eut puisse ordener ce que mieux soit.

Item, il avera poair par commission de prendre trewes et soeffrances en les parties susdites quant il verra que busoigne soit pour l'onour du roi et la sauvete de lui et de ses gentz et du pays.

Item, il avera poair par commission a surveer les faitz de touz les ministres le roi es dites parties, et de les nient covenables remuer et autres mettre en lour lieux a toutes les foitz q'il verra q'il soit affaire, reservant neproquant au roi les offices du seneschal et du conestable.

Item, il avera par commission de granter vie et membre et de faire mise de rebealx et disobeissantz, aussibien par meer come par terre, es dites parties durant le demy an avantdit, et aussint q'il puisse recevoir a la pees nostre seigneur le roi les rebealx et desobeissantz en celles parties, et a eux pardoun faire de lour trespas, et les covenances q'il ferra ovesque eux serront tenuz et perfourniz par nostre seigneur le roi et par touz autres qi y serront apres le dit conte.

Item, le roi voet que si nul poair soit grante a aucun autre acordant a nul des pointz compris en ceste endenture, que meisme cel poair soit repelle et anienty.

Item, en cas que apres le demy an susdit il plese a nostre seigneur le roi que le dit conte demoerge en les dites parties de Gascoigne come son lieutenant, ove tut sa retenance et les gentz d'armes et archers susditz, a faire le bien q'il poet pour le demy an ensuant, que adonques, soient gentz suffisantes assignez par comission d'aconter ovesque lui, aussibien de ses gages come de restoracion de ses chivalx perduz, et de lui paier quant que lui serra duz par meisme l'aconte. Et aussint ses gages et regard devant le mein pour le temps q'il demora illoeques, et q'il eit touz autres covenances sicome est dit plus pleynement pour le primer demy an.

Item, voet le roi que en cas que nul des covenances susdites ne soit tenuz au dit conte, que adonques, au chief du primer demy an il soit de tut descharge, et ove toutes ses gentz puisse venir en Engleterre ou aler par aillours, queu parte qui il plerra, saunz empeschement de nostre dit seigneur le roi ou de nul autre en son noun. Il est acorde que le trewes nadgaires prises en Bretaigne soient susrendues par covenables temps, issint que le dit conte ent puisse estre certifie en Gascoigne devant q'il chivauche de guerre.

Item, le roi ad grante que en cas que aucunes terres ou tenementz puissent avenir droiturement au dit conte, par descent d'heritage ou en autre quecunque manere resonable, durant le temps q'il demorra issint en service nostre seigneur le roi, que par defaute de homage ou foialte, ou aucun autre service, tieux terres et tenementz ne soient retenuz en la mein le roi par eschetour ne par autre ministre einz soient delivres par duz proces as attornez le dit conte, franchement, pour faire ent son profit, saunz contredit ou empeschement de nullui; et soient les homages et foialtees respitees tanque a sa venue en Engleterre.

Item, le roi ad grante que s'il aveigne que le dit conte soit assiege ou prisse par si grant force des gentz q'il ne se pourra eider saunz estre rescous par le poair du roi, que le roi soit tenuz de lui rescoure par une voie ou par autre, issint q'il soit rescous convenablement.

Item, en cas que ceste viage du dit conte soit par aucune cause change ou destourbe, le roi ad promis q'il avera regard a les custages queux le dit conte covient faire par ceste cause, come en retenance des gentz, pourveances faire et en autre manere, et ferra ensi devers lui q'il s'agreera par reson. En tesmoignance de queu chose, a ceste partie de l'indenture demorrante devers nostre seigneur le roi, le dit conte ad mys son seal.

Donne a Westminstre, le XIII jour de marz, l'an du regne nostre seigneur le roi d'Engleterre disnoefisme et de France sisme.

2. Indenture of war between the king and the earl of Northampton, concerning an undertaking by Northampton to go to Brittany as captain and guardian, Westminster, 17 April, 1345.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Accounts Various, Indentures of War, E 101/68/72 (original on parchment).

a. Rymer, III, i, 37 (badly transcribed).

Ceste indenture, faite entre nostre seigneur le roi, d'une part, et le counte de Norhampton, d'autre parte, tesmoigne que le dit counte est demore devers nostre dit seigneur le roi pour aler as parties de Bretaigne; et le dit counte avera comission d'estre chevetain et gardein des dites parties, tant par meer come par terre, et avera poair des justices haut et basse d'avoir conissance des toutes maners des quereles celles parties, et droitures.

Item, de chivaucher de guerre es dites parties sur les enemys, tant par terre come par meer; de prendre et abatre villes, chasteux, forteresses selonc ce que le dit counte verra que soit affaire, et de retenir gentz a la pees, pardone faire de vie et de membre; de doner sure et sauf conduyt; de prendre et mettre gentz a ranceon; de trewe doner et prendre pour lui et pour les soens, et saufgardes et condicions granter et faire, et d'ordener terres dedens son temps sur les enemys acquises selonc ce q'il verra que

soit au profit du roi; de remuer et punir officers et autres mettre en leur lieux; et que le roi eit ferme et estable quant que le dit counte ferra es choses susdites pour le profit du roi come son fait propre.

Item, autre comission sur les pointz susditz, ove la parole du profite le roi mise.

Item, une autre comission generale solonc la forme de la chancellerie.

Item, tantes et tiels comissions es parties de France par meer et par terre.

Item, si le dit counte face covenant ove ville, ou a chastel, ou a seigneur, ou de nul homme de quel condicion q'il soit, ou de nouvelle face reparailier ou autre custage mettre en villes, chastels ou forteresses, et ce par avis des grantz que sont es parties susdites ove le dit counte, que le roi soit tenuz de parfaire les covenantes et les custages, et le dit counte de ce estre quits.

Item, que le roi eit un clerc ove deniers en ... parfaire et fournir les condicions queles serront faites solonc le tittle paramounte, et les coustages si eles ce facent, et par avis des seigneurs que y sont, ou d'un que le roi voudra ordenner ... et de quel paier les Engleis que sont hors de retenu en Bretaigne a plus de cese q'il verra pour le profit le roi et par avis des seigneurs avantditz.

Item, que le dit counte soit paie de ses gages et regard, avant son aler, pour une quarter del an, et ensi de quarter en quarter, tant come le dit counte y demora.

Item, que le quarter comence le jour q'il vendra a la meer ove son estuf entier par mandement du roi.

Item, que le dit clerc eit poair de priser les chivalx du price du dit counte et les autres seigneurs, et que le dit price soit delivres au clerc que irra en Bretaigne en cas que meschief aveigne.

Item, que le roi trove pour le dit counte et les seigneurs niefs suffisantment, ove cleyes, pountz, et toutes autres choses necessaires pour lour passage et repassage.

Item, que un certain des niefs et fluves soient ordenez pour demorer ove le dit counte a les coustages le roi tant come il demoerra celles parties, et que le dit clerc le roi ent soit chargez.

Item, que en cas que le dit counte ne troeffe niefs prestes et appareillez pour son passage come attient au port, que serra ordene ne les covenantes entre le roi et

le dit counte faites, ne lui soient tenuz en toutz pointz, ou que le passage remaigne ne mye par defaute le dit counte, que le dit counte de totes les covenances avant taillez soit descharges, et mesmes les covenances pur nulles tenuz.

Item, en cas que le dit counte et les autres seigneurs ou lour gentz eient prisoners, que de riens le roi les puisse challenger, toutesfoes que si le prison passe cynk centz livres, que le roi ent soit certifiez, issint q'il lui puisse avoir pour le soen devant nul autre, sicome il poent acorder.

Item, en cas que le dit counte ou les seigneurs susditz soient pressez ou assegez des enemys q'ils ne poent suffir, que le roi lour soit tenuz rescoure par lui mesmes, ou par autre suffisant rescourse. Et si non que le dit counte et les seigneurs ne soient rescourse en manere susdite, que il se puissent aider par voie de trewe, ou en quelconque autre manere, en salvacion de eux et de lour gentz, et mieutz q'ils poent, et q'ils se poent departir saunz reproeve ou challenge du roi ou de nully.

Item, que le dit counte, apres son quarter finy, ne soit paieez pour un autre quart devant la mani, q'il puisse quitement departir sanz challenge du roi ou de nully hors des parties avantdites as custages le roi. En tesmoignance de quele chose, a ceste partie de l'endenture demoerrant devers nostre dit seigneur le roi, le dit counte ad mys son seal.

Donne a Westminstre, le XVII jour d'avril, l'an du regne nostre dit seigneur le roi d'Engleterre dys et noefisme (et de France sisme).

3. Indenture of war between the king and the earl of Pembroke, concerning an undertaking by Pembroke to go to Gascony in the company of the earl of Derby, Westminster, 11 April, 1345.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Accounts Various, Indentures of War, E 101/68/60 (original on parchment; very badly damaged).

Ceste endenture, faite entre nostre seigneur le roi, d'une parte, et le conte de Pembroke, d'autre, tesmoigne

que le dit conte, en ser(vice) nostre (seigneur le roi) ... en la compaignie le conte de Derby pour un demy an od quatervintez homes d'armes, c'est assavoir soi, tierz a banere ... ; et la jour q'il vinra au port ad son estuffe entrer, par mandement du roi, pour passer serra le primer jour del demy (an) ... en meisme la manere come est ordene dans le cheveteni.

Item, nostre dit seigneur le roi voet et ad grante a le d(it conte, que) ... c'est assavoir les gages le roi acustumnez pour tout le demy an susdit devant la main, et semblablement ad le regard de ... entre nostre dit seigneur le roi et le dit conte, et pour chescun des archers susditz sys deniers le jour, paieez avant la main pour le ... eskippeson suffisantement pour lui, ses gentz et ses vitailles, en alant et retournant, as custages le roi.

Item, les chivalx (du dit conte et de sa retenance serront prisez a covenable pris devant) lour eskippeson en manere acustumee et sicome serra fait dans le chevetani. Et en cas que les uns des gentz d'armes (ne se voillent monter des) chevalx decea la meer, mais faire lour pourveances es parties de dela la meer, que adonges, meismes ceux chivalx (soient prisez illoeqes par le conestable de Burdeux en la manere suisdite) et a quele heure que nul home d'armes perdre chival avant prise que de temps en temps lour chivalx q'ils pourvoierent (soient prisez par le dit conestable en convenable manere come desus est dit).

... des prisons qi serront pris en les parties de Gascoigne susdites par lui ou nul des soens, le roi lui ferra reson ...

Item, voet le roi que apres le demy an susdit aucunes gentz a ce par nostre seigneur le roi assigniez acotent ovesque la ... de ce que lui serra duz en meisme la manere come autres seigneurs serront qi irront en meisme le viage.

Item, en cas que apres le (demy an susdit il plese a nostre seigneur le roi que le dit conte) demoerge es dites parties ovesque ses dites gentz, adonges, il serra paie de ses gages devant la mein pour le temps q'il y demorra, et (q'il eit touz autres covenances sicome est dit plus pleynement pour le primer demy an).

... nostre seigneur le roi grante que en cas que nuls terres ou tenementz puissent avenir droiturement

au dit conte en le roialme d'Engleterre ou ... par autre voie durant le temps q'il issint demorra en service nostre seigneur le roi, que par defaute de homage ou foialte, ou aucun autre (service, tieux) terres et tenementz ne soient retenuz en la main nostre dit seigneur le roi par eschetour ou autre ministre einz par duz procesz affaire hors de la chancellerie .. soient delivres as attournez le dit conte, (franchement, pour faire) ent son profit, sans contredit ou empeschement de nullui; et soient les homages et foialtes respitez tanque a sa revenue en Engleterre. En tesmoignance de queu choses, a ceste partie de l'indenture demorrante devers le dit conte de Pembroke, nostre dit seigneur le roi ad fait meistre son seal.

Donne a Westminstre, le XI jour d'avril, l'an du regne nostre seigneur le roi d'Engleterre disnoefisme et de France sisme.

4. Indenture of service between the king and John de Charneles, clerk, concerning an undertaking by Charneles to go to Brittany as treasurer and receiver of the revenues appertaining to John, duke of Brittany, Rockingham, 25 November, 1345.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Accounts Various, Indentures of War, E 101/61/68 (original on parchment).

Ceste indenture, faite entre nostre seigneur le roi et sire Johan de Charneles, cleric, tesmoigne que le dit Johan est demore devers nostre dit seigneur ove trente hommes d'armes et cynquante archers a chival, pour aller en Bretaigne a les gages de guerre acoustumez. Et serra le dit Johan tresorer et receivour de touz les deniers, custoumes et profitz appertenantz a Johan, ducs de Bretaigne, q'est en la garde nostre dit seigneur, sibien en Bretaigne come en Gascoigne et aillours, et serra servi des gages pour lui et pour ses ditz gentz d'un quarter (commenceant quant il vendra a la meer ove plein nombre de ses gentz prest a passer; et est accorder

q'il serra a la meer au dimenge prochain avenir),¹ et de cent marcs de regard devant la main; et il avera allouance en les issues de son office de cent livres en partie de paiement des dettes que le roi lui doit. Et avera ses chivaux d'armes prisez a la meer par aucun qi le roi voudra a ce deputer, et restor des chivaux perduz. Et le dit Johan soit assoutz de sa demoere en Bretaigne contre sa volunte apres le quart del an fini, a quele heure que pees ou triewe se taille entre les roialmes d'Engleterre et de France.

Item, le dit Johan, des deniers le roi par lui retienz, doit paier au conte de Norhampton et a les autres seigneurs celles parties l'escu d'or au pris q'il court illoeges, c'est assavoir la piece a quatre souldz et plus si plus haut y soit le cours.

Item, il avera niefs suffisantes pour passage de lui et de ses gentz, et eskippeson a les custages du roi.

Item, il avera la garde de Kymperle a sa venue en Bretaigne, selonc l'avis du conte de Norhampton.

Item, les custages d'un clerc demorant a Burdeux pour coiller la custume de Bretaigne illoeges lui serront allouez en son acompte.

Item, le dit sire Johan avera quant il busoigne en le Trade, ou a Brest une fluve ou une barge estuffe suffisantment des gentz pour examiner les seals des niefs qe vendront hors de Gascoigne pour savoir s'ils y ont paie la custume de Bretaigne, et d'arester les forfaitures que escherront par celle cause; et les custages q'il ferra sur la dit fluve ou barge, et toutes autres custages resonables q'il ferra en son office lui serront allouez sur son acunte. Et s'il y aviegne que le dit sire Johan y demoerge en service le roi outre le dit quarter, lui serront allouez sur son acunte des issues de son office. En tesmoignance de queu chose, a ceste partie de l'endenture demorante devers le dit sire Johan, nostre dit seigneur le roi ad fait mettre son prive seal.

Donne a Rokyngham, le XXV jour de Novembre, l'an du regne nostre dit seigneur d'Engleterre disnoefisme et de France sisme.

1. Inserted above line.

5. Indenture between Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, lieutenant of the king in Aquitaine and Languedoc, of the one part, and Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, and his brother Bérard d'Albret, lord of Vayres, of the other part, touching the custody of the town of Bergerac, by Bergerac, 10 September, 1345.

A. Archives départementales des Basses-Pyrénées, E 131 (original on parchment).

B. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Doat, vol. 189, fos. 167-70; Titres concernant les maisons de Foix, Armagnac, Rodez, Albret, Navarre, etc. (modern copy).

Haec indentura facta, apud Brageracum, die sabbati, decima die mensis septembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quinto, inter egregium virum dominum Henricum de Lancastria, comitem Derbi, locum tenentem serenissimi principis domini nostri Angliae et Franciae regis, in ducatu Aquitaniae et lingua occitana, ex parte una, et nobiles viros dominos Bernardum Ezii, dominum de Lebreto, et Bernardum de Lebreto, dominum de Vayriis, milites, fratres, ex altera, testatur conventiones habitas et concordatas inter ipsos, super custodia villae Brageraci ejusdem domini nostri regis, quae sunt tales.

Primo, quod dicti fratres erunt capitanei dictae villae, illamque custodire, salvam facere domino nostro regi praedicto tenebuntur a dicto die usque diem nonum sequentis mensis octobris; et pro custodia dictae villae, habebunt et tenebunt, cum ipsis, ducentos octoginta decem et octo homines, equites armorum, et mille ducentos servientes pedites, tam balisterios, sive archerios, quam lancerios, cum taulachis, videlicet, per primos quatuordecim dies dicti termini, et per residuos quatuordecim dies ejusdem termini, ducentos quinquaginta homines equites armorum, ipsis fratribus computatis; et dictos mille ducentos servientes ad vadia regia, videlicet, pro quolibet ipsorum fratrum, quatuor solidos, pro quolibet milite equite duos solidos, pro quolibet scutiffero equite duodecim denarios, pro quolibet balesterio seu archerio tres denarios, et pro quolibet lancerio duos denarios sterlingorum vel eorum valorem, per diem, secundum

consuetudinem Patriae alias usitatam et antiquitus observatam; et, finito dicto termino dictus dominus comes et locum tenens ponat alium vel alios capitaneum sue capitaneos in dicta villa, si ipsi fratres plus custodire noluerint eandem.

Item, dicti fratres facient monstram dictarum gentium equitum et peditum et equorum, de octo in octo diebus, durante termino predicto, coram illo quem dictus dominus comes et locum tenens duxerit deputandum.

Item, quod dicti fratres poterunt, vocato deputato per dictum dominum comitem et locum tenentem, et per visum ejusdem, opera et reparationes necessarias, in dicta villa, faciendas fieri facere, suburbia sive barria munire vel destruere et reparari facere, secundum quod discretioni videbitur faciendum, et commodius fuerit pro utilitate regia et salvatione villae predictae.

Item, dictus dominus comes et locum tenens per suum deputatum faciet providere de arcubus sive balestris unius pedis et duorum pedum springallis et quadrellis necessariis pro custodia et defensione villae predictae, quae tamen in villa predicta presenti reperiri poterunt (or potuerunt), et aliunde commode haberi: quam artillariam dicti capitanei dividere custodibus dictae villae, et, in fine termini praedicti, dicti capitanei illam reddere et restituere dicto deputato, exceptis illis quae, si necessario contigerit, fuerint devastata.

Item, quod, finito dicto termino, dicti capitanei capitaniam et custodiam villae praedictae, cum eadem benivolentia dicti domini comitis et locum tenentis qua easdem receperunt, dimittere possint ipso prius certiorato legitime et requisito.

Item, si forsan vellet dictus dominus comes et locum tenens dictos fratres in capitania et custodia praedictis ulterius moraturos, finito termino praedicto, quod solvantur eis, prae manibus, vadia, pro ipsis et dictis gentibus, ut est dictum, per tempus quod ipsos voluerit ultra remansuros et moraturos; et, in casu quo dicta vadia sic non solventur, quod cum eadem benivolentia dimittere possint capitaniam et villam praedictas, ipso tamen, ut supra, requisito.

Item, equi ipsorum capitaneorum et gentium suorum armorum praedictorum appretiabuntur si et quando monstrabuntur, de die in diem, et si qui, in servitio regio, perdantur,

illi qui eos perdent habeant vadia sicut est fieri consuetum in ducatu, in tali casu: et nihilominus emenda eis fiat de restauro equorum condigna perditorum quam cito fieri poteri bono modo.

Item, quod dicti fratres et quilibet ipsorum, tamen cum magistro Johanne Wawayn, constabulario Burdegalae, per dictum dominum comitem et locum tenentem deputato et eis adjuncto, habeant potestatem reappellandi et convocandi gentes Bregeraci de redeundo ad villam praedictam, perdonandi, gratiam faciendi, et homines equites et pedites, ad vadia regia, in locis, si quae ipsos capere vel domino regi acquirere contingeret, et eis expediens videatur, ponendi conventiones, et pacta faciendi eisdem gentibus et aliis quae venire voluerint ad obedientiam dicti domini nostri regis, et quod dictus dominus comes et locum tenens ordinata, tractata, promissa, contenta et facta per dictos fratres et quemlibet ipsorum, simul cum dicto adjuncto deputato, ad commodum et honorem dicti domini nostri registrata et grata habeat et confirmet. In quorum omnium testimonium, sigilla dominorum praedictorum his indenturis alternatim sunt appensa.

Datum Bregeraci, undecima die septembris, anno praedicto.

6. Petitions made by the seneschal of Gascony to the king, possibly spring, 1344.

A. Public Record Office, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/293/14613 and 14603 (original on paper).

Premierement, que au roi nostre seigneur pleyse luy avyser de ascunes douns q'il ad fait as plosurs persones que poy de lieu luy tenent, et ad taunt done que poy luy demoert, et ad taunt charge la custume a Burdeux que tout que fu pees ele voudreit moult foy, et ore riens ne vaut, et si luy plest et veut doner que luy primer estre enformes de ceo q'il dorra, quoy vaut, et a qi il dorra, et coment celuy et a qi il dorra l'ad servy.

Item, de tel doun q'il ad fait a monsieur Arnaud de Durffort de la baillye de Labort, nous l'avoms delivre la seigneurye que le roy nostre seigneur y avoyt et tenoyt. ¹ par les autres rentes que au dit roy nostre seigneur

1. The words "coram rege" are inserted in the margin against this line.

appartenent, le roi ad done a monsieur Remon Duraunt et a Gaillard soun filz, pour laquele cause la greignure partye des gentils hommes et du commun de la terre de la dit dount ont fait appellatioun au dit roy nostre seigneur, dount graunt guerre est commence entre les gentz de Labort et le dit monsieur Arnaud, por ceo que le dit monsieur Arnaud ne reporte au dit appel, jasoit que nous l'avoms de porte et resceu en taunt quant le roy nostre seigneur le voudra resceyvere, et autrement noun, et les appellauntz avoms mys en la savegarde du roy nostre seigneur, pour quoy nous dotoms moult que ceux de la ville de Bayone ne facent partie entre eux en la ville, neporquant nous sumes en alauntz vers celes parties pour savoir bon remedye que nous pouroms a nostre poer.

Soient les choses dont il ad debat pris en la mein du roi, tanque le roi soit certifie, et soit escript a les parties, et aussint a la bone gent de Baion, q'ils se soeffrent, et le roi ordeinera ensi q'il se tendront content.

Item, que le roi nostre seigneur ad fait ascuns douns as diverses gentz d'ascunes baillyes, sur quoy luy pleise a nous maunder sa volunte.

Item, que le seigneur de Puigilliem si porte bien et liaument envers le roy nostre seigneur, et qi le roy nostre seigneur ad done, pour son bon servyce, la terre et lieux de Borne, de Memysan, et de Erbefavere, a sa vye, laquele monsieur Arnaud Durffort ad pourchace, neporquant que uncore ne l'ad este delivre, et nous l'avoms promys au viscounte de Fronsac, que pleyse au roi nostre seigneur d'avoir tel regard envers le dit seigneur de Puigilliem que soun servyce soit conuz, et doner poer a ceux seigneurs que vendront de par decea d'ordiner en tele manere sur celes causes, que le dit seigneur de Puigilhem soit garde de damage, sanz pregediz des autres, q'ar le dit seigneur de Puigilliem n'ad pas volu que le roy nostre seigneur perde un tel homme come le viscounte de Fronsac est, pour le doun luy faite, mes aucune amende a luy soit faite, et au roy pleise escrivere a monsieur Arnaud Durfford en la manere que a luy serra avys, s'il conferme le fait du viscounte.

Semble q'il fait a faire si plust au.

Soit escript en la manere a monsieur Arnald de Dereford.

7. Petitions of the jurats and community of La Réole to the king, together with the king's replies; early summer, 1347.

A. Public Record Office, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/243/12134 (original on paper).

Les supplications de la ville de La Reole

^{67 de France}
 A tresexcellant prince nostre seigneur le roy d'Anglaterra. Supplient humblement les jurez et communaute de la ville de La Riolle que, comme monsseigneur le compte de Lencastre, adonc vostre lieutenant en lo duche de Guyenne et en la Lenguedoc, de grace especial et certayne science, pour ce qu'il estoyent de leur bon gre et bonne voulonte venuz a vostre oubeyssance et feaute, et pour contemplation des autres bons services qu'il avoyent fayt a vous et a vostres gens, leur eust donne et octroye que il, et touz los habitans de la dicte ville et du destroit et juridiction d'icelle, soyent a touz journs mais quites de payer la coustume a vous deue a payer a Bourdiaux des vins qui crestront en leurs vinhes qui sont en la juridiction de la dicte ville, sanz payer en riens la dicte coustume, si comme es lettres du dit monsseigneur de Lencastre ^{sur ce a} ^{est octroye} ^{pour} ^{devenir} apparoir, qu'il vous plaise, de vostre grace especial, octroyer que les bourgeois et habitans, des vins qui crestront es vinhes de la dicte ville, ni en la juridiction, ne les marchans qui les achateront de eulz, ne soyent tenuz de payer la dicte coustume, auz en soyent quites a touz temps mais, et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoigne et au connestable de Bourdiaux qui a present sont ou par temps seront, que la dicte grace fassent tenir et garder, et les ditz habitanz de la dicte ville et de la juridiction d'icelle en lessent joir et user pasiblement et sanz nulle contradiction.

Item, supplient que, comme par la reparation de vostre chastel de la Riolle, et pour celuy tenir en bon estat, et pour la clausture et fortiffication de la dicte ville, le dit monseigneur le compte de Lencastre eust octroye et ordonne que les jurez de la dicte ville receussent et levassent XX diners bourdalois de chascun tonel de vin qui descendroit pour la rivere de Garonne devant la dicte ville de La Riolle, en certayne fourme et condition

contennue es lettres le dit monsseigneur de Lencastre sur ce octroyeez, qu'il vous plaise les dictes lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer.

Item, supplient que, comme le dit monsseigneur de Lencastre, en nomme de vous et comme vostre lieutenant quant la dicte ville vint a vostre obeysance, nous ayt promis, octroye et jure tenir et garder nostres feurs, usatges, coustumes, privileges, franchises et estatuz, et par ces lettres conferme, qu'il vous plaise les dictes lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer.

Item, supplient que, comme mosseigneur de Lencastre eust donne as gens de la dicte ville de La Riolle, pour ce que les gens de son ost, quant il entra premeyerement en la dicte ville, avoyent donne pleseurs dommages en prendant les vins et bles et autres biens des gens de la dicte ville, en recompenssation des ditz dommages, deux mille escutz d'or, des quex il leur paya les mille escutz, et les autres mille escutz leur sont encoure deuz, si comme es lettres du dit monsseigneur de Lencastre sur ce octroyeez est contenu, qu'il vous plaise a les dictes gens, qui sont mout pourez, faire payer les ditz mille escutz, et farez grant merci et aumoisne.

Item, supplient que comme, pour le grant amour et affection qu'il avoyent a vous et a la coronne d'Anglaterra, il soyent, de leur bon gre et bonne volente, venuz a vostre obeysance et feaute, en laquelle il voullent estre et demeurer par touz temps de null prince du monde, qu'il vous plaise la dicte ville de la Riolle recevoir a touz jours, mais par vostre chambre avecques toutes les lieux, chasteux, paroches et messons qui sont et doivent estre anciennement des apertenences et juridiction et seigneurie, et ce aucune donation par vous a aucun en avoit este faite, que celle vous plaise revoquer et metre du neant.

Item, supplient que, comme le tresexcellant prince le roy Jehan, jadiz roy d'Anglaterra, leur eust octroye, par ses lettres et privilege especial, que les bourgeois et habitans de la dicte ville de la Riolle, partout le royaume d'Anglaterra et pour toutes ses terres et pouvoir, peussent merchander et user par les meysmes franchises, privileges et libertes que les habitans et citoyens de la ville de Bourdiaux sont ne ont acoustume a faire, et que il les recevoit en sa seurte et sauvegarde especial, si comme es lettres avant dites est plus a plain contenu, qu'il vous plaise les dictes lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer, et a eulz de la dicte ville de La Riolle et de la juridiction d'icelle se puyssent joir

des meismes privileges, libertez et franchises que vous, ou vostres predecesseurs rois d'Anglaterre, avez par le temps passe octroye as bourgeois et habitans de la dicte ville de Bourdiaux, et ce vous plaise octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplient que, comme anciennement, sur aucuns contrast et debatz qui estoient entre les gens de la ville de La Riolle, d'une part, et les gens de la ville de Bourdiaux, d'autre part, feust estre fait entre eulz certayn acourt et pais, et, de volente des gens de chascune des dites villes, et soutz certayne fourme contenue es lettres sur ce entre eulz faites, des scauz de chascune des dites villes seelleez, lequel acourt et pais fu et est amont grant pourfit de chascune des dites villes, qu'il vous plaise le dit acourt et pais, de vostre especial grace, confermer, et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoigne qui a present est, ou par temps, ou a son lieutenant, que le dit acourt et pais par chascune des dites parties facent tenir et garder, selonc la fourme et teneur que en yceluy est contenu.

Item, supplient que, comme les bourgeois e habitans de la dicte ville de La Riolle, et leurs predecesseurs, ayent este en pasible posecion par tant de temps qu'il n'est memoire du contraire, de faire porter et mener a Bourdiaux leurs vins qui creyssoient a La Riolle, franchement et delivrement, sanz payer as jurez ne a la ville de Bourdiaux null devoir, ne nulle tolte, ne peage pour cause des dit vins, et en cas qu'il ne peussent vendre ou charchier les ditz vins a Bourdiaux, il metoyent et enchayoient les ditz vins en la dicte ville, et les vendoyent en taberne, en la maniere qu'il leur sembloyt mieux estre leur pourfit, neantmayns, les ditz jurez et mere de la dicte ville de Bourdiaux les contraignent, pour leur fource et povoir, a payer a eulz par chascun tonnel de vin qu'il sont amener au pourt de Bourdiaux ancois encore qu'il les lessent deschargier deux soltz et sis diners bourdalois, et, de ce non contens, il ne les lessent metre ne enchayer les ditz vins en la ville, ne vendre en taberne en la maniere qu'il avoyent anciennement acoustume. Et ce sont contra la dicte possecion et usatge qu'il avoyent touz temps, et contra les privileges octroyes as bourgeois et habitans de la ville de La Riolle, et contra la fourme de l'acourt et pais desus dita, et en mout grant

de pay
L'usage
enca et de
nouvel

prejudice et dommage de touz les habitans de la dicte ville de La Riolle, et contre rayson et justice. Pour quoy supplient qu'il vous plaise a eulz, par vostres lettres, octroyer que d'ores en avant il ne soyent tenuz de payer as ditz jurez et mere a Bourdiaux les ditz deux soltz et sis diners pour tonnel de vin, et qu'il puyssent leurs vins, en la dicte ville de Bourdiaux, metre, et enchayer, et vendre en taberne, sanz nul enpachement, en la fourme et maniere qu'il avoyent anciennement acoustume. Et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoigne, ou a son lieutenant, que des griez et choses desus dites les face et contraigne du tout a cesser, no(n) contrestant estatutz pour les ditz jurez et mere sur ce fait, ne lettres par vous au contraire octroyees, et ce vous plaise octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplient qu'il vous plaise maistre Doat de Gardonne, clerc et bourgeois de la dite ville, lequel est prodome, et un des plus sage de la dite ville, recevoir de vostre consseill, ou pencion annuelle de X livres de sterlins, au terme de sa vie, de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplient que, come le roy nostre seigneur, cuey Diex abssoylle, eust donne a Raymont Seguin, bourgeois de La Riolle, la bladerie, ou le devoir du mesurage du ble, de la dicte ville, au terme de sa vie, laquelle bladerie anciennement appartenoyt a la dicte ville, et, ou temps que la dicte ville estoit de la oubeyssance des francois, les ditz francois la rendiront et restitueront as jurez et habitans de la dicte ville, pour ce qu'il trouverent par information qu'elle avoit touzjours este de la dicte ville, et encoure, le jour que la dicte ville vint a vostre oubeyssance, les jurez de la dicte ville prendoyent et recevoient touz les pourfitz et emoulementz de la dicte bladerie, et, pour voulonte de mosseigneur de Lencastre, les ditz jurez et habitans de la dicte ville se sont souffert que le dit Raymond Seguin, en terme de sa vie, prendre les emoulments de la dicte bladerie, qu'il vous plaise octroyer que, ampres la mort du dit Raymont, la dicte bladerie soit et demeure a touzjour mais de la dicte ville, et que les jures de la dicte ville ayent et prennent les emoulmens et pourfit de la dicte bladerie, aussi comme il fasoyent ou temps que la dicte ville vint a vostre feaute et oubeyssance.

Item, supplie qu'il vous plaise a eulz, de vostre grace especial, octroyer que les habitans de la dicte ville de La Riolle soyent a touz jorns mais franx et quitez de payer tous peatges a vous deuz dels vins qu'il porteront, offeront pourter ab leurs nef, ou en autre maniere, par la rivere de Garonne en lo duche de Guienne.

Item, supplient que, comme anciennement eust este debat et contrast entre les gens de la cite d'Agiens, d'une part, et les gens des villes de La Riolle et de Saint Machaire, d'autre part, sur lo pourtatge de sel que les dites gens d'Agiens pourtoient, ou fassoient pourter, en leurs nef par la riviere de Garonne davant la ville de La Riolle, duquel debat et contrast fu fait pais et acourt souz certayne fourme et condition contenue es lettres seellees des scauz de chascune des dites villes, qu'il vous plaise le dit acourt et pais, juxta le fourme et teneur des dites lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer. Et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoigne, qui a present est ou pour temps sera, que la dicte pais et acourt face tenir et garder par le temps avenir, sanz nulle contradiction, juxte la fourme et teneur des lettres desus dites.

Item, supplient que, comme maistre Jehan Vilet, clerc, sage en droit, lequel est un des mesatges que nous envions a la vostre royal maestay, par mout lonctemps trevaille en poursuivant les negoces et besoignes de la vostre ville de La Riolle, et vous ait bien et lialment servi, qu'il vous plaise li retenir de vostre conssell, et a li donner, pour contemplation des services qu'il a fait e fet touzjours, XX livres de sterlins de pencion annuelle, a terme de sa vie, a prendre chascun an sur les emolumens de la baylie de la bastie de Miremont, de la diocese d'Agnois, laquelle bastie est poy temps en sa venue a vostre obeyssance, et ce pour sustenaxtion de sa vie en son estat, no contrestant aucune donation si estoit faite des ditz emolumentz a autre persone,¹ et ce vous plaise octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplient qu'il vous plaise avoir recomande a la vostre grace monsseigneur Wyllaume Sanz, seigneur de

1. The words "Et ou cas qu'il ne se pourroit joyr de la dite assignation sur les emolumentz de la dite ballie, que la dite pencion le soyt payees chascun an des emolumentz de la coustume de Bourdiauxs, ou autre de la duche de Guyenne" crossed out here.

Pomers, lequel vous sert, et a bien et loyalment touzjours servi, et par certayn a gouverne, et gouverne bien et loyalment, nous et la vostre ville de La Riolle.

Item, supplient que les supplications, lesquex les mesatges qu'il envoyent a vous, et de mestre Bonnet de Pins, bachelier en decretz, Raymont de Pins, son frere, Pierre de Pins de Curton, Raymont de Pins, fiex de Bernard, et Doat de Pins de Bassane, bourgeois de La Reole, vous feront, lesquex ont plus trayte et mis affin que la dicte ville venist a vostre obeyssance que null autres du monde, vous plaise benignement exaudir et gracieusement delivrer.

Quant au primer article, il plect au roi que les lettres le conte soient veues, et q'elles soient confermez souz le seal le roi, et outre, le roi ad grante, de sa grace, que le dit grant soit enlargetz, selonc forme de lour petition; c'est assavoir, que sibien les burgeis et habitanz de la dicte ville, des vins que crestront deinz lour jurisdiction, come les marchantz qi acheteront meismes les vins de eux, soient quites de custume en manere come la petition contient.

Quant as secound et tierz articles, le roi voet que les lettres soient veues et confermez selonc le pourport d'ycelles.

Item, quant au quart article, du paiement de mil escuz, le roi le voet, et que sur ce garant soit fait au conestable de Burdeux de faire leur paiement.

Quant au quint article, que la ville de La Riolle demoerge touzjours devers le roi et ses heirs, le roi le voet; c'est assavoir, que la dite ville, ove touz les lieux, chastiaux, mesons, paroches, etc., qui sont de la jurisdiction de la dicte ville, demoergent touzjours au roi et ses heirs pour lour chambre, sanz estre alienez ou grant a nul autre, si ce ne soit a l'eisne filz le roi.

Quant au sisme article, il plect au roi que la charte le roi Johan soit veue et confermer, et q'ils eient toutes les franchises et privileges q'ils soleient avoir resonablement. Et quant as autres franchises et privileges que sont nouvellement grantez a la citee de Burdeux, le roi voet estre certifie de meismes les franchises, en especial devant q'ils les grante a nul autre.

Quant au septisme article, de l'acord fait nadgaires entre la ville de La Riolle et la citee de Burdeux, il

plest bien au roi que l'acord soit veue, et q'elle se tiegne, et que sur ce mandement soit fait au seneschal et au conestable.

Quant a l'oytisme article, il plest au roi que les burgeis et habitanz de La Rirole puissent mesner leur vins a Burdeux et faire eut leur profit illoeqes, aussi franchement et en meisme la maniere come ils soleient faire auncienement, et sur ce soient mandementz faitz, tantz come busoignables serront.

Quant au noefisme article, touchant maistre Doat, pour ce que tesmoigne est q'il est prodhomme et sage, et q'il ad este, devant ces heures, du conseil le roi, le roi voet que ore il soit retenu et nire de son conseil, et preigne dis livres de sterlings de pension annuelle par les mains du conestable de Burdeux, a terme de sa vie.

Item, quant au disme article, de la bladerie de La Rirole, pour ce que tesmoigne est devant le roi que auncienement la dite bladerie appartenoit a la ville, et que les burgeis l'avoient quant la ville feust es mains dez francoys, et quant ~~et~~ se rendi a monseigneur de Lancastre, si voet le roi, de sa grace, que apres la mort Reymond Seguyn ils l'eient si comme ils le soloient avant.

Quant au XI article, par quel ils prient d'estre quites de paier touz peages des vins q'ils meisneront par l'ewe de Geroun, il semble que ceste petition ne fait mie a octroier, mes ils se dement agroer, par reson de ce que homme lour ad grantez d'estre quites de la custume de lour vins et de autres graces que hom lour ad fait.

Quant au douzisme article, de l'acord et pais nadgairs faitz par entre la citee d'Agent et les villes de La Rirole et de Seint Macaire, il plest bien au roi que l'acord soit veu et se tiegne, et que sur ce mandementz soient faitz au seneschal et au conestable.

Quant al treszisme article, pour maistre Johan Villat, il plest au roi, a la requeste des bones gentz de la ville, et aussint pour la bone tesmoignance que monseigneur de Lancastre ad fait du clerc, q'il soit retenu de son conseil, et preigne vint livres par an, a terme de sa vie, en maniere come la petition contient.

Item, quant al quatorzisme article, touchant le sire de Pomers, le roi l'ad pour recommande, et le doit bien avoir par reson de son bon port et la grant loialte q'il trove en lui tout temps.

8. Petitions of certain burgesses of La Réole to the king, together with the king's replies; early summer, 1347.

A. Public Record Office, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/243/12135 (original on paper).

Les supplications d'alcune bourgoys de la ville de La Reole

A tres excellant nostre seigneur le roy d'Anglaterra et de France. Supplient humblement Pierre de Pins de Curton, Raymont du Port, Bernard du Mirall et Raymont de Pins, fiex de Bernard, bourgoys de La Riolle, que comme, pour ce qu'il avoyent procure, tractie et mis affin que la dicte ville de La Riolle soit venue a vostre feaute et oubeyssance, et le dit Pierres, qui aveques ses quatre fiex y mist tout le travaill et payne qu'il peu en maniere que la chose se delivra, monseigneur de Lencastre, adonc vostre lieutenant, leur eust donne sur le peatge de la ville de Marmande, a chascun de eulz, un denier bourdalois de peatge a terme de vie, si toust comme la dicte ville seroit venue a vostre oubeyssance, si comme es lettres par le dit monsseigneur de Lencastre a chascun des ditz supplianz sur ce octroyees est plus clerement contenu, et les ditz supplians, et touz leurs predecesseurs de leurs linatges, ayent touz temps ame la couronne d'Anglaterra, et servi en tout ce qu'il ont peu, qu'il vous plaise le dit don fait a eulz pour le dit mosseigneur de Lencastre, a eulz donner et octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplie Guillaume du Mirall, frere de Bernard du Mirall, bourgeois de La Riolle, que comme, pour ce qu'il avoit este de la conviengne de ceulz qui ont tractie que la dicte ville venist a vostre obeysance, monsseigneur de Lencastre, adonc vostre lieutenant, l'eust donne cent livres de bourdalois de rente annuelle, a prendre chascun an, au terme de sa vie, sur la tresorerie d'Aginois quant la ville d'Agiens seroit venue a vostre oubeyssance, si comme es lettres du dit monsseigneur de Lencastre sur ce octroyeez est contenu, qu'il vous plaise les dictes lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer.

Item, supplient humblement Bonet et Raymont de Pins, freres, bourgeois de la vostre ville de La Riolle, que, comme

6/ a heritage pour eulz et pour leurs hoirs, et ce vous plaise a eulz octroyer

mosseigneur le compte de Lencastre, adonc vostre lieutenant en lo duche de Guyenne et en Lenguedoc, pour contemplation des services qu'il et leurs predecesseurs ont fet a vous et a vostres predecesseurs, roys d'Anglaterra, leur ayant donne, de grace especial, a chascun d'eulz, cent livres de bourdalois de rente annuelle, a prendre, a terme de leur vie, sur les emoulumens et pourfit de la baylie du Port-Sainte-Marie, si toust comme la dicte ville seroit venue a vostre feaute et obeyssence, si come es lettres sur ce a eulz octroyees est plus clerement contenu, qu'il vous plaise le dit don a eulz octroyer a heritatge, et a leurs hers et successeurs, de vostre grace especial. Et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoigne et au thesaurier d'Agenois, et a chascun d'eulz qui a present sont ou par temps seront, que la dicte grace fassent tenir et garder, et leur facent joyr.

Item, supplie le dit Bonnet de Pins, bachelier en decrez, que, comme il desire plus servir vous que nul prince du monde, et touz senz predecesseurs ont fet, que vous li vullez faire vostre clerck, et a li donner pencion convenable; ce est assavoir, XX livres de sterlins a prendre chascun an, au terme de sa vie, sur les emoulumens et pourfit de vostre coustume de Bourdiaux, et ce vous plaise octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplient les ditz Bonet et Raymont de Pins, freres, que come, par so que la ville de La Riolle estoit venue a vostre obeyssance, Raymont de Pins, fiex du dit Raymont, est perdu cent livres de rente qu'il avoit a la cite de Basaz, qui estoit de la oubeyssance des francois, et l'eurent destruit et abatu ses ousteux et mesons qu'il avoit en la dicte cite de Bazas, qui valoyent a lial extimation tres mille escutz d'or et plus, lesqueles cent livres de rente et tres mille escutz le dit monseigneur de Lencastre les avoit assigne et donne, de grace especial, a terme de vie, sur la terre et biens de maistre Pierre Compains, en autre maniere dit Escotet, bourgeois de Basaz, lequel avoit este cause de la destruction et abatament des ditz oustex et mesons, si toust comme la dicte cite seroit venue a vostre obeyssance, jasoit ce que la dicte cite soit puy venue a vostre obeyssance, vostre seneschal de Gascoigne ne les fet joyr du dit don et grace ainz les

manie par dilations et alonguement, jasoit ce qu'il en soit este requis par pluseurs fois, qu'il vous plaise mander au dit vostre seneschal qu'il les face joyr de la dicte grace et don, juxta la fourme et teneur des lettres ^{a la maniere} le dit monsseigneur de Lencastre sur ce octroyeez, et ou cas que ce il ne veudroit faire, que les dites cent livres de rente, et trois mille escutz, il les assigne en outra part en lieux soufisans, en maniere qu'il s'en puyse joyr.

Item, supplient les ditz freres qu'il vous plaise a eulz, et a chascun de eulz, octroyer qu'il puyssent playder par procureor en la terre coustumee de Vasadois et de Bordalois, en demandant et en deffendant contra touz leurs adversaires, de vostre grace especial.

Item, supplie Raymont Piquet, cleric de La Riolle, que comme, pour contemplation des services qu'il avoit fait a vous quant la dicte ville vint a vostre obeyssance, comme celui qui fu de la comviengne et ayde comme la dicte ville venist a vostre obeyssance et feaute, monsseigneur de Lencastre, adonc vostre lieutenant, l'ayt donne le scrivanie du balif de la ville du Port-Sainte-Marie, quant la dicte ville seroit venue a vostre obeyssance, au terme de sa vie, si come par lettres du dit monsseigneur de Lencastre sur c^{es} a li octroyeez puet clerement apparoir, qu'il vous plaise les dictes lettres, de vostre grace especial, confermer. Et mander a vostre seneschal de Gascoygne qui a present est ou par temps sera, et au tresaurier d'Agenois, ou a leurs lieutenants, qu'il le facent joyr de la dicte grace, sanz nulle contradiction, non contrestant aucune donation qui eust este faite de la dicte escrivanie a nul autre persone.

Item, supplie Doat de Pins de Bassane, bourgeois de La Riolle, que, comme il ayt este lonctemps detenu en prison par les francois a Chastelsarrazin, de la obeyssance des francois, et les gens du dit lieu l'eurent promis et jure sur le Corpus Domini que il ne prendroit honte ne dommage de son cors ne de ses biens, si toust comme la ville de La Riolle fu venue a vostre obeyssance, les bourgeois de la dicte ville le pristrent de l'eglise ou yl estoit, et le gitarent hors de la dicte glise mout durement et villaynement, et le traynerent jusques au chastel de la dicte ville, et ylleques le frerent metre en ville

prison, en laquelle il demoura pres a l'espaysse d'un an. Et l'ont fait autres dommages jusques a la somme de deux mille livres de bourdalois et plus, et ce il le ferent en brisant le dit serement qu'il avoyent fait, et a grant honte et dommage de luy, qu'il vous plaise a li octroyer marche sur les dictes gens du dit lieu de Chastelsarrazin, et sur les biens, en quex lieux qu'il les puisse trouver qui sont vostres enemis en lo duché de Guienne ou au royaume d'Anglatterre, affin qu'il puyse, en temps de treve ou de pais, recouvrer sur eulz et le dommage qui l'ont donne, et ce vous plaise octroyer de vostre grace especial.

Quant au primer article, le roi voet que les lettres monseigneur le conte soient veue et confermez, selonc le pourport d'ycelles. Et, outre, voet le roi, de sa grace, par cause de lour bon port, et en recompensation de lour bon service, que apres la mort de chescune des dites quatres personnes, l'eisne filz de chescun de eux, ou, si aucun de eux n'eit point de filz, andonques son frere ou prochein heir madle, eit et enjoye meisme le grant, pour termes de leurs vies, en meisme la forme come la chose est grantee a les quatres susditz. Et sour ce soient lettres faites patentés, etc., issint que, apres la mort du primer heir, la chose retourne au roi et ses heirs.

Quant au second et tierz article, voet le roi que les lettres soient veues et confermes, selonc le pourport d'ycelles.

Quant au quatre article, pour maistre Bonet de Pyns, le roi, a la priere des bones gentz de La Riote, ad retenu deux autres clerks de la dite ville, mes, nientmoyns, le roi voet bien, pour honour du dit clerk, q'il soit jurez de son conseil, et, selonc le bon service q'il ferra au roi, le roi avera regard devers lui apres ces heures.

Quant au quint article, soit mande au seneschal et au conestable q'ils preignent bone information queu dommage le dit Raymon ad receu parmy l'abatement des ses mesons en la citee de Besaz, et sur ce ordenient que convenable gree lour ensoit fait en lieu ou le conte lour fest assignement, ou au autre lieu convenable en cas que cela ne se puisse bonement faire. Et quant a sa rente annuelle, il semble que elle lui est restitute parmy le recoverir de la citee de Besaz.

Quant a sisme article, le roi lour ad octroie, de sa grace, q'ils puissent pleder par procurour durante la guerre presente.

Quant au VII^{me}. article, le roi voet, de sa grace, que les lettres soient veues et confermez ove la clause non contreesteante aucune donation, etc.

Quant al VIII^{me}. article, il semble au conseil que la chose ne se puisse faire resonablement, pour avoir tien^{ne} marche en temps de trewe ou de pais, mes s'il voille autre chose demander, que soit resonable, le roi lui ferra ce q'il purra bonement.

9. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 25,000 gold florins to Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, and others, for the purchase of Jacques de Bourbon, count of Ponthieu and La Marche, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 12 February, 1357.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) Diplomatic Documents, E 30/1632 (original on parchment; red pendant seal).

Edward, du tresexcellent seignour, par la grace Dieu roy d'Anglaterre et de France, fynx ainsnez, prince de Gales, duc de Cornowailhe et comte de Cestre, a toutz ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront et ourront, salut. Sachiez, comme monssire Johan de Graylin, captau de Buch, monssire Estienne d'Aex, Menancon de Casaus, Arnaud Guillaume de Puy Louan, Ramon Arronstah, Arnaud de Puy, Pierre de Casaus, eussent et tenissent, comme lour prison de ceste batailhe de Poitiers, monssire Jaques de Bourbon, comte de Pontif; si avoms nous eu et achate de eux, et auxi eux nous ont vendu et transporte tout droit et toute action que eux, ou aucun de eux, conjunctement ou diviseement, eussent, ou peussent, et deussent avoir, par droit d'armes, en le dit monssire Jaques de Bourbon, lour prison, et ce pour le fuer et pris de vint et cinque mille escutz d'or vieux, lez quieux avoms promis de paier a eux, ou a leurs certains procureours et atournez, ou a leurs hoirs et exequtours, ou au porteurs d'icestes, en la cite de Bourdeaux, a deux termes enssuians, par uelles porcions; c'est assavoir, lez doize mille et cinq centz, ou lour value en autre monnoie,

denz la feste de Saint Michiel plus prochain venant; et lez autres douze mille et cinq centz, a l'autre feste de Saint Michiel ampres plus prochain ensuiant. E ceste chose avoms nous promis et graunte de paier, tenir, et acomplir az surnommez, ou a leurs procureours et atournez, ou a leurs hoirs et exequtours, ou au porteur d'icestes, par la maniere que dit est, loiaument et sur nostre foy. E si lour en avoms oblige, et par la tenour d'icestes obligoms nous, nos hoirs, nos exequtours, et tous nos biens et choses quielles que soient et ont, que soient deca la mer et dela la mer. En tesmoignance et a greignour fermete des quelles choses nous avoms fait faire cestes lettres enscellees de nostre seel en pendant.

Donne a Bourdeaux, le XX^e. jour de fevrier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVII.

10. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 17,000 gold florins to Bertrand, lord of Montferrand, and others, for the purchase of Jean de Chalon, count of Auxerre, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 9 March, 1356/7.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt)
Diplomatic Documents, E 30/1506 (original on parchment;

Edward, du tresexcellent seignour, par la grace Dieu roy d'Anglaterra et de France, fynx ainsnez, prince de Gales, duc de Cornowalhe et comte de Cestre, a toutz ceux qui cestes presentes lettres verront et ourront, salut. Sachez que, come nostre treschere et tres bien ame monssire Bertrand, sire de Montfferrand, et Denot de Grians, apele Saint-Sever, et Gailhard de Saint-German, eussent et tenissent, pour lour prison de ceste bataille de Poitiers, monssire Johan de Chalon, comte d'Auceurre; si avoms nous eu et achate de eux, et auxi eux nous ont vendu et transporte tout droit et tout action que eux, ou aucun de eux, conjunctement ou diviseement, eussent, ou peussent, et deussent avoir, par droit d'armes, en le dicte comte de Auceurre, lour prisonnier, tant sur la foy du dit prisonnier comme autrement, et ce pour le fuer et pris de diz et sept mile escuz d'or vieux, les quieux avoms promis de paier au dit

sire de Montferrant, et au dit Denot, et au dit Galhard, ou a lours certains procureours et atournez cela, ou a lours hoirs et exequtours, ou au porteur d'icestez, en la cite de Bourdeaux, az quatre termes ensuianz, par uelles porcions, c'est assavoir; la quarte partie de la dicte somme, qui se monte a quatre mile, deuz centz, cinquante escutz vieux, denz deux mois ampres la feste Saint Johan Baptiste plus prochain venant; et l'autre quarte partie, qui se monte a IIIImil.CCL. escutz vieux, denz deux moys ampres la feste de Touz Saintz prochain enssuiant, l'an revolut; et lez autres IIIImil.CCL. escutz vieux, qui resceut denz deux moys ampres l'autre feste de Touz Saints plus prochain ampres enssuiant. E cestes choses avoms promis et graunte de paier, tenir, et acomplir az surnommez, ou a lours procureours ou atournez, ou a lours hoirs et executours, ou au porteur d'icestes, par la maniere que dit est, loiaument et a bonne foy. E si lour en avoms obligie, et par la tenour d'icestes obligoms nous, nos hoirs, et noz exequtours, et toutz nos biens et choses que soient et ont, que soient deca la mer et dela la mer. En tesmoignance et a greignour seurte des quielles choses si avoms nous fait faire cestes lettres ensselees de nostre seel en pendant.

Donne a Bourdeaux, le IX jour de martz, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVI.

11. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 12,000 gold florins to Menaud de Béarn, knight, and others, for the purchase of Arnoul d'Audrehem, marshal of France, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 12 February, 1356/7.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) Vouchers, E 404/500/243 (original on parchment;

Edward, du tresexcellent seignour, par la grace Dieu roy d'Angleterre et de France, fynx aisnez, prince de Gales, duc de Cornowalhe et comte de Cestre, a toutz ceux qui cestes lettres verront et orront, salut. Sachiez que, comme monssire Menaud de Bearn, monssire Bertrand de Preissac, et monssire Bernard d'Audeinie, monsire l'abbat d'Ortes,

chivaliers, Johan de Boquoyran, Bernard de Casset, le seignour de Qua, Lancelot de Latran, eussent et tenissent, comme leur prison de ceste bataille de Poitiers, monsire Arnoulph d'Audenheum, mareschal de France; si avoms nous eu et achate a eux, et auxi eux nous ont vendu et transporte tout droit et toute action que eux, ou aucun de eux, communement ou divisement, eussent, ou peussent, et deussent avoir, par droit d'armes, en le dit monssire Arnoulph, leur prison, e ce pour le fuez et pris de douze mille escutz vieux d'or, les quieux avoms promis de paier a eux, ou a leurs procureours et atournez, ou a leurs hoirs et executours, ou au porteur d'icestes, a deux termes enssuians, par uelles porcions, c'est assavoir; lez six mille, ou leur value en autre monnoie, dens la cite de Bordeaux, denz deux moys ampres la feste de Saint Babtiste plus prochein ensuiant; et lez autres six mille, ou leur value en autres monnoie, come dit est, denz deux moys ampres la feste de Toutz Saintz ampres plus prochain ensuiant. Et cestes choses avoms promis et graunte de paier, tenir, et acomplir az surnommez, ou a leurs procureours et atournez, ou a leurs hoirs et exequitours, ou au porteur d'icestes, par la maniere que dit est, loiament et sur nostre foy. Et si leur en avoms obligie, et par la tenour d'icestes obligoms nous, noz hoirs, et nos exequitours, et toutz nos biens et choses quilles que soient et ont, deca la mer et dela la mer. En tesmonhance et a greignour fermete dez quielles choses, si avoms nous fait faire cestes presons lettrez enseellees en pendant de nostre seel.

Donne a Bordeaux, le XII jour de fevrier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVI.

12. Letter obligatory of Edward, prince of Wales, by which he promises to pay 10,000 gold florins to Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, and Raymond de Montaut, lord of Mussidan, knights, for the purchase of Bonabés de Rouge, lord of Derval, taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers; Bordeaux, 23 March, 1356/7.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) Vouchers, E 404/500/241 (original on parchment;

Edward, du tres excellent seignour, par la grace Dieu roy d'Engleterre et de France, fynx aisnez, prince de Gales, duc de Cornowalhe et comte de Cestre, a toutz ceux qui cestes presentes lettres verront et ourront, salut. Sachiez que, come nos treschiers et tresbien amez amez, le captau de Buch et le sire de Muchidein, chivaliers, eussent et tenissent, pour lour prison de ceste bataille de Poitiers, le sire Dorval; si avoms nous eu et achate de eux, eauxi eux nous ont vendu et transporte tout droit et toute action que eux peussent, et deussent avoir, par droit d'armes, en le dit sire Dorval, lour prisonier, tant sur la foy du dit prisonnier come auterint, et ce pour le fuer et pris de dix mile escutz d'or vieux, les quieux avoms promis de paier az ditz captau et sire de Muchidein, ou a leurs certains procureours et atournez a cela, ou a leurs hoirs et exeuteurs, ou au porteur d'icestes, en la cite de Bourdeaux, a deux termes ensuians, par uelles porcions, c'est assavoir; la moitie de la dicte somme, qui se amonte cinq mile escutz d'or vieux, denz deux moys ampres la feste de Saint Johan Babtiste plus prochain venant; et l'autre moitie, qui se amonte cinq mile escutz d'or vieux, denz deux moys ampres la feste de Toutz Sains plus prochain ampres ensuiant. Et cestes choses avoms promis et garaunte de paier, tenir, et acomplir az ditz captau et sire de Muchidein, ou a leurs procureours et atournez, ou a leurs hoirs et exeuteurs, ou au porteur d'icestes, par la maniere que dit est, loiaument et a bonne foy. E si lour en avoms obligie, et par la tenour d'icestes obligoms nous, nos hoirs, et nos exeuteurs, et toutz noz biens et choses quielles que soient et ont, que soient deca la mer et dela la mer. En tesmonhance et a greignour fermete dez quielles choses, si avoms nous fait faire cestes nos lettres enseellees de nostre seel en pendant.

Donne a Bourdeaux, le XXIII^e. jour de marz, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVI.

13. Instrument by which the earl of Warwick, marshal of England, undertakes to have a number of fortresses around Paris evacuated; Paris, 13 May, 1360.

B. Archives Nationales, Registers of the Parlement de Paris (civil cases), 1la. 20, fos. 218v & 219. (enrollment of original on parchment).

En nom de Nostre Seigneur, amen. Sachent tuit qui ce present instrument publique verront que, en l'an de Nostre Seigneur Mil.CCC.soysante, indiccion treze, le treze jour du mois de may, ou pontifiement de nostre tres saint pere le pape Innocent VI^e. en l'an huytesme, establiz personnelment en la presence de nous, notaires publiques, et des tesmoings cy dessouz escripz, nobles et saiges hommes messire Raoul de Reneval, Regnault de Goullons et Symon de Bucy, chevaliers; maistre Geffroy de Flamanc, Jehan Quocatrix de Bonnes, Symon Bourdon, eschevins de la ville de Paris; Jancien de Hangest, Symon de Lisle et Jehan le Voyer, bourgoiz demouranz a Paris; et chascun d'eux pour soy et pour le tout, ont promis par leur foy bailllee pour ce en noz mains, par eulx et chascun d'eux, a noble et saige homme messire Jehan de Hardern, chevalier angloys, recevant et stipulant solennelment ou nom de noble et puissant monseigneur le conte de Warwik, mareschal d'Angleterre, et pour lui, et parmi la puissance sur ce a lui donnee du dit mareschal par ses lettres dont il a apparu soufisanment, paier et rendre au dit mareschal ou a son certain commandement, ou chasteau de Neufbourg en Normandie, la somme de douze mile florins d'or escuz du coing du roy Phelippe derainnement faiz ou autres florin d'or en semblable valeur dedanz la feste de la Nativite Saint Jehan Baptiste prochainement venant pour la redempcion et restitution des chasteaux et forteresses de Harelle et de Neuville en Haiz, de Pons Sainte Maixence, de Lyuz, de Fercheville, de Yteville, de Boyssi le Sec, de Chevreuse et de la Ferte souz Jeurre.¹ Lesquelz chasteauls et forteresses

1. La Herelle and La Neuville-en-Hez, Oise, arr. Clermont, cants. Breteuil and Clermont respectively; Pont-Sainte-Maxence, Oise, arr. Senlis; Lihus or Mannevillette, Oise, arr. Beauvais, cant. Marseille-le-Petit; the castle of Farcheville no longer remains, but is marked on Cassini's map as being of the parish of Bouville (Seine et Oise, arr. and cant. Etampes), cf. Arch. nat., JJ 90, no.415; Itteville, Seine et Oise, arr. Etampes, cant. la Ferte-Alais; Boissy-le-Sec, Seine et Oise, arr. and cant. Etampes; Chevreuse, Seine et Oise, arr. Rambouillet; La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, Seine et Marne, arr. Meaux.

le dit mareschal sera tenuz de rendre et restituer ou faire restituer es mains des diz obligiez ou des deputez sur ce par eulz, et avec ce les papiers des rencons appartenanz es diz chasteaux et forteresses, c'est assavoir au plus tost qu'il se pourra faire senz fraude et senz mal engin, apres ce que le dit mareschal ara receux ceste presente obligacion. Et en cas que les diz obligiez deffaillenz de paier la ditte somme de douze mile escuz dedanz le temps et ou chasteau dessus diz, yceulx obligiez et chascun d'euls ont promis rendre ou dit chastel de Neufbourg, dedanz quinze jours apres qu'il seront sur ce de par le dit mareschal requis, leurs corps en prison et tenir prison jusques a tant que la dite somme sera paiee enterinement, comme dit est. Et quant a ces choses cy dedanz exprimees ont obligie au dit mareschal, recevant le dit messire Jehan de Ardern et stipulant pour lui et en son nom, euls et leurs biens presens et avenir, et ont soubmis a quelconque juridiccion d'eglise et seculiere en laquelle il seroient ou pourroient estre trouvez. Et en cas que les chastiaux et forteresses dessus diz ne seront renduz et restituez, ainsi comme dessus est declare, ceste presente obligacion sera reputee et tenue pour nulle. Toutes ces choses et chascune d'icelles les dessus diz obligiez et chascun d'euls, par soy et pour le tout, ont promis par leur serement tenir, garder et accomplir sanz fraude et mal engin. Et en cas que eulx ou aucun d'eulx en seroient deffaillenz en aucune maniere, il ont voulu estre tenu et repute pour desloyauls et parjures et convaincuz de foy faillie, renuncenz sur ce a toute decepcion de fraude, de malice, de force, de paour et a l'epistre divi Adriani et a la chose autrement escripte que faite et generalment a toutes cavillacions, raisons et defenses qui pourroient estre dites ou opposees au contraire et au droit disant general renunciacion non valoir, veuillans que ceste general renunciacion ait tant de force et effect comme se tous les cas de droiz canons et civils fussent exprimez en ce present instrument. Des choses dessus escriptez les devant nommez obligiez et chevalier anglois ont demande et requis par nous, notaires publiques, estre fait a chascun d'eulz, tant comme il leur touche, publique instrument. Lesquelles furent faites a Paris, ou palais du roy, en le chambre de parlement, en l'an, indiccion, mois, jour et pontifiement dessus esclarciz, presenz a ce maistres Aubert Rousseau, Denys Tice, Nicolas du Chemin, demouranz a Paris, et Jehan de Humbleton, escuier

angloys, tesmoings a ce appellez et requis. Et a plus grant seurte, nous obligez dessus nommez avons mis noz seels a ce present instrument l'an et le jour dessus diz, et avons requis yceuls notaires que ou dit instrument mettent leurs signes et subscripcions, a plus grant confirmacion de toutes les choses dessus dites. Et je Hugue de la Varenne, cleric du diocese d'Auceurre, publique notaire des auctoritez de nostre saint pere le pape et de l'empereur, ay este present a toutes les choses dessus dites et faites et les ay receuez et publiees avec maistre Jehan, notaire publique cy dessouz escript. Et en ce present instrument sur ce fait ay mis mon signe publique, en tesmoing de verite, avec les signe et subscripcion d'iceluy notaire et seaulz des obligez dessus nommez. Et je Jehan de Rougemont, du diocese de Langres, notaire publique des auctoritez de nostre saint pere le pape et du roy, ay este presens a toutes les choses dessus dites et faites et les ay receuez et publieez avecques maistre Hugues, notaire publique ci dessus escript. Et en cest present instrument sur ce fait ay mis mon signe publique et ma subscripcion presente, en tesmoignage et verite, avec le signe et subscripcion du dit notaire et seauz des obligez dessus nommes.

14. Letter of William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, prisoner of the king of France, setting forth the conditions of his release; Bois de Vincennes, 2 June, 1342. A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, Mélanges: Traités fait par des Prisonniers, J 362, no.1 (original on parchment; formerly sealed), and a variant, B. J 362, no.1 bis (copy on paper; probably late fourteenth century).

A touz ceuls qui ces lettres verront, nous, Guillaume de Montagu, conte de Salebris, salut. Come nous soions prisonnier du roy de France, nostre seigneur, savoir faisons que, au tretie et paroles de nostre delivrance a plain de la dicte prison, nous avons volu et acorde, de nostre certaine science, sanz contrainte, et sanz mal engin, les choses qui ensuivent.

Premierement, que par nostre dicte delivrance, seront delivres, samblablement, le conte de Morref, en Escoce nostre prisonnier, et aussi messire Hervy de Lyon, en Bretaigne prisonnier de messire Wauter de Manny, ou des anemis du duc Charles de Bretaigne.

Et par ceste delivrance, se porra chascun de nous troiz, armer par les conditions apres contonues, c'est assavoir; que se le dit conte de Morref, lequel nous, desmaintenant, delivrons, se veut mettre en nostre conduit, nous le conduirons, ou ferons conduire, saivement et sauvement, lui et ses gens, jusques au chastel de Rokesburgh, en Escoce, ou en autre lieu seur, ou dit pays d'Escoce, se le dit chastel estoit assegiez ou en peril, et pourchacerons son conduit pur lui et ses gens, devers mon dit seigneur le roy d'Engleterre; sauf ce que nous ne nous faisons pas fort conduit de mestre Wautier Moffet, qui est ore avec le dit conte de Morref; maiz nous li pourchacerons selonc tout nostre pouvoir.

Et le dit messire Hervy de Lyon sera conduit et rendu devers le dit nostre seigneur le roy de France, ou devers le dit duc de Bretaigne, ou en leur pouvoir, sauvement, dedenz le Magdalene procheine avenir.

Et, ou cas ou nous ne porrons avoir, ne pourchacier, la delivrance au dit messire Hervy de Lyon, par la maniere que dit est, nous renderons, et paierons a nostre seigneur le roy de France dessus dit, ou a son commandement, a Paris, troiz mil livres de sterlins, ou la value en flourins de Flourence, ou d'autres de coyns royaus, dedenz la mi'aoust prochein avenir; et en ce cas ne serons nous tenuz a la delivrance du dit messire Hervy de Lyon.

Et de la somme de sterlins dessus dicte, ou de la value en florins, devons faire respondre, a Paris, au dit nostre seigneur le roy de France, ou a son commandement, dedenz la dicte Magdalene, par les compaignons des Bardes, Perruches, ou Acheoles, ou d'autres dont il seroit content.

Et, se nous en desaillons, nous sommes tenuz, et promettons les rendre, et paier, a la dicte mi'aoust, a Paris, ou nous rendre lors prisonnier du dit nostre seigneur le roy de France, jusques a tant que nous l'en aurons fait, ou a son commandement, plain paiement et satisfaction.

Et, avecques ce, se ou conduit du dit conte de Morref, ou des ses gens, lequel nous devons pourchacier comme dit

est, avenoit que il fust mort ou pres, ce que Dieux ne vueille, par ses anemis, ou par les anemis du roy de France dessus dit, ou du roy d'Escoce, ou d'autres, par agnet ou mal engin, avant qu'il et ses dictes gens fussent en Escoce, au dit lieu de Rokesburgh, ou ailleurs en Escoce, comme dit est, en ycelui cas nous nous rendrons prisonnier en France, devers le roy de France nostre seigneur dessus dit, dedenz un mois apres ce que ce seroit venu, se ainsi n'estoit, toutes voies que le dit conte de Morref se departist de nostre conduit; car, se il s'en departoit, et il fust mort ou pris, ce que Dieux ne vueille, nous ne serons tenuz, en ce cas, de nous rendre prisonnier, par la maniere que dit est, mes, se il veut, et il li plest, nous le donons, saivement et sauvement, conduire jusques au lieu de Rokesburgh, ou par ailleurs en Escoce, comme dit est.

Et devons, par bonne foy, et par serement, tenir secret, par nous et noz gens, le tretie de l'argent de sterlins dessus dis, a fin que, par ce, la delivrance du dit messire Hervy de Lyon ne soit empeschiee, ne retardee; lequele, a tout nostre plain et loyal pover, nous sommes tenuz de pourchacier, par la maniere que dit est.

Et promettons, par la foy de nostre corps, touchiee au Saintes Evangilles de Dieu, tenir, garder, et acomplir, de point en point, les choses dessus escriptes, et chascune d'ycelles, sanz faire, ne pourchacier aucunes choses au contraire, par nous, ne par autres. En tesmoing des queles choses, nous avons mis nostre petit seel, dont nous usons a present en ces lettres.

Donne au bois de Vincennes, le secont jour de juing, l'an de grace Mil, troiz cenz, quarante et deuz.¹

15. Letter of King Philip, setting forth the conditions of the release of William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, his prisoner; Bois de Vincennes, 2 June, 1342.

B. British Museum, Cotton, Caligula D III, fo.27

1. The following note appears on the dorse of the original: "LXI. L'an XLII, II jour de juillet. Lettres de Guillaume de Montagu, conte de Salebris, comment il a en couvenant compromis a delivrer messire Hervy de Lyon, prisonnier de messire Wauter de Manny, ou des anemis de Challe, duc de Bretaigne, ou a rendre au roy IIIM. livres de sterlins, ou la value en florins de Florence. Donne l'an M.CCC.XLII.

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy de France.
 A touz ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir
 faisons que, au traictie de la delivrance de Guillaume
 de Montagu, conte de Salebiere, chivalier, nostre prison,
 ont este parrees, traictiees et accordees les choses
 qui ensuient.

Premierement, que par la delivrance du dit conte,
 que nous tenons nostre prisonnier, le conte de Morrez,
 en Escoce prison du dit conte de Salebiere, et nostre
 feal Hervieu, seigneur de Leon, en Bretaigne prison de
 Gautier de Manny, ou d'autres anemis de nous ou de nostre
 neveu le duc de Bretaigne, seront a plain delivrez. Et se
 pourra, chascun de eulz troiz prisons, armer par les
 conditions apres contenues; c'est assavoir, que le dit
 conte de Morrez et ses gentz seront conduit sauvement,
 par le dit conte de Salebiere ou ses genz, jusques au
 chastel de Roquebourz en Escoce, ou en autre lieu feur
 en Escoce se le dit chastel estoit asegie ou en peril.
 Et le dit sire de Leon sera conduit et rendu devers nous
 ou nostre dit neveu le duc de Bretaigne, sanz fraude ou
 mal engin, dedenz la Magdalene prouchaine avenir. Et a
 ces choses nous sommes accordez. Et le dit conte de
 Salebiere a jure et promis, par son serement, a lez tenir,
 garder, et accomplir, et pourchacier selon tout son pouvoir,
 et sanz mal engin. Et, avec ce, se on conduit du dit conte
 de Morrez et de ses genz, lequel doit pourchacier le dit
 conte de Salebiere, devers le roy d'Engleterre, avenoit
 que icelui conte de Morrez feust pris ou mors, ce que
 Diex ne vueille, par les anemis de nous ou du roy d'Escoce,
 ou d'autres quelzconques, par agnet ou mal engin, avant
 qu'il et ses dictes genz feussent en Escoce au dit lieu
 de Roquebourz, ou en autre lieu seur en Escoce, comme dit
 est, en ce cas, le dit conte de Salebiere se rendroit nostre
 prison, et vendroit devers nous dedens un moys apres ce que ce
 seroit avenu, ou cas, toutevoiez, que le dit conte de
 Morrez ne se departiroit du conduit du dit conte de
 Salebiere. Toutes lesquelles choses, en nostre presence,
 le dit conte de Salebiere promist et jura et garder,
 fermement et loyalment, et en bailla ses lettres ouvertes
 esqueles, entre les autres choses, sont contenues les choses
 dessus dictes. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre
 nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne au boys de Vincennes, le secont jour de juing,
 l'an de grace Mil.CCC. quarante deux. Par le roy. P.Dannoy.
 Le conseil present.

16. Letter of Sir Thomas Percy, granted permission to leave prison to seek the money for his ransom, by which he promises to return to Paris as prisoner of the king of France; Paris, 10 January, 1370/1.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, Mélanges: Traités faits par des Prisonniers, J 362, no.2 (original on parchment; contemporary hand in brown ink, signature in black ink; red pendant seal).

A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Nous, Thomas de Percy, chevalier du royaume d'Angleterre, savoir faisons que, comme nous feussions prisonnier a Honvel Flinc de Gales, lequel nous avoit pris en la bataille, qui a este ceste presente annee ou nous sommes, devant la ville de Soubise, ou pais de Guienne, en laquelle bataille fut aussi pris, par les gens de tres noble, et tres puissant prince Charles, par la grace Dieu roy de France, monsire Jehan de Gresly, autrement appelle le captal de Buch; aujourdui, ou chastel de Louvre a Paris, en la presence du dit roy de France, et plusieurs nobles de son sanc, prelas, barons, et autres nobles du dit royaume de France, le dit Honvel Flinc nous quitta, et a quittes, de sa pure et franche volente, la foy, serement et obligation, quelconques, en quoy li estions, et povions estre tenuz, a cause de la dicte prison.

Et, tantost apres ce jour mesmes, et en ce lieu, de la volente et expres consentement, et en la presence du dit Honvel Flinc, nous devenismes, et nous rendismes pourchacier nostre rencon, jusques a la feste de Pasques prochennes venans, promismes, par le foy de nostre corps, bailliee corporelment en la main de noble homme monsire Bertram du Guesclin, duc de Molines, conte de Longueville et de Bourge, connestable de France, de retourner a Paris, prisonnier du dit roy de France, ou palais royal, a Paris, dedans la dicte feste de Pasques, ou cas que nous vinrons, et tousjours, au dit roy de France, estre, et demorer son bon et loyal prisonnier, et de ses successeurs roys de France, ou cas qu'il iroit de vie a trespassement, tant et jusques a ce que le dit roy de France, ou ses diz successeurs, nous en aient plainement delivre de nostre dicte prison, par leurs lettres patentes, seellees de leur grant seel, non obstant que le dit captal se soit

pour nous rendus, pleiges, et constituez, que nous revendrons en nostre dicte prison, a Paris, dedans le dit terme de Pasques, et que le dit capital feust delivres de sa prison, ou alast de vie trespassement, dedans la terme dessus dit.

Les quelles choses, nous avons aussi, pour et ou nom du dit roy de France, promises, loyaument, et par la foy de nostre corps baillee, tenir, et acomplir, en bonne foy, sanz aucun mal engin ou deception quelconques, a nobles hommes le seigneur de Beaugieu, monsire Morice du Parc, et monsire Guy le Baveux, chevaliers, et a chascun d'eulx.

Et, sur paine d'estre repute pour faux chevalier, traite et perjure, et d'encorir tout le blasme vileinne, et reproche, en toutes places, que faux chevalier, traite et perjure, doit et puet encorir, ou cas que nous serons, ou vendrons, ou ferons faire, ou venir au contraire, par fait ou autrement, en quelconque maniere.

Et, en plus grant tesmoin de ces choses, nous avons seellees ces lettres patentes de nostre seel, et mis et escript en icelles nostre propre nom. Et avons voulu, et consentu que lettres publiques, une ou plusieurs, sur ce soient faittes, par tabellions apliques, et obligant nous, et noz biens, a la chambre du Pape, au petit seel de Monpelier, et a toutes autres cours et juridicions quelconques, tant d'eglise comme seculieres, en la meilleur et plus forte maniere que faire et dicter se pourront, pour le dit roy de France, sur les promesses et choses par nous faictes dessus dictes.

Ce fut fait a Paris, le X jour de janvier, l'an de grace Mil, trois cens, soixante et douze.

Il me plest, Thomas de Percy.

17. Documents touching the appointment of Philip of Navarre as the king's captain and lieutenant in the duchy of Normandy; 1357.

A. British Museum, Cotton, Caligula D III, nos. 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 56 & 59 (originals on parchment).

(43) Par le traictie des alliances d'entre le roy et monsieur Philippe de Navarre, puis que le dit monsieur Philippes feroit au roy hommaige comme a roy de France, en recognoissant le droit que il a ou royaume de France, le dit monsieur Philippe se pourroit restraintre au choses

qui ensuivent, les queles semblent bien faisables.

Premierement, que se traictie de paix se faisoit entre le roy et sa partie adverse, ou que il eust victoire final contre lui, que monsieur de Navarre soit parmi ce franc et delivre du tout.

Item, que le roy ne puisse faire paix, trieves, abstinenances, pactes, ne aucun autre accort aveques sa dicte partie adverse que le dit monsieur Philippe et ses genz et aydanz n'y soient touziours et en tout comprins.

Item, si le roy fait aucune paix aveques son adversaire, que toutes les terres, villes, chasteaux et possessions que monsieur de Navarre tenoit au jour que il fu prins li soient tantost rendues et delivres, en quelque lieu que ce soit, a les tenir et avoir aussi franchement et noblement comme il faisoit au temps de sa dicte prinse, et semblablement soit fait dou dit monsieur Philippe et des terres de toutes leurs gens et aydanz.

Item, que aveques ce, et a cause du dit hommaige, soient et demeurent au dit monsieur Philippe toutes les terres, villes et chasteaux que il pourra conquerre en Normandie, dont il sera homs du roy a les tenir perpetuelement a heritaige, excepte les villes qui sont du demaine du duc de Normandie, les quels il rendra au roy.

Item, comme autre foiz a este touche, les hoirs de Navarre ont este contre raison despoilles et desheritez de la conte de Champaigne et de Brie, et aussi de la conte de Bigorre; et pour ce vueille plaire au roy que, se, au plaisir de Dieu, il vient a la couronne et conquete du royaume de France, les dictes contez et leur appartenances soient rendues et baillees du tout au diz hoirs, a les tenir semblablement que leurs predecesseurs les tindrent.

Item, comme la saison soit ja moult avant, et le dit monsieur Philippe ait volente de mectre briefment son fait et sa guerre si avant comme il pourra, au proufit du roy et de lui, plaist au roy a lui delivrer genz d'armes et archiers qui presentement s'en aillent et passent aveques lui.

(45) Pour plus plainement avoir avis sur le fait de monsieur Philippe de Navarre, et pour le mectre es traictiez de la paix qui presentement est parlee, sont

baillees par maniere de memoire les choses qui ensuivent, sur les queles le dit monsieur Philippe requiert et supplie le roy en soi, rapportant touziours a la bonne volente et (c)orrection de lui et de son noble conseil.

Premierement, comme pour plusieurs bonnes et justes causes le dit monsieur Philippe soit venuz a l'alliance et obeissance du roy, et especialment pour la delivrance du roy de (Navarre), son frere, qui est prins et tenu injustement et a grant tort, de la quele delivrance fu parle et accorde en certaine maniere en leur traictie, tant par endenteure comme autrement; et pour cause de la paix des deux roys que l'en dit qui se fait a present, Dieu merci, soit temps de ordener de la dicte delivrance le dit (monsieur) Philippe, en supplie le roy et l'en requiert si humblement par toutes voies et a tele instiencie comme il puet.

Et se aucuns vouloient, par aventure, dire que le roy n'eust pas cause raisonnable de presser ne contraindre son adversaire a la delivrance du roy de Navarre qui n'est son allie ne de sa partie, le dit monsieur Philippe moustre par un article contenu es dictes alliances que le roy a cause raisonnable et honorable, et li est vo... necessaire pour faire son devoir, que le roy de Navarre soit ores delivres par lui, soit paix ou non, quar l'article de l'endenteure faisant a ce dit ... "Et le dit roy Edduart a ottroie et promis, a la requeste du dit monsieur Philippe son cousin, que ou cas que il pourroit avoir victoire final contre son adversaire qui se dit roy de France, ou delivrer par forte main le roy de Navarre, que son dit adversaire tient prins, il sera parmi ce franc; et delivre du tout," etc. Si est tout cler que, puis que le dit adversaire, son filz, et autres seigneurs et barons de France qui sont deca sont prins et du... tout ou pouvoir du roy, les cas du dit article sont advenuz, c'est assavoir; de victoire final contre la personne de son adversaire, et aussi de la forte main, quar il n'est une doute que, par la prinse des dessus diz, puet le roy delivrer le roy de Navarre par forte main. Et quant il le puet, et il y est tenuz par la maniere que dit est, nul ne puet dire par raison que il face tort ne grief a son adversaire, se il veult faire la dicte delivrance, et se il l'y contraint par toutes bonnes voies, mais diront toutes bonnes genz, tant de sa partie comme de l'autre, que il fait que tres bons princes et droicturiers.

Et certes en aura le gre et de Dieu et du monde, quar il fera oeuvre de justice et de misericorde, et en personne innocent et de son propre sanc. Et se il fait desplaisir a un roy terrien, et a XI ou XII personnes qui ne voudroient la dicte delivrance, il fera plaisir au roy du ciel, qui tout voit ... Si supplie encore au roy, moult humblement, le dit monsieur Philippe que il ne veulle perdre son dit frere, ne le laissier plus languir a tort ... meschef entre ses ennemis, mais li plaise que, avant que les autres ses adversaires se partent, il soit franc et delivre du tout, tant en corps, en terres, villes et chasteaux, comme en quelconques autres possessions et rentes que il tenoit ou royaume de France au temps de sa prinse.

Item, que toutes les levees de ses dictes terres et rentes qui ont este parccues puis le temps de sa dicte prinse et qui le seront jusques a ce, que elles li soient mist a plaine delivrance, li soient aussi parmi ce rendues a plain, aveques touz ses muebles quelconques, tant en debtes, en joieux, comme autrement occupez et detenez par partie adverse et touz interez et dommaiges qu'il a soustenuz pour occasion de la dicte prinse tortonniere et par le fait et coulpe du partie adverse, et que a ces choses faire et acomplir au dit roy de Navarre par le bonne ayde du roy partie adverse, soit tenue par les diz traictiez avant que delivrance li soit faite de sa personne.

Item, que au dit monsieur Philippe soit semblablement faite plaine restitution et deliverance de toutes ses terres, villes, chasteaux, rentes et possessions quelconques que il tenoit ou royaume de France, tant a cause de lui comme de madame sa feme, aveques toutes les levees et arreraiges, et touz ses muebles prins et occupez par partie adverse, et aussi touz dommaiges et interez qu'il a souffers et soustenuz par le fait et coulpe de partie adverse. Et que a ce elle soit tenue comme dessus avant que delivrance soit faite de sa personne.

Item, que a touz et a chascun des serviteurs des diz roy de Navarre et monsieur Philippe, et a touz leurs adherens, aydanz et confortanz, de quelconque estat et condicion que il soient, soit faite plainne restitution et delivrance de leurs pays, terres, rentes, possessions et autres biens, muebles et heritaiges, aveques toutes

levees, interez et dommaiges, et que a ce partie adverse soit tenue comme dessus.

Item, requiert et supplie le dit monsieur Philippe que comme selon la dicte endenteure li doie estre faite, oultre et aveques les choses dessus dictes, restitution de toutes les terres qui li pourront escheoir, quant et comment que ce soit, et aussi li doivent (demourer) toutes les rentes, terres, lieux, villes et chasteaux que le roy de Navarre tenoit, comment que ce fust au jour de sa prinse, les queles, par son deces, escherioient au dit monsieur Philippe se il le survivoit, que de ces choses soit faite expresse mencion es diz traictiez; et que de ce soit faite seurte au dit monsieur Philippe, par partie adverse tant par promesses, seremens, et autres obligations comme autrement, les queles promesses et obligations soient comprises es diz traictiez, par quoi le dit monsieur Philippe puisse a ce venir et y estre receu senz contredit toutes foiz que les cas escherront.

(47) Item, oultre et aveques ces choses est a regarder pour le dit monsieur Philippe que, selon la clause de l'endenteure contenant que oultre et aveques la conquete de soixante mil escuz de rente demourront a touziours au dit monsieur Philippe, toutes les terres, rentes, villes, chasteaux et lieux que il tient a present, comment que ce soit, etc., tout ce que il tenoit au temps de l'endenteure li doit demourer. Or est il certain que il tenoit lors, et avoit conquis par fait de bonne guerre, pluseurs terres, rentes et lieux ou pays de Normandie, comme les terres que le duc d'Orliens, le conte d'Alencon, monsieur Jehan de Chalon et le sire de Meullent tenoient en Constantin, la terre et lieu de Warenquebec Danfront, le lieu et la terre de La-Haye-du-Puis, la terre et lieu de Briquebec, la terre de La Litinnere, et autres plusieurs rentes et terres assises en Constantin et en Avrenchin qui estoient de plusieurs et diverses personnes, et les levoit et exploictoit comme les senes propres. Si requiert que, en ces traictiez, ces choses soient expressement comprises par quoi les dictes terres demeurent a heritaige au dit monsieur Philippe, et qu'il joisse a touziours comme des senes, et on fera declaracion plus pleniere de toutes les dictes terres quant temps sera.

Item, depuis le temps de l'endenteure, il a conquis ou pays de Normandie pluseurs places et lieux, comme Ysigny, Crully, Saint Wast, Hambuye et autres, et souzmis a lui pluseurs terres et rentes a cause d'iceuls lieux

et places; et de teles conquestes est faite mencion expresse en l'endenteure, que elles doivent demourer au dit monsieur Philippe a touzious. Si requiert que semblablement ces choses soient comprinses es diz traictiez. Et quant temps sera on parlera d'autres terres qui, selon toute raison, appartiennent et sont des diz roy de Navarre et monsieur Philippe, et leur doivent estre rendues et mises au delivre du tout.

Item, supplie le dit monsieur Philippe que, par les diz traictiez soit faite et expressement accordee au dit roy de Navarre, son frere, et a lui, a toutes leurs genz, familiers, serviteurs, officiers, et a touz leurs aydanz, adherenz et confortanz, de quelconque estat et condicion que il soient, plaine seurte a touzious de demourer paisiblement, euls et leurs hoirs, ou royaume de France, et que quant a ce leur soit pourveu deument et seurement de exemption de partie adverse ou autrement, par la meilleur maniere que il sera a faire. Et que par la dicte seurte leur soit fait, et a chascun d'euls, plain pardon, quittance et remission de touz exces et crimes quelconques que il peuvent avoir commis et perpetre, pour tout le temps passe. Et que ces choses, et chascune, soient jurees et promises par partie adverse, et ratiffiees par le Saint Siege de Rome, et expressement comprinses en la paix.

(49) Et sur ces choses plaise au roy et a son bon conseil veoir et ordener par toutes les voies et manieres qu'il leur semblera a faire plus proufitablement pour les diz roy de Navarre, monsieur Philippe, et leur genz, et considerer les bonnes cuures que il seront en ceste partie, et le fruit qui encores en puet venir. Et aussi avoir memoire des gracieuses promesses octroiees par le roy, de bouche, au dit monsieur Philippe, au temps des alliances. Et toutesvoies combien que ces choses, les quelès sont raisonnables, soient ainsi baillees le dit monsieur Philippe, se ac...nt oultre tout ce a la bonne grace et ayde du roy et de son bon conseil, la quele a leur plaise estendre et eslarger en ceste partie.

Et aussi leur vueille plaise euls remembrer pour pitie des seigneurs, chivaliers et autres genz qui furent prins en la compaignie du roy de Navarre, et ce jour mesmes mis a mort trop rigoureusement, afin que les corps soient restabliz a leurs amis pour mectre en sepulcure par desers, senz raison.

Et pour ce que ces choses sont baillées briefment, et requierent plus large declaracion en tout ou en partie, les genz de monsieur Philippe en feront pleniere declaracion de bouche ou par escript, toutes foiz que au roy et a son bon conseil plaira.

(51) Primes, le roy a octroie et promis, a la requeste de monsieur Philippe de Navarre son cousin, que ou cas que il pourroit avoir victoire final contre son adversaire ... ou delivrer par forte main le roy de Navarre, que son dit adversaire tient prins, il sera parmy ce franc et delivre du tout.

Item, ou cas que le roy fera paix, treves, abstinances, ou aucun autre acort aveques son dit adversaire, le dit monsieur Philippe et toutes et de lui y seront touzours et en tout compris. Et aussi ne pourra le dit monsieur Philippe faire paix, treves, abstinances, ne aucun aveques le dit adversaire sanz le consentement du roy.

Item, se le roy faisoit paix aveques son dit adversaire parmy ce sera faite plaine restitution et delivrance au dit monsieur Philippe de toutes ses terrez, villes ... et autres possessions estanz au royaume de France, des queles il a este en saisine ou temps passe, tant a cause de lui comme de madame sa femme, et aussi qui li pourront escheoir par succession, quant et comment que ce soit. Et par samblable maniere sera faite restitution a ses genz, aydanz et confortanz Et oultre se le roy, au plaisir de Dieu, vient a la conquete de la couronne et du royaume de France, semblablement sera faite restitution et delivrance, etc., monsieur Philippe et a ses genz, aydanz et confortanz, de tout leurs terres, etc., comme dit est.

Item, le roy octroie et donne au dit monsieur Philippe toutes les terres, rentes, villes et chasteaux que il pourra conquerre en Normandie, jusques a la value de soixante mil escuz de rente par an, au pris (chascun), acompte l'escu pour quarante deniers esterlins, a tenir par le dit monsieur Philippe a heritage du roy et de ses successeurs rois de France et dux de Normandie, et en sera leur homme, excepte que se, en faisant la dicte conquete, le dit monsieur Philippe prenoit ou conqueroit aucunes villes, chasteaux, terres ou lieux qui soient du demaine du duc de Normandie, et qui a la duchie appartenoyent au temps du roy Philippe le Bel ou de au roy,

sanz contredit, quant il en sera requis.

Et est assavoir que, oultre et aveques la (terre) conquete de LX^m. escuz, demourront a touzious au dit monsieur Philippe, toutes les il tient a present, comment que ce soit, et qu'il tenoit ou royaume de France au jour de la prinse du roy de Navarre rentes, terres, lieux, villes et chasteaux que le roy de Navarre tenoit, comment que ce fust, au jour de sa dicte prinse, les queles monsieur Philippe, se il le scurvoioit, non obstant que depuis le temps du dit roy Philippe les dictes terres, rentes, etc., ou aucun du demaine de la dicte duche, et baillees aus dit roy de Navarre et monsieur Philippe, ou a leurs predecesseurs. Et n'est l'entencion du dit aucun droit en la terre du mariage de madame la royne de Navarre. Et tout voies, se il advenoit que le dit monsieur Philippe conquiest ou dit pays aucun chastel ou forteresse qui fust d'aucun graunt s(ei)g..... roy peust grandement estre avanciee et vouldist estre en son obeissance, le roy la pourra avoir du dit monsieur Philippe pour la baillee au dit monsieur Philippe deue recompensacion.

(53) Quant au primer point, touchant la deliverance le roi de Navarre, semble que le roi puet octroier que en cas contre son adversaire de France, issint q'il purra deliverer le roi de Navarre par forte main, que adonques estre frank du tout.

Item, quant au second point, semble que le roi doit octroier et promettre que en cas q'il face trewes a acord ovesque son dit adversaire, que monsieur Philippe et toutes ses gentz et eidantz que serront de lacord et ... compris.

Item, quant au tierz point, en cas que pees se feist, que restitution feust faite au roi de Navarre de tout ... semble par aucunes causes queles feuront monstrees devant ces heures, secretement, depar le dit monsieur Philippe, et par que cel article ne purra estre parle ne trete au present, tantque le roide Navarre soit frank et delivere .. q'il soit en tieu point, et il veulle estre de l'acord et amiste du roi, semble que le roi lui doit octroier la ... susdit. Et quant a monsieur Philippe, en cas q'il deviegne homme du roi, semble que de cy evanant le roi pees ovesque son dit adversaire, sanz ce que restitution soit fait au dit monsieur Philippe de toutes ses terres et

possessions il tenoit en roialme de France le jour que son frere estoit pris, et aussint de ses gentz et eidantz que serroit de du roi, come desus est dit.

Item quant au quart point, semble que le roi purra granter au dit monsieur Philippe, pour son hommage, les terres en Normandie de la seigne, tantque a une certaine somme, come purra este acorde, a tenir du roi perpetuelment en heritage, excepte et lieux, et toutes autres droitures et seignuries, que sont du demesne le duc de Normandie, les queux il serra tenuz de rendre ... ad ou purra conquere. Et aussint est l'entencion que en cas que le roi vorra avoir devers lui lieux que serront ensi conquis par le dit monsieur Philippe, autres que du demesne le duc, que monsieur Philippe par ensi, toutesfoiz que le roi lui face, a la value par aillours, en lieu covenable; et toutes voies est guerre en Normandie, par lui ou par ses gentz, que quantque ils purront gagner en contriere demoeree au monsieur Philippe ent puisse ~~rien~~ challenger.

Item, quant au quint point touchant la requeste faite de la countee de Champayne et de Brye le roi, si au pleisir de Dieu y veigne a la corone et conquest du roialme de France as hoirs de Navvarre, en cas q'ils soient de sa amiste et de son acord.

Item, quant a darrein point touchant l'envoeir de gentz d'armes et archiers, en cas que les bon acord, le roi se prendra pres de eider au dit monsieur Philippe de ses gentz, en ce q'il purra bonne... acorde.

(56) La charge done a Johan de Haddoun, sergeant d'armes, et Geffrey de Styuecle, pour moustrer a monsieur Philippe de Navarre depar le roi.

Primes, ils dirront comment le roi lui salue come son treschere cousin, et les ad envoie devers lui pour savoir certaines nouvelles de son estat, et de l'estat des busoignes vers celles parties, et aussint pour estre clerement enformez de son exploit en ceste darreine chivauchee, car il ad bien euz bones nouvelles que sont venues par lettres hors de Flandres, mes hors de Normandie ne poaient uncore nulles nouvelles venir pour le vent q'ad este contraire.

Item, ils lui dirront comment le roi ad pris certain propos de passer la meer a ceste estee, si forciblement come il purra pour faire fin de sa guerre, ove l'eide de Dieux, et par celle cause il ad fait sommondre son

parlement a Londres as oytaves de Pasque prochein avenir, et sur ce ils prieront au dit monsieur Philippe que, eue sur ce avys et deliberacion ovesques les sages chivalers qi sont en sa compaignie, il voille certifier le roi de son bon avys et conseil en celle partie, c'est assavoir en droit de son arrivaille, et de toutes autres choses touchantes ceste matire.

Item, quant a les terres touchantes monsieur Godefrey de Harecourt, ils doivent dire comment oies et entendues par le conseil le roi, ove graunde et meure deliberacion, toutes les causes et resons par les messages monsieur Philippe proposees et declarees, par plusures journees sur le chalenge des terres susdites, et regardees les endentures faites parentre le roi et le dit monsieur Philippe, considere aussint l'estat roial du roi, qi le dit monsieur Philippe ad reconu par hommage lige pour souverain seigneur, roi de France et duc de Normandie, avys est au dit conseil q'il faut par tout loi et reson que le roi, pour sauver sa souveraine seigneurie, soit devant toute autre chose, realment et de fait, en pleine et peisible possession des terres susdites, et ensi son estat roial en ce gardez, il fra au dit monsieur Philippe, come a son bon cousin et sugiz, quant il en serra par lui duement requis plein droit et reson, et ce en si amiable et favorable maniere q'il se agreera resonablement, car en celle busoigne, et en toutes autres, le roi pense faire a lui touz jours, especialment devant autres come a son treschere cousin, toute reson ovesque grace et favour.

(59) Quant au premier point, madame la royne n'ad mye uncore dit sa volente.

Quant au second point, touchant la chieveteilnerie et obeissance des gentz qi serront envoiez par dela, les dites gentz y serront envoiez par le roi, et eu parties as coustages du roi, et en partie a lour coustages demaigne; par quoi le roi ne les purra resonablement constreindre d'estre obeissantz au dit monsieur Philippe, ne a nul autre, sanz ce q'il lour paiast gages ou coustages, einz ils volont estre francs de eux moismes de guerroier a lour volente et a lour profit, depuis q'ils y serront a lour propres custages; mais est l'entencion du roi que en cas que monsieur Philippe feust prisse des enemis, ou autrement eit mestier de

l'eide et confort des dites gentz, q'ils soient eidantz a lui tant come ils purront, et aussint que monsieur Philippe et ses gentz soient eidantz a eux quant ils enaveront busoigne.

Quant au tierz point, du paiement des dites gentz, le roi lour fera paier sicome sera accorde parentre son conseil et eux.

Item, au quart point, du tierz du gaign de guerre, semble que monsieur Philippe ne poet cela demander si les gentz ne feussient a ses custages, et aussi le roi ne le poent nulle foiz de ses gentz, ne aussint ne les poet il charger de le doner a nul autre contre lour gree. Et nientmeins, le roi ad fait parler a monsieur Thomas de Holand sur celle matire, lui quil ad octroie que en cas que monsieur Philippe face liverer a lui forterescs covenables pour la demoer de lui et ses gentz, a lour venue par dela, le dit monsieur Thomas lui otroiera une covenable part^e de son gaign, selonc ce que purra estre accorde parentre eux.

Quant au quint point, le roi chargera les chiefs des gentz qi irront par dela q'ils ne facent neve soeffrent estre fait a lour poair nul damage au pais ne as lieux de monsieur Philippe; et si aucune mesprise y soit faite par lour gentz, q'ils le ferront redrescer a lour poair.

Quant au sisme point, le roi lui tendra cest point selonc ce que compris est en l'indenture.

Quant au VII point, le roi le voet.

Quant al VIII point, le roi le voet.

Quant al IX et X pointz, le roi se avisera.

Quant al XI point, soit fait.

Quant al XII point

18. Memoir touching Lancaster's lieutenancy in Poitou; 1349.

A. Public Record Office, Chancery, Warrants of the Great Seal, C 81/343/20741 (original on parchment).

Memoire d'avoir lettres du roi nostre seignour pour Johanne, dame de Belleville.

Premiere, que monseignour le counte de Lancastre ait commission d'avoir la garde de tout le heritage de la dit Johanne et de ses enfantz, taunt en fie qe en domaine, et de tout le sel qui y est en Peito.

Item, que Gautier de Bentele, aient cause de la dite Johanne son espouse, et la dite Johanne, pour le et pour

et pour ses heirs, eient lettres pendentes, seallees en saye et cire vert, que nostre seignour le roi ad donne et octroie a la dite Johanne et ses heirs a touz leurs vies, perpetuelement, le heritage de la dite Johanne, taunt en fie que en dommaine, c'est assavoir; Beauvoir et la forteresce, ove toutes ses appourtenantz; Ampaut; La Barre, o toute La Baiee, entierement; le chastel et l'isle de Nermoustier, ove lour appourtenauntz; l'isle Chaunet et la forteresce; et Chastel Neuf ov toutes lour appourtenantz; la moite de l'isle de Boign ove ses appourtenances; et tout le sel qui y est ou dit heritage, taunt en fie que en domoaigne, pour sustenir et eider et garder les dites forteresces, et pour refaire et amender les chaucees du pais qe la mere a rompues et minees. Et que cest demieison et octreiaunce viegne et tiegne, noun obstaunt lettres empetriees ou a empetrer au contraire, de monsieur Raoul de Caours ou d'autres et cause aient de lui, sur la dit heritage, taunt en fie e en domoine, que sur le dit sel, les queles soient repellees et anullees par la tenour des lettres au dit Gautier et a la dite Johanne et a ses heirs.

Item, a monsieur Raoul de Caours, maundement et commaundement q'il soit obeissaunt et entendaunt a tout ce qe le dit monsieur le counte de Lancastre ou ses desputez li commaunderont touchaunt les choses desusdites, etc.

Item, a Moniquot de Fraunce, ou a cellui ou a ceux q'auront la garde du chastel de Nermoustier, par semblable maniere.

Item, a Toumelyn de Bentele, ou a cellui ou a ceux q'auront la garde de La Barre, par semblable maniere.

Item, a cellui ou a ceux qui ont garde de la forteresce de l'isle Chaunet, par semblable maniere.

Item, a cellui ou a ceux qui ont garde de la forteresce de Boign, par semblable maniere.

Item, lettres du dit nostre seignour le roi de priere, seoller souz son privie seal, adrescentes a monsieur le counte de Lancastre q'il preigne la garde de toutes les choses desusdites, etc.

Item, lettres a touz ceux des forteresces desus dites q'ils facent toute ce qe le dit monsieur le counte ou ses desputez lour commaunderont sur quant que ils se puet vers le roi nostre seignour en corps et en biens.

Item, lettres a Guillaum Dubigny, capitain de Guerrande, que lui et ses subgiez ne facent chose que soit encountre la garde desusdit.

19. Confirmation by King John of an agreement whereby Raoul de Caours undertakes to return into French obedience and service; Paris, September 1350.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 80, fo.2r-v, no.6 (chancery confirmation; parchment).

Johannes, Dei gratia Francorum rex, notum facimus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod, cum dilectus et fidelis noster Radulphus le Caours, miles, quadam affectione ductus quam ad deffunctum Johannem de Britannia, quondam comitem Montisfortis, habebat, quia in terra sua Guerrandie in Britannia fuerat oriundus, partem ejusdem deffuncti contra carissimum et fidelem consanguineum nostrum, ducem Britanie, sustinisset et, tam in partibus Britanie quam Pictavie et alibi, contra inclite memorie carissimum dominum et progenitorem nostrum, et nos ac subditos regni nostri, adherens partis regis Anglie, inimicum nostrum publice se gessisset; et postmodum, tractantibus cum eo de mandato et nomine dicti domini et progenitoris nostri dilectis et fidelibus nostris domino de Bellomanerio, Fulcone de Valle et Mauricio Mauvinet, militibus, prefatus Radulphus, errorem suum sapiencius recognoscens et affectans de cetero nobis fideliter servire, ad dicti domini et progenitoris nostri et nostram obedienciam redierit, sub certis pactis, condicionibus et convencionibus inter ipsum pro se, ex una parte, et dictos milites pro dicto domino et progenitore nostro et ejus nomine, ex altera, factis et habitis, prout inferius continetur, que tales sunt:

Premierement, fu parle et accorde entre les dictes parties que les forteresses de Beauvoir-sur-Mer, de Lampan, de l'Ille Chauvet et de Boeign, estoient mises en la main monseigneur Jehan de Biaumanoir, monseigneur Fouques de Laval et monseigneur Morice Mauvinet, en les gardent ou nom et pour monseigneur Raoul le Caours dessus dit jusques a tant que certaines convenances parrees, faites et accordees, fussent acomplies de point en point de la partie du roy au dit messire Raoul, lesquelles convenances sont teles.

Premierement, que les dessus diz monseigneur Jehan, monseigneur Foulques et monseigneur Morice, ou nom dessus dit monseigneur le roy, bailleroi(en)t au dit messire Raoul, pour paier ses souldaiers, dix mil escuz d'or en present, et le dit messire Raoul leur bailleroit l'Ille Chauvet en gaige. Et ou cas que le roy ne vouldroit tenir les convenances qui cy dessus sont escriptes, le dit chasteau de l'Ille

demourroit en la main des dessus diz chevaliers jusques que le dit messire Raoul eust paye les diz dix mil escus, lesquelx il deust avoir paies a Pasques qui sont passes, ou sinon le chastiau de l'Isle dessus dit demourroit au roy. Et, le roy paye, devoient les dessus diz monseigneur Jehan, monseigneur Foulques et monseigneur Morice rendre les autres troys forteresces au dit messire Raoul avecques son sel, ou cas que le roy n'acompliroit les dictes convenances au dit messire Raoul, comme dessus est dit.

Item, fu gree et accorde que toutes les forteresces que le dit messire Raoul tenoit li demouroient, sauf, si le roy les vouloit avoir, il devoit paier au dit messire Raoul soixante mil escuz pour mil livres de rente a l'esterling que le roy d'Angleterre li avoit donnez sur le dit pays, valent de tournois cinq mil livres, a luy et a ses hoirs, a en faire sa plene volente comme de son propre heritage.

Item, fu gree et accorde entre les dictes parties que tout le sel demouroit au dit messire Raoul comme son propre meuble acquis, et le dit messire Raoul garderoit ses dictes forteresces au sien. Sauf, si le roy vouloit avoir les diz seauls, le dit messire Raoul volut et ottroya que, toutefoiz que le roy les voudroit avoir, il preigne douze proudes hommes de son coste, et le dit messire Raoul douze de sien, lesquelx seront jurez sur le corps Dieu sacre a bien et loyaument prisier le dit sel. Et ce que le dit sel pourra valoir la journee qu'il sera prisie, ou cas que le roy voudra retenir le dit sel au pris qui sera prisie et regarde qu'il vaudra et le paier en present, le dit messire Raoul vault et ottroya qu'il donnoit la quarte partie au roy de ce que le dit sel sera prisie, en le payant en present, comme dessus est dit.

Item, fu gree et accorde au dit messire Raoul que, ou cas que le roy de France li tendroit toutes ses convenances dessus dictes, le dit messire Raoul james ne voudra le bien ne le proffit du roy d'Angleterre, ains le grevera a tout son povoir et james contre le roy de France ne sera; ne n'est par cestes convenances le dit messire Raoul tenu de soy armer ne d'un coste ne d'autre, se il ne li plaisoit, mais desja l'a il fait et pense a faire en oultre a son povoir.

Item, ou cas que le dit messire Raoul se voudroit armer, le roy seroit tenuz a li baillier terre souffisant tele comme il pourroient accorder ensemble, et desja s'est le dit messire Raoul arme, comme dit est.

Nos autem, considerantes predicta, auditaque relatione predictorum militum, predicta castra seu villas et loca de Bellovidere supra mare, de Lampan, de Insula Chauvet et de Boaing, cum sale predicto, ordinavimus predicto militi reddi et restitui cum suis juribus et pertinenciis universis, juxta tenorem convencionum predictarum tenenda per eum et successores suos et causam ab eo habituros a nobis et successoribus nostris Francie regibus, sub fide homagioque et serviciis debitis in talibus fieri consuetis et pro quibus homagium nobis fecit et fideliter juramentum. Pactaque alia et convenciones suprascriptas ac omnia supradicta rata habentes et grata, ea ratificamus, approbamus et auctoritate regia de speciali gracia et certa sciencia confirmamus, volentes quod robur obtineant perpetue firmitatis et inviolabiliter observentur. Mandamusque dictis militibus ut dicta castra, villas, loca cum sale et aliis pertinenciis ipsi militi reddant, restituant libere et indilate, absque alterius expectatione mandati, necnon senescallis Pictavensibus et Xanctonensibus ceterisque justiciariis nostris et eorum loca tenentibus et eorum cuilibet ut dictas convenciones et pacta ac omnia supradicta, prout superius sunt expressa, prout ad eorum quemlibet pertinebit, adimpleant et realiter exequantur dictumque militem et ejus heredes seu causam ab eo habituros eis gaudere faciant et permittant, nichil in contrarium attemptantes seu fieri patientes. Quod ut firmum et stabile perpetuo perseveret, sigillum nostrum, quo ante dicti regni nostri susceptum regimen utebamur, presentibus litteris apponi fecimus.

Datum apud Luparam prope Parisius anno Domini millesimo CCC^o quinquagesimo, mense septembris.

Per dominum regem in consilio suo, Y.Symon.

20. Treaty between Raoul de Caours and the king of France; Paris, 4 January, 1350/1.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, J 637, no.2 (original on parchment).

B. Archives départementales du Lot, F 27 (modern copy).

Noverint universi praesentes litteras inspecturis me Radulphum Caturci, militem, dominum de Bello-Videre-supra-mare, in praesentia illustrium dominorum meorum secreti regis Franciae praesidentium consilii personaliter existentem,

conventionem quae sequitur oretenus emisisse ac etiam convenisse, videlicet quod civitatem Venetensem una cum villis gallice nominatis Guerrande et Quemperle regis Franciae potestati plenarie subjugabo, necnon et dominos Tenguy et ejus filium primogenitum, Bernardum de Castro, milites, cum duobus castris Tremazen et Ussent gallice nominatis dicto domino meo regi faciam firmiter obedire, dum tamen dictus dominus Bernardus ex benivolo consensu dominae meae ducissae Britanniae michi fuerit liberatus, vel corpus dicti domini Bernardi Parisius vel ad regis voluntatem restituam. Insuper fortalitium in villa de Sancto-Matheo-de-Fine-Postremo ad repulsionem navigii inimicorum per illas partes transfretantium faciam ordinare, laboraboque pro posse castra de Henebont et de Brest regiae submittere potestati. Et haec omnia supradicta promisi et adhuc promitto facere per praesentes infra quinque menses ab eo tempore computandos quo fortalitia mea de Bello-Videre, de insula Calneti, de Lampau michi fuerint restituta, numeratioque duodecim mille et centum quinquaginta librarum parisiensium pro solutione gentibus armorum facienda michi vel alteri, nomine meo, fuerit adimpleta. Ista tamen teneor adimplere si paga aliarum duodecim mille et centum quinquaginta librarum parisiensium pro gentibus armorum in fine martii proxime futuro, ut jam michi promissum est, integre fuerit persoluta. Pro quibus omnibus faciendis vel aequipollentibus, obliga me et omnia bona mobilia et immobilia ubicumque existentia ac haeredum et successorum meorum sub poena restituendi dictas pecuniae sommas realiter et de facto incontinenti si promissa nequivero adimplere, et hoc promisi et promitto per fidem meam in manu reverendi patris episcopi Laudunensis corporaliter praestitam.

Datum et actum Parisius sub sigillo meo proprio dee IIIII^a.
januarii, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo.

21. Agreement concluded between the envoys of Edward III and those of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders; Dunkirk, close of 1348.

A. British Museum, Additional Charter, 59142; Cotton, Caligula D III, fos.39r-40r (two halves of a chirograph; originals on parchment).

a. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Oeuvres de Froissart, XVIII, Pièces Justificatives, pp.319-24 (incomplete transcription of badly damaged Cotton manuscript).¹

Il fait a ramembrer que accorde et consenti est par reverent pere en Dieu, Guillaume, evesque de Norwicz; Henry, conte de Lancastre, de Derby, de Leycestre, seigneur de Bragerak et senescal d'Engleterre; Robert de Ufford, conte de Suffolk; Gautier, seigneur de Mauny, et mestre Jehan de Carloton, doctour en loys, commis et deputez de par tres noble et tres poissant prince, monsieur Edward, par la grace de Dieu roy de France et d'Engleterre, d'une part, et Henry de Flandres, seigneur de Nieneve; Sohier, seigneur d'Ainghien, et Jaqueme Metteneye, commis et deputez de par tres noble prince, monseigneur Loys, conte de Flandre, de Nevers et de Rethel, d'autre part, pour bien de pais, tranquillite et amour norrir, accroistre et procurerentre les dessus dis signeurs roy et conte de Flandres, leurs subgetz et adherentz a tous jours mais, que dedens le premier jour de septembre prochain venant le dit conte envoiera soffissanment ses messages par devers l'adversaire de France dou dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, et fera requerre et demander son droit et heritage de la conte d'Arthoys, des villes de Lille, Douay, Bethune et Orchies, les chasteleries et appendances d'ycelles. Et ou cas que le dit adversaire dou dit roy de France et d'Engleterre la dicte requeste fesist et acordast, que le dit conte par tant seroit content en sa personne, et que le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, ne ses adherentz, par les gentz de le dicte conte d'Arthoys, des villes de Lille, Douay, Bethune, Orchies, des chasteleries et appendances d'ycelles, ne seroient de riens empechie, moleste, ne greve. Et soufferroit le dit conte que son pays de Flandres tenist et acomplist devers le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, ses hoirs et successeurs, toutes les alliances et promesses faites a lui orez et en temps passe. Et en cas que la dicte requeste dou dit conte ne

1. For the diplomatic of these documents, see P. Chaplais, "Documents concernant l'Angleterre et l'Écosse anciennement conservés a la Chambre des Comptes de Lille (XII^e.-XV^e. siècles)", Revue du Nord, XXXVIII (1956), 193. The following transcript is taken from the Additional Charter.

fust acceptee et acomplie, et a lui rendu son dit heritage, que le dit conte, apres ceste requeste soffisamment fait, feroit le dit son adversaire de France deffier, et lui rendroit sus tous les hommages qu'il tient de lui, trois semaines devant le premier jour de septembre prochain venant. Et adonc, le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, et contes de Flandres, pour yaus, pour leur hoirs et successeurs, feroient une certaine alliance ensamble durant la guerre, le meisme premier jour de septembre, et promettont, l'un l'autre, a aidier et conforter de tous leurs povoirs a conquerre le droit sur le dit adversaire de France sur ses hoirs et successeurs, loyaument et en bonne foy.

Item, en cest accort et alliance, le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, et le dit conte, promecteront loyaument et en bonne foy, li uns a l'autre, pour yaus et pour leur hoirs et successeurs, que il ne aucuns d'yaus jamais ne feroient ne ne soufferoi a faire aveuques le dit son adversaire de France, ses hoirs et successeurs, ne encontre ses adherentz, pais, acord, trieuwes ne souffrance, sans le sceu, volente, assent et consent de l'autre.

Item, se le dit conte, en temps a venir, ne peust paisivlement joir de ses contes de Nevers et de Retheslz, et de ce que y appartient, que li dis roys de France et d'Engleterre, en recompensation de ce, paiera du dit conte, ou a son commant, aussi longuement qu'il sera en deffaute de ce, quarante mille escutz d'or, de poys et de loy tels comme il kewrent a present, ou autre bonne monnoye aussi proffitable a l'avenant, chascun an, l'une moitie a le Pasque et l'autre a le Saint Michiel, et de ce lui donra ses lettres ouvertes, bien seellees, le dit premier jour de septembre as alliances faire. Et de ce fera le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre bonne seurte au dit conte a payer dedens la ville de Bruges en la manere qui s'ensieut, assavoir ~~est~~ que en celi cas li dis roys promectera au dit conte de Flandres et ses hoirs et successeurs, ou a son certain commant, payer loyaument, fermement et en bonne foy, sans enfreindre au lieu et as termes dessus nommez, as propres periliz et despens dou dit roy, les quarante mille florins d'or a l'escu dessus ditz cascun an en la manere dessus dicte; et quant a ce il obligera li, ses hoirs et successeurs, ses biens, et les leur quelconques. Et pour plus grande

seurte de ce, li dis roys de rechief promettra, loyaument, veritablement, et en bonne foy, que ou cas q'il seroit en aucune manere en deffaute de payer le somme de quarante mille florins d'or a l'escu, as termes, au lieu et en la manere dessus dicte, il envoieroit, dedens un mois prochain apres la premiere deffaute de paiement, dedens la ville de Bruges, deux chevalers bannerez et wyt chevalers bachelers en leurz estatz, sans fraude et malengien, liquel jurront par leur foy et serementz, si tost qu'il entrez en la dicte ville, en la main dou dit conte ou de son certain depute, que d'ycelle il ne se partiront jusques a tant que la dicte deffaute sera entirement paye si que dit est, se donc ne fust que le dit conte de Flandres et non autres leur donnast eslargissement ou respit. Et en samblable manere, ou cas que uns ou pluseurs termes eskeissent de la dicte rente payer par le dit roy, si que dit est, apres le dessus dicte premiere deffaute, escripte par cascun terme et a cascune fois que la dicte deffaute ou deffautes seroient ou dit roy, avecques les autres qui y seroient, sans yceux a retourner par nulle voye, tant et si longuement que li dis roys auroit entirement paye la dicte deffaute ou deffautes, au lieu, as termes, et en la manere dessus ditz, et tout as propres cousteuges et despens dou dit roy. Et en cas que aucun ou aucunes des chevalers que le dit roy auroit ensi envoyes au lieu dessus dit, trespasassent tenantz les dictes convenences, li dis roys seroit tenuz de y renvoyer, en lieu de celi ou ceux, un chevaler ou tant que la faute seroit, de tele condition comme li trespassez ou trespasse auroient este, si tost qu'il venroit a la cognissance dou dit roy, sans malengien. Et de rechief, il est acorde et prommis par les dessus ditz tracteurs de par le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, en la main dou dit conte, que se il avenoit que avant les dictes trieuwes faillons, en quel temps que ce fust, les dessus dictes conteez de Nevers et de Rethel, et ce que y appartient, fussent arrestez ou calengies, par quoi li dis contes n'en peust joir pour cause de ces presens tratiez et accors, que tantost que ce avenroit, li dis roys de France et d'Engleterre sera tenuz de faire au dit conte de Flandres, en restor des dictes deffautes, les paiementz des quarante mille florins d'or a l'escu a l'avenant dou temps et des termes sans malengien sur les obligations dessus dictes. Et en quelconques temps le dit conte aura ariere et joira paisivement de ces deux conteez

① Li roys de France ditz de rechief envoieront, avecques autres chevalers bannerez et wyt chevalers bachelers, en la manere dessus

devant dictes, ou l'une d'ycelles, sans fraude et malengien, qu'il rabatera de la dicte somme a l'avenant et value de che.

Item, le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre et conte promecteron, l'un a l'autre, par serementz, foy et loyautez, de aider a tout leur povoir a conquerre le droit de chascun d'yaus sur le dit son adversaire de France et les siens. Et se, en temps a venir, le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre peust acquerre par pais, conquesst ou autrement, la dicte conte d'Arthoys, entirement ou partie (de ce hors mis Calays, Marc et Hoye, lesquelz sont desja au dit roy), la cyte de Tournay, les villes de Lille, Douay, Bethune et Orchies, avecques les chasteleries et appendances d'ycelles, ou aucune d'ycelles, que il les donra et baillera tantost apres ce q'il les aura conquis au dit conte a possider perpetuelement par lui et par ses hoirs, contes de Flandres, comme leur propre heritage, sauve le droit dou dit roy Edward quant temps sera. Et se la dit conte, en temps a venir, peust conquerre aucune autre terre, ville, chastel ou chastelerie ens ou royaume de France ou ailleurs, touchant la quarelle du dit roy Edward, q'il le baillera en le meisme maniere au dit roy de France et d'Engleterre et a ses hoirs.

Item, que la dicte alliance soit fait par le dit conte sur les paines d'estre perjures et de deux chentz mille livres de gros tournois, a la value de tielz comme courent dedens le dit pays de Flandres, au jour de la faisance de cestes. Et le dit conte obligera lui, ses hoirs, successeurs, leur biens, moebles, non moebles, presentz et a venir, la dicte somme a payer ou cas q'elle fust encourue et forfaitie veritablement par lui, par ses hoirs et successeurs, la guerre durant, dedens sys ans prochains ensuivans, par ywelles porcions, dedens la ville de Londres a le Saint Michiel. Et quant la dicte alliance ensi sera faite et confremee, que li premiers articles contenuz ou premier rolle des traitoies, dont li dessus dit roy et conte ont baillie lettres, li uns a l'autre, sera quassez et mis au neant.

Item, en la dicte alliance, quant elle se fera, doiivent estre contenuz et expressez les trois articles prochains ensiewans; le dessus dit premier article contenuz en la lettre de la dit conte, a baillies au roy *l'ave* a tenir sur les paines d'estre CONJOINT, d'estre parjurs, et de deux chentz mille livres de gros comme dessus. Et

oultre ce, le dit conte, aveuques le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre, priera ses bonnes villes de son dit pays de Flandres (Gand, Bruges et Yppre), et sera son loyal povoir, sans enforchement, faire sur yaus que nuls de ses hoirs ou successeurs serra reclus comme contes dedens le dit pays de Flandres, la guerre durant entre les deux roys, avis qu'il aura ou auront fait les serementz en telle manere que dit est.

Item, que en toutes les choses dessus escriptes soient sauves les alliances que le conte de Flandres, pere au dit conte de Flandres, qui Diex absoille, et son pays de Flandres firent au duc de Brabant et a son pays de Brabant, lesquelles alliances furent faites devant les alliances d'Engleterre, et lesquelles alliances de Brabant li contes de Flandres, qui ores est, a promises et confremees selonc la fourme et contenu d'ycelles. Et le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre fera jurer et prometre, en noun de lui et de par lui, aucune soffisant personne de son sanc et linage de tenir et garder la dicte alliance et acomplir toutes les choses dessus dictes, fermement et veritablement, et ce par le manere que le dit conte le jurrera, sauf le paine et parjur, sauves aussi les alliances que le dit roy de France et d'Engleterre ha au dit pays et gens de Flandres.

Et soient es dictes lettres des alliances expresse de par le dit conte de Flandres tout li proesme fait es premieres lettres dou dit conte au roy de France et d'Engleterre dessus dit sur les premiers articles dou traitiet.

Et tesmoign des choses dessus dictes nous, roys et contes dessus nomme, avons plaquies nos seaulz secrez a ces ramembrances, changiement. Rex.¹

22. Indenture by which Henry Earl of Lancaster retains Sir Edmund de Ufford for life during war and peace; London, 1 March, 1347.

A. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds, series LS, DL 27/155 (original on parchment; red pendant seal).

1. "Alliance traitiez par les commiz du roy d'Engleterre et du conte de Flandres que ne sont point seelez du dit conte; xiiij^clxix" written on dorse.

A touz ceuz qui cestes lettres verront ou orront, Henri, counte de Lancastre, de Derby et de Leycestre, seneschal d'Engleterre, saluz en Dieux. Come nostre tres chere cousyn monsieur Esmon de Ufford, filz a monsieur Thomas de Ufford, soit demorre ovesque nous de nous servir a toute sa vie, en guerre et en pees, par manere que s'en seust, c'est assavoir; en temps de guerre, soi, tiercz hommes d'armes bien armez et muntez comme appent, et avera monteour pour luimeismes de nostre lyveree, et avera dis chyvalx pour lui et ses gentz a liveree, de fein, avein, clowes et ferres, neof garsouns as gages, un chamberlein mangeant en sale. Et les chivalx sur queux ses esquiers serront muntez serront convenablement preisez par noz gentz, et avera restor resonable de ceuz qui serront perduz ensi en nostre service. Et en temps de pees, quele heure q'il soit par nous maunde, il vendra ove un esquier la ou nous soioms, et avera quatre chivalx a lyveree, un chamberlein mangeant en sale, et trois garsouns as gages. Et toute foitz quant nous fesoms liveree as autres chivaliers de robes et seales, nous ferroms devers lui auxi come as autres de sa condicion. Et pour le bon et greable service que le dit monsieur Esmon nous ad, avant ces heures, fait, et auxi pour le bon service q'il nous ferra en manere susdit, avoms donez et grauntez au dit monsieur Esmon quarrante marcz d'annuele rente, a prendre d'an en an en nostre manoir de Heigham Ferrers as termes en nostre dit manoir usuels, par les meyns des prevostz q'illoeques sont et serront en temps avant, a avoir et tenir l'avant dite annuete de quarrante marcz de nous, noz heirs et nos assignez a l'avantdit monsieur Esmon a tout sa vie, liberalment, bien et en pees, sanz destourbir ou contredit de nous ou nul des noz, fesant toute foitz a nous le dit service de pees et de guerre de manere susdite. Et voloms et grauntoms, pour nous et noz heirs, que si la dite rente soit arere a nul terme avantdit, qe bien lise au dit monsieur Esmon, ou a son attorne, a destreindre noz tenantz de Heigham Ferrers susdit, et noz fermers illoeques, et la destresse amenir et detenir taunquee gree lui soit fait de touz les arrerages de la rente avantdit. Et nous, Henri, counte de Lancastre avantdit, et noz heirs, l'annuete de quarrante marcz susdite, a l'avantdit monsieur Esmon, en manere come desus est dit, garrantiroms et defendiroms countre toutes gentz.

En tesmoigne de queu chose, a la partie de l'endenture demouraunt devers le dit monsieur Esmon nous avoms mys nostre seal, et a la partie de l'endenture demouraunt par devers nous le dit monsieur Esmon ad mys son seal. Par yceux tesmoignes monsieur Reygnaud de Mohun, monsieur Johan de Seyton, monsieur Richard de Rouclyf, chyvaliers; Simon Symeon, Payen de Mohun, et autres.

Donne a Loundres, le primer jour de marcz, l'an du regne nostre seignour le roi Edward tiercz puis le conquest, vintisme primer.

23. Letter of the earl of Lancaster to the chancellor of England concerning the seizure of lands of Sir Norman de Swinford in Lincolnshire; Lee, 6 February (1347).

A. Public Record Office, Ancient Correspondance, SC 1/42/64
(original on

Chere amy. Come nostre chere bachelor, monsieur Norman de Swynford, soit demoure devers nous et ad este de piece, ad et avoms entenduz que, par sa demoeer en Engleterre, saunz aler au roy, home ad fait seiser ses terres, a graunt damage de lui; queu chose, sire, ne nous semble pas resoun car, depuis que il est demoure devers nous, il est resoun q'il ange ovesque nous solunc les covenauces entre nous taillez, et ne mye aillours saunz nous. Si vous prioms, sire, si chèrement comme nous poums, que, veu cestes lettres, voillez mander au viscounte de Nicole, q'ad seise ses dites terres, q'il ont face la deliveraunce au dyt monsieur Norman car, sire, il se apperaille, au plus q'il poet, d'aler ovesque nous, es busoignes nostre seigneur le roy, quel hure que nous angeoms. A Dieu, chere amy, que vous garde.

Donne a Lee, le VI jour de fevrier. Le counte de Lancastre.

24. Petition of the mayor and échevins of the city of Amiens to the duke of Lancaster, touching the infringement of the truce; Amiens, 4 December, 1354.

A. British Museum, Cotton Caligula D III, fo.
(original on parchment).

Noblez et puissanz princes mons' le duc de Lenquestre. Pluseurs de bonne marcheans de la cite d'Amiens, en le confians ez trieve traictie et acordez derrienement entre le roy de France nostre tres souverain et trez redoubte seigneur pour lui et ses subgiez de son royaume d'une part, et le roy d'Engleterre pour lui et ceulx de son royaume d'autre, en esperance que euls de tous bonz marcheans de leurs marchandisez povient passer et repasser de l'un royaume en l'autre paysieblement sans estre empechie ou moleste en corps ou en biens et devoient les attemptes estre repare et ceuls qui fais les avoient pugnes, et avoient la nef Bernave Le Carbonnier d'Abbeville, de laquelle estre maistrez Wastaces le Guisneve, fait chargier de quarante sept tonniaux et une pippe de blaide ou pris et de la valeur de environ trois mille flourins a l'escu du cuivir du roy Philippe, noef d'anum trespasse laonestoit toute le chevance d'aucuns des dis bourgeois, che non obstant ainsi que le dit nef faisoit son voyage par la mer et qu'elle passait devant la liable de la ville de Calais le lundi matin premier jour de cest present mois de decembre pour estre menez ou pays a Flandres du dit liable, ussi une barge en laquelle estoient plusieurs engloiz qui par leur forche prennent le dit nef chargie des blaides dessus dis et contre la volente du maistre et gens estant en ycelle l'emeneint en la ville de Calais et rendre ne delivrer ne lour volu ne encore ne voullent ne le dit capitaine de Calais luy requis, et fin ce faire souffissi laquelle prinze a este et est faite en attemptant contre les dictes trievez ou tres grant grief, damage et prejudice des dis marchans. Si vous supplians noblez et puissant princez que vous qui si comme nous tenonz volez lez dictes trievez entretenir et faire tenir des subgiez du roy d'Engleterre et lez delis et meffais estre pugnis ne telz attemptes veez et damagez contre les boins marcheanz faisans loial feur de merchandise ne vanvriez souffert a veulliez par votrez lettres mander au capitaine de Calais et ad capitainez et justices d'Engleterre que les dis blaidez ainsi prins et emenez en Calais il rendue et restituent sans delay a nos dis bourgeois ou leur en facent celle restitution qu'il leur souffisse de ne souffrez que nos dis marcheans soustiengnent tel dommage de leurs dictes merchandise en temps de trievez ainsi prinzes, quar avrige que souffrir leur tenneuroit les dis marchans ou lez

aucunz d'iceuls feroient empecil d'avoir perdu estat et chevance dont graunt pitie seroit. Et puissant plaise vous pour veir briefment en ceste besoigne et mettre tel remede que nos bons marchans n'ayent cause de euls en comme au roy nostre seigneur ne que marchandise en puisse ou d'oye estre empechier come tant pour les dictes trievez come pour vostre bonne par decha moult de bons marchans se sont avanchie de mener et envoyer leur marchandise par la mer.

Esript a Amienz le IIII jour de decembre, l'an Mil.CCCLIIII, soulz le seel as causez de la ville d'Amiens. Lez maire et eschevins de la cite de Amienz.¹

25. Letter of Pierre de la Forêt, archbishop of Rouen and chancellor of France, to the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Arundel, touching infringements of the truce and the forthcoming conference at Avignon; Paris, 28 May (1354).

B. Edinburgh University Library, MS. 183, fo.53v (parchment book).

Chiers amys. Nous avons aujourduy receu voz lettres par mons' Bociqaut, et oy ce qu'il nous a dit de par vous. Si vous plaise savoir que, sur les choses contenues en voz lettres, mons' le cardinal vous avoit nadgairs escript et envoie certain message sur ce. Et encore vous escript a present, et nous en raportens, a ce qu'il vous en escript. Et vraement il n'est venu a nostre cognoissance que, de la partie de par deca, ait este aucune chose attemptee contre les trieves, mais a le roy nostre seigneur demandé et comandé par ces lettres que elles soient tenues et gardees. Et encore de novel a ordenée le marchal de Clermont pour les aler faire tenir et garder en Xaintonge. Et toutevois les gentz de vostre partie les ont mal gardees, quar mons' Thomas de Hollande fait grant chevauchies en Bretaigne contre les gentz du roy nostre seigneur. Et le pais du duc de Bretaigne. Et avec ce ont mys les gentz de vostre partie siege en Xaintonge devant plusours villes et chasteaux, et ne tiennent en rien les trieves. Si veulliez sur ce purveoir

1. "Mon tres chere et tres redoubte signeur, monsigneur le roy et a son conseil. Lettrez du par la cite et bailivi d'Amiens" written on dorse.

a fin q'elles soient bien tenues de vostre partie, et en fera de la partie par deca q'elles seront fermement tenues. Et quant as conduiz de ceux qui doivent aler a Avignon sur le fait de traitie, il nous a doubter, quar il auront sauf et seur conduit, et par lettres du roi nostre seigneur et par personnes notables qui lour seront baillees pur les conduire seurement et en bonne foy. Si nous envoiez les nouns des messages et l'en lour fera lettres de sauf conduit teles comme il appartient. Chers amys, le Saint Espirit vous ait en sa garde. Escrit a Parys, le XXVIII jour de May.

L'ercevesque de Rouan, chancelier de France.
A nobles hommes et puissans le duc de Lencastre et le conte d'Arondell.

26. Contract between Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, of the one part, and Hugh d'Audley, Earl of Gloucester, Ralph de Stafford and his wife Margaret, of the other part, for the marriage of Ralph's son and heir, Ralph, to Henry's daughter, Maud; London, 10 October, 1344.

A. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds, series LS, DL 27/36 (original on parchment).

Ceste endenture, fait a Loundres le disme jour d'Octobre l'an du regne notre seignur le roy Edward tierce puis la conquest disoictisme, en la paroche de Seint Laurence, entre les nobles hommes monsieur Henri de Lancastre Counte de Derby d'une part, monsieur Hughe d'Audelee Counte de Gloucestre, monsieur Rauf de Stafford et Dame Margarete sa femme d'autre part, tesmoigne que acorde est par les avantditz counte, monsieur Rauf et dame Margarete en manere desus escript; assavoir que Rauf de Stafford, fitz et heir au dit monsieur Rauf et dame Margarete, esposera Maude, la fille au dit counte de Derby, et les susditz counte de Gloucestre, monsieur Rauf et dame Margarete ounte graunte de enfeffer ascun.....ils affie.....manoirs de Rothewell, Navesby, Whystone, Clapthorpe en le countee de Borhamptone, Southo en le countee de Huntyngdone, ove totes leurs appurtenantz et ove une rente q'amonte a oept livres,

sys soldz, oept deneres maile, en diverses tenementz en le countee de Bedeford. Et grauntent que le feffe heu plene possession des manoirs et rente susditz ove totes lour appurtenantz refeffera le dit Hughe Counte de Gloucestre des manoirs et rente susditz ove totes lour appurtenantz a tenir pur terme de sa vie, issint que apres son deces enterement ove totes lour appurtenantz remaignent a les sousnommes Rauf, fitz monsieur Rauf, et Maude, a suer et tenir a eux et a les heirs de lour deux corps engendres. Et si ils devyent sanz heir de lour deux corps engendre les susditz manoirs et rente ove totes lour appurtenantz remaignent a les sousnommes monsieur Rauf et Margarete et a lour heirs. Et voillent et grauntent les susnommes countes, monsieur Rauf et dame Margarete, d'une part et d'autre, que le dit Henri Counte de Derby avera la garde et la nosture de les susditz Rauf, fitz monsieur Rauf et Maude, taunt q'ils soient de pleyn age, ensemblement ove la garde des manoirs et rente susditz ove totes lour appurtenantz sanz rien rendre ou acompter en nulle temps avener ascunes maneres des issues des manoirs et rente susdit. En tesmoignance de queu chose les avantditz countes, monsieur Rauf et dame Margarete a ceste endenture entrechaungeablement ount mys lour seals as jours et lieu susditz.

27. Indenture between the king and Thomas Dagworth, by which Thomas undertook the custody of the duchy of Brittany; before Calais, 10 January, 1347.

A. Public Record Office, Exchequer (King's Remembrancer) Accounts Various, E 101/25/19, m.1 (original on parchment).

Ceste endenture, faite par entre tres excellent prince nostre seigneur le roi de France et d'Engleterre d'une part, et nobles homme mons' Thomas de Daggeworth d'autre part, tesmoigne que le dit mons' Thomas ad empris la garde de toutes les villes, chastelx et terres esteantz en la main et possession nostre dit seigneur le roi en la duchee de Bretaigne le jour de la fesance de ceste, par tiell manere que le roi lui ferra paier ore en main deux mille et cynk centz marcs en partie de paiement de ce que serra trove par aconté en la garderobe que le roi lui doit, si bien par les

gages et regard de lui et ses gentz de temps q'il feust autrefois chevetaïn es dites parties come pour restor de ses chivalx perduz deinz meisme le temps. Et du remenant que lui serra duz par meisme la conte, ensemblement od gages de guerre pour un quarter pour trois centz homes d'armes et sys centz archers au chivalx queux le dit monsieur Thomas aura ovesque lui pour la garde suisdite, et aussint de quatre mille florins de l'escu que le roi lui doit pour la raunceon li Galoys de la Heuse le roi lui ferra presentement servir par paiement ou assignement en place covenable deinz le terme de cest an. Et le dit monsieur Thomas aura et prendra a son oeps demeigne tous les issues et profitz appartenant si bien au roi come a Johan filz et heir monsieur Johan de Montford, nadgaires duc de Bretaigne, si bien en la duchee de Bretaigne avant dite come aillours par reson de meisme la duchee. Et pour meismes les issues et profitz, sanz rien pluis demander du roi en du dit heir horspris les paiementz desuis nomez, le dit monsieur Thomas ad empris la garde de toutes les villes, chastelx et terres suisdites tant qe la guerre soit, sine par voie de pees ou en autre manere. Et le roi voet et grant que en cas que le dit monsieur Thomas ne soit servi de les deux mille et cynk centz marcs come des autres paiementz avantditz en la manere suisdite, q'il soit descharge de la dite garde et frank de luimeismes pour aler la ou lui plerra sanz empeschement du roi ou d'autri.

En tesmoignance queu chose nostre seigneur le roi et le dit monsieur Thomas a ceste endenture entrechangeablement ont mys leur sealx.

Donne devant Caleys le X jour de janver, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.XLVI.

28. Letter of Edward III to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, requesting his presence at Westminster for the conclusion of a peace treaty with King John, 4 November (1358); together with the duke's reply.

B. British Museum, Harley MS. 4971, fos.13v-14r (parchment book).

Edward, par la grace de Dieu, roi d'Engleterre et de France, seignour d'Irlande, a nostre tres chere cosyne Henri, duc de Lancastre, conte de Derby, Leicestre et

Notingham (sic) et seneschal d'Engleterre, saluz et nostre amour. Purceo que nous sumes en propos de treter de la pes entre nous et nostre aversarie Johan de France, qele nous prions en tot puissant que bien soit de ambedeaux parties, et ne poons sanz l'acent de plus grauntz de la tere faire l'acorde, vous prions si chèrement come plus poons q'al jeosdy prochein apres la feste de Pasches prochein avenir soiez a Westminstre pour eut faire la trete a bon fyn. Et si avons mande nos lettres as autres de la terre q'ils y soient. Tres chere cosyn Nostre Seigneur vous eit en sa garde. Done soutz nostre seal le quarte jour de novembre.

Responcio:

A tres noble et tres reverent seigneur Edward, par la grace de Dieu, roi d'Engleterre et de France, seignour d'Irlande, ove totes maneres de reverences et honours, et prest come a son lige seigneur de faire sez plésers et commandementz en touz pointz selonc son poair, assez bien ay entenduz voz reverentz lettres a moy directes, as quelles jeo mettra tute la force et haste que jeo pourra pour estre a vostre tres graciouse persone a jour en vostre lettre asseys come principalement suy tenuz, meais endroit dul consail que vous entenduz avoir jeo prie a vostre seigneurie q'en tel manere y conseillent que bien pourra estre pour vous et vostre roialme tresdouce seigneur le tot puissant en trinite vous doyne bon conseil avoir du maintenance de vostre droit.

Le vostre en quant q'il peot. Henri Duc de Lancastre.

29. Letter of Edward, prince of Wales, to William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, requesting his presence on an expedition which he had undertaken to make to France (1355).

B. British Museum, Harley MS. 4971, fo.14r (parchment book).

Edward, eisne filz au noble roi d'Engleterre et de France, prince de Gales, duc de Cornwaylle et conte de Cestre, a nostre tres fiabul et tres ame cosyn William conte de Northampton, saluz et chers amistes. Come par nostre conseil a Londres assemblees en la veile de saint Katerine darrein passe, ensemblement ove le conseil nostre

tres chere seignour et pierre le roi, soions en propos d'aler es parties par delà a la quinzine de la Trinite prochein avenir, mult fumes coveitauce de vous avoir prinicipalment ovesque nous, issint que par l'eide de Dieu et nostre Dame nostre exploit pourra valer le plus, vous prions mult entierment, et come nostre affiance est en vostre naturese, d'estre prest a nous dresser a les parties avant nomes pour le droit nostre dit seignour et pierre gayner, a quel luy pour tot puissant nous soit eidant. Tres chere et tres ame cosyn de ceste chose ne vous veuillez denyer come nous affions en vous. Le Seint Espirit vous aye et maintoigne en honour durante vostre vie.

The earl's reply follows.

30. Letter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, requesting some baron to join his retinue on an expedition to be made to France by the prince (1355).

B. British Museum, Harley MS. 4971, fo.14v (parchment book).

Thomas, counte de Warwick, a son tres fiabul et tres chere cosyn Thomas baron de M., saluz. Par case que mons' le prince est en volente de soi drescer ove tantz de people come il pourra devers les parties de France pour recouverer le droit nostre tres reverent seignour le roi, a quel Dieu mette exploit, et si ad grandement desirrez nostre compaignie, vous prions ove tot entier coer et come le pourrons deservir que sanz altre gauntier d'aler as ditz parties veuillez vous faire prest d'estre a nostre retinance. Entendantz pour voir que nous vous freinz en tel manere gree que vous vous tendrez bien paie, &c.

The baron's reply follows.

APPENDIX B

MATERIALS FOR A STUDY OF THE KING'S LIEUTENANTS IN
FRANCE DURING THE REIGNS OF PHILIP VI AND JOHN II

I

LIST OF THE LIEUTENANTS

a). Languedoc and Gascony.

1). Raoul, count of Eu and Guines, constable of France, lieutenant in Languedoc. Acting 17 July - 14 October, 1337.

2). Simon, Lord Derquier (Derqueri), knight, councillor of the king and master of requests of his household, and Le Galois de la Baume, master of the French crossbowmen, knight; captains-general and especial in the Agenais and Gascony, and "es autres parties pardela". Appointed 13 November, 1337; still acting 7 August, 1338.

3). John, King of Bohemia, lieutenant in Languedoc. Acting 6 - 24 January, 1339.

4). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant in Languedoc and Saintonge. Acting 27 May - 27 July, 1339.

5). Pierre de Palude, knight, lord of Varambon, king's councillor, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captain and governor-general and special in the Agenais, Bordelais, Gascony and throughout Languedoc. Appointed 22 August, 1339; still acting 26 May, 1340.

has in vision
6). Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, and Pierre de Palude, knight, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captains, governors and lieutenants in Languedoc. Appointed 4 August, 1340; still acting in February 1341, and Palude alone on 7 April, 1341.

7). Louis de Poitiers, count of Valentinois and Die, lieutenant-general throughout Languedoc. Appointed 15 October and 15 December, 1340; still acting 18 November, 1341.

8). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant in Toulouse, the Agenais, Bordelais, Saintonge, Quercy, Gascony and Languedoc. Appointed 12 February, 1341; still acting 5 November, 1341.

9). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant special and general in Gascony, the Agenais, Bordelais, Saintonge and all the other parts of Languedoc. Appointed 6 April, 1342; still acting 14 December, 1342.

10) Agoût des Baux, knight, lord of Brancoul and Plasian, seneschal of Toulouse, lieutenant and captain-general throughout Languedoc. Appointed 11 November, 1342; still acting 22 May, 1343.

- 11) Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant throughout Languedoc. Appointed 21 January, 1343; still acting 3 April, 1343.
- 12) Jean, bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant in Languedoc and Saintonge. Acting 29 September, 1344 - 22 November, 1345.
- 13) Pierre, duke of Bourbon, lieutenant throughout Languedoc and Gascony. Appointed 8 August, 1345; still acting 17 January, 1346.
- 14) Jean, count of Armagnac, lieutenant throughout Languedoc. Appointed 23 August, 1346; still acting 6 July, 1347.
- 15) Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, lieutenant in Languedoc. Acting 16 October, 1347 - 1 April, 1348.
- 16) Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, and Bertrand, count of Lille-Jourdain, special and general lieutenants in Gascony, the Agenais and Bordelais, and in other parts of Languedoc. Appointed 31 December, 1347; Lille still acting 5 September, 1349.
 Le Galois de la Baume, knight, king's councillor, lieutenant-general throughout Languedoc and in Saintonge. Appointed 15 May, 1348; still acting 18 October, 1349.
- 17) Le Galois de la Baume, knight, king's councillor, lieutenant in Gascony and throughout Languedoc. Appointed 21 August, 1348; still acting 26 November, 1348.
- 18) Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, king's councillor, lieutenant throughout Gascony and Languedoc. Appointed 17 January, 1349; still acting 21 November, 1349.
- 19) Robert de Houdetot, knight, master of the French crossbowmen, captain-general in Languedoc. Acting 12 July, 1350 - 14 October, 1350.
- 20) Charles, King of Navarre, count of Evreux, lieutenant in Languedoc. Acting July 1351 - 13 October, 1351.
- 21) Amaury de Craon, lieutenant in Languedoc. Acting 23 May - 6 November, 1352.
- 22) Jean, count of L'Isle, captain in Languedoc. Acting 25 September - 13 October, 1352.
- 23) Amaury de Rochechouart, knight, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captain-general in Languedoc. Acting 18 - 25 December 1352.

24) Jean, count of Armagnac, lieutenant throughout Languedoc. Acting 6 February, 1353 - 27 November, 1357.

25) Jean, count of Poitiers, special and general lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Berry, Auvergne, Limousin, Gascony, and throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire. Appointed 8 June, 1356; still acting 10 September, 1356.

26) Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant throughout Languedoc. Appointed 14 December, 1357; still acting 25 September, 1360.

b). Between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.

1). Savary de Vyvonne, knight, lord of Thouars, king's councillor, captain-sovereign in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places. Acting 7 - 10 August, 1338.

2). Itier, lord of Magnac, knight, seneschal of Saintonge, captain-sovereign in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places. Acting 24 July, 1339.

3). Savary de Vyvonne, knight, lord of Thouars, king's councillor and councillor of the duke of Normandy and Guienne, captain-sovereign above and before all others at La Rochelle and the neighbouring places. Acting 19 & 20 December, 1345.

4). Jacques de Bourbon, lord of Lieuze, lieutenant in Saintonge, Poitou, the maines of Anjou and Berry, Angoumois, Limousin and the neighbouring places. Acting 8 March, 1347 - 30 March, 1348.

5). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France, captain-sovereign and general in Saintonge and the neighbouring marches and places. Appointed 9 August, 1349; still acting 24 March, 1350.

6). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France, lieutenant in Saintonge, Limousin and Périgord north of the river Dordogne. Acting 18 December, 1350 - 25 September, 1351.

7). Amaury, lord of Craon, knight, lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois and Périgord north of the river Dordogne. Acting 17 May - 27 June, 1351.

- 8). Charles of Spain, constable of France, lieutenant in the parts between the rivers Loire and Dordogne. Acting 18 July, 1351 - 23 January, 1353.
- 9). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois, Périgord and all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne. Appointed 6 March, 1352; acting 1 February, 1352 - 1 August, 1353.
- 10) Louis d'Harcourt, lord of Montgomery, knight, captain-sovereign in Poitou and Saintonge. Acting 2 February, 1353 - 4 July, 1353.
- 11) Amaury de Rochechouart, lord of Mortemer, captain-sovereign in Poitou and Saintonge. Acting 7 July - 7 December, 1353.
- 12) Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and the neighbouring places. Acting 16 July - 8 August, 1354.
- 13) Regnaut de Pons, knight, lord of Montfort, captain in Limousin, Périgord and the neighbouring places north of the river Dordogne. Acting 3 March, 1354 - 20 March, 1355.
- 14) Jean de Clermont, lord of Chantilly, marshal of France, lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Limousin and other places between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Auvergne. Appointed 1 January, 1355; still acting 29 March, 1356
- For the commissions to Jean, count of Poitiers, for the years 1356-60, vide supra., Ia, nos.25 & 26.
- 15) Jean, lord of Hangest, king's councillor, captain in Poitou and Saintonge. Acting 12 October, 1356 - 2 January, 1357.
- 16) Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut, marshal of France, lieutenant in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Poitou and the resorts thereof. Acting 21 June, 1360.

c). Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany.

1). Jean, vicomte of Melun, chamberlain of France and Normandy, lieutenant of King John in Brittany. Acting 9 July - 10 October, 1351.

2). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France, captain-general and sovereign in Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany. Acting 9 March - 12 August, 1352.

3). Amaury, lord of Craon, knight, lieutenant in Brittany, Anjou and Maine. Acting 31 December, 1352 - 6 March, 1353.

4). Jean, lord of Hangest, king's councillor, lieutenant in those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany. Acting 5 December, 1355 - 3 July, 1356.

d). Normandy.

1). Jean d'Artois, count of Eu, lieutenant in the duchy of Normandy. Acting in 1350 to 1 May, 1351.

2). Robert, lord of Houdetot, master of the French crossbowmen, captain-general in the duchy of Normandy. Acting 11 August, 1351.

3). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant in Normandy. Appointed 2 August, 1353; still acting 10 December, 1354.

4). Amaury, lord of Craon, lieutenant in Normandy. Acting in 1354 & 1355.

5). The Dauphin Charles, lieutenant in Normandy. Acting in 1355.

6). Charles, count of Alençon, lieutenant-general in Normandy. Acting in 1359.

7). Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte of Châtellerault, lieutenant-general in the baillages of Rouen, Caux, Caen and Cotentin. Appointed 28 March, 1359; still acting 22 July, 1359.

8). Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte of Châtellerault, lieutenant-general in the French and Norman vexins of Normandy, and in the ancient and new resorts of the duchy. Acting 8 & 21 May, 1360.

e). Picardy Region.

1). Pierre, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont and La Marche, chamberlain of France, lieutenant in Picardy. Acting 1 - 31 May, 1351.

2). Jean de Boulogne, count of Montfort, lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders. Acting in July 1351 - 4 September, 1351.

3). Geoffroy de Charny, lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders. Acting 24 February - 10 September, 1352.

4). Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, lieutenant in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders. Acting 25 July, 1353.

5). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant in Picardy, Artois and Boulonnais. Appointed 1 January, 1355; still acting, 29 June, 1356.

6). Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant in Picardy, Beauvaisis and the region adjoining the river Oise. Appointed 24 August, 1358; still acting 28 December, 1358.

7). Robert, lord of Fiennes, constable of France, lieutenant in Picardy, Vermandois, Beauvaisis and the neighbouring places. Appointed 6 December, 1358; still acting 26 May, 1359.

8). Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise. Appointed 14 July, 1359; still acting 16 March, 1360.

f). Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts.

1). Raoul, count of Eu and Guines, lieutenant in Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts. Acting 9 - 10 April, 1339.

g). Auvergne, Berry and the Mâconnais, etc.

1). Jean de Chalon, lord of Arlay, lieutenant in the baillages and ressorts of Champagne, Sens and Mâcon. Acting 20 April, 1358.

2). Louis, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont, chamberlain of France, lieutenant in Auvergne, Berry, Limousin and the ressorts thereof. Acting 14 September - 22 October, 1358.

3). Jean, count of Poitiers and Mâcon, lieutenant in the county and baillage of Mâcon and the sénéchaussée of Lyons. Appointed 12 September, 1359.

4). Louis, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont, chamberlain of France, lieutenant in Auvergne, Berry, the Mâconnais and the ressorts thereof. Appointed 20 October, 1359; still acting in February 1360.

II

ITINERARIES OF THE LIEUTENANTS

a). Languedoc and Gascony.

1). Raoul, count of Eu and Guines, constable of France lieutenant of King Philip in Languedoc.

1337

JULY.

17. Before Puymirol (JJ 75, fos.94v-6r, no.191).

24. In the siege of Saint-Macaire (JJ 75, fos. 94v-6r, no.191).

SEPTEMBER.

9. By La Réole (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 89-90, no.XXXIII).

9. La Réole (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 91-2, no.XXXIV).

OCTOBER.

14. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 92-3, no.XXXV).

NO DATE.

In the fields before Saint-Macaire (JJ 74, fo.240v, no.413).

2). Simon, Lord Derquier (Derqueri), knight, councillor of the king and master of requests of his household, and Le Galois de la Baume, master of the French crossbowmen, knight; captains-general and especial in the Agenais and Gascony, and "es autres parties pardela".

Bois de Vincennes, 13 November, 1337 (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.186, p.132; Arch. nat., JJ 72, fos.76r-7v, no.108).

1337

DECEMBER.

26. Marmande; letter of Derquier (JJ 72, fos. 76r-7v, no.108).

1338.

MARCH.

14. Marmande; letter of both
(JJ 72, fos.76r-7v, no.
108).

AUGUST.

7. Toulouse; letter of Baume
(JJ 72, fos.76r-7v, no.
108).

3). John, King of Bohemia, lieutenant of King Philip in Languedoc.

1339.

JANUARY.

6. Marmande (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 99-100, no. XXXVIII).
22. Marmande (JJ , fo.378r-v, no.469).
23. Marmande (Clairambault, vol.212, p.9355, no.33).
24. Marmande (JJ 72, fo.58v, no.62).

Day not given:

Marmande (JJ 72, fo.62r-v, no.76; Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 94-7, no. XXXVII).

4). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant of King Philip in Languedoc and Saintonge.

1339.

MAY.

27. La Réole (JJ 76, fo. 182r-v, no.302).

JULY.

7. La Réole (JJ 72, fo.59r-v, no.65).

JUNE.

18. Marmande (Pièces originales, vol.24, Albret, no.3).

22. La Réole (JJ 72, fos.58v-9r, no.63; fo.68r-v, no.86).

27. Agen (JJ 72, fos.60v-61r, no. 70).

5). Pierre de Palude, knight, lord of Varambon, king's councillor, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captain and governor-general and special of King Philip in the Agenais, Bordelais, Gascony and throughout Languedoc.

Vincennes, 22 August, 1339 (JJ 74, fos.179r-82v, no.308).

1339.

NOVEMBER.

13. Marmande (JJ 75, fos. 200v-1r, no.335).

1340.

MAY.

- | | |
|--|--|
| | 9. Toulouse (JJ 72, fos.216v-7r, no.302). |
| 3. Moissac (<u>Arch. hist. Gironde</u> , <u>XXXIII</u> , 106-7, no.XLIV). | 26. In Manso Agenni (<u>Arch. hist. Gironde</u> , <u>XXXIII</u> , 108, no.XLV). |
| 5. Toulouse (JJ 72, fos. 216v-7r, no.302). | |

6). Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, and Pierre de Palude, knight, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captains, governors and lieutenants of King Philip in Languedoc.

Béthune, 4 August, 1340 (JJ 72, fos.89v-90r, no.136; fos.374r-5r, nos.462-3; JJ 74, fos.37r-8r, no.63; 373r-v, no. 630; 400r-1r, no.669; 404r-v, no.677; 407v, no.683; JJ 81, fo.58r-v, no.105).¹

By Moncel-lez-Pont-Sainte-Maxence, 12 October, 1340 (JJ 74, fos.360v-2r, no.611).

1. Addressed to Palude as captain in Languedoc.

1340.

AUGUST.

21. Agen; letter of Palude (JJ 74, fo.374v, no. 634).
28. Agen (JJ 72, fos.89v-90r, no.136).

SEPTEMBER.

16. Agen (JJ 74, fo.407v, no.683).
20. Agen (JJ 72, fos.374v-5r, no.463).
21. Agen (JJ 72, fos.374r-v, no.462).
23. Agen (JJ 74, fo.404r-v, no.677).

OCTOBER.

1. Agen (JJ 74, fos.37v-8r, no.63; Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 110-11, no.XLVII).

1341.

FEBRUARY.

- Day not given:
Toulouse (JJ 74, fos. 360v-2r, no.611).

8. Agen (JJ 75, fo.5r, no.15).
24. Agen (JJ 74, fos.400r-lr, no.669).
25. Agen (JJ 74, fo.259r-v, no.450).
29. Toulouse; letter of Palude (JJ 81, fo.58r-v, no.105).

NOVEMBER.

5. (JJ 74, fo.373r-v, no.630).
2. Rusete (JJ 74, fo.358r, no.606).

APRIL.

7. Toulouse; letter of Palude (JJ 74, fos.179r-82v, no.308).

7). Louis de Poitiers, count of Valentinois and Die, lieutenant-general of King Philip throughout Languedoc.

Bois de Vincennes, 15 October, 1340 (JJ 76, fos.113r-4r, no.168; Appendix B, III, no.2).

Bois de Vincennes, 15 December (JJ 74, fos.28v-9r, no.49; fos.210v-11v, no.368; fo.338r, no.569; JJ 75, fo.4r-v, no.13; JJ 76, fo.181v, no.300).

1341.

MARCH.

SEPTEMBER.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4. Apud Turrny in Ponte Avinion prope Avinionne (JJ</p> <p>31. Toulouse (JJ 74, fo.106v, no.175).</p> | <p>19. Toulouse (JJ 74, fo.5r-v, no.10).</p> <p>26. Marmande (JJ 74, fo.102r-v, no.170).</p> <p>27. Marmande (JJ 74, fos.108v-9r, no.185).</p> |
|--|--|

APRIL.

Day not given:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>3. Apud Porcellum prope Tholani (JJ 74, fos. 210v-11v, no.368).</p> <p>5. Apud Porcellum prope Tholani (JJ 76, fos. 113r-4r, no.168).</p> | <p>JJ 74, fo.380r, no.588;
JJ 80, fos.397v-8r, no.634
(together with bishop of Beauvais).</p> |
|--|---|

OCTOBER.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>12. Toulouse (JJ 74, fos. 210v-11v, no.368).</p> | <p>10. By Montclar (JJ</p> <p>26. Agen (JJ 75, fo.336v, no.561).</p> <p>31. By Fronton (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8).</p> |
|---|--|

MAY.

NOVEMBER.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>2. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.231, des Baux, no.4).</p> <p>17. By Agen (JJ 75, fo.296r, no.501).</p> | <p>6. Toulouse (JJ 74, fo.311r-v, no.528)</p> <p>17. Apud Catincum 74, fos.44v-5r, no.76).</p> |
|---|--|

AUGUST.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>25. Agen (<u>Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 122-3, no.LII</u>).</p> | <p>18. By Cahors (JJ 74, fo.83r-v, no.135).</p> |
|--|---|

Day not given:

JJ 74, fo.375v, no.636.

Day not given:

Toulouse (JJ 74, fos.28v-9r, no.49); By Cahors (JJ 74, fo. 338r, no.569); Marmande (JJ 75, fo.340r-v, no.566)

8). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant of King Philip in Toulouse, the Agenais, Bordelais, Saintonge, Quercy, Gascony and Languedoc.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 12 February, 1341 (JJ 68, fos. 82v-3v, no.147; JJ 74, fo.151r, no.257; fo.169r-v, no.288; fos.239r-40r, no.412; fo.381r-v, no.59; fos.382r-3r, no.593; fo.416r-v, no.689; JJ 75, fos.84v-5v, no.174; fo.140r-v, no.269; fos.333r-4v, no.556; fo.341r-v, no.568; fos.67r-8v, no.109; fo.105r-v, no.173; JJ 76, fos.32r-3v, no.34; fos.94r-5r, no.130; JJ 75, fos.3v-4r, no.12; JJ 81, fo.14r-v, no.28).

1341.

APRIL.

22. Rabastens-de-Bigorre (JJ 74, fo.389r-v, no.651).

MAY.

Day not given:

Narbonne (JJ 74, fos. 354v-5r, no.599).

JUNE.

4. By Montpellier (JJ 74, fo.184v, no.314).

Montpellier (JJ 68, fos.82v-3v, no.147; JJ 75, fos.94v-6r, no.191).

JULY.

13. By Montpellier (JJ 76, fos.94r-5r, no.130).

Day not given:

Pezenas (JJ 74, fos. 239r-40r, no.412).

AUGUST

1. Carcassonne (JJ 74, fo.416r-v, no.689).

3. Carcassonne (JJ 74, fo.169r-v, no.288).

14. Toulouse (JJ 75, fos.333r-4v, no.556; JJ 78, fo.13r-v, no.31)

17. Toulouse (JJ 75, fo.140r-v, no.269; JJ 75, fo.341r-v, no.568).

26. By Villeneuve-les-Avignon (JJ 74, fo.204r, no.355).

28. By Bergerac (JJ

Day not given: Condom (JJ 74, fos.220v-1r, no.380).

SEPTEMBER.

7. Perigeux (JJ 76, fos.32r-3v, no.34).

Day not given:

Bergerac (JJ 75, fos.3r-4r, no.12); together with the count of Valentinois (JJ 80, fos.397v-8r, no.634).

OCTOBER.

7. Bergerac (JJ 75, fos. 94v-6r, no.191).
12. Bergerac (JJ 74, fo. 83r-v, no.135).
21. In the castle of Puymirol (JJ 74, fo. 400r, no.668).
29. Toulouse (JJ 74, fo. 389, no.650).
31. By Fronton; together with the count of Valentinois (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8).

Day not given:

Bergerac (JJ 74, fo.151r, no.257).

NOVEMBER.

5. Sarlat (JJ 74, fo.377v, no. 642).

Day not given:

Sarlat (JJ 74, fo.105r-v, no.173; fo.381r-v, no.591; JJ 76, fos.74v-5r, no.100).
By Brive (JJ 74, fos.382r-3r, no.593).

9). Jean, bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant special and general of King Philip in Gascony, the Agenais, Bordelais, Saintonge and all the other parts of Languedoc.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 6 April, 1342 (JJ 68, fos.53r-4v, no.90; fos.512r-3r, no.414; fos.516r-8r, no.416; JJ 74, fos. 13v-14r, no.26; fos.45r-6r, no.77; fos.80v-1r, no.131; fos. 89v-90v, no.145; fos.105v-6v, no.174; fo.107r-v, no.178; fos. 112v-3r, no.193; fos.114v-5r, no.195; fos.135r-7v, no.238; fo.157r-v, no.269; fos.239r-40r, no.412; fos.253r-3v, no.435; fo.254r-v, no.438; fos.279r-80v, no.479; fo.284r-v, no.481; fos.324r-5r, no.545; fo.327v, no.549; fos.328v-9r, no.551; JJ 75, fos.84v-5v, no.174; fos.106v-7r, no.217; fo.295r-v, no.498; fos.297v-8r, no.506; fo.335r-v, no.558; fo.339r-v, no.565; JJ 78, fos.119v-20v, no.230; JJ 77, fos.230r-2v, no. 380; JJ 81, fo.14r-v, no.28; Appendix B, III, no.3).

1342.

MAY.

5. Montpellier (JJ 75, fos. 24. 340v-lr, no.567).
10. Montpellier (JJ 74, fo.48 r-v, no.80).
24. Montauban (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 124-5, no.LIV).
- Day not given:
Cahors (JJ 75, fos.84v-5v, no.174; JJ 81, fo. 14r-v, no.28).

JUNE.

3. Toulouse (JJ 75, fos. 173r-4v, no.299).
16. Marmande (JJ 78, fos. 119v-20v, no.230).
- Day not given:
Toulouse (JJ 74, fo. 327v, no.549); Agen (JJ 74, fos.93v-4r, no. 155).

JULY.

13. In castro ante Scussanum (JJ 75, fos. 106v-7r, no.217).
27. In our tents before Damazan (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 126-8, no.LVI).

Day not given:

In the army before Lavardac (JJ 74, fos. 241v-2v, nos.418 & 419); In the castles before Lavardac (JJ 74, fos. 239r-40v, no.412).

AUGUST.

In our tents before Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fo.107r-v, no.178).

Day not given:

In our tents before Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fos.80v-lr, no.131; Arch. hist. Gironde, V, 360-3, no.CLVIII).

SEPTEMBER.

26. In our tents before Sainte Bazeille (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8).
28. In our tents before Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fos.67r-8v, no.109).

Day not given:

In our tents before Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fo.110v, no.190; fo.284r-v, no.481); In the army before the place of Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fos.76r-8r, no.125).

OCTOBER.

3. In the castles before Sainte Bazeille (JJ 74, fo.92r, no. 150).
12. Marmande (Arch. Comm. Toulouse, AA 45/10).
14. Marmande (JJ 74, fo.290r-v, no.498).

Day not given:

By Marmande (JJ 74, fos.135r-7v, no.238); Marmande (JJ 74, fo.33r, no.57; fos.45r-6r, no.77; fos.109v-10v; fos. 135r-7v, no.238; 254r-v, no.

438; fo.288v, no.491;
fos.324r-5r, no.545;
JJ 75, fos.300v-lv, no.
512; JJ 77, fos.230r-2v,
no.380).

NOVEMBER.

25. Marmande (Pièces
originales, vol.1043,
Durfort, no.11).

Day not given:

By Marmande (JJ 74, fos.
129r-3lv, no.232);
Marmande (JJ 68, fos.
53r-4r, no.80; fos. 512r-
3r, no.414; JJ 74, fos.
13v-14r, no.26; fos.
111r-v, no.191; fos.
112v-3r, no.193; fos.
328v-9r, no.551; JJ 80,
fos.175r-6r, no.230).

DECEMBER.

8. Agen (JJ 74, fo.109r-v,
no.187; fo.253r-v, no.
435).

9. Agen (JJ 68, fos.516r-8r,
no.416).

11. Moissac (JJ 75, fo.335r-v,
no.558).

12. By Moissac (JJ 74, fo.33r-v,
no.58).

13. Cahors (JJ 74, fos.114v-5r,
no.195).

14. Cahors (JJ 74, fos.116v-7r,
no.198; fo.265v, no.457;
JJ 75, fos.348v-50r, no.581).

Day not given:

Agen (JJ 75, fos.13v-14r,
no.27; Arch. hist. Gironde,
XXXIII, 130-2, no.LVIII;
132-3, no.LIX); By Moissac
(JJ 74, fo.33r-v, no.58);
Cahors (JJ 75, fo.295r-v,
no.498; fos.297v-8r, no.506;
fo.339r-v, no.565; JJ 77,
fo.5v, no.11; JJ 74, fos.
89v-90v, no.145).

10) Agout des Baux, knight, lord of Brancoul and Plasian,
seneschal of Toulouse, lieutenant and captain general of
King Philip throughout Languedoc.

Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, 11 November, 1342 (Arch. comm.
Toulouse, AA 45/11; Clairambault, 212, p.9431, no.92;
JJ 74, fo.295r-v, no.506; fos.322v-3r, no.543; JJ 75, fos.
138v-9r, no.265; JJ 77, fos.42r-3r, no.76; JJ 81, fo.170r-lr,
no.346; Appendix B, III, no.4).

1342.

DECEMBER.

8. Toulouse (JJ 74, fos. 322v-3r, no.543).
 24. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.6).

Day not given:

Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 128-30, no.LVII).

1343.

JANUARY.

Day not given:

3. Agen (JJ 77, fos.42r-3v, no.76).
 2. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.7).
 14. Agen (Clairambault, vol. 87, p.6889, no.181).
 16. Agen (Clairambault, vol. 6, p.275, no.85).
 24. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.231, Des Baux, no.8).
 27. Agen (JJ 75, fos.21v-2r, no.43).
- Agen (Clairambault, vol.212, p.9431, no.92; JJ 81, fos. 170r-1r, no.346).
 FEBRUARY.
 7. Agen (JJ 74, fo.295r-5v, no.506).
 11. Agen (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/11).
 17. Agen (JJ 75, fos.138v-9r, no.265).

Treasury of (Jean de Condé, lieutenant of the treasurer of wars).

1343.

FEBRUARY.

MARCH.

6. Agen (Clairambault, vol. 20. 7, p.323, no.6).
 Toulouse (Clairambault, vol. 36, p.2673; vol.114, p.8945).

MAY.

20. Toulouse (Clairambault,
vol.47, p.3515, no.114).
22. Agen (Clairambault,
vol.12, p.763, no.118).

11) Jean, bishop of Beauvais, king's councillor, lieutenant of King Phillip throughout Languedoc.

Plöermel en Bretagne, 21 January, 1343 (JJ 68, fos.58r-9v, no.99; JJ 74, fo.106r-v, no.174; fos.279r-80v, no.479; Appendix B, III, no.5).

1343.

MARCH.

17. Nîmes (JJ 75, fo.5r,
no.15; fos.328v-30r,
no.549).
22. By Montfrin (JJ 74,
fos.76r-8r, no.125).
23. Villeneuve-les-
Avignon (JJ 76, fo.70r-v,
no.91).

Day not given:

Montpellier (JJ 74,
fos.105v-6v, no.174;
fos.279r-80v, no.479).

APRIL.

3. By Pont Saint Esprit
(JJ 68, fo.82r, no.145);
Apud Sanctum Saterunium iuxta
Rodanum (JJ 68, fo.49r, no.74).

Day not given:

Sancto Saterunio (JJ 68, fos.
58r-9v, no.99).

12) Jean, bishop of Beauvais, lieutenant of King Phillip in Languedoc and Saintonge.

1344.

SEPTEMBER.

29. Cahors (JJ 76, fo.142r,
no.229).

OCTOBER.

Day not given:

Cahors (JJ 68, fos.
453v-4v, no.287).

NOVEMBER.

Day not given:

By Niort (JJ 68, fo.79r, no.
137); Aubigny (JJ 75, fos.
81v-2r, no.167); A l'ospital
de lez Bourcneuf (JJ 68, fo.
426r-v, no.235).

Treasury of (Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars) to Beauvais
as lieutenant in Languedoc, Saintonge, Poitou, Limousin and
the neighbouring places.

1345.

AUGUST.

16. Pons (Clairambault,
vol.87, p.6823, no.16).
19. Pons (Clairambault,
vol.87, p.6889, no.82;
vol.65, p.5023m no.75;
vol.106, p.8303, no.
162).
21. Pons (Clairambault,
vol.87, p.6891, no.184).
10. Pons (Bertrandy, 101, n.1).
23. Pons (Bertrandy, 101, n.1).
25. Pons (Clairambault, vol.114,
p.8949, no.127).

OCTOBER.

31. Angoulême (Clairambault,
vol.87, p.6823, no.19).

NOVEMBER.

22. Pons (Clairambault, vol.36,
p.2669, no.3).

SEPTEMBER.

6. Pons (Clairambault,
vol.114, p.8949, no.
128).
8. Pons (Clairambault,
vol.43, p.3235, no.171;
vol.87, p.6823, nos.
17 & 18).

13) Pierre, duke of Bourbon, lieutenant of King Philip throughout Languedoc and Gascony.

Sablé, 8 August, 1345 (JJ 76, fos.52v-4r, no.62; fos. 199v-200r, no.329; fos.201r-2r, no.334; JJ 81, fos.124r-5r, no.234; JJ 85, fos.51r-2r, no.112; Appendix B, III, no.6).

1345.

SEPTEMBER.

22. Cahors (JJ 85, fos.51r-2r, no.112; Ordonnances des rois de France, III, 154 ff; Histoire de Languedoc, IV, 257).

OCTOBER.

8. Gourdon (JJ 76, fos.201r-2r, no.334).

15. Agen (JJ 76, fo.155r).

22. Agen (JJ 76, fos.52v-4r, no.62).

28. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.2).

Day not given:

Gourdon (JJ 76, fos. 199v-200r, no.329; fos. 211v, no.250).

NOVEMBER.

9. Agen (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, 109).

16. Agen (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.119, fos.103 ff).

18. Agen (Bibl. nat., H 115).

19. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 150-1, no.LXIX).

24. Agen (JJ 76, fo.164v, no.279).

DECEMBER.

23. Agen (JJ 85, fos.51r-2r, no.112).

24. Agen (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, 147).

28. Agen (Ordonnances des rois de France, III, 154)..

1346.

JANUARY.

17. Agen (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, 132).

Day not given:

Agen (JJ 81, fos.124r-5r, no.234).

14) Jean, count of Armagnac, lieutenant of King Philip and his eldest son, Jean, duke of Normandy, throughout Languedoc.

Agen, 23 August, 1346; appointment by the duke of Normandy (Bibl. nat., Languedoc, vol.71, fo.6r-v; Clairambault, vol.957, fo.3r).

1346.

OCTOBER.

- 10. Agen (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/23).
- 11. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/24).
- 14. Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.3.

DECEMBER.

- 18. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/25.

1347.

JANUARY.

- 8. Apud Yssidolium (JJ 77, fos.226r-30r, no.379).

- 18. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/26; JJ 76, fo.65r-v, no.84).

- 28. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/27).

FEBRUARY.

- 7. Apud Ruppermator (JJ 77, fos.223v-4r, no.372).

MARCH.

- 7. Agen (JJ 76, fos.182v-3r, no.303).

Treasury of: Raoul de Lisle, clerk, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars (R); Guillaume Larchier, lieutenant of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars (G); Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars (J).

1346.

SEPTEMBER.

NOVEMBER.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 15. R, Agen (Clairambault, vol.87, p.6829, no.34). | 1. J, Clairambault, vol.39, p.2873, no.4. |
| 29. G, Clairambault, vol.39, p.2873, no.3. | |

1347.

JANUARY.

JULY.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 30. R, Agen (Clairambault, vol.7, p.329, no.21). | 6. R, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.6, p.255, no.45). |
|--|---|

15) Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, lieutenant of King Phillip in Languedoc.

1347.

OCTOBER.

NOVEMBER.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 16. Moissac (JJ 76, fo.28v, no.29). | 16. Agen (JJ 77, fos.128v-9r, no.229). |
| 17. Moissac (JJ 77, fo.203r-v, no.329). | |
| 25. Cahors (JJ 77, fo.259r, no.425). | |

Treasury of (Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1348.

APRIL.

1. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.10, p.605, no.113).

16) Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, and Bertrand, count of Lille-Jourdain, special and general lieutenants of King Philip in Gascony, the Agenais and Bordelais, and in other parts of Languedoc.

Paris, 31 December, 1347 (JJ 68, fos.493v-5r, no.387; JJ 77, fo.266r-v, no.434; JJ 84, fo.97r-v, no.170; Appendix B, III, no.7).

Le Galois de la Baume, knight, king's councillor, lieutenant-general of King Phillip throughout Languedoc and in Saintonge.

Nogent-le-Roi, 15 May, 1348 (JJ 68, fos.493v-5r, no.387; Appendix B, III, no.8).

1348.

JUNE.

16. Moissac; letter of Lille and Baume (JJ 68, fos.493v-5r, no.387).

26. In the bastide of Aiguillon; (letter of Lille (JJ 82, fo.419v, no.677).

8. Agen; letter of Baume (JJ 77, fos.211v-12r, no.346); letter of Lille (ibid., fo.213r, no.347).

11. Moissac; letter of Baume (JJ 78, fo.138v, no.149).

18. In Port-Sainte-Marie (JJ 77, fo.266r-v, no.434).

JULY.

4. In Port-Sainte-Marie; letter of Lille (JJ 84, fo.97r-v, no.170).

Treasury of (Raoul de Lisle, clerk, lieutenant of the treasurer of wars).

1348.

AUGUST.

10. Toulouse; troops under Lille and Baume (Pièces originales, vol.2018, Montfaucon, no.7).

1349.

SEPTEMBER.

5. Toulouse; troops under Lille, 17 June-12 August, 1348 (Pièces originales, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639/2).

OCTOBER.

18. Toulouse; troops under Baume in periods 18 June, 1348-12 August following; and 16 August to 19 December, 1348 (Pièces originales, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639/6 & 7).

17) Le Galois de la Baume, knight, king's councillor, lieutenant of King Philip in Gascony and throughout Languedoc.

Bois de Vincennes, 21 August, 1348 (Clairambault, vol.957, p.35; Appendix B, III, no.9).

1348.

NOVEMBER.

26. Castel Sarrazin (JJ 80, fo.314r-v, no.461).

Day not given:

Serciole (JJ 78, fos. 74v-5r, no.151).

18) Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, king's councillor, lieutenant of King Philip throughout Gascony and Languedoc.

Abbaye du Lis-lez-Melun, 17 January, 1349 (JJ 68, fo.501r-v, no.399; JJ 78, fos.167v-8r, no.287; Appendix B, III, no.10).

1349.

FEBRUARY.

14. Toulouse (JJ 78, fo. 164r-v, no.282).

APRIL.

- Day not given:
Agen (JJ 68, fo.501r-v, no.399).

MAY.

12. Agen (JJ 78, fo.7r-v, no.20).
18. Apud Gallicantum (JJ 82, fos.418r-9r, no.675).

JULY.

25. Toulouse (JJ 80, fo.364r-v, no.548).

OCTOBER.

6. Nimes (JJ 80, fos.62r-3r, no.141).
26. Toulouse (JJ 80, fo.247r-v, no.325).

Day not given:

- Carcassonne (JJ 78, fo.118r-v, no.226).

NOVEMBER.

21. Carcassonne (JJ 78, fos. 102r-3r, no.195).

19) Robert de Houdetot, knight, master of the French crossbowmen, captain-general of King John in Languedoc

1350.

JULY.

12. In Saint-Laurent, before Port-Sainte-Marie (JJ 80, fo.293r-v, no.412).

13. By Saint-Laurent, before Port-Sainte-Marie (JJ 81, fos.478v-9r, no.914). By Saint-Laurent (JJ 80, fos. 176v-7r, no.232).

Day not given:

- By Saint-Laurent, before Port-Sainte-Marie (JJ 80, fo.176r-v, no.231).

Treasury of (Raoul de Lisle, clerk, lieutenant of the treasurer of wars) to Houdetot as captain between the rivers Garonne and Dordogne.

1350.

OCTOBER.

4. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.10, p.607, no.116). 14. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.10, p.607, no.117).

20) Charles, King of Navarre, count of Evreux, lieutenant of King John in Languedoc.

1351.

JULY.

Day not given:
Toulouse (JJ 81, fos. 128v-9v, no.143).

AUGUST.

6. Toulouse (Arch. hist. Gironde, XLIV, 150-2, no.LV).
12. Toulouse (JJ 81, fos. 334v-6v, nos.659 & 660; fos.360v-lv, nos.702 & 703).
28. Agen (JJ 81, fo.334r-v, no.658; fo.360r, nos. 700 & 701; fo.394r, no. 747).

SEPTEMBER.

12. Agen (JJ 81, fos.380r-lv, no.740).
18. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 153-4, no.LVI).
20. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 154-5, no.LVII).
21. Agen (JJ 82, fo.158v, no.225).
Day not given:
Toulouse (JJ 82, fos.123v-4r, no.184).

OCTOBER.

1. Toulouse (JJ 82, fo.256r, no. 382).
13. Castel Sarrazin (JJ 81, fo. 283v, no.559).

21) Amaury, lord of Craon, lieutenant of King John in Languedoc.

1352.

JUNE.

24. Moissac (Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.4).
25. Moissac (Clairambault, vol.36, p.2739, no.179).

AUGUST.

Day not given

Agen (JJ 82, fo.403r-v, no.636).

Treasury of (Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars).

1352.

MAY.

23. Clairambault, vol.32, p.2371, no.53.

22) Jean, count of l'Isle, captain of King John in Languedoc.

1352.

SEPTEMBER.

25. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4753, no.22).

SEPTEMBER.

25. Toulouse (JJ 81, fo.261r-v, no.526; Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, nos.5 & 10; vol.187, Barbazan, no.6).

Day not given:

Toulouse (JJ 82, fos.208v-9r, no.312).

NOVEMBER.

6. Agen (JJ 82, fo.385r, no.600).

SEPTEMBER.

26. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4747, no.4; Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, nos.21 & 22).

OCTOBER.

8. Toulouse (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 164-5, no.LXV).
10. Moissac (JJ 81, fos.311v-2, no.606).

Treasury of (Evein Dol, lieutenant of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars).

1352.

OCTOBER.

13. Montauban (Clairambault, vol.65, p.4993, no.6).

23) Amaury de Rochechouart, knight, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, captain-general in Languedoc.

1352.

DECEMBER.

18. Toulouse (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 165-7, no.LXVI).

Treasury of (Evein Dol, lieutenant of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars).

1352.

DECEMBER.

25. Montauban (Clairambault, vol.32, p.2355, no.21).

24) Jean, count of Armagnac, lieutenant of King John throughout Languedoc.

1353.

FEBRUARY.

9. In our tents before Saint Antonin (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 167-9, no. LXVII).
20. In our tents before Saint Antonin (JJ 81, fos. 396v-7r, no. 752).

MARCH.

10. In our tents before Saint Antonin (JJ 82, fo. 385r, no. 600).

APRIL.

9. By Lacaussade (apud Calciatani), JJ 82, fos. 211v-3v, no. 316.

MAY.

24. Montauban (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 6/244 & AA 45/30).

JUNE.

8. Montauban (JJ 82, fos. 378v-9r, no. 588; Clairambault, vol. 6, p. 257, no. 49).
28. Calnate (JJ 84, fo. 20r-v, no. 26).

JULY.

10. In our tents before Saint Antonin (JJ 82, fos. 317v-8r, no. 459).

AUGUST.

7. In the camp, near to Fenayrol (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/31).

OCTOBER.

2. Marmande (JJ 82, fos. 382v-3r, no. 597); by Marmande (JJ 82, fo. 383r-v, no. 598).

NOVEMBER.

8. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/34-5).

DECEMBER.

1. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol. 93, Armagnac, no. 4).

1354.

JANUARY.

23. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/36).

MARCH.

1. Valence (JJ 84, fo.88r, no.147).
17. Isle d'Albi (JJ 82, fo. 209v, no.313).

MAY.

3. Moissac (JJ 82, fos. 381v-2r, no.594).
13. In our tents before Beauville (JJ 82, fos. 409r-10r, no.655; fos. 379r-81r, nos.589-92).
18. In tentis nostris ante Festo Podium (Arch. nat., K 47, no.30; JJ 82, fo.410r-v, no. 656).
24. In Port-Sainte-Marie (JJ 84, fo.58r-v, no. 90).

JUNE.

22. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 170-1, no.LXIX).
23. Agen (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 171-2, no.LXX).
25. Agen (Clairambault, vol.213, no.26).

AUGUST.

14. Mancietti (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 172-3, no.LXXI).

OCTOBER.

6. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.5).

1355.

APRIL.

28. Moissac (Clairambault, vol.213, p.9479, no.52).

MAY.

21. Agen (Clairambault, vol. 213, ~~p.9479~~, no.32)
22. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.77, Autras, no.3).

JUNE.

24. Marmande (Clairambault, vol.213, p.9471, no.39).#

JULY.

4. Agen (Pièces originales, vol.235, Benac, no.2).

add. 202 sur : Agen (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 6/250 & AA 45/39).

DECEMBER.

4. Lectoure (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/41).

1356.

FEBRUARY.

9. Apud Anhanu (JJ 84, fo.306r, no.599).

APRIL.

19. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.10).
30. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.11).

MAY.

15. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.12).
16. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.783, Clermont, no.2).

JUNE.

28. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.213, p.9483, no.59).

1357.

FEBRUARY.

13. Montréal (Montréal-en-Rivière), Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.13.

MAY.

9. Toulouse (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/42).

JULY.

12. Toulouse (JJ 84, fos.346r-8v, no.688). #

SEPTEMBER.

26. Montauban (Clairambault, vol.6, p.259, no.59).

OCTOBER.

20. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.6, p.259, no.58).
26. Toulouse (JJ 84, fos.360r-lv, no.725; fos.377r-v, no.756).

NOVEMBER.

3. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, no.7, i).
5. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, no.7, ii).

279 : August : 28th : Carnot's (JJ 89, fo. 40r-lv, no. 95; fo. 61r-v, no. 131).

JUNE.

24. Lectoure (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/43-6).

JULY.

8. Beaumont (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/47).
15. Albi (JJ 86, fo.12r-v, no.30).
24. Albi (Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, nos. 9, i, & 12).

SEPTEMBER.

19. Arch nat., K 47B, no.43.

OCTOBER.

20. Villeneuve-les-Avignon (JJ 86, fos.11v-12r, no.29).

NOVEMBER.

6. Beaucaire (JJ 86, fo.43r-v, no.119).

Treasury of: Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars (J), and his lieutenants, Evein Dol (E) and Guillaume Larchier (G).

1353.

FEBRUARY.

6. E, At the siege before Saint Antonin (Pièces originales, vol.2750, Saint-Fizel, no.2).

MARCH.

11. E, Pièces originales, vol.187, Barbazan, no.7.
18. E, Gaillac (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4747, no.5).

APRIL.

23. E, Clairambault, vol. 213, p.9457, no.20.

MAY.

- ^{E.} 10. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3239, no.179).
^{E.} 17. Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4749, no.7).

JUNE.

5. E, Montauban (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4811, no.172).
18. E, Montauban (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3239, no.181).

JULY.

10. E, At the siege before Saint Antonin (Clairambault, vol. 65, p.5003, no.28).
14. E, At the siege before Saint Antonin (Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.20).
15. E, In the host before Saint Antonin (Clairambault, vol. 62, p.4811, no.174).
23. E, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9465, no.27.

AUGUST.

6. E, Clairambault, vol. 43, p.3239, no.182.
15. E, Clairambault, vol. 106, p.8305, no.165; Pièces originales, vol. 622, Caumont, no.28.

SEPTEMBER.

5. E, Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no. 29.
6. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3241, no.183).
8. E, Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.14).

OCTOBER.

1. E, Clairambault, vol. 43, p.3241, no.184.
9. E, Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.15).

JANUARY.

15. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3243, no.189).

FEBRUARY.

10. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3243, no.188).

15. E, Clairambault, vol.10, p.571, no.32.
22. E, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8281, no.124.
24. E, Gourdon (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3241, no.185).

NOVEMBER.

12. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3241, no.186).

DECEMBER.

1. E, Pièces originales, vol. 622, Caumont, no.30.
9. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol. 43, p.3241, no.187).

1354.

MARCH.

2. E, Clairambault, vol.13, p.829, no.94; vol.43, p.3243, no.190.
15. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.39, p.2941, no.149).
25. E, Caussade (Clairambault, vol.106, p.8255, no.49).

MAY.

2. E, Moissac (Clairambault, vol.33, p.2507, no.198; Pièces originales, vol.2750, Saint-Fizel, no.3).
13. E, In the fields before Beauville (Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.16).
31. E, Port-Sainte-Marie (Clairambault, vol.6, p.257, no.48).

JUNE.

1. E, Port-Sainte-Marie (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4749, nos.10 & 11; Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.17)

JULY.

26. E, Agen (Clairambault, vol.39, p.2947, no.155).

1355.

FEBRUARY.

18. E, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8255, no.52.

APRIL.

1. E, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8255, no.53.
29. J, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9479, no.53.

AUGUST.

9. E, Agen (Pièces originales, vol.187, Barbazan, no.8).
11. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.39, p.2941, no.150); E, Clairambault, vol.63, p.4867, no.87.
12. E, Agen (Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, no.6).

SEPTEMBER.

3. E, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8255, no.50.
5. E, Clairambault, vol.39, p.2941, no.151.

DECEMBER.

12. E, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8255, no.51.

MAY.

1. E, Clairambault, vol.10, p.607, no.118; vol.106, p.8255, no.54.
3. E, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9467, no.30.
10. E, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3239, no.178); J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.825, no.84).
21. E, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9467, no.31.

23. E. Clairambault, vol. 185, p.6887, no.70.

26. J, Clairambault, vol. 213, p.9467, no.33.

JUNE.

1. J, Clairambault, vol. 213, p.9469, no.34.

3. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.825, no.85);
G, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.825, no.85).

4. Port-Sainte-Marie (Clairambault, vol.114, p.8947, no.120).

10. J, Devant Perssan' (Clairambault, vol.106, p.8257, no.55).
J, Clairambault, vol. 140, p.2691, no.40.

12. E, Clairambault, vol. 10, p.609, no.119.

25. J, Clairambault, vol. 213, p.9471, no.40.

JULY.

3. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.825, no.86).

5. J, Pièces originales, vol.235, Benac, no.3.

15. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.827, no.87).

AUGUST.

1. J, Clairambault, vol. 213, p.9473, no.44.

2. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.13, p.827, no.88).

16. J, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9473, no.46.

17. J, Clairambault, vol.106, p.8257, no.56.

SEPTEMBER.

1. J, Berfellonie-en-Armagnac (Clairambault, vol.13, p.841, no.116).
J, Nosnavol d'Armignac (Clairambault, vol.13, p.841, no.117).

15. J, Clairambault, vol.80, p.6265, no.48.

19. E, Agen (Clairambault, vol.63, p.4869, no.90).

23. J, Clairambault, vol.13, p.827, no.89.

28. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6265, no.49).

OCTOBER.

1. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol. 114, p.8947, no.121).

3. J, Agen (Clairambault, vol. 13, p.827, no.90).

14. J, Lanerterains (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4751, no.12).

31. J, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.114, p.8947, no.122).

NOVEMBER.

1. J, Toulouse (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4751, no.13).

DECEMBER.

17. G, Clairambault, vol. p.2729, no.155.

19. [✓] *Pièces originales*,
vol. 1043, Durfort,
no. 19.

1356.

FEBRUARY.

15. G, Clairambault, vol. 6,
p. 257, no. 51.

MARCH.

6. G, Clairambault, vol.
p. 2729, no. 153.
14. G, Pièces originales,
vol. 1043, Durfort, no.
20.
15. G, Clairambault, vol. 6,
p. 257, no. 52.
16. G, Clairambault, vol.
213, p. 9477, no. 50;
Pièces originales, vol.
1043, Durfort, no. 18.

APRIL.

12. G, Clairambault, vol. 6,
p. 257, no. 53.
15. G, Clairambault, vol.
13, p. 825, no. 83; vol.
p. 2729, no. 154; Pièces
originales, vol. 1043,
Durfort, nos. 21 & 22.
28. G, Clairambault, vol.
6, p. 259, no. 55; vol.
13, p. 841, no. 119.

MAY.

6. J, Clairambault, vol.
13, p. 827, no. 91.
17. G, Clairambault, vol.
p. 2729, no. 156.
22. G, Pièces originales,
vol. 1043, Durfort,
no. 23.

28. G, Toulouse (Pièces
originales, vol. 783,
Clermont, no. 3).

31. G, Toulouse (Pièces
originales, vol. 247,
Beaumont, no. S428/2);
G, Clairambault, vol. 62,
p. 4751, no. 14.

JUNE.

21. G, Clairambault, vol. 6,
p. 259, no. 57; vol. 13, p. 835,
no. 103.*
26. J, Clairambault, vol. 13,
p. 829, no. 92.

JULY.

1. G, Clairambault, vol. 213,
no. 60.
22. ^e Lectoire, (Clairambault,
vol. 62, p. 4751, nos. 15 & 16;
Pièces originales, vol. 1043,
Durfort, nos. 25 & 26).

AUGUST.

4. G, Clairambault, vol. 39,
p. 2873, no. 5; vol. 62, p.
4753, nos. 18 & 19; vol.
p. 2731, no. 157; Pièces
originales, vol. 1043,
Durfort, no. 27.
5. ~~B~~, Before Ruillen (Clairam-
bault, vol. 87, p. 6819, no. 5).
19. G, Ruillen (?), Clairambault,
vol. 213, p. 9485, no. 64.

* add: E, Clairambault,
vol. 13, p. 835, no. 103.

SEPTEMBER.

28. G, Clairambault, vol.87, p.6819, no.6, vol. p.2731, no.158; vol.62, p.4755, no.26; Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.28.
29. G, Clairambault, vol.13, p.841, no.21; vol. p.2731, no.158; Pièces originales, vol.1043, Durfort, no.29

OCTOBER.

4. G, Clairambault, vol.213, p.9491, no.72.

8. G, Clairambault, vol.87, p.6819, no.7.

NOVEMBER.

1. G, Clairambault, vol.39, p.2931, no.126.
4. G, Pièces originales, vol. 1735, Lomagne, no.5.
J, Pièces originales, vol. 1735, Lomagne, no.7 (iii).

DECEMBER.

6. J, Pièces originales, vol. 1735, Lomagne, no.7 (iv).

1357.

JULY.

26. J, Pièces originales, vol.1735, Lomagne, nos. 9 (ii) & 13.

NOVEMBER.

27. G, Clairambault, vol.62, p.4755, no.23.

25) Jean, count of Poitiers, special and general lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Berry, Auvergne, Limousin, Gascony, and throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire.

Le Gué de Longroi, 8 June, 1356 (Arch. nat., J 188B, no.1; Appendix B, III, no.11).

1356.

JUNE.

18. Bourges (Clairambault, vol.213, p.9481, no.58).
21. Bourges (Pièces originales, vol.1612, Labatut, no.3).

23. Bourges (Pièces originales, vol.106, Ars, no.11).
24. Bourges (Pièces originales, vol.265, Beguin, no.4).

Day not given:

Bourges (JJ 84, fo.298r-v, no.582)

AUGUST.

25. Decize (R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, vol. I, p. 199, n. 4, after Arch. commun. de Montpellier. Fonds du Grand Chartrier, D, XIX).

Treasury of: Adam Pernit, lieutenant of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars (A), and Nicholas Odde, receiver-general beyond the Loire and throughout Languedoc (N).

1356.

JUNE.

24. ^M Bourges (Pièces originales, 4. N, vol. 265, Beguin, no. 4).
 25. ^N Bourges (Pièces originales, vol. 265, Beguin, no. 2).

JULY.

- Bourges (Pièces originales, vol. 1612, Labatut, no. 4; vol. 1732, Locu, no. 2).
 5. ^M Bourges (Pièces originales, vol. 265, Beguin, no. 4).

SEPTEMBER.

10. A, Clairambault, vol. 12, p. 759, no. 112.

26) Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant of King John and the regent, Charles, throughout Languedoc.

Paris, 14 December, 1357 (Arch. nat., J 188B, no. 3; Appendix B, III, no. 12).

Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant of King John throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire.

By Windsor, 8 January, 1358 (Arch. nat., J 188B, no. 2; Appendix B, III, no. 12 bis).

1358.

MARCH.

8. Toulouse (Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIV, 174-5, no.LXXIII).

NOVEMBER.

15. Gymont (Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.24).

1359.

JANUARY.

25. Saint-Poursain (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6297, no.106).

MARCH.

4. Aignesparse (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6297, no.109).

APRIL.

28. Montpellier (Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 45/51).

JUNE.

30. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.1065, Espagne 24639, no.4).

1360.

JANUARY.

2. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.2019, Montferrand, no.3).

APRIL.

4. Pièces originales, vol.2343, De la Porte, no.6.

MARCH.

28. Toulouse (Pièces originales, vol.93, Armagnac, no.7).

Treasury of (Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars).

1358.

OCTOBER.

13. Pièces originales, vol.
1065, Espagne 24636,
no.4.
18. Pièces originales, vol.
1065, Espagne 24639,
no.16.

1359.

MAY.

6. Montpellier (Pièces
originales, vol.2018,
Montfavez, no.2).

JULY.

1. Pièces originales,
vol.1065, Espagne
24639, no.5.

AUGUST.

24. Pièces originales, vol.1043,
Durfort, no.33.

NOVEMBER.

12. Pièces originales, vol265,
le Begut, no.2.

1360.

MAY.

16. Clairambault, vol.47,
p.3481, no.31.

JUNE.

24. Clairambault, vol.6,
p.27 7, no.89.

SEPTEMBER.

25. Pièces originales, vol.622,
Caumont, no.25.

b). Between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.

1). Savary de Vyvonne, knight, lord of Thouars, king's councillor, captain-sovereign in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places.

1338.

AUGUST.

7. Pons (Clairambault, vol. 114, p.8947, no.124).
 10. Thouars (Clairambault, vol.114, p.8949, no. 126).

2). Itier, lord of Magnac, knight, seneschal of Saintonge, captain-sovereign of King Philip in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places.

1339.

JULY.

24. Saint-Jean-d'Angely (JJ 72, fo.45r, no. 41).

3). Savary de Vyvonne, knight, lord of Thouars, king's councillor and councillor of the duke of Normandy and Guienne, captain-sovereign above and before all others at La Rochelle and the neighbouring places.

Treasury of (Jean Gemel, lieutenant of Guillaume Germenac, receiver of the king in Saintonge).

1345.

DECEMBER.

19. Clairambault, vol.10,
p.559, no.3.

20. Clairambault, vol.87,
p.6823, no.15.

4). Jacques de Bourbon, lord of Lieuze, lieutenant of King Philip in Saintonge, Poitou, the maines of Anjou and Berry, Angoumois, Limousin and the neighbouring places.

1347.

MARCH.

8. Poitiers (JJ 68, fo.457,
no.294).

1348.

MARCH.

30. Saintes (JJ 76, fo.195r,
no.321).

5). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France, captain-sovereign and general in Saintonge and the neighbouring marches and places.

1349.

OCTOBER.

26. Niort (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6301, no.120).

1350.

JANUARY.

25. Niort (Clairambault,
vol.80, p.6301, no.121).

MARCH.

18. Clairambault, vol.80,
p.6303, no.122.

24. Pont-Sainte-Maxence
(Clairambault, vol.80,
p.6303, no.123).

6). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France,
lieutenant of King John in Saintonge, Limousin and
Périgord north of the river Dordogne.

1350.

DECEMBER.

18. Niort (JJ 80, fo.375r-v,
no.577).

1351.

FEBRUARY.

19. Chisec (JJ 80, fo.59r-v,
no.118).

SEPTEMBER.

24. Périgeux (JJ 81, fo.34r,
no.62).

25. Périgeux (JJ 81, fos.291r-2r,
no.575).

AUGUST.

27. Périgeux (JJ 82, fo.47r,
no.80).

Treasury of (Robin Francois, clerk, lieutenant of Jean
Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1351.

JANUARY.

12. La Faielle (Preuves, I, 1475).

7). Amaury, lord of Craon, knight, lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois and Périgord north of the river Dordogne.

1351.

MAY.

JUNE

- | | |
|---|--|
| 17. Poitiers (Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.8). | 19. Angoulême (JJ 84, fos.125r-6r, no.224). |
| 25. Niort (Pièces originales, vol.922, Craon, no.9). | 26. Périgeux (Pièces originales, vol.774, Clerambaut, no.827). |

Treasury of (Robin Francois, clerk, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1351.

MAY.

JUNE.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 26. Niort (Clairambault, vol. 33, p.2481, no.132). | 27. Périgeux (Clairambault, vol. 10, p.627, no.164; Pièces originales, vol.774, Clerambaut, no.3). |
|--|--|

Day not given:

Périgeux (Pièces originales, vol.774, Clerambaut, no.4).

8). Charles of Spain, constable of France, lieutenant of King John in the parts between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.

1351.

JULY.

26. In our tents before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (JJ 81, fos.291r-2r, no.575).

1352.¹

MARCH.

5. Paris (JJ 81, fos.401r-2r, no.759).
9. Angoulême (JJ 82, fos.335v-6r, no.505).

MAY.

3. Limoges (JJ 81, fo.302r-v, no.586).

1353.¹

JANUARY.

Day not given:

JJ 82, fos.40v-lr, no.70.

23. Cognac (Arch. nat., J 637, no.12; JJ 81, fos.397v-8r, no.754; Appendix A, no.

Treasury of (Robin Francois, clerk, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1351.

JULY.

17. Before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4747, no.3).
18. Varaize (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4803, no.154).

22. In the host before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3237, no.176).

AUGUST.

10. Before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4747, no.2).

UNDATED.

13. In the host before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.33, p.2847, no.148).

At the siege before Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.62, p.4761, nos.40 & 41).

1. Although he does not appear as lieutenant in this circumscription in letters of these years, it is evident that he was acting in this capacity (Vide infra., Appendix B, III, no.13).

9). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois, Périgord and all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne.

Paris, 6 March, 1352 (JJ 81, fos.312r-3r, no.607; JJ 81, fos.474v-6r, no.906; Appendix B, III, no.13).

1352.

FEBRUARY.

1. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (JJ 82, fos.339r-40r, no.515).

MARCH.

26. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Molinier, Étude, 31-2, quoting, 31, n.3, Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.17).

APRIL.

1. Limoges (Molinier, Étude, 204-5 & 215, Pièces Justificatives, nos.VIII & XII, quoting Clairambault, vol.1126, fo.108, Saint Esprit no.16; vol.30, fo.2215).

JUNE.

17. Limoges (JJ 82, fo.85r, no.141).

SEPTEMBER.

10. By Brive (JJ 84, fo.139r, no.249).

Day not given:

By Brive (JJ 82, fo.324r-v, no.471).

OCTOBER.

3. Périgeux (JJ 81, fo.465r-v, no.885).
9. Périgeux (JJ 84, fo.149r-v, no.272).

NOVEMBER.

26. Limoges (JJ 81, fos.474v-6r, no.906).

1353.

JANUARY.

27. Cognac (JJ 81, fos.312r-3r, no.607; published Molinier, Étude, 212-4, Pièces Justificatives, no.XI).

MAY.

10. Poitiers (JJ 85, fos.37r-8r, no.75).

APRIL.

28. Limoges (Molinier, Étude, 217, Pièces Justificatives, no.XIV, from JJ 82, no.173).

Treasury of: (Robin Francois, clerk (R), and Jean le Senc (S), lieutenants of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars; Jean de la Warde (J), lieutenant of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars.

1352.

FEBRUARY.¹

APRIL.

3. Clairambault, vol.32, p.2385, no.85.

9. J, Niort (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antrain, no.2).

10. Saint-Gevien-de-Vigen (Clairambault, vol.32, p.2385, no.86).

10. J, Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Pièces originales, vol.1394, De la Grange, no.2).

MARCH.

MAY.

6. Saint-Juvien-de-Vigen (Clairambault, vol.106, p.8269, no.83).

1. J, Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.7.

14. R, Saint-Jean-d'Angély, (Clairambault, vol.10, p.565, no.16).

4. J, Limoges (Clairambault, vol.33, p.2485, no.146).

1. In the two aquitances for this month, Audrehem appears as captain in Poitou, Limousin, Saintonge, Périgord and the neighbouring places north of the river Dordogne.

7. J, Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.2).
 13. J, Saintes (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.3).
 23. J, Usarches (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.4).
 31. J, Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antrain, no.4).

JUNE.

2. J, Niort (Pièces originales, vol.1394, De la Grange, no.7).
 18. J, Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.8).
 20. J, Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.9.

APRIL.

6. J, Saintes (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antoing, no.6).

10) Louis d'Harcourt, lord of Montgomery, knight, captain-sovereign of King John in Poitou and Saintonge,

1353.

APRIL.

20. Before Surgères (Clairambault, vol.57, p.4385, no.159).

22. J, Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.1394, De la Grange, no.6).
 26. J, Niort (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antrain, no.3).

JULY.

13. S, Cognac (Pièces originales, vol.1394, De la Grange, no.8)

SEPTEMBER.

20. J, Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.63, p.4829, no.1; vol.87, p.6819, no.9).

OCTOBER.

6. J, Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antrain, no.5).

1353.

AUGUST.

1. S, Limoges (Clairambault, vol.106, p.8279, no.105).

JULY.

4. Clairambault, vol.57, p.4385, no.160.

Treasury of: Jean de la Warde (J) and Guillaume Larchier (G),
lieutenants of Jacques Lempereur, treasurer of wars.

1353.

FEBRUARY.

2. J, Saint-Jean-d'Angély
(Pièces originales,
vol.2103, Neuverne,
no.2).

MAY.

13. G, Saint-Jean-d'Angély
(Pièces originales,
vol.2103, Neuverne,
no.3).
26. J, In the bastide of
Saint Gilles before
Surgères (Preuves, I,
1489).

28. G, Pièces originales,
vol.1479, Harcourt, no.2.

JUNE.

15. G, Clairambault, vol.6,
p.293, no.119; Pièces
originales, vol.2103,
Neuverne, no.4.

11) Amaury de Rochechouart, lord of Mortemer, captain-
sovereign of King John in Poitou and Saintonge.

Treasury of (Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1353.

JULY.

7. Clairambault, vol.213,
p.9461, no.22.
28. In the bastide of Saint
Gilles before Surgères
(Pièces originales, vol.
64, Angle, no.5).
31. In the bastide of Saint
Gilles before Surgères
(Pièces originales, vol.
77, Antron, no.3).

AUGUST.

17. In the host before Surgères
(Pièces originales, vol.77,
Antron, no.2).

SEPTEMBER.

3. Saint-Jean-d'Angély
(Pièces originales, vol.77,
Antron, no.4).
6. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Pièces
originales, vol.1091,
Exsideuil, no.2).

OCTOBER.

7. In the host before Surgères (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antron, no.5); in the bastide of Saint Gilles before Surgères (Preuves, I, 1489).
8. In the bastide of Saint Gilles before Surgères (Pièces originales, vol. 1091, Exsideuil, no.3).

31. Niort (Pièces originales, vol.77, Antron, no.6).

DECEMBER.

7. In the bastide of Saint Gilles of Surgères (Pièces originales, vol.622, Caumont, no.31).

12) Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and the neighbouring places.

1354.

AUGUST.

8. Niort (JJ 82, fos.341v-2r, no.519).

Treasury of (Jean le Sent, knight, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1354.

JULY.

16. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Pièces originales, vol.1537, Houdetot, no.14).
30. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol. 10, p.583, no.57).

13) Regnaut de Pons, knight, lord of Montfort, captain of King John in Limousin, Périgord and the neighbouring places north of the river Dordogne.

1354.

SEPTEMBER.

13. In domo nobili (JJ 84, fos.29v-30r).

OCTOBER.

10. By Plassac (JJ 82, fo.355r-v, no.544).

Treasury of (Giles Périer, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1354.

MARCH.

3. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.11).
11. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.13).

APRIL.

11. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639, no.12).
18. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2343, De la Porte, no.7).

MAY.

15. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2019, Montferrand, no.2; vol.2100, Neufville, no.12).

JUNE.

21. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639, no.14).
22. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2019, Montferrand, no.6).
23. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.14).

JULY.

12. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639, no.18).
19. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.15).

AUGUST.

28. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639, no.17).

SEPTEMBER.

5. Limoges (Pièces originales vol.2019, Montferrand, no.7).
17. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.17).

1355.

JANUARY.

3. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.2100, Neufville, no.16).
 8. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.1065, Espagne, 24639, no.14).

MARCH.

20. Limoges (Clairambault, vol.43, p.3259, no.180).

14) Jean de Clermont, lord of Chantilly, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Limousin and other places between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Auvergne.

Paris, 1 January, 1355 (JJ 86, fos.14v-15v, no.37; Appendix B, III, no.14).

1355.

JUNE.

16. Limoges (JJ 84, fo.68r-v). Day not given:

La Rochelle (JJ 86, fos.14v-15v, no.37).

Treasury of (Robin Francois, clerk, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

AUGUST.

1355.

APRIL.

6. Angoulême (Clairambault, vol.32, p.2385, no.83).

10. Angoulême (Clairambault, vol.32, p.2383, no.81).

JUNE.

MAY.

7. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Clairambault, vol.10, p.563, no.74).

24. Angoulême (Clairambault, vol.106, p.8279, no.106).

28. Angoulême (Clairambault, vol.32, p.2383, no.82).

SEPTEMBER.

30. Saint-Jean-d'Angély
(Clairambault, vol.87,
p.6821, no.11).

OCTOBER.

5. Angoulême (Clairambault,
vol.106, p.8281, no.107).

13. Clairambault, vol.65,
p.5001, no.24.

NOVEMBER.

13. Niort (Clairambault,
vol.61, p.4713, no.106).

DECEMBER.

9. Poitiers (Clairambault,
vol.10, p.565, no.15).

1356.

JANUARY.

12. Clairambault, vol.36,
p.2745, no.195.
15. Angoulême (Clairambault,
vol.106, p.8281, no.108).
28. Niort (Clairambault, vol.
10, p.565, no.17).

FEBRUARY.

1. Niort (Clairambault, vol.13,
p.845, no.135).
13. Charroux (Clairambault, vol.
87, p.6829, no.38).

MARCH.

29. Poitiers (Clairambault, vol.
13, p.847, no.137; p.797,
no.10).

For the commissions to Jean, count of Poitiers, for the
years 1356-60, vide supra., Appendix B,IIa, nos.25 & 26.

15) Jean, lord of Hangest, king's councillor, captain of
King John in Poitou and Saintonge.

1356.

OCTOBER.

28. Poitiers (Pièces originales,
vol.1474, Hangest, no.21).

Treasury of: Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars (J), and his lieutenant Maciot de Meun, clerk (M).

1356.

OCTOBER.

12. ^M Poitiers (Clairambault, vol.87, p.6825, no.24).
 27. ^M Poitiers (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6305, no.127).

NOVEMBER.

4. ^M Poitiers (Clairambault, vol.45, p.3331, no.14; vol.81, p.6373, no.144).

DECEMBER.

4. ^V Paris (Clairambault, vol.81, p.6373, no.145).

1357.

JANUARY.

2. ^V Poitiers (Clairambault, vol.13, p.843, no.123; vol.36, p.2717, no.126).
 Clairambault, vol.106, p.8285.

16) Jean le Maingre, alias Boucicaut, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John and the regent, Charles, in the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and of the count of Poitiers in all the county and resorts thereof.

1360.

JUNE.

21. JJ 88, fos.63r-4r, no.99.

c). Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany.

1). Jean, vicomte of Melun, chamberlain of France and Normandy, lieutenant of King John in Brittany.¹

1351.

OCTOBER.

10. Preuves, I, 1473.

Treasury of: Jean de la Warde, clerk, lieutenant of Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars.

1351.

JULY.

9. Dinan (Preuves, I, 1474).

2). Guy de Nesle, lord of Mello, marshal of France, captain-general and sovereign of King John in Brittany, Anjou, Maine and those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany.

1352.

APRIL.

17. Rennes (Clairambault, vol.80, p.6305, no.125).

Treasury of: Barthélemi du Drac, treasurer of wars (B), and his brother and lieutenant, Pierre du Drac (P).

1. Evidently lieutenant in the period July-October 1351 (Preuves, I, 1471-4).

1352.

MARCH.

9. B, Paris (Preuves, I, 1475).

MAY.

7. B, Before Fougères (Preuves, I, 1478);
B, Fougères (Preuves, I, 1478).
21. P, Before Fougères (Preuves, I, 1479).
22. P, Before Fougères (Preuves, I, 1479).
24. P, Before Fougères (Preuves, I, 1479-80).

JUNE.

8. P, Redon (Clairambault, vol.39, p.2949, no.161; vol.36, p.2679, no.28); B, Redon (Preuves, I, 1480).
13. / Château Josselin (Preuves, I, 1480).
26. B, Redon (Preuves, I, 1480).

JULY.

18. P, Rennes (Preuves, I, 1480 & 1481);
B, Rennes (Preuves, I, 1480).

AUGUST.

3. P, Dinan (Clairambault, vol.39, p.2949, no.162);
B, Dinan (Preuves, I, 1481).
6. B, Preuves, I, 1481.
7. B, Preuves, I, 1482.
11. P, Malestroit (Clairambault, vol.36, p.2679, no.27; Preuves, I, 1482 & 1483);
B, Malestroit (Preuves, I, 1483).
12. P, Malestroit (Preuves, I, 1483-4); B, Malestroit, (Preuves, I, 1483).

3). Amaury, lord of Craon, knight, lieutenant of King John in Brittany, Anjou and Maine.

1352.

DECEMBER.

31. Paris (Clairambault, vol.213, p. 9457, no.19).

Treasury of (Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars).

1353.

MARCH.

6. La Guerche-de-Bretagne (Preuves, I, 1484).

4). Jean, lord of Hangest, king's councillor, lieutenant of King John in those parts of Normandy adjacent to Brittany.

1356.

FEBRUARY.

1. Pontorson (Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.13).

MARCH.

15. Pontorson (Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.8).

MAY.

4. Pontorson (JJ 84, fo. 330r, no.655).
23. Caen (Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.9).

JUNE.

21. Rouen (Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.16).

JULY.

3. Rouen (Pièces originales, vol.1474, Hangest, no.18).

Treasury of: Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars (J), and Aymar Bourgeoise, treasurer-general of impositions and gabelles ordained for the war in the baillages of Caen and Cotentin (A).

1355.

DECEMBER.

5. J, Clairambault, vol.45,
p.3331.

1356.

APRIL.

11. A, Pontorson (Pièces
originales, vol.2343,
Portal, no.8; vol.
1774, Luilly, no.4;
vol.2103, Nully, nos.2-4).
15. A, Pontorson (Pièces
originales, vol.2343,
Pontal, no.9).

d). Normandy.

1). Jean d'Artois, count of Eu, lieutenant of King John in the duchy of Normandy.¹

1351.

MAY.

1. Rouen (JJ 80, fo.326v, no.483).

2). Robert, lord of Houdetot, master of the French crossbowmen, captain-general of King John in the duchy of Normandy.

1351.

AUGUST.

11. Caen (Pièces originales, vol.1537, Houdetot, no.4).

3). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Normandy.

Paris, 2 August, 1353 (JJ 82, fo.11, no. 18; JJ 84, no.17; Appendix B, III, no.15).²

1353.

AUGUST.

14. Pontorson (JJ 82, fo. 46r-v, no.77).

27. Saint-James-de-Beuvron (Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.7; published Molinier, Étude, 222, Pièces Justificatives, no.XVII).

1. Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, IV, 240, says in 1350 also.

2. Molinier (Étude, 39) shows that he was already exercising the office in June 1353.

OCTOBER.

8. Pontorson (JJ 84, fos. 350v-1r, no.695).

NOVEMBER.

20. Avranches (JJ 82, fo.160v, no.230).

DECEMBER.

27. Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, II, 241, no.16171, quoting Clairambault, vol. 959, no.35.

1354.

JANUARY.

10. Pontorson (JJ 82, fo. 275r, no.404).
 11. Pontorson (JJ 87, fos. 12v-13v, no.18).
 16. Pontorson (Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.9; published Molinier, Étude, 222-3, Pièces Justificatives, no. XVIII).

18. Pontorson (Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.10; published Molinier, Étude, 223-4, Pièces Justificatives, no.XIX).

FEBRUARY.

1. Caen (Pièces originales, vol.133, Audenehan, no.11; published Molinier, Étude, 224, Pièces Justificatives, no.XX).

Treasury of: Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars (J), and his lieutenant Simon de Bellay, clerk (S).

1354.

SEPTEMBER.

10. ^{v,} Pontorson (Preuves, I, 1495).

NOVEMBER.

8. ^{s,} Château-Gontier (Pièces originales, vol.774, Clerambault, no.8).

OCTOBER.

13. S, Château-Gontier (Pièces originales, vol. 774, Clerambaut, no.7).

DECEMBER.

10. S, Château-Gontier (Pièces originales, vol.774, Clerambaut, no.9).

4). Amaury, lord of Craon, lieutenant of King John in Normandy.

Acting in 1354 & 1355 (Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, IV, p.241, no.16172).

5). The Dauphin Charles, *lieutenant of King John in Normandy.*

Acting in 1355 (Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, IV, p.241, no.16173).

6). Charles, count of Alençon, lieutenant-general in Normandy of the king and the dauphin, Charles.

Acting in 1359 (Dupont-Ferrier, Gallia Regia, IV, p.241, no.16174).

7). Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte of Châtellerauld, lieutenant-general of King John and the regent, Charles, in the baillages of Rouen, Caux, Caen and Cotentin.

Paris, 28 March, 1359 (JJ 90, fos.134v-5r, no.257; Appendix B, III, no.16).

1359.

JULY.

22. Rouen (JJ 90, fos.134v-5v, no.257).

8). Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte of Châtellerault, lieutenant-general of King John and the regent, Charles, in the French and Norman vexins of Normandy, and in the ancient and new resorts of the duchy.

1360.

MAY.

8. Harfleur (JJ 87, fos.173r-4r, no.283).
21. JJ 87, fo.198r-v, no.311.

e). Picardy Region

1). Pierre, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont and La Marche, chamberlain of France, lieutenant of King John in Picardy.

1351.

MAY.

1. Arras (JJ 80, fo.385r-v, no.607).
 31. Arras (JJ 81, fo.13r, no.25).

2). Jean de Boulogne, count of Montfort, lieutenant of King John in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders.

1351.

JULY.

SEPTEMBER.

Day not given:

Saint Omer (JJ 80, fos. 416v-7r, no.686; JJ 82, fos.184v-5r, no.270).

4. The abbey of Pruilly (JJ 81, fos.254v-5r, no.510).

Treasury of: Jean Chauvel, treasurer of wars.

JUNE.

23. Preuves, I, 1474.

3). Geoffroy de Charny, lieutenant of King John in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders.

1352.

FEBRUARY.

24. Saint-Omer (Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.9).

MAY.

6. Saint-Omer (JJ 81, fos.279v-80r, no.548).

JUNE.

19. Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.10.
28. Saint-Omer (Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.6).

SEPTEMBER.

10. In the abbey of Audruicq (Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.6).

Treasury of (Jean Haquin, lieutenant of Jean de Lospital, clerk of the crossbowmen).

1352.

JULY.

3. Saint-Omer (Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.12).

4). Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Picardy and on the frontiers of Flanders.

1353.

JULY.

25. Arras (JJ 81, fo.430r, no.808).

5). Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, lieutenant of King John in Picardy, Artois and Boulonnais.

Paris, 1 January, 1355 (JJ 84, fos.101v-2v, no.179; fo.215r-v, no.404; fos.265r-6r, no.507; fos.351v-2r, no.697; fos.355r-6r, no.709; fos.361r-2r, no.726; fos.362v-3v, no.727; fos.389r-90r, no.779; fos.398r-9r, no.804; JJ 85,

fos.60v-lv, no.132; JJ 89, fos.76v-7r, no.163; Appendix B, III, no.17).

1355.

MARCH.

4. Saint-Omer (JJ 84, fos. 355r-6r, no.709).
10. Boulogne-sur-Mer (JJ 84, fos.101v-2v, no.179; fos.103v-4v, no.181).

NOVEMBER.

16. Saint-Omer (JJ 84, fos. 265r-6r, no.507).
20. Ardres (JJ 84, fos.209v-10r, no.398).

OCTOBER.

27. Ardres (JJ 84, fo.215r-v, no.404).

1356.

FEBRUARY.

4. Saint-Omer (JJ 84, fos. 351v-2r, no.697; JJ 86, fos.83v-4v, no.251).

24. Amiens (JJ 84, fos.361v-2r, no.726).
28. Amiens (JJ 84, fos.362v-3v, no.727).

MARCH.

7. Saint-Omer (JJ 84, fo. 34lv, no.678).
28. Amiens (JJ 84, fos. 265r-6r, no.507).

JUNE.

13. Tournai (JJ 85, fo.41r, no.80).
29. Tournai (JJ 84, fos.398r-9r, no.804).

APRIL.

28. Arras (JJ 84, fos.274v-5r, no.528).

MAY.

6. Saint-Omer (JJ 84, fos. 389r-90r, no.779; JJ 85, fos.60v-lv, no.132; JJ 89, fos.76v-7r, no.163).
12. Arras (JJ 84, fos.314v-5r, no.620).

1357.¹

24. Amiens (JJ 84, fo.
364r-v, no.729).

Treasury of (Perin le Pietel, clerk of Jean de Lospital,
clerk of the king's crossbowmen).

1355.

JULY.

DECEMBER.

12. Bouvelinghem (Clairamb-
ault, vol.81, p.6363,
no.118; vol.106, p.8285,
no.122).

25. Saint-Omer (Clairambault,
vol.47, p.3537, no.167).

Jean, lord of Neuville, knight, cousin and lieutenant of
Audrehem.²

1356.

JANUARY.

20. Ardres (Clairambault,
vol.81, p.6547, no.
55).

1. Letter of officers established by him before his capture at Poitiers, given in his name. Cf. Molinier, Étude, 71, n.6.
2. He was acting as his lieutenant in Picardy (cf. Molinier, Étude, 53-4). On 21 October, 1356, upon request by Audrehem, the duke of Normandy appointed him lieutenant of Audrehem as marshal of France (*ibid.*, 71, n.6). He was acting in this capacity in letters given at Paris on 18 November, 1356; on 4 & 6 December; 1356; and at Limoges on 3 & 15 February, 1357 (Clairambault, vol.81, pp. 6349, nos.58-60 & 6947, no.57; vol.23, p.737). But he was also acting as his lieutenant in Picardy in 1356 (Clairambault, vol.81, p.6947, no.57).

6). Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in Picardy, Beauvaisis and the region adjoining the river Oise.

Paris, 24 August, 1358 (JJ 90, fos.22r-3r, no.46; Appendix B, III, no.18).

SEPTEMBER. 1358.
21. Amiens (VV 90, no.49).

OCTOBER.
2. Amiens (VV 90, no.66).
3. Amiens (JJ 90, fos. 22r-3r, no.46).

NOVEMBER.
10. Amiens (JJ 90, fo.95r, no.169).

23. Arras (VV 90, no.167).
DECEMBER.

28. Saint-Pol (JJ 90, fos.248r-9r, no.498).

7). Robert, lord of Fiennes, constable of France, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in Picardy, Vermandois, Beauvaisis and the neighbouring places.

Paris, 6 December, 1358 (JJ 88, fos.37v-9r, no.57; JJ 90, fos.95v-6v, no.171; fos.99r-100r, no.179; Appendix B, III, no.19).

1359.

JANUARY.

4. Tournai (JJ 88, fos. 37v-9r, no.57; no.92).

FEBRUARY.

27. Arras (JJ 90, no.393).

MARCH.

15. Saint-Omer (JJ 90, fos. 210r-v, no.417).

APRIL.

1. In the host before Saint-Valery (JJ 88, no.110).

10. In the host before Saint-Valery (JJ 90, fos.99r-100r, no.179).

17. In the host before Saint-Valery (JJ 90, fos.161r-v, no.311).

22. JJ 90, fo.115r-v, no.213.

* *add: 1358: DECEMBER: 22. Saint Quentin (VV 89, no.436).*

29. Ham in Vermandois
(JJ 90, no.120).

MAY.

26. Amiens (JJ 90, fos.95v-6v,
no.171).

8). Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise.

Melun, 14 July, 1359 (JJ 89, fo.194r-v, no.442;
Appendix B, III, no.20).

1360.

MARCH.

16. Arras (JJ 89, fos.194r-v,
no.442).

f). Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts.

l). Raoul, count of Eu and Guines, lieutenant of King Philip in Flanders, Hainault, Thiérache and the surrounding parts.

1339.

APRIL.

9. Tournai (Clairambault, vol.212, p.9351, no.30).
10. Lille (Clairambault, vol.212, p.9351, no.30).

g). Auvergne, Berry and the Mâconnais, etc.

1). Jean de Chalon, lord of Arlay, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in the baillages and ressorts of Champagne, Sens and Mâcon.

1358.

APRIL.

20. (JJ 90, fo.107r-v, no.193).

2). Louis, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont, chamberlain of France, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in Auvergne, Berry, Limousin and the ressorts thereof.

1358.

SEPTEMBER.

OCTOBER.

14. Moulins (JJ 86, fos. 175r-6r, no.497).

22. Saint-Pourcent (JJ 86, fos.175v-6r, no.497).

3). Jean, count of Poitiers and Mâcon, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in the county and baillage of Mâcon and the sénéchaussée of Lyons.

12 September, 1359 (Arch. nat., J 188B, no.4).

4). Louis, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont, chamberlain of France, lieutenant of King John and the regent Charles in Auvergne, Berry, the Mâconnais and the ressorts thereof.

Melun, 20 October, 1359 (JJ 89, fos.177r-9r, no.407; Appendix B, III, no.21).

1360.

FEBRUARY.

Day not given:

Riom (JJ 89, fos.177r-9r,
no.407).

III

COMMISSIONS OF THE LIEUTENANTS

1. Letter of King Philip, appointing Simon, Lord Derquier (Derqueri), knight, councillor and master of requests of his household; and Le Galois de la Baume, knight, master of the French crossbowmen; his captains-general and especial in the Agenais and Gascony, and "es autres parties pardela"; Bois de Vincennes, 13 November, 1337.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 72, fos.76r-7v, no.108 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians du senz, diligence et de la loyaulte de noz amez et feauls le seigneur Derqueri et du Gailois de la Balme, maistre de noz arbalestriers, chivaliers, les avons fais et establis, faisons et establissons, et a chascun d'euls, capitaines generaultes et espicials pour nous en Agenois et en Gascoigne, et es autres parties pardela. Et leur donnons, et a chascun d'euls, auctorite et a plain povoir de faire toutes choses appartenant a capitaine, et toutes autres que nous pourions fere se nous estions presenz, soit ores que les choses requerissent especial mandement de nous. Si mandons et commendons a touz noz justiciers et subgiez, et par especial a touz noz receveurs et autres maistres de noz monneies, ou a leur lieutenants, que aus dessus nommes capitaines, et a chascun par lui, obeissent et entendent, diligement, comme a nous meismes. Et en temoign de la quele chose, nous avons fait mectre nostre seel en ces lettres.

Donne au boys de Vincennes, le tresime jour de novembre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. trente et sept. Par le roy en son conseil. R. de Molins.

2. Letter of King Philip, appointing Louis de Poitiers, count of Valentinois and Die, his lieutenant-general throughout Languedoc; Bois de Vincennes, 15 October, 1340.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes JJ 76, fos.113r-4r, no.168 (royal confirmation of his

letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, par vraies experience de fait, confianz de la loyaute, senz et diligence de nostre ame et feal conseillier, Loys de Poitiers, conte de Valentinois et de Dyois, lequel nous savons de certain avoir tresgrant affection et volente, de garder nostre honneur, et de la couronne de France, et de lui exposer pour la deffense et tuition d'iceuls, le dit Loys avons establi et ordonne, establissons et ordonnons, par la teneur de ces presentes, nostre lieutenant general es parties de toute la Languedoc, et li donnons plain povoir et auctorite de mectre et instituer es villes, chasteaux, fortereces, et en touz les lieux des dictes parties, chevetaines et gouverneurs et de genz d'armes, tant a cheval comme a pie, a gaiges, et icelles croistre et appeticier, et oster, et changer toutefois que bon li semblera, et de nobileter, et rappeler banniz, et de faire toutes autres choses que a office de lieutenant puent et doivent appartenir, et celles qui mandement especial requerent, et autant comme nous ferions se nous estions personelment presens, et aurons agreable, ferme et estable tout ce que par le dit lieutenant sera fait es dites parties. Mandons a nostre ame et feal tresorier, Guillaume Balbet, au tresorier de noz guerres, et aus receveurs des dictes parties de la Languedoc, ou a leurs lieuxtenants, et a chascun d'euls, que au dit lieutenant, ou a son certain mandement, baillent et delivrent argent toutefois que requis en seront de par nostre dit lieutenant, et les gaiges des genz d'armes retenuz par lui en nostre service, et autre choses appartenent, paient a nostre dit lieutenant, et a ses mandemenz, comme a nous, sanz contredit et sanz autre mandement attendre, et a touz noz justiciers et subgiez, que a ycelui lieutenant entendent et obeissent, diligement. En tesmoing de la quelle chose, nous avons fait nostre seel en ses presentes lettres.

Donne au boys de Vincennes, le XV^e jour d'octobre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.XL. Par le roy en son conseil, a la relation de monsieur de Beauvaiz, de Noiers et de vous. Clavel.

3. Letter of King Philip, appointing Jean, bishop of Beauvais, his special and general lieutenant in Gascony, the Agenais, Bordelais, Saintonge and all the other parts

of Languedoc; Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 6 April, 1342.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 81, fo.14r-v, no.28 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy France. A touz ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront, salutem. Savoir faisons que nous, confians du discretion et loyalte de nostre ame et feal conseillier, Jehan, evesque de Beauves, lequel nous avons fait et faisons, par la teneur de ces presentes, nostre lieutenant especial et general en Gascoigne, Agennois, Bordeaulx, Xaintonge et toutes les autres parties de la Languedoc. Au nostre lieutenant nous avons donne et donnons plain pover et auctorite de mestre establies de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie en nos chastauls, villes et autres lieux, et de noz subgiez, ainsi comme il verra que besoing sera, et de assembler genz d'armes pour la defencion de nostre royaume tant et quant il lui plaira, touteffois et quantes que il verra que y sera mestier, et de rapler hommes, remectre mortes et touz autres crimez fait et commis, quel que il soient, et, en autre, que il eussent commis crime de lese mageste; de faire noblez, et faire et donner nobilitacion, et octroyer admortissemenz; de donner toutez manieres de priviligies a communez et a singuliers personnes de nouvel, et les donnez confermer, et de octroyer consolaz; de donner lettres d'estat et de respit, de non poier debtes a nobles et autres personnes, en la maniere qu'il verra qu'il sera a faire, et de creer et faire chevaliers d'onneur, et de mestre et oster, ou de remuer de lieu en autre, seneschaulz, viguriers, juges, baillis, chastelains, a gages et a son gages, et toutes autres manierz officiers, et de mestre en ycelles des nouveaux, et des donner de nostre patremonie et demaine, et transporter et assigner de noz deniers, la ou il verra que il sera a faire, a vie ou perpetuite, et de neantmoins, toutes autres choses faire et ordonner, quelles que elle puissent estre; de faire au faire faire que nous ferions ou pourrions faire se presentz y estions, que en ses presentes ne soient esclarties, et que il fussent greigneurs que cy ne sont exprimees, et que y celles regerissent mandement especial. Nul cas par de vous nouz retenu quel qui soit, et volons que tout ce que par nostre lieutenant aura este fait ou octroyes sur les choses dessus disctes, au ou ycelles touchans et deppendans, qui baillent et tiegnent formement en la maniere qu'il l'aura

octroiez, senz ce que par nous ou noz successours, roys de France, soit rappelle quar ycelles touchans, et chascun d'icelles, que par lui aurant este octroiez ou faites, comme dit est, desmaintenant, par lors et lors, desmaintenant, ycelles avons ferme et agreable, par nous ou par noz successours, en nostre plain conseil, confermez de grace especial et certaine science, et passees par nostre chambre des comptes, et aiant autant de force et vertu comme s'il estoient passes par nostre chambre des comptes, non obstant quelconques ordenance faite par nous, souz quelconques fourme de parole que la dicte ordenance soit faite, a compose, ou faire scille de nostre parlement et de nostre chambre des comptes, coustume ou usage quel qu'il soient, a ce contraire, nous constatans, lesquelles, de nostre plain povoir, auctorite royal et certaine science, nous ne volons avoir lieu en ceste partie. Et toutes les choses dessusditz, et chascune d'icelles, promectons, par nous et par noz successeurs, en bon foy, garder et tenir, et nous venir encontre quelconques manieres se soit. Si donnons en mandement a noz capitaines, refformateurs, seneschaulz, maistres de monnoiez, treshors, receveurs, et a tous noz autres officiers et subgiez qui a present sont, ou pour le temps avenir serront des dictes parties de Languedoc, reqerrons nos autres amis, les ques ne sont nos subgiez, que a nostre dit lieutenant, comme a nous, es choses dessusdictes, ycelles touchans et despendans, obeissent et entendent, deligement et en effect. En tesmoignage de quele chose, nous avons faite mestre nostre seel a ces presentez lettres.

Donne a Saint-Germain-en-Laye, le VI^e. jour d'Avril, l'an de grace Mil.CCC^o. quarante deux.

4. Letter of King Philip, appointing Agoût des Baux, lord of Brancoul and Plasian, seneschal of Toulouse, his lieutenant and captain-general throughout Languedoc; Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, 11 November, 1342.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 81, fos.170r-lr, no.346 (royal confirmation of his

letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par le grace de Dieu roys de France. A tous ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Comme, de nostre volente, nostre ame et feal l'evesque de Beauvais, nostre lieutenant es parties de la Languedoc, s'en viengne par devers nous, nous, confians du sens, loyalte et diligence de nostre ame et feal chevalier et conseiller, Agout des Baux, sire de Brancol et de Plasian, nostre senescal de Tholose, avons fait et establi, faisons et établissons, par ces lettres, le dit Agout nostre lieutenant et capitaine general, dessus et devant tous autres, en toutes les parties de la Languedoc, et li avons donne et donnons plain pouvoir, auctorite et mandement especial de mectre et oster toutes manieres d'officiers es dictes parties; de croistre et admonnissier establies et garnisons de gens d'armes et de pie, si comme bon li samblera, et de garnir et efforcier nos lieux, et pro mectre et establiir telles gens, telz capitains et telles garnisons comme bon li samblera; de mander et assembler gens d'armes et de pie es dictes parties, ou ailleurs en nostre royaume, ou dehors, telz, et jusques a telle quantite comme bon li samblera. Et de fay accroistre et amenrir de gens d'armes et de pie, touteffois qu'il li plaira. Et de faire finances de celles choses, et avec telz personnes comme bon li samblera; de penne et recevoir les prises et emolumentes de toutes nos receptes et de nos monnoies es dictes parties, et toutes autre choses deues nous seront, et nous appartendraient es dictes parties communement et conoinement, ou profit de nos besoignes. Et de contraindre toutes manieres de personnes a nous bailler ce q ue nous seront deu es dictes parties, si comme il verra qu'il sera a faire de raison. Et remectre et pardonner bons et amendes et personnes, civiles et criminelles de crimes, et de mors et de homicides, si comme il verra que les cas le reqerront, et boñ li samblera. Et de anoblir personnes es dictes parties, et donner et octroyans villes et lieux de par dela privileiges, libertes et franchises, telles qu'il verra que bon sera au profit et honneur de nous et de nos subgiez. Et de donner lettres d'estat a tous ceulz qui sont et seront avec lui, ou en nostre service, es dictes parties, en la maniere que l'en a acoustume de faire; d'accorder avec les gens des dictes

parties des subsidez que deux nous sont et seront pour l'aide de noz guerrez, si comme il verra que bon sera au pourfit et honneur de nous et de nos subgiez, et faire comme bon li samblera, lesquelles confermerons touteffois que requis en serons. Et generalement de faire autant en toutes choses, quelles que elles soient, es parties de par dela, comme nous ferions se nous y estient en nostre propre personne, jasoit ce que elles requeissant mandement especial. Donne en mandement, par ces lettres, a tous les barons, nobles et non nobles, et a tous nos officiers, justiciers et subgiez des dictes parties, et a tous autres de nostre royaume, prions et reqerrons touz noz amis et voisins que a nostre dit lieutenant prestant conseil, consort et aide touteffois qu'il requerra, et obeissent a lui, et a ses lettres et mandemens, comme a nous mesmes, et au nostres. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons mis nostre grant seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Chasteauneuf sur Loire, le XI^e jour de novembre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. quarante et deux. Par le roy, presens messieur Loys de Savoie et nous. Lorriz.

5. Letter of King Philip, appointing his councillor, Jean, bishop of Beauvais, his lieutenant throughout Languedoc; Plöermel in Brittany, 21 January 1342/3.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 74, fo.106r-v, no.174 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Comme nous envoions nostre ame et feal conseiller, l'evesque de Beauvez, en certaines parties vers la court de Rome, pour plusieurs grant besoignes que nous li avons chargies, et aient appasses et demorer par plusieurs lieux en la Languedoc. Savoir faisons a touz que nous, confianz du sens, discretion et loyaute de nostre dit conseiller, ycelui avons fait et faisons, par la teneur de ces lettres presentes, nostre lieutenant par toute la Languedoc. Et li avons donne et donnons, par la teneur de ces lettres, tout au tel et samblable pouvoir comme derrain nous li donnasmes par noz lettres, quant nous l'auvorasmes es dictes parties et en Xanctonge. Et voulons que tout ce qui par nostre dit

lieutenant sera fait et ordonne es dictes parties, en alant ou dit voiage et retournant, a plaine valeur. Et aussi le promettons a tenir ferme et agreable. Et avec ce, le confermerons iouxte et selonc le contenu de noz dictes lettres, et en la forme et maniere que en ycelles est plus a plain expresse et compris, tant aussi comme si le dit povoir estoit des mot a mot compris ou encorpore en ces lettres. Donnons en mandemenz a touz noz officiers et subgiez, de quelconque estat ou condicion que il soient, requerantz touz noz autres amis, les quels ne sont noz subgiez, que a nostre dit lieutenant, comme a nous, es choses dessus dictes et ycelles touchanz et despendans, obeissent et entendent, diligement. En tesmoing de laquelle chose, nous avons fait mettre a ces presentes le seel de nostre secret, en l'absence du grant.

Donne a Ploermel en Bretagne, le XXI^e. jour de janvier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.XLII.

6. Letter of King Philip, appointing Pierre, duke of Bourbon, his lieutenant throughout Languedoc and Gascony; Sablé, 8 August, 1345.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 81, fos.124r-5r, no.234 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy de France. A nostre treschere et feal Pierre, duc de Bourbon, salut et dilection. Nous, confizans de vostre sens, lealte et diligence, vous faisons, ordonnons et établissons, par ces lettres, nostre lieutenant en toutes les parties de la Languedoc et de Gascoigne, et vous donnons povoir de mander et assembler gens d'armez et de pie, et de les cooistre et amenuisier toutes et quantefoiz que bon vous semblera, et quicter et pardonner meffaiz et crimez, jasoit ce, que aucuns touchassent crime de leze mageste; de rapeler banis, et leur quicter leur meffait, et de les restablir a leur bons, pais et renommee; de donner lettres d'estat a ceulx qui seront souz vostre gouvernement en noz guerres es dites parties, jusqu'es un moys apres leur retour; de souspendre a noz officiers leur offices, a temps ou a volente, et de restablir autre se il n'estoient souffisans, et de faire,

generalment et especialment, toutes les choses que faite porrions de par nous y estions, jasoit ce que elles, ou aucunes d'icelles, reheroissent mandement especial, non obstant que cy dessus ne soient exprimees et que passer ne fussent par la chambre de noz comptes, et avons ferme et agreable tout ce que par vous sera fait de par nous es dictes parties. Mander, par ces presentes, a touz seneschaus, tresoriers et receveurs, juges, baillis, prevoz et a touz noz autres officiers et subgiez des dites parties, de quelque estat que il soient, que a vous, comme a nostre lieutenant es dictes parties, obeissent et entendent. En tesmoignance de ce, nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Sablay, le VIII^e jour d'aoust, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. quarante et cinq.

7. Letter of King Philip, appointing Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, and Bertrand, count of Lille-Jourdain, his special and general lieutenants in Gascony, the Agenais and Bordelais, and in other parts of Languedoc; Paris, 31 December, 1347.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 84, fo.97r-v, no.170 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians du sens, discretion et loiaute de noz amez et feaux les contes de Foix et de Lille, yceulx, et chascun d'eulx, avons fait et faisons noz lieuxtenants especiaux et generaux en Gascoigne, Agenois, Bourdalois et en les autres parties de la Languedoc. Aux quiex noz lieuxtenants, et a chascun d'eux, nous avons donne et donnons plain pouvoir et auctorite de mettre establies de genz d'armes en noz chasteaux et villes, et autres lieux de noz subgiez, si comme il verront que besoing sera. Et de assambler genz d'armes, pour la deffense de nostre royaume, toutes foiz que mestier sera. Et de rappeler bannis, et remettre mors et touz autres crimes faiz et commis, quiex qu'il soient, encore que il eussent commis leze de mageste, et de faire nobles, et de donner

nobilitacions, de confermer priveleges et coustumes, de donner lettres d'estat, de trespas, de non paier debtes a nobles et autres personnes, de faire chevaliers d'onneur, et de mectre, oster ou remuer de lieu en autres, seneschaus, viguiers, juges, chastellains, baillis et autres, quiex qu'il soient, a gaiges et sanz gaiges, et mectre en yceulx de nouveaux, de donner terre et rente de celle, toutevoie qui sa conquise, ou cas guerre soit sur le roy d'Angleterre et noz autres ennemis, la ou il verront qu'il sera a faire. Et toutes autres choses faire, et queles que elles puissent estre ou faire, que a noz lieuxtenants ou capitaines puissent et doivent appartenir. Et voulons que tout ce qui par noz lieuxtenants, ou par l'un d'eux, aura este fait, qu'il baille et tiengne sanz ceque par nous ou noz successours, roys de France, soit rappelle, et ce qu'il aura octroye par leurs lettres sur les choses dessus dites, ou ycelles touchans et dependans, voulons que vaille et tiengne fermement, et ycelles promectons en bonne foy confermer a requeste de partie, sanz contredit. Et avec ce, voulons que elles soient mises a exequution, non contrestant que elles ne soient veus ne passees par la chambre de noz comptes, selon nostre ordenance. La quelle nous ne voulons pas que festende ne comprenge quant a ce. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces lettres, a touz capitaines et receviers, seneschaus, maistres de monnoies, tresoriers et a touz noz autres officiers et subgiez qui ad present sont et qui pour le temps seront es parties dictes, et requerer touz autres noz amis, les quiex ne sont une noz subgies, que a noz diz lieuxtenants, et a chascun d'eulx, et aus deputez de par eulx, es choses dessus dictes et ycelles touchans et dependans, obeissent et entendons, diligement, en effect. En tesmoing de ces, nous avons fait mectre nostre seel.

Donne a Paris, le derniere jour de decembre, l'an de grace M.CCC. quarante et sept. Par le roy en son grant conseil. R. de Molins.

8. Letter of King Philip, appointing Le Galois de la Baume, knight, his lieutenant-general throughout Languedoc and in Saintonge; Nogent-le-Roi, 15 May, 1348.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 68, fos.493v-5r, no.387 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu rois de France, a tous ceux qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plein du sens, loiaute et diligence de nostre ame et feal chivalier et conseiller le Galois de la Balme, icellui chivalier avons fait, et faisons par la teneur de ces presentes, nostre lieutenant general en toutes les parties de la Languedoc et de Xanctonge. Au quel nostre lieutenant nous avons donne, et donnons plein povoir, auctorite et mandement de mectre, oster et remuer establies, et de faire assembler gens d'armes, toutefois et quantefois que besoing sera; de rapeller bannis; de remectre, quicter, et pardonner toutes manieres de crimes, tant de lese majeste comme autres; de faire restitucions de biens et de renommee; de oster, mectre, et remuer seneschaus, bailliz, prevoz, viguiers, juges, chastellans, receveurs, et tous noz autres officiers; de donner toutes manieres d'offices, a gaiges ou sans gaiges, a vie ou a volente; de donner les biens de noz rebelles, de noz propres rentes, devoirs et heritages, a vie ou a perpetuite, ou autrement en la maniere que bon li semblera a faire; de nobiliter non-nobles; de donner et octroier consulat et toutes manieres de privileges, franchises et libertez aus habitanz des villes et touz autres des dictes parties; de paier, ou faire paier, ou assigner toutes manieres de gages deserviz a qui deserviz seront en nos guerres. Et generalment de faire et ordener toutes les autres choses que nous ferions, ou faire porrions, se present y estions, les queles nous volons avoir pleine fermete, aussi comme se par nous estoient faites ou ordener, et passer par nostre conseil secret, et par la chambre de noz comptes, et, desja, nous les ratiffions et confermons, des lors, comme lors, et par lors, comme des lors. Et mander, et emoingnons, estroitment, a touz noz seneschaus, receveurs, maistres de noz monnoies, et a touz noz justiciers, officiers et subgiez, et les autres, regerons que a nostre dit lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, aussi comme a nous mesmes, diligement. Et ne volons pas que, pour ce, le povoir par nous donne et commis, par noz autres lettres, a noz amez et feaulz conseilliers l'arcevesque d'Aux et le conte de Lile, noz

lieuxtenants aussi es dictes parties, en soient en aucune maniere appeticie ne revoque d'ancois; volons tout leur povoir, contenu en noz dictes lettres, demourer en leur force et vertu. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mectre nostre petit seel en ces lettres.

Donne en l'abbaie de Coulons les Nogent le Roi, le XV jour de may, l'an de grace M.CCC.XL.VIII.

9. Letter of King Philip, appointing his councillor, Le Galois de la Baume, his lieutenant in Gascony and throughout Languedoc; Bois de Vincennes, 21 August, 1348. A. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Clairambault, vol.957 (Administration Provinciale: Languedoc), p.35 (original on parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceuls qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain de la loyaute, proeice, discrecion et diligence de nostre bien ame et feal chevalier et conseillier, le Galois de la Balme, ycellui avons ordene, fait et establi, ordenons, faisons et establissons, par ces presentes lettres, nostre lieutenant en Gascoigne et en toutes les parties et pays de la Languedoc. Et li avons donne et donnons povoir, auctorite et mandement especiauls de prandre, retenir et avoir a noz gages en touz les lieux, chasteauls, villes et fortreices des diz pays, et de chascun d'iceux, genz d'armes et de pie, arbalestiers, archiers et autres, tant et tel nombre comme bon li semblera pour la garde et deffense d'iceux pays, et pour grever et damagier noz ennemis; de faire armer, assembler, venir, aler et demourer les genz des diz pays, et de chascun d'iceux, nobles et autres, pour la garde et deffension des diz pays, et pour grever et damagier noz ennemis, toutes foiz et en tant de lieux comme bon li semblera; de mectre gardes, chastellains et autres officiers es chasteauls, fortreices et autres lieux des diz pays, et de chascun d'iceux, et de les oster, remectre, changier et muer toutes foiz que mestier sera et bon li semblera; de prouveoir aus enfortissemens, reperacions des chasteauls, villes et fortreices des diz pays, et de chascun d'iceux, tant de murs, fossez, brecesches, engins, espringales, arbalestes et de toutes

autres manieres d'artilleries, comme de blez, vins, lars et autres vivres et garnisons qu'exconques qui seront ou pourront estre necessaires ou proufitables pour la garde et deffension d'iceux; de rappeler toutes manieres de banniz et restablir a leur pays, a leur biens et bonne renomme; de pardonner toutes manieres de crimes, excès et deliz; de donner a vie, a volente, a heritage, ou autrement, sicomme bon li semblera, toutes manieres de forfaitures, offices et autres choses qui nous seront avenues ou eschoeites par quelconque maniere et pour quelconques causes que ce soit; de donner soubz son seel lettres de sauf conduit a teles genz comme li plaira, et lettres d'estat a touz ceux, tant de cheval comme de pie, qu'il aura pris et retenuz, ou fait prandre et retenir, pour nous servir es diz pays, ou aucuns d'iceux, les queles lettres soient receues par tout nostre royaume, en parlement et aillors, et voulons qu'il y soit obei tout aussi comme s'elles estoient seellees de nostre seel et passees par nous, senz relacion d'autruy. Et generalment de faire, en touz cas, les choses qui a lieutenant appartiennent et peuvent appartenir. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces lettres, a touz noz justiciers, officiers et subgiez es diz pays, nobles et autres, que a nostre dit lieutenant es choses dessus dites, et chascune d'icelles, et en toutes les circonstances et dependences d'icelles, obeissent et entendent, diligement. En tesmoin de ce, nous avons fait mettre nostre grant seel a ces lettres.

Donne au boys de Vincennes, le XXI^e jour d'aoust, l'an de grace Mil. trois cenz quarante et huit. Par le roy.
P.Blanchet.

10. Letter of King Philip, appointing his councillor, Guillaume, archbishop of Auch, his lieutenant throughout Gascony and Languedoc; Abbaye du Lis-lez-Melun, 17 January, 1348/9.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 78, fos.167v-8r, no.287 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Philippe, par la grace de Dieu roy de France. A touz ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que, pour la confiance que nous avons de la loyaulte,

diligence et souffisance de nostre ame et feal conseiller, l'arcevesque d'Aux, qui touzjours fest bien et loiaument portez et maintenuz envers nous, en faisant et gardant l'onneur et le proufit de nous et de noz subgez, nous le dit arcevesque avons fait, ordene et establi, faisons, ordenons et establissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, nostre lieutenant en tout et par tout le pays de Gascoingne et de toute la Languedoc. Et lui avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions, plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, pardessus touz capitainnes, seneschaux et autres officiers et commissaires, tout le dit pays; de prendre, mectre et retenir a noz gaiges tel nombre de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie, comme il verra qu'il sera neccessite pour la garde et deffense du pays et pour gouverner noz ennemis; de assembler, envoyer, mectre et establi, pour nous et depar nous, genz d'armes, nobles et non nobles, de cheval et de pie, en chastiaux et forteresces, et par tout ou il li plaira, et selon ce que bon li semblera; de croistre, apeticier, oster et chaingier toutes les establies, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie, faites et a faire ou dit pays, selon ce qu'il verra bon a faire; de cognoistre et ordener sur touz officiers, de les changer, muer, oster; de donner offices; de pardonner, quictier et remectre touz delis et touz meffaiz, criminaulx et civilz, et toutes peures, mulctes, amendes, criminiels et civils; de rappeler touz banniz, pour quelconques cas criminels et civils, et de les restabli a leurs pais et a leur renommee; et de faire en touz cas teles graces comme il li plaira; de donner lettres sur les choses dessus dites, et sur chascune d'ycelles, et lettres d'estat et de dilacions et respit a touz nobles et nonobles selon ce que bon li semblera. Et generalment de faire tout autant es choses dessus dites, et en chascun d'icelles, et en tout ce qui y peut et doit appartenir comme nostre lieutenant puet et doit faire. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces lettres, a touz noz capitaines, comissaires, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, quelz qu'il soient, que au dit arcevesque, comme a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, diligement. Et les lettres qu'il donra sur ces choses dessus dites, et sur chascun d'icelles, et tout ce qui y sera contenu, tiengnent, gardent et accomplissent, et facent tenir, garder et accomplir entierement. En tesmoing de ce nous avons fait seeller ces lettres du seel de nostre secret, en absence de nostre grant seel.

Donne en l'abbeye du Lis lez Meleiny, le XVII^e jour de janvier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. quarante huit. Par le roy

en son consoil, ou quel estoient l'arcevesque de Rouen, l'evesque de Laon, l'abbe de Corbie et pluseurs autres. Verriere.

11. Letter of King John, appointing his son Jean, count of Poitiers, his special and general lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Berry, Auvergne, Limousin, Gascony, and throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire; Le Gué de Longroi, 8 June, 1356.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes (Île de France et Orléanais; Berry, II), J 188B, no.1 (original on parchment; formerly sealed in pendant).

Jehan, par la grace de Dieu rois de France. A touz ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que comme, pour la garde, tuition et defense des pays de Poitou, de Xaintonge, Engoumois, Berri, Auvergne, Limousin et Gascongne, et de tous les pays et parties de nostre royaume qui sont pardela la riviere de Loire, nous envoions nostre treschere et ame filz, Jehan de France, conte de Poitou. Nous, pour le bon des diz lieux, avons fait, ordene et establi, ordenons et establissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, nostre dit filz nostre especial et general lieutenant, pour gouverner noz guerres es dictes parties, et pour y faire et establiir capitaines, chastellains et toutes manieres d'officiers, donner et bailler offices, quelz qu'il soient, pour instituer et destituer officiers, pour recevoir a noz gages toutes gens d'armes, de cheval et de pie, pour assembler et faire assembler, mener, envoyer et establiir toutes manieres de gens, nobles et non-nobles, en quelcunques lieux et en quelcunque maniere et en quelcunque nombre qu'il verra bon a faire, pour donner et otroier lettres d'estat et lettres de sauf conduit, pour faire bannissemens de nostre royaume, et de toutes particulers parties d'icelli, pour rappeler et mectre au nient touz bannissemens, fais et a faire, tant par li comme par noz officiers, quelz qu'il soient, pour donner et otroier offices et forfaitures, a temps et a vie, selon ce qu'il li plaira, pour pardonner, quictier et remectre, de grace

especial, touz meffais, en touz cas quelz qu'il soient, criminelz et civilz, pour donner, quictier et remectre toutes amendes pecuniars, jugiees et a jugier, par quelcunques personnes es parties dessus dictes, et en chascun d'icelles. Et generalment pour faire et ordener eiz dictes parties, et en chascune d'icelles, en touz cas et toutes choses, tout autant et tout aussint comme nous mesmes ferions et faire porrions se nous y estions presens, jasoit ce, que la chose requerist mandement especial, et pour donner et otroier ses lettres sur toutes les choses dessus dictes, et sur chascune d'icelles, tant de grace especial comme de justice, selon ce qu'il li plaira. Et donnons et otroions, par ces lettres, a nostre dit filz, comme a nostre lieutenant, general administration, plain pooir, auctorite et mandement especial en toutes les choses dessus dictes, et chascune d'icelles, et en celles qui en dependent. Et volons et otroions, par ces lettres, de nostre auctorite et plain pooir royal, et de certaine science, que toutes les graces, les ordenances, les lettres, et tout ce qu'il fera touchant les choses dessus dictes, et les dependances d'icelles, vaillent et tiegnent, et aient plain effect tout aussint comme se nous, de nostre auctorite royal, de certaine science et de grace especial les avions otroiees et faites a plaine deliberation. Mandans, par ces lettres, a touz noz justices, officiers et subgiez, quelz qu'il soient, nobles et non-nobles, de quelcunque auctorite ou estat soient, que a nostre dit filz, comme a nostre lieutenant, es choses dessus dictes, et en toutes celles qui en dependent, obeissent et entendent, diligement, sanz aucun contredit, et sanz autre mandement avoir ne attendre. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait seeler ces lettres du seel de nostre chastellet de Paris, en absence de nostre grant.

Donne au Gue de Loue Roy, le VIII jour de juing, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante et sis. Par le roy. Verriere. Paris.

12 a. Letter of Charles, eldest son of King John, and his lieutenant-general, appointing his brother Jean, count of Poitiers, lieutenant of the king and himself throughout Languedoc; Paris, 14 December, 1357.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes (Île de France et Orléanais; Berry, II), J 188B, no.3 (original on parchment; formerly sealed in pendant).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, et son lieutenant general par tout le royaume de France. A tous ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que, pour la garde, tuition et deffense de toutes les parties de la Languedoc, nous, en ycelles parties envoions nostre tres chere et tres ame frere, Jehan, conte de Poitou, et en toutes les dictes parties l'avons fait, ordene et establi, faisons, ordenons et establissons, par ces presentes, lieutenant de nostre dit seigneur et de nous, pour gouverner les dictes parties, tant en fait de guerre, de justice, comme autrement, et pour y faire et establiir capitaines, chastellains, et toutes manieres d'officiers, donner et baillier offices, quelz qu'il soient, pour instituer et destituer officiers, exceptez seneschaux, tresoriers, juges, receveurs, maistres et gardes, et gens de monnoies; pour retenir aus gages de nostre dit seigneur et de nous, toutes gens d'armes, de cheval et de pie; pour assembler, et faire assembler, mener, envoyer et establiir toutes manieres de gens, nobles et non-nobles, en quelconques lieux, et en quelconque maniere, et en quelconque nombre que il verra bon a faire; pour donner et octroier lettres d'estat, de sauf conduit; pour faire banissemens du royaume, et pour rappeler et mectre au nient tous banissemens faiz et a faire es dictes parties, tant par luy comme par les officiers de nostre dit seigneur et de nous, quelz qu'il soient; pour traictier et acorder avec les ennemis, et les amener en obeissance de nostre seigneur et de nous, a leur remectre toute poire, criminele et civile; pour donner et octroyer forfaitures, a temps et a vie, selon ce que il li plaira; pour pardonner, quictier et remectre, de grace especial, tous meffaiz, en tous cas quelconques que il soient, criminelz et civilz, commis et a commeictre es dictes parties; pour donner, quictier et remectre toutes amendes pecuniares, jugies et a jugier, quelconques personnes es parties dessus dictes, et en chascune d'icelles. Et generalment pour faire et ordener es dictes parties, et en chascune d'icelles, en tous cas en toutes les choses dessus dictes, tout autant et tout aussi comme nous memes ferions et faire pourrions se nous

y estions presens; jasoit ce que la chose requerist mandement especial. Et pour donner et octroyer ses lettres sur toutes les choses dessus dictes, et sur chascune d'icelles, tant de grace especial comme de justice, selon ce qui li plaira. Et donnons et octroyons, par ces presentes, a nostre frere, comme a lieutenant de nostre dit seigneur et de nous, administration, plain pouvoir, auctorite et mandement especial en toutes les choses dessus dictes, et en chascun d'icelles, et en celles qui en dependent. Et voulons et octroyons, par ces lettres, de l'auctorite et plain pouvoir royaul, desquies nous usons, et de certaine science, que toutes les graces, les ordenances et les lettres, et tout ce que il fera touchanz les choses dessus dictes, et les dependences d'icelles, vailent et tiengnent et aient plain effect, tout aussi comme se nous de la dicte auctorite, de certaine science et de grace especial, les avions octroyees et faites. Mandons, par ces lettres, a tous les justices, officiers et subgiez, quelz que il soient, nobles et non-nobles, de quelconque auctorite et estat que il soient, que a nostre dit frere, comme a lieutenant de nostre dit seigneur et de nous, es choses dessus dictes, et en chascune d'icelles, et en toutes celles qui en despendent, obeissent et entendent, diligement, senz aucun contredit et senz autre mandement avoir ne attendre. Et voulons, et est nostre entention, que nostre dit frere use de ce present pouvoir tant comme il nous plaira, et de nul autre de quelconque fourme et auctorite qu'il soit, ait, este et puisse estre donne, lequel et lesquies autres que ce present, nous reputons, nulz cassons anullons et rapellons, par ces presentes, et voulois que en riens n'y soit obey. Et rapellons desmaintenant, par ces presentes, tous autres capitaines et lieux tenants es dictes parties ordenez et establiz par nostre dit seigneur ou par nous, de quelconque estat soient, et anullons tout leur pouvoir. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mectre a ces lettres le seel de chastellet de Paris, en l'absence du grant seel nostre dit seigneur.

Donne a Paris, le XIII^{ie}. jour de decembre, l'an de grace Mil. trois cens cinquante et sept. Par monsieur le duc. Journeur.

12 b. Letter of King John, appointing his son Jean, count of Poitiers, his lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom south of the river Loire; by Windsor, 8 January, 1358.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes (Île de France et Orléanais; Berry II), J 188B, no.2 (original on parchment; formerly sealed in pendant).

Lettre de lieutenant pour son lie de monsieur d'Armagnac ou paie de Languedoc, fait l'an M.CCC.LVII, VIII jour de janvier.

Johannes Dei gracia Francorum rex. Universis presentes litteras inspecturis salutem. Notum facimus quod, cum carissimus et fidelis consanguineus noster, comes Armaniaci, nostrum locum tenentem in partibus occitanis, onus regendi partes easdem, quod subiit de nostro mandato, et diu tenuit, dimiserit, nos carissimum filium nostrum Johannem, comitem Pictavensem, locum tenentem nostrum generalem in universis et singulis partibus regni nostri ultra fluvium Ligeris fecimus ac facimus et tenore presencium ordinamus, commictentes eidem regimen parcium earundem et subditorum ipsarum tam super exhibenda justicia quam facto guerrarum, et potestatem plenariam faciendi et ordinandi universa et singula, que ad officium locum tenentis nostri pertinent et possunt quomodolibet pertinere, et volentes exnunc quicquid per ipsum filium et locum tenentem nostrum factum ordinatumve fuerit obtinere roboris firmitatem. In cujus rei testimonium nostrum presentibus litteris fecimus apponi sigillum.

Datum apud Windesores die VIII^a januarii anno Domini millesimo CCC^o quinquagesimo septimo. Per Regem. Yvo.

13. Letter of King John, appointing Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, his lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Angoumois, Périgord and all the lands between the rivers Loire and Dordogne; Paris, 6 March, 1351/2.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 81, fos.312r-3r, no.607 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment)

Jehans, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A tous ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que, pour la confiance que nous avons de la loiaute, diligence et souffisance de nostre ame et feal chevalier, Arnoul, sire d'Audenehan, mareschal de France, qui tous jours s'est bien et loiaument portes et maintenus envers nous en faisant et gardant l'onneur et proffit de nous et de nos subgiez, nous le dit Arnoul avons fait, ordene, commis et establi, faisons, ordenons, connectons et establissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, nostre lieutenant en tous et par tous les pais de Poitou, Xantonge, Limosin, Engolmois et Pierregort, et generaument en tous les lieux entre les rivieres de Loire et de la Dourdoigne, non obstant que nostre tres cher et feal cousin le conte d'Engolesme, connestable de France, soit es dit pays nostre lieutenant semblablement. Et li avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions plain pooir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, par dessus tous autres capitaines, seneschaux et autres officiers et commissaires, tous les diz pais; de prendre, mettre et retenir a nos gaiges tel nombre de gens d'armes, de cheval et de pie, comme il verra qu'il sera necessite pour la garde et deffense des diz pais, et pour contrestre a nos ennemis; de assembler, envoier, mettre et establi, pour nous et de par nous, gens d'armes, nobles et non nobles, de cheval et de pie, en chastiaux, en forteresses, et partout ou il plaira, selonc que bon li samblera, et de fait abatre les diz chasteaux et forteresses des dis pais, et razer et mettre a terre se il li semble que besoing soit, et de faire au profit de nostre royaume si comme bon li samblera, et de croistre, appeticier, oster et changier toutes les establies, garnisons et charges de gens d'armes, de cheval et de pie, faites et a faire es dis pais, selonc ce qu'il verra bon a faire; de cognoistre et ordener seur tous officiers, de les changier, muer et oster, de donner offices, de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz deliz et touz meffais, crimineulz et civilz, et de toutes peinnes, multes et amendes, criminelz et civilz; de rappeler tous banniz, pour quelconques cas civilz ou criminelz, et de restabli a leurs biens, au pais et a leur renommee, et de faire en

tous cas tele grace comme il li plaira, et de donner lettres sur les choses dessus dites, et chascune d'icelles, et lettres d'estat et de dilacion et respit a tous nobles et non nobles, selon ce que bon li semblera, et generaument et especiaument de faire tout autant es choses dessus dictes et en chascune d'icelles, et toutes autres choses, tant en general que en especial, comme nous porrions faire se nous y estions personelement, sauf de donner nostre demaine. Les queles choses, et chascune d'icelles, nous promectons a confermer en las de soye et cire vert, ou autant selon ce qu'il appartendra, toutefois que nous on serons requis. Si donnons en mandement, par le teneur de ces lettres, a tous chapitaines, commissaires, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, quelz que il soient, que au dit Arnoul, obeissent et entendent, diligement. Et les lettres qu'il donrra sur les choses dessus dictes et chascune d'icelles, et tout ce qui y sera contenu, tiegnent et gardent et accomplissent, et fachent tenir, garder et accomplir entierement. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le VI^e. jour de mars, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. chincquante et un. Par le conseil, ou quel vous esties. Maliter.

14. Letter of King John, appointing Jean de Clermont, lord of Chantilly, marshal of France, his lieutenant in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, Limousin and other places between the rivers Loire and Dordogne, and in Auvergne; Paris, 1 January, 1354/5.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 86, fos.14v-15v, no.37 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Jehan, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, pour la confiance que nous avons de la loyaulte, diligence et soufissance de nostre ame et feal chevalier et conseilier, Jehan de Clermont, sire de Chantilly, mareschal de France, ycelui, nostre chevalier, avons fait ordenne, commis et establi, faisons, ordenons, connectons

et establissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, nostre lieutenant es parties de Poitou, Xantonge, de Angoumoiz, Pierregort, Lymosin et autres feaus entre les rivieres de Loire et de Dourdoingne, et aussi es parties d'Auvergne, et lui avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions, plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, par dessus touz autres capitaines, senescals et autres officiers et commissaires, touz les diz pais; de prendre, mectre et retenir a noz gaiges tielx nombre de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie, comme il verra qu'il sera neccessaire pour la garde et deffense des diz pais, et pour contrestre a noz ennemis; de assembler, envoyer, mectre et establir, pour nous et depar nous, gens d'armes, nobles et non nobles, de cheval et de pie, es chasteauls et forteressces, et pour tout la ou il lui plaira, et selonc ce que bon li samblera, et de faire abatre les diz chasteauls et forteressces des diz pais, et de raser et mectre a terre, se il lui semble que besoing soit, et de faire au prouffit de nostre royaume sicomme bon lui semblera, et de croistre, appeticier, oster et changer toutes les establies, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes, de chevaulx et de pie, faites et a faire es diz paiz, selon ce que il verra bon a faire; de cognoistre et ordener sur touz officiers, de les changier, muer et oster; de donner offices; de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz deliz et touz meffaiz, criminelx et civilz, et de toutes pames, meurtres et amendes, criminelles et civiles; de rappeller touz banniz, pour quelconques cas, civilz et criminelz, et de restablir les au pais et a leur renommee; de recevoir et retenir a nostre pais et obeissance touz rebelles, et leur quicter et remectre touz fourfaiz et deliz, amendes et prononciacions, tant de corps comme de biens, et de faire en touz cas telle grace comme il leur plaira, et de donner lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et a chascun d'icelles, et lettres d'estat, de dilacion et de respit, a touz nobles et non nobles, selon ce que bon lui semblera. Et generalment et especialment, de faire autant es choses dessus dites, et chascun d'icelles, et toutes autres choses, tant en general comme en especial, comme nous pourrions faire se nous y estions personnelment, sauf de donner nostre demaine. Les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous promectons a confermer en laz de

soie et cire vert, ou autrement selonc ce qu'il appartendra, touteffoiz que nous en serons requis. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces lettres, a touz autres capitaines, commissaires, justiciers et subgiez, quiex qu'il soient, que a nostre dit chevalier obeissent et entendent, diligement, et les lettres qu'il donna sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles, et tout ce qui y sera contenu, tiengnent, gardent et accomplissent, et facent tenir, garder et accomplir entierement. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mectre le seel de nostre chastellet de Paris, en absence de nostre grant, a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le primer jour de janvier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LIIII.

15. Letter of King John, appointing Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, his lieutenant in Normandy; Paris, 2 August, 1353.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 84, no.17 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Jehan, par la grace de Dieu roys de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain de la souffisance, loyaulte et diligence de nostre ame et feal chevalier et conseiller Arnoul, sire d'Audenehan, mareschal de France, ycellui avons fait, ordonne et établi, faisons, ordonnons et établissons par ces presentes nostre lieutenant es parties de toute Normandie; auquel nostre lieutenant nous avons donne et donnons par ces lettres plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de faire assemblees et mandement de genz d'armes et de pie et de les retenir a noz gaiges pour la deffence dudit pais et de nos sujets, tant et tel nombre comme bon li semblera, de viseter les chastiaux, villes et forteresses d'icellui pais, de les garnir de vivres et de artillerie et de y establir genz d'armes et de pie, selonc ce qu'il verra que mestier sera pour la garde et deffense d'iceulx chasteaux et forteresses, de oster, changier ou muer chastellains ou autres officiers deputez a cause des guerres es dites parties, de les corriger

et punir si il meffesoient en aucune maniere, de les restituer et instituer en leurs offices; de rappeler bannis hors de nostre royaume pour quelconque cause que ce soit, de recevoir et faire venir et retourner a nostre obeissance touz rebelles, soient de nostre royaume ou de hors, et de leur pardonner touz cas criminels et civil touttefois que bon li semblera, de donner et octroyer lettres d'estat aux genz d'armes qui sont a noz gaiges souz son gouvernement es dites parties, de donner de nostre aux genz d'armes et de pie oultre leurs gages ce qui li plaira et toutez foiz qu'il verra que bon sera a faire et generalment de faire toutes les choses et chascune d'icelles appartenant a office de lieutenant ou capitaine et que nous porrions faire se presens y estions excepte de donner, aliener ou transporter de nostre heritage ou demaine; promettant loyaulment avoir et tenir ferme et estable toutes les choses et chascune d'icelles que par nostre dit lieutenant seront faites et ordenees, de les confermer en las de soie et en cire vert ou autrement par noz lettres touteffois que mestier en sera et nous en serons requis. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces lettres, a tous chapitaines, commissaires, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, quelz que il soient, que au dit Arnoul, obeissent et entendent, diligement. Et les lettres qu'il donrra sur les choses dessus dictes et chascune d'icelles, et tout ce qui y sera contenu, tiegnent et gardent et accomplissent, et fachent tenir, garder et accomplir entierement. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le II jour d'aoust, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante et troys.

16 a. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte of Châtellerault, lieutenant-general of King John and himself in the baillages of Rouen, Caux, Caen and Cotentin.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 90, fos.134v-5v, no.257 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz

ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain du sens et loyaute et deligence de nostre ame et feal chevalier et cousin, messire Loys de Harecourt, viconte de Chastellerault, ycelui avons fait, commis et establi, faisons, connectons et establissons, par ces presentes, pour et ou nom de monseigneur et de nous, nostre lieutenant general es bailliages de Rouen, Caux, Caen et Coustentin, tant comme il plaira a monseigneur et a nous, en rappelant touz autres lieutenants ou capitaines faiz par monseigneur et nous es dictes pays. Et lui avons donne et donnons plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de faire mandemens et assemblees de genz d'armes, archiers, arbalestriers, de pie et de cheval, et autres genz competens, et les retenir aus gaiges ou dit pais, tant tel nombre, et toutes foiz que mestier sera. Et yceulx mener, et faire chevauciees ou bon luisemlera, pourveu que les forteresses soiens et demeurent garnies entierement; de visiter les villes, chasteaulx et forteresses estanz es diz pais, de les garnir de genz d'armes et autres de vivres, artilerie et autres choses neccessaires; de mectre gardes, capitaines et chastelains es diz lieux, et yceulx oster et casser, toutefois que le cas requerra, et non autrement; de mectre establies es dictes forteresses, tant et tel nombre comme bon li semblera, et de yceulx casser, croistre et appeticier, toutes et quantefoiz que mestier sera; de donner et octroier ses lettres de sauf conduit a toutes personnes de l'obesseince de monseigneur, et a autres a qui il verra qu'il sera a faire pour l'onneur et prouffit de monseigneur, de nous et du dit pais. Et touz rebelles et mal vuillanz du dit royaume qu'il seroient trouvez avec noz ennemis, et qu'il voudroient venir a nostre vraie obeissance, recevoir a composicion, et leur donner ses lettres de remission sur ce; de mectre ordonnance sur toutes raencons qui se lievent au dit pais, tant par les capitaines des forteresses de nostre obeissance, et noz justiciers et subgiez des terres de l'obeissance de noz ennemis, que de sur celles qui se lievent des subgiez de monseigneur et nous par noz genz ou dit pais, par maniere de subside, ou autrement. Et de les oster, diminuer et abassier, selon ce que bon leur semblera; de imposer toutes manieres de subsides et aides sur les subgiez des diz pais, pour le fait de la guerre, du consentement et acort des subgiez, ou de la graigneur et plus saine partie d'iceulx; de faire

raser et abatre toutes manieres de forterescs qu'il seroient prejudiciables ou pais; de faire emparer et enforcier touz lieux qui li sembleroient estre tenables pour la deffense du pais, et de faire contribuer a la fortificacion d'icelles toutes personnes, par voies raisonnables, qui a ce soient tenues, et y donnes capitaines, tels et a tel que bon lui semblera; de faire assemblees a Rouen et ailleurs, touttefoiz que mestier sera, de genz d'eglise, nobles et bonnes villes, et leur demander conseil et aide pour le bien prouffit et la garde du pais; de contraindre deriemment toutes personnes qu'il seroient desobeissans; de comparoir aus dictes assemblees; de faire et ordener receveur, un ou plusieurs, pour recevoir les deniers des diz subsidies qu'il ordence ou impose es diz pais, les quieux seront tenuz de les baillis aus tresoriers des guerres ordenes es diz pais pour yceulx distribuer, par le mandement de nostre dit lieutenant, aus genz d'armes ordenez a la garde d'iceli pais, et non autrement; de souspendre touz officiers, ordenes sur le fait des guerres, qu'il ne seroient prouffitables a monseigneur, nous et au dit pais, jusques a ce que nous aions sur ce ordene; de donner et octroier ses lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles, les quelles nous promettons a confermer, toutes et quantes foiz que mestier sera, et nous en serons requis. Et generalment de faire toutes choses qui a office de bon et vrai lieutenant puent et doivent appartenir, en aucune maniere, sauf et reserve de donner le demaine de monseigneur et de nous, de ycelui alier, et de prendre le prouffit des monnoies et fores du dit pais, et aussi le X^{me}. denier a nous hoctroie par les habitans d'icelui. Si donnons en mandement, par ces presentes, a touz les justiciers et officiers et subgiez des diz pais, que au dit messire Loys, comme nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, deligement, et li prestent conseil et confort et aide, se mestier en a, et ilz en soit requis. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces presentes.

Donne a Paris, le XXVIII^e. jour de mars, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVIII.

16 b. Letter of King John, appointing his brother, Philip, duke of Orléans, his lieutenant-general in Picardy, Artois, Boulonnais and Ponthieu; Paris, 26 June, 1355.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 84, fo.124r-v, no.223 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Jehan, par la grace de Dieu roy de France. A touz ceulx qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir vous faisons que nous avons fait et establi, faisons et établissons, notre treschere et ame frere le duc d'Orleans, notre lieutenant general es parties de Picardie, d'Artoys, de Boulonnoys et de Pontieu, et li avons donne et commis povoir et auctorite de faire mandement et assembler de genz d'armes et de pie, et de les mener et conduire contre noz ennemis, a la garde et deffense du dit pais, touteffoiz qu'il verra que mestier en sera; de donner et octroyer toutes manieres de lettres, tant de grace comme de justice, et de faire toutes les choses qui peut faire general lieutenant touchans fait de guerre (et) autrement, et tout ce que nous pourrions faire se nous y estions presens. Et nous aurons aggreable et confermerons ce qui par lui en sera fait. En tesmoing de ce nous avons fait mectre notre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le XXVI jour de juing, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante et cinq.

17. Letter of King John, appointing Arnoul, lord of Audrehem, marshal of France, his lieutenant in Picardy, Artois and Boulonnais; Paris, 1 January, 1354/5.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 84, fos.101v-2v, no.179 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Jehan, par la grace de Dieu roy de France. A touz ceuls qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que, pour la confiance que nous avons de la loyaute, diligence et souffissance de nostre ame et feal chevalier et conseiller, Arnoul d'Audeneham, mareschal de France, ycellui avons fait et ordonne, commis et establi, faisons, ordonnons, connectons et établissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, nostre lieutenant es parties de Piquardie, d'Arthois et de Boulonnois. Et li avons donne et octroye, donnons et octroions plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, par dessus touz autres capitaines,

seneschaux et autres officiers et commies, touz lez dis pais, de prendre, mectre et retenir a noz gages tel nombre de gens d'armes, de cheval et de pie, comme il verra qu'il sera necessaire pour la garde et deffense des diz pais, et pour contester a noz ennemis; de assambler, envoyer, mectre et establir, pour nous et de par nous, genz d'armes, nobles et non nobles, de cheval et de pie, en chastiaux et forteresses, et partout la ou il li plaira, selon ce que bon li samblera, et de faire abatre les diz chasteaux et forteresses des diz pais, et raser et mectre a terre se il li samble que besoing soit, et de faire au profit de nostre royaume ce que bon lui samblera, et de croistre, apeticier, oster et changier toutes les establies, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie, faites et a faire es diz pais, selon ce qu'il verra bon a faire; de cognoistre et ordenner sur touz officiers, de les changier, muer et oster; de donner offices, de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz deliz et touz meffais, criminels et civils, de toutes paines, murtres et amendes, criminels et civils; de rappeler touz bannis, pour quelconque cas, civils et criminels, et de restablir a leurs biens, au pais et a leur renomee, et de faire en touz cas telle grace comme il li plaira, et de donner lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascune d'icelles, et lettres d'estat et de dilacion et respit a touz nobles et non nobles, selon ce que bon lui samblera. Et generalment et especialment de faire tout autant es choses dessus dictes, et en chascune d'icelles, et en toutes autres choses, tant en general comme en especial, comme nous pourrions faire se nous y estions personelement, sauf de donner nostre demaine. Les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous promectons a confirmer en las de soie et cire vert, ou autrement selon ce qu'il appartendra, toutes foiz que nous serons requis.

en / Si donnons et mandons, par la teneur de ces lettres, a touz autres capetaines, commissaires, justiciers et subgiez, quiex qu'il soient, que a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, diligement. Et les lettres qu'il donna sur les choses dessus dixtes et chascun d'icelles, et tout qui sera contenu, tiennent, gardent et accomplissent, et facent tenir, garder et accomplir entierement. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait mectre le seel de nostre chastellet de Paris, en absence de nostre grant, a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le primer jour de janvier, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante et quatre.

18. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant of King John and himself in Picardy, Beauvaisis and the region adjoining the river Oise; Paris, 24 August, 1358.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Tresor des Chartes, JJ 90, fos.22r-3r, no.46 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Sçavoir faisons que nous, confians a plain du sens, loyaulte et diligence de nostre treschere et tresame cousin, le conte de Saint-Pol, ycellui avons commis et établissons, par la teneur de ces presentes lettres, lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous es parties de Picardie et de Beauvoisin, et generalment par touz les lieux de la riviere d'Oise, et li avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions plain povoir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, par dessus touz autres capitaines, officiers et commissaires, touz les diz pays de Picardie; de prendre, mectre et revenir, aus gaiges de monseigneur et de nous, telz nombres de genz d'armes, de cheval et de pie comme il verra qu'il sera necessaire et pourfitable pour la garde, seurte et deffense ou dit pays, et pour contrestre a noz ennemis; d'assambler, mectre, envoyer et establir par nostre dit seigneur, pour nous et de par nous, genz d'armes, nobles et non-nobles, de cheval et de pie, en chasteaulx et forteresses tenables, et par tout la ou proffitaible et bon li semblera a faire; de faire abatre, raser et mectre a terre les diz chasteaulx et forteresses du dit pays, se besoings en est, et de faire au pourfit du dit royaume tout ce que bon et neccessaire sera a faire pour la meilleur seurte et defense d'icelui; de croistre, apeticier, oster et changier toutes les establiez, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes, de chevaulx et de pie, faites et a faire es diz pais, selonc ce que pourfitable et bon verra a faire; de cognoistre et ordener sur touz officiers, de les changier, muer et oster, excepte

ceulx qui longuement et loyaulment auront servi monseigneur et nous, et aunproffit et gre des diz pays, en leurs offices ou il exercent leurs officiers; de donner offices a personnes convenables, et qui bien l'auront desservi; de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz delis et meffaiz, crimineuls et civils, touz murtres, et toutes paines et amendes, civiles et crimineles, de rappeler touz banis, pour quelconques cas, crimineulx et civils, de les restablir a leurs biens, au pais et a leur renommee, et de faire en toutes cas dessus nommez, et autres semblables, tele grace comme il li plaira; de donner ses lettres sus les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles; de donner lettres d'estat, de respit et de dilacion a touz nobles et non-nobles qui, sanz fraude, seront en personne ou fait de noz guerres. Et generalment et especialment de faire tout autant es choses dessus dictes, et en toutes autres et chascunes d'icelles, tant en general comme en especial, comme nous ferions et pourrions faire se nous y estions personnellement, sauf excepte crime de lese mageste et de donner le demaine de monseigneur et de nous, les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous promettons a confermer en laz de soie et cire vert, ou autrement selon ce qu'il sera a faire de raison, quant nous en serions requis. Si donnons en mandement, par la teneur de ces presentes, a touz autres capitaines, justiciers, officiers et subgiez du dit royaume, quels que il soient, que a nostre dit cousin le cousin (sic), le conte de Saint-Pol, comme a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, deligement, et les lettres qu'il donra sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles, et tout ce qui y sera contenu, il tiegnent, gardent et accomplissent, et facent tenir, garder et accomplir, entierement. En tesmoingn de ce, nous avons fait mectre nostre seel a ces presentes lettres.

Donne a Paris, le XXIIII^e. jour d'aoust, l'an Mil.CCC. LVIII. Et estoient ainsi signees: Par monseigneur le regent. Ogier.

19. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Robert, lord of Fiennes, constable of France, lieutenant of King John and himself in Picardy, Vermandois, Beauvaisis

and the neighbouring places; Paris, 6 December, 1358.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 88, fos.37v-9r, no.57 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz ceulz qui ces lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain de la loyaute et diligence de nostre treschere et ame cousin, le seigneur de Fiennes, connestable de France, ycellui avons fait et establi, faisons, ordenons et establissons, par la teneur de ces lettres, lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous es parties de Picardie, de Vermandois, de Beauvoisin et des autres lieux voisins, de et par dessus touz autres lieuxtenants et capitaines establiz es diz pais, tant comme il y sera et demourra, et li avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroyons, plain pouvoir, auctorite et mandement especial de garder et gouverner, par dessus touz autres lieuxtenants et officiers, le pais dessus dit, de prendre, mectre et tenir aus gages de monseigneur et de nous, tel nombre de genz d'armes et de pie comme il verra qu'il sera necessaire et proffitable pour la garde et deffense des diz pays, et de chascun d'eulz, et pour contester a noz ennemis; de mectre, envoyer et establi genz d'armes et de pie en chasteaux et forteresces, tenables sicomme bon li semblera; de faire abatre, eraser et mectre a terre les diz chasteaux et forteresces des pais dessus diz, se besoing en estoit, de faire au proffit du dit royaume tout ce que bon et necessaire li semblera pour la meilleur seurte et deffense d'ycellui royaume; de croistre et apeticier, oster et changier toutes establies, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes et de pie, faites et a faire es diz pais, selon ce que proffitable et bon verra a faire; de cognoistre et ordener sur touz officiers, de les changier, muer et oster, se il veroit que bon feust, et en lieu d'yceulz mectre et establi autres souffisant pour les diz offices faire et gouverner; de donner offices, a volente et a vie; de rappeler banniz du dit royaume, et faire graces sur quelconques cas qu'il aient este banniz, et de les restabli a leurs biens ou pais, et a leur renommee; de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz deliz et touz meffaiz, criminelz et civilz, et toutes paines, multes et amendes, criminelz

et civilz, et de faire en touz cas telz graces comme il lui plaira; de prendre, se mestier estoit, touz deniers appartenant a monseigneur et nous, tant de receptes ordinaires des dis pays comme des subsides, aides, forfaitures, amendes, compositions et autres choses quelconques, pour les tourner et convertir ou prouffit de noz presentes guerres; de donner ses lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles, de donner lettres d'estat, de dilacion et respit a touz nobles et autres qui seront es pays dessus diz ou service de monseigneur et le nostre, ou qui souffisans y enverront pour eulx. Et generaument de faire, ordener et commander toutes autres choses que nous ferions, ou fere pourriens se nous y estiens present, jasoit ce, que elles requessent mandement especial, ou feussent plus grans que dessus n'est exprime, excepte tant seulement de donner aucune chose du demaine du dit royaume, les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous aurons et averons, desmaintenant, fermes et agreables, et promectons a confermer en las de soye et cire vert, ou autrement, quant nous en serons requis. Si donne en mandement a touz autres liextenants, capitaines, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, tant des diz pays comme d'autre part du dit royaume, quex qu'il soient, que a nostre dit cousin, le connestable, comme a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, diligement, et lui baillier force, conseil et aide. En tesmoing de ce nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le VI^e jour de decembre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LVIII.

20. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant of King John and himself in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise; Melun, 14 July, 1359.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 89, fo.194r-v, no.442 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain de la loyauté de

et civilz, et de faire en touz cas telz graces comme il lui plaira; de prendre, se mestier estoit, touz deniers appartenant a monseigneur et nous, tant de receptes ordinaires des dis pays comme des subsides, aides, forfaitures, amendes, compositions et autres choses quelconques, pour les tourner et convertir ou prouffit de noz presentes guerres; de donner ses lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et chascun d'icelles, de donner lettres d'estat, de dilacion et respit a touz nobles et autres qui seront es pays dessus diz ou service de monseigneur et le nostre, ou qui souffisans y envoieront pour eulx. Et generaument de faire, ordener et commander toutes autres choses que nous ferions, ou fere pourriens se nous y estiens present, jasoit ce, que elles requieissent mandement especial, ou feussent plus grans que dessus n'est exprime, excepte tant seulement de donner aucune chose du demaine du dit royaume, les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous aurons et averons, desmaintenant, fermes et agreables, et promectons a confermer en las de soye et cire vert, ou autrement, quant nous en serons requis. Si donne en mandement a touz autres liextenants, capitaines, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, tant des diz pays comme d'autre part du dit royaume, quex qu'il soient, que a nostre dit cousin, le connestable, comme a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, diligement, et lui baillier force, conseil et aide. En tesmoing de ce nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Paris, le VI^e jour de decembre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.IV.III.

20. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Guy de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, lieutenant of King John and himself in Picardy, Beauvaisis and Vermandois north of the river Oise; Melun, 14 July, 1359.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 89, fo.194r-v, no.442 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, confians a plain de la loyaute de

nostre treschere et ame cousin, messire Guy de Chasteillon, conte de Saint-Pol, ycelui avons fait, ordenne et establi, faisons ordenons et establissons, par la teneur de ces presentes, lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous es parties de Picardie, de Beauvoisiz et de Vermandois oultre la riviere d'Oize, de et par dessus touz autres lieutenants et capitaines establiz es diz pays, tant comme il sera et demoura. Et li avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions plain pouvoir, auctorite, mandement especial de garder et gouverner pardessus touz autres lieutenants, capitaines et officiers, les pays dessus diz; de prendre, mectre et retenir aus gaiges de monseigneur et de nous, tel nombre de genz d'armes et de piet comme il verra qu'il sera necessite et proffitable pour la garde, seurte et deffense des diz pays et de chascun d'eulx, et pour contrestre a noz ennemis; de mectre, envoyer et establir genz d'armes et de piet en chasteaulz et forteresses, tenables sicomme bon li semblera, de faire abatre, raser et mectre a terre les diz chasteaulx et forteresses des pays dessus diz, se besoing en estoit; de faire au proffit du dit royaume tout ce que bon et necessite li semblera pour la meilleur seurte et defense de ycelui royaume; de croistre, apethicher, oster et changier toutes establies, garnisons et charges de genz d'armes et de piet faites, et a faire es diz pays ce que bon et profitable verra a faire; de cognoistre et ordener sur touz officiers, de les changier, muer et oster, se il veoit que bon feust, et en lieu d'iceulx mectre et establir autres souffisant pour les diz offices faire et gouverner; de donner offices a volente et a vie; de rappeler bannis du dit royaume, et faire graces pour quelconques cas qu'il aient este banniz, et de les restabli a leurs biens, ou pays et leur renommee; de pardonner, quicter et remectre touz deliz et touz meffaiz, crimineulz et civilz, et toutes paines, multes et amendes, crimineles et civiles, et de faire en touz cas telles graces comme il li plara; de prendre, se mestier estoit, touz deniers et prouffiz appartenants a monsiegneur et a nous, tant es recheiptes ordinaires des diz pays comme de subsidies, forfaitures, amendes, compositions et autres choses quelconques, pour les tourner et convertir en profit de noz presentes guerres, et en son estat raisonnable, selon ce que faire li couvendra de par et ou lieu de nous; de donner ses lettres sur les choses dessus dictes, et de chascun d'icelles; de donner lettres d'estat, de dilacion et respit a touz nobles et autres qui seront es

pays dessus diz ou service de monseigneur et nostre, ou qui soufisament y envoieront pour eulx. Et generalment de faire ordener et commander toutes autres choses que nous feriens ou faire pouriens se nous y estions presenz; jasoit ce, que elles requieissent mandement especial ou fussant plus grans que dessus n'est exprime, excepte tant seulement de donner aucune cose du demaine. Les quelles choses, et chascun d'icelles, nous aurons et avons, desmaintenant, fermes et agreables, et promectons a confermer quant nous en serons requis. Si donnons en mandement a touz autres lieutenants, capitaines, justiciers, officiers et subgiez, tant des diz pays comme d'autre part du dit royaume, quels que il soient, que a nostre dit cousin, comme a nostre lieutenant, obeissent et entendent, deligement, et li baillent forche, conseil et aide, se mestier en a, et il en sont requis. En tesmoing de la quelle cose, nous avons fait mectre nostre seel a ces presentes lettres.

Donne a Meuleun-sur-Saine, le XIIIIE. jour de juillet, l'an de grace Mil.CCC.LIX. Ainsi signe: Par monseigneur le regent en son conseil. P.Blanchet.

21 a. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing his brother Jean, count of Poitiers and Mâcon, lieutenant of King John and himself in the county and baillage of Mâcon and the sénéchaussée of Lyons; Saint-Denis, 12 September, 1359.

A. Archives Nationales, Layettes du Trésor des Chartres (Île de France et Orléanais; Berry II), J 188B, no.4 (original on parchment).

Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normandie et dalphin de Vienne. A tous ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Comme nous, en absence de notre dit seigneur, aions entrepris et nous appartienque le gouvernement du dit royaume, le quel nous desirrons et entendons maintenir et gouverner de tout notre pooir en bonne prosperite, al aide de Dieu et de noz vrais et loiaux amis; et nous, en notre personne, ne nous puissions mie bonnement transporter, ne estre bonnement en pluseurs parties du dit royaume, es queles

noz ennemis sont et conversent a present, pour resister et obvier a leurs emprises, mais couvient de neccessite que nous y ordenons et envoions les plus convenables, souffisans et profitables personnes que nous poons pour estre liextenant de monseigneur et de nous, et pour garder et gouverner ycelles parties; savoir faisons que, pour ce que nous avons entendu et nous a este rapporte que noz ennemis se sont ja trais, et encor entendent a traire, plus efforcierment ou pays de Masconnois et es parties environ, par quoy il est neccessite que nous y pourveons d'un lieutenant qui ait et doie avoir bonne volente et pooir de garder, gouverner et defendre le dit pais et les habitans d'icelui, et de resister, a l'aide de Dieu, aus mauvaises emprisez de noz ennemis; nous, considerans la bonne diligence, le bien et la souffisance de notre treschere et tresame frere le conte de Poitiers et de Mascon, au quel nous avons nouvellement donne la dite conte avec le baillage et les ressors de Masconnois; considerans aussi la grant volente et desir qu'il a, sicomme nous savons, certainement de garder et pourchacier, de tout son pooir, le bien et honneur de tout le royaume et des subgez d'icelui, et par especial que sur touz autres il voudroit garder et defendre le dit pais de Masconnois, sicomme tenuz y est; icelui notre dit frere avons fait, ordene, commis et establi, et par la teneur de ces presentes faisons, ordenons, connectons et establissons, de l'auctorite et puissance de notre dit seigneur, dont nous usons a present, de grace especial et de certaine science, lieutenant de monseigneur et le notre en toute la dite conte de Mascon et par tout le bailliage du dit lieu, sicomme il se comporte, tant en la seneschauciee de Lyon comme es autres liex et pais du dit bailliage et es ressors d'icelui, anciens et novviaux, et ou pais et marches environ, en rappelant et deboutant, par la teneur de ces presentes, touz autres liextenens, capitaines, ou autres commissaires qui par monseigneur ou par nous auroient par avant este ordenez et envoiez ou dit pais. Et li avons donne et donnons pooir, auctorite et puissance, de par notre dit seigneur et de par nous, de prendre et retenir genz d'armes et de pie, tel nombre comme il verra que bon serra, tant pour estre et demourer sur le dit pais pour la garde, seurte et defense d'icelui, comme pour faire guerre et aler contre les diz ennemis, quelconque paie qu'il les saura; de mectre et ordener les dites gens d'armes et de pie, ou partie d'iceulz, en garnisons et establies es villes, citez, chasteaux

et forteresces du dit pais, la ou il appartendra; de donner a yceulx telz gaiges, venues et recours comme il li plaira, de les casser et rapeller toutes et quantefoiz que bon li semblera; de croistre ou aniennisier les diz gaiges quant mestier sera; de mectre et ordener capitaines, chastellains et gouverneurs particuliers es dites citez, villes, chasteaux et forteresces, telx et tant comme bon li semblera pour gouverner et ordener les dites genz d'armes es diz liex et les mener hors quant mestier en sera; de oster et deposer, se bon li semble, les capitaines et chastellains qui sont liex dessus diz, et aussi ceux qui par li y seroient ordenez, et y mectre et ordener autres nouviaux si li sembloit que bon fust; de faire abatre et a raser toutes maisons et liex fors, quieux qu'il soient, qui seroient miyfaus ou domagables au pais environ, les quelles ne pouvient estre tenues et gardees bonnement contre la puissance de noz ennemis et par les quelles forteresces se noz diz ennemis y entroient le pais environ porroit estre exillie et destruit. Et pour plus prestement faire acomplir les choses dessus dites, et avoir finances pour paier les ditez genz d'armes et de pie, pour les mectre sur les champs quant besoing en sera, nous voulons que notre dit frere et lieutenant puist requerer et demander, ou faire demander et requerer, ou imposer sur les habitans du dit pais, es noms de monseigneur et de nous, impositions, tailles, aides et autres aides teles comme lez diz habitans porront souffrir et quelles doivent et puissent souffire pour le fait dessus dit. Et aussi li donnons pooir semblablement de requerer, au faire requerer et demander, es noms que dessus, emprumps pour convertir ou dit fait, tant a genz d'eglise, prelaz, chapitres et autres, comme a nobles, bonnes villes, bourgoiz et autres personnes de quelconque estat et condition qu'il soient; de commectre et ordener receveurs et souffisanz personnes a lever et recevoir les deniers qui en y serront et yceulx porter et baillier a notre dit frere et ses deputez, et leur en rendre compte bon et loial, et non ailleurs, pour convertir iceux deniers en la garde et deffense du pais dessus dit. Et avec ce, de rappeller banniz, de quictier et pardonner touz banz, de remectre mors et touz autres crimes faiz et commis, quieux qu'il soient parmi finance, et de composer sur les diz cas, suppose que ce fussent ccime de leze majeste; de faire nobles et donner nobilitations; de faire bourgoiz du dit royaume, ou des villes d'icelui; de faire et octroier amortissemens; de donner de nouvel toutes maneres de priveleges, a communes

et singuleirs personnes, et de confermer ceux qui soient donnez; et de ordener consulz, de donner lettres d'estat et de respit, de non paier debtes a nobles et autres personnes, en la manere qu'il verra qu'il sera a faire; de legitimer et donner legitimations, de adjoindre et unir villes, liex et chastiaux perpetuelement a la couronne de France; de manumectre et a franchir touz serfs; de faire et citer notaires et tabellions royaux, tant en la terre ou leu use, de droit escript, comme en pais coustumier; de cognoistre sur le fait des eaues et foriz et garennes, se mestier est, et sur la traitte des laines et autres demees qui seront menees hors du royaume; de donner et octroier barrages, impositions et autres aides pour les reperations et fortifications des villes et forterescs du dit pays; de cognoistre sur touz officiers qui se sont meslez, tant du fait des troiz estaz commes d'autres, et de recouvrer sur eulz tout ce qu'il porroient devoir par fin de compte, ou qu'il auroient trop excessivement receu pour leurs salaires; de composer et traire a finance touz usuers, faux billonneurs et changeurs ou monnoiers qui se sont meslez ou temps passe, de apporter ou faire apporter ou dit royaume fausses monnoies, ou cas toutevoies que autrefois veu auroient sine deuement envers monseigneur et nous; de ordonner et commectre ou dit pais, la ou il appartendra, personnes souffisanz pour garder que doiesenauant fausses monnoies, ou deffendues in soient prises ou mises; de prendre et mectre en sa main toutes les rentes et heritages que genz d'eglise, ou autres qui se porroient due, et appeller mains mortes auroient acquis depuis trente ou quarante anz, en-ca se sine veu avoient envers monseigneur et nous ou temps passe; de contreindre afaire amende convenable les achateurs et detenteurs des dites rentes et heritages, et semblablement de touz acquez faiz par non-nobles de nobles; de mectre et oster ou remuer de lieu en autres touz officiers royaux, quiexconques, et y mectre et ordener autres officiers nouviaux, se mestiers est, et donner touz offices royaux, qui vaqueroient par mort ou autrement, ou escherroient, a donner a monseigneur et a nous comment que ce fust. Et generaument de faire et ordener toutes autres choses, quelles que elles soient ou puissent estre dites, qui a office de lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous peuent et doivent appartenir, et que monseigneur ou nous porrienz faire se nous estions presenz, combien que en ces presentes ne soient esclairies

et que elles requissent mandement especial, excepte toutevoies donner ou alier le demaine de la couronne de France, et la cognoissance sur le fait la monnoie de Mascon, la quele nous avons reserves et retenue pardevers nous. Et voulons que tout ce qui par notre dit frere et lieutenant sera fait et octroye sur les choses dessus dites, ou aucun d'icelles, vaille et tiengne fermement en la manere que octroyer l'aura, senz ce que par monseigneur, par nous, ou noz successeurs soit ou puist estre rappelle, mais icelles avons agreables et desmaintenant les promectons a confermer, se mestier est, toutefois que nous en serons requis. Et voulons qu'il soient tenues et executees selon ce que par lui sera ordene, jasoit ce, qu'il ne soient passees par la chambre des comptes de monseigneur et de nous a Paris, et qu'il aient autant de force et de vertu comme se passees y estoient, non obstant quelconques ordenances faites par monseigneur ou par nous, ne stile de parlement ou de la dite chambre des comptes, coustume ou usage, quiex qu'il soient, a ce contraires. Les quiex, de l'auctorite dessus dite, de notre plain pooir, de grace especial et de certaine science, nous ne voulons avoir lieu en ceste partie. Et d'abundant, en ampliant notre dit grace, octroions a notre dit frere et lieutenant, de l'auctorite, puissance et grace dessus dites, que il puist orrdonner, commectre et establir es dites parties, et substituer ou subroquer en lieu de lui, un autre lieutenant, se mestier en estoit; li quiex toutevoies fust personne notable et souffisament, et qui fust profitables et agriables au dit pays, et non autrement. Et ycelui substitut oster et mettre un autre, toutefois qui bon li semblera, li quiex substituz, ou lieutenant, ordenez par notre dit frere comme dit est, ait au tel et semblable pooir comme dessus est divise, ou tel comme notre dit frere et lieutenant li voudra ordener et esclairir sur ce. Si donnons en mandement a touz dux, contes, prelaz, barons, bannerrz, bachelers, capitainnes, bonnes villes, chastellains, reformateurs, bailliz, prevoz, receveurs et autres officiers et subgiez du dit royaume, et a chascun d'eulz, parons et requerons touz autres, que a notre dit frere, lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous es dites parties, ou a son substitut ou ses deputez, et a chascun d'eulz, obeissent en faisant les choses dessus dites, et chascun d'icelles ou les dependences, aussi comme il feroient a monseigneur et a nous, et entendent diligement souz aucun contredit. Et ce

leur emoinçons expressement sur la foy et loiaute qui ont a monseigneur et a nous. En tesmoing de ce, nous avons fait seeller ces lettres de notre grant seel.

Donne a Saint-Dennis en France, le XII^e jour de septembre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante nuef, Par monseigneur le regent en son conseil. P.Michiel.¹

21 b. Letter of the regent Charles, appointing Louis, duke of Bourbon, count of Clermont, chamberlain of France, lieutenant of King John and himself in Auvergne, Berry, the Mâconnais and the ressorts thereof; Melun, 20 October, 1359.

B. Archives Nationales, Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 89, fos.177r-9r, no.407 (royal confirmation of his letters, reciting commission; parchment).

Charles, ainsnez filz du roy de France, regent le royaume, duc de Normendie et dalphin de Vienne. A touz ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons que nous, consideranz la parfaite vraie amour et loyaute que nostre treschier et ame frere le duc de Bourbonnais, et ses predecesseurs, ont touzjours eu, et ont encores, a monseigneur, a nous et a la couronne de France, confianz a plain de sa discretion, senz et diligence, et pour le bien et evident proufit, honneur et deffection du dit royaume, et des subgiez d'icellui, voulons, de tout nostre pooir, les pais et baillages d'Auvergne de Bourges et de Mascon, et de tous les autres pais et ressors, anciens et nouivaulx, enclos et enclaves,

1. The following note appears on the dorse of the original: "Lettre de lieutenance. Monsseigneur Mabilat, XI lettre que Joam escripta. Lettre comme Charles, ainsne filz du roy de France, regent la royaume, duc de Normande et dauphin de Vienne, ordenna monseigneur de Berry, son frere, lieutenant du roy en la conte de Mascon. Fait le XII de septembre, M.CCC.LIX. R.

et acoustumez a ressortir es diz bailliages, et en chascun d'eulx, et honorer de personne de nostre sanc, le dit nostre frere, par grant advis et meure deliberation de nostre conseil, a vous fait, ordonne, commiz et establi, de nostre certaine science, commetons, ordenons et establissons, par la teneur de ces presentes lettres, lieutenant-general et especial, par dessus et avant touz autres, pouret en lieu de monseigneur et de nous, seul et pour le tout, en touz les pais et bailliages dessus diz, et es ressors d'iceuls. Et par ce rappelons, desmaintenant, touz autres lieutenants es diz pais, de quelconques estat ou auctorite qu'il soient, et sur quelconques fourme de paroles ou maniere qu'il y soient mis, commis, institue ou establi; au quel nostre dit frere et lieutenant nous avons donne et octroie, donnons et octroions, par ces presentes, auctorite et mandement especial, comme au lieutenant-general de monseigneur et de nous, de peure et recevoir gens d'armes, arbalestriers, archiers et autres combatens, de pie et de cheval, de tel pais et contrees, et tel nombre comme bon li semblera, aus gages acoustumez, mendres ou plus grans, telz comme par son bon advis il ordonnera de ordonner, et faire assamblees de toutes manieres de genz d'armes, archiers, arbalestriers et autres gens combatens, de les croitre et diminuer; de faire, ou faire fere par ses genz ou deputez, chevauchees, grans ou petites, os et sieges contre les ennemis, rebelles ou desobeissanz de monseigneur et de nous; de faire fere engins, artilleries et toutes autres artifices appartenant au fait au fait (sic.) de la guerre; de faire cassemens des dictes gens d'armes et autres combatens; de visiter, ou faire visiter, toutes les villes, chastelz, forterescs et autres lieux estanz es diz pais, de les garnir et faire emparer, enforcier et bastir; de y mectre et establi capitaines, chastellains et gardes, et telz et si grant nombre de gens d'armes et autres gens deffensables, comme bon et profitable li samblera; de faire abatre, si mestiers est, les forteresses qui, par le conseil et avis des gens et habitanz, nobles et autres, des dis pais, seroient trouvees profitables d'estre abatues; de muer et hoster, c'il luy plaist, quelconques manieres de capitaines et chastellains de pais, villes et chastiaux et forteresses, et generalment touz autres officiers, ou cas qu'il verroit et porroit trouver qu'il ne seroient profitables a monseigneur, a nous et au pais; de pourveoir et mectre es diz offices

convenables personnes; de faire traictiez de pais, de treves et de rendre forteresses avenc les diz ennemiz, en les ramenant a nostre bonne obeissance; de donner de monseigneur et de nostre a yceulx, selonc ce que bon li semblera, excepte le demaine du dit royaume; de donner offices de nouvel; de imposer, faire cuillir et lever es diz pais, octroier ou donner a autrui impositions, tailles, subsides, treves, paages, travers, passages et toutes autres aides, telles qu'il appartendra et qu'il verra que bon sera; de donner et octroier de nouvel, confermer et renouveler privileges, libertes, franchises, tant a villes comme a privees personnes; de faire et octroier licence, grace et congie; de clore villes de plat pais; de bailler et ordener places et lieux, pour faire et edifier bastides, a telz franchises et privileges comme bon li semblera; de quicter, remectre et pardonner quelconques manieres de meffaiz, deliz, criemes, murtres, larretrus, boutemenz de feux, traisons et tous autres crimes, excepte crieme de leise mageste, si ce irest, a ceulx qui voudront venir a l'obeissance de monseigneur et de nous; de remectre et quicter aus delinquenz, ou maufaisanz, toutes peines crimineles, corporelles et civiles, et confiscations de leurs biens, qui a la cause dessus dicte nous pourroient estre acquiz, et estre avenu a monseigneur et a nous; de donner a yceulx, sur ce ces lettres, les quelles nous y mectons a confermer par les nostres, si mestiers est, et nous en sommes requiz, sans aucune difficulte ou debat; de donner lettres d'estat et respit, dilaction et alongement; de paier debtez, et tenir causes en estat, et quelconques autres graces que nous pourrions faire se presens y estions; de faire toutes manieres de legitimations pour venir a successions; de rappeler bannis et de leur rendre leurs biens, soient meubles, seignouries ou quelconques heritaiges, nobles et non-nobles; de faire amortissemens, abilitations et nobilitations, de non-nobles et de yceulx ennoblir; de donner foires et marchiez, senz prejudice d'autrui; de contraindre a finer ou reachapter les fiez nobles, qui tiennent es diz pais les non-nobles, sanz la licence ou ottroy de monseigneur ou de nous. Et voulons et ordenons qu'il ait et puisse exercer es diz pais toute justice, et tout fait d'icelle, touchant le fait de la dicte lieutenancie, et qu'il puist recevoir et avoir touz profis et emolumens

quelconques a ce appartenant, aussi avant et meuctablement, et par telle puissance et souverainete, en touz caz comme nous pourrions faire et avoir en nostre personne, et vailent et tiennent sanz aucun rappel ou contradicion, et soient fermes et estables ses sentences, arrestz, prononciations, exploits, comme arrez de parlement. Et generalment et especialment, quant a ce, de faire, pour et au nom de monseigneur et de nous, comme lieutenant, tout et autant comme monseigneur et nous ferions et faire pourrions se monseigneur et nous y estions presens en noz personnes, non-contrestant que aucunes choses touchanz le fait dessus dit, ou les dependent d'icelli, n'y soient plainement declarees ou expresses. Et promectons a avoir et tenir ferme et estable, tout ce que par nostre dit frere et lieutenant sera es diz pais fait, quictie, remis, pardonne, donne, octroie, prononcee, sentencie, jugie et ordene. Et voulons, et oultre octroions et ordenons, que les lettres de nostre dit frere et lieutenant, a donner sur ce par lui, soient et aient ai telle et si grande fermete et valeur que se monseigneur et nous meismes les avions octroiees et passes en nostre propre personne. Et pour recevoir les aides, subsides, impositions et autres subventions dessus dictes, et les distribuer, il puist mettre tels officiers qu'il li plaira, en ostant touz autres establis par monseigneur, nous ou autres, de quelconques pouvoir ou auctorite que ce soit, les quels nous oston desmaintenant, pour lors, et ne seront yceulx officiers tenuz de rendre compte fors a ceulx que nostre dit frere et lieutenant y deputera, et non a autres quelconques, prenens toutevoies lettres de recognoissance de nostre dit frere et lieutenant, les quelles nous voulons estre de telle valeur que se monseigneur et nous les avions donnees, et estoient seellees de nostre propre seel, sanz ce qu'il en puissent, au temps avenir, estre aprochiez ou suus par personnes, emoingnons a touz les justiciers, capitaines quelconques. Si donnons en mandement, par ces presentes, commandons gardes de villes, chastiaux et forteresses es diz pais, et a tous autres officiers et subges du dit royaume, et a chascun d'eulz, si comme a lui appartendra, que, non obstant sermens a nous par eulz faiz, de non rendre aucunes forteresses fors que a nostre personne et en nostre presente et inheritions et deffenses, sur quelconques fourme de paroles, des quels sermens nous les quictons par ces presentes, en baillant et delivrant les dictes forteresses,

que a nostre dit frere et lieutenant de monseigneur et de nous es dictes parties, en tout ce que dessus est dit, et es dependences et circonstances, obeissent, pleinement et deligaument, ainsi qu'il feroient et deveroient faire a monseigneur et a nous. En tesmoing de la quelle chose, nous avons fait mettre nostre seel a ces lettres.

Donne a Meleun, le XX^e. jour d'octobre, l'an de grace Mil.CCC. cinquante noef. Et estoient ainsi signees: Par monseigneur le regent. Julian. Et de la partie de nostre treschere et bien ame le conte de Ventadour et de Montpancier, conseiller de monseigneur le roy, monseigneur le regent, le nostre.

APPENDIX C
LANCASTER'S CAMPAIGNS

APPENDIX C : 1

The fleet responsible for the transport to Bordeaux of the troops serving under Lancaster's command in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1345-6. Left Falmouth, 23 July, 1345; arrived Bordeaux, 9 August, 1345 (Compiled from the account of Henry, earl of Lancaster, of the wages and expenses of his soldiers in Aquitaine, with a list of their names. Public Record Office, Exch. K.R. Accts. Var., E 101/25/9, ms.4 & 5).

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
DARTMOUTH				
Alle Halewelle Cog	?	J. Gray	26	4
Seint Marie Cog	William de Assheldon	J. Wady	36	2
Cog Johan	William Weryn	Roger Knollyng	28	2
Lithfot	Simon Randulf	-	13	1
Leonard	John Squyer	-	9	2
Maryon	Henry Rogter	-	11	2
Seynt Esprit	John Gegge	-	11	1
Godzer	John Scheter	Henry Royer	18	2
Clement	John Hurtyng	-	16	2
Seynt Marie Cog the second	John Pegyn	Hugh de Whytel	20	3
Seynt Marie Cog the third	Walter Passur	-	13	3
FALMOUTH				
Seynt Marie Cog	Richard de Burton	Richard Greywe	21	4

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
POLRUAN				
Michel	Thomas Stodleigh	-	7	2
Michel the second	Thomas Kerner	-	20	3
Cog Johan	John Attegate	-	14	2
Katerine	John Adam	-	8	2
James	John Pelpek	-	11	1
James	Stephen Wagoun	-	8	2
FOWEY				
Godbertte	Roger Riche	-	7	2
Seint Favores Cog	Michael Mayntourn	John Carver	24	4
Seint Marie Cog	John de Clifton	Richard Bryan	18	2
Gracedieu	Robert Warman	-	15	2
Cog Johan	Peter Elys	-	18	2
Seint Marie Cog the second	Martin Saundre	-	12	3
Seint Marie Cog the third	John Blakeman	-	12	2
PORT NOT STATED				
Sauvoye	John Tynnere	-	15	2
Sauvoye the second	Henry Karner	-	12	1
Alisot	John Porthalle	-	14	2
Petre	John Samson	-	10	1
MELCOMBE				
Cog Johan	Thomas White	Thomas Colynber	28	5
Welfare	John Smith	-	8	2

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
WEYMOUTH				
Godzer	Richard Caunsenele	John Seydon	18	2
Alle Halewelle Cog	Gilbert Pinche	J. Basset	18	3
COMBE				
Margarete	John Benet	-	13	1
Seinte Marie Cog	Walter Holde	-	17	3
EXMOUTH				
Bouremaide	Richard Roulf	-	16	1
Michel	Roger Gyde	-	13	2
Cog Thomas	William Elys	-	10	2
George	John Neel	-	13	-
Trinite	William Otery	Richard Garland	26	2
PLYMOUTH				
Seinte Marie Cog	Edward Bondy	William Herward	24	4
Seinte Marie Cog the second	Reginald atte Pole	Stephen Bash	16	4
Cog Johan	John Holman	-	15	4
James	Richard Taynere	-	11	2
Rode Cog	John de Weston	-	14	2
Seinte Saviour's Cog	John Gowere	-	14	2
Seinte Marie Cog the third	William Blerak	-	18	-

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
Seinte Marie Cog the fourth	John Phelip	J. Slye	25	4
Godbogete	Richard Bole	-	20	3
Gracedieu	John de Taunton	William Comys	22	2
Cog Thomas	Roger Dogel	J. Hamelyn	23	4
Godebegote the second	Henry Chapyn	-	8	1
Seinte Marie Cog the fifth	Richard Stede	J. Fischater	18	4
Gracedieu the second	William As	Robert atte More	21	4
Trinite	Simon Garston	-	14	1
Sente Saviour's Cog	Martin Richard	-	15	3
SOUTHAMPTON				
Seint Anton	John atte Pole	-	12	3
Mariote	William Bryan	-	16	3
Seinte Marie Cog	William Colyn	-	15	2
Mariote the second	Reginald atte	-	11	1
Trinite	Nicholas Goute	-	11	1
TYNEMOUTH				
Nicholas	Robert Hunte	-	23	2
Seinte Marie Cog	Robert Stote	-	13	4
Michel	John Clyne	-	14	4
Nicholas the second	Walter Power	-	?	?
POOLE				
Rode Cog	Richard More	1	31	3

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
SIDMOUTH				
George	John Hak and John Vinter	-	19	3
Seinte Marie Cog	Richard Hak	-	17	3
Alle Halewelle Cog	Walter Gyffard	-	10	1
TOTNES				
Godzer	John Samiger	-	19	2
LONDON				
Cog Thomas	Richard Gokyng	-	17	2
Katerine	William Chirchegate	-	11	2
Welfare	John Sterne	-	15	2
Margerye	Richard Wowere	Simon William	18	2
Trinite	John Reynald	-	11	2
Katerine the second	Symon Springge	-	15	2
Nicholas	John Waite	Thomas Parkere	20	2
Barnabe	Thomas Clerc	-	13	2
James	William Adam	-	9	2
Michel	Henry de Lyme	-	15	3
Nicholas the second	John Henry	-	12	2
Cog Thomas	Hugh Burgoyes	-	15	3
Alice	Richard Cartere	-	11	4
Cog Johan	Andrew Aunger	-	14	1
SEATON				
George	Robert Cade	-	15	2

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
SEAFORD				
Cristemasse	William Bourn	-	13	2
James	Henry Broulyng	-	12	2
HASTINGS				
Jonette	Simon Goldyng	-	9	1
WAREHAM				
Cog Johan	Thomas Cosh	John Curays	25	1
Seinte Marie Cog	John Hogge	-	12	2
LYNN				
Mariote	John Sergaunt	-	10	1
Nandieu	Peter Colyn	-	12	1
Cristofore	Hugh Antoyne	John Lange	20	2
LYMINGTON				
Jonette	Henry Redyng	-	13	3
Cog Johan	John Wolf	-	13	2
Seinte Marie Cog	John Wulles	-	14	2
HOO				
James	Robert Frend	-	9	1
MEDWAY				
Welfare	William atte Welle	-	6	2
SHOREHAM				
Nicholas	John Leche	-	11	2
BOURNEMOUTH				
Clement	Thomas Fishere	-	11	2

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
HOOKE				
Godebegete	Robert Cole	-	7	3
BAYONNE				
Seinte Marie	Amand d'Angresse	Bydon	27	-
Seinte Marie the second	Jean de la Vache	Jean de Herne	31	-
Seint Esprit	Jean de Bekeron	Bernard de Gares	28	-
Seinte Piere	Pierre Derbyns	William Bernard	33	-
Cog Johan	Menaud de Benesse	Pierre d'Aynoghton	43	-
BRISTOL				
Cristofore	John de London	Maurice de Lym	22	4
Dieu La Gard	Robert Leyr	Walter d'Endesbourn	36	4
Assumption	Laurence Geest	John Palmer	35	7
GOSFORTH				
Malve	Robert Gardyner	William Twyte	26	
Godzer	William Scot	John de Oxeneye	24	3
Margarete	William	1	18	1
BOSTON				
Blithe	John Pouton	John Poynoton	24	2

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
Welfare	Adam Alman	John de Bradfeld	17	2
Katerine	Walter Westfare	-	18	3
Godzer	Simon Farman	-	11	1
HULL				
Godzer	Walter Reynaldesson	-	8	1
LYME				
George	John Merseye	Simon Bottele	19	2
Godzer	John Tyd	-	17	2
James	Simon Scot	-	16	1
Katerine	Adam Musele	-	14	1
Nicolas	Thomas Stokheth	-	11	1
James the second	Robert Broun	-	11	1
YARMOUTH				
Bonette	Alan Frensh	Eustace Masun	20	2
James	Nicholas Gymmengham	1	18	2
Mariele	Walter Scot	1	21	1
Margarete	Reginald Slynge	-	11	1
Annote	John Laurence	-	13	1
Cog Johan	Walter Man	-	13	1
Nicolas	Thomas Smyth	-	11	1
Jonette	John Robynson	-	10	1
BLAKENEY				
Nicholas	John de Thorp	1	22	2
Blythe	Simon Daweson	-	15	2

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
COLCHESTER				
Seinte Marie Cog	Bartholomew Gerard	1	31	2
Leonard	John Lucas	1	34	2
Seinte Marie Bote	William Bacoun	-	9	1
Laurence	Peter Podde	-	5	1
DUNWICH				
Welfare	Clemens Beuf	1	20	2
Cog Johan	Walter Valence	1	23	3
Seinte Katerine Bote	John Hebbe	-	16	1
MAINTRE				
Margerye	Bartholomew Reve	-	7	1
Welfare	Robert Baker	-	10	1
HARWICH				
Nicholas	John Elys	1	20	2
Emond	John atte Scone	-	17	1
Seinte Marie Cog	William Priour	-	15	2
BRIDLINGTON				
Swalowe	John Schipman	-	17	2
Petre	John William	-	8	-
MALDON				
George	Adam Cole	-	8	1
WITLONESSE				
Nicolas	John Huberd	-	7	1

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
DONCASTER				
George	William Fishlak	-	7	2
HORNCastle				
Fluve Johan	Walter Chyke	-	20	2

The fleet responsible for the transport to Gascony of the troops serving in the retinue of Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1345-6. Embarkation from Southampton and Tenby (Compiled from the enrolled account of Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, of the wages and expenses of his soldiers in Aquitaine. Public Record Office, Exch. L.T.R. Enrolled Foreign Accounts, E 372/191, m.54d).

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
TENBY				
Trinite	William Maior	-	31	2
Cog Johan	Thomas Lollye	1	20	2
George	Hamelyn Clerc	1	20	2
Cog Johan	Thomas Parker	1	13	2
PLYMOUTH				
Seint Saviour	John Goweare	1	13	2

The fleet responsible for the transport from Gascony to England of the troops who served in the retinue of Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1345-6. Three weeks voyage; arrived England, 20 December, 1346 (Compiled from the enrolled account of Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, of the wages and expenses of his soldiers in Aquitaine. Public Record Office, Exch. L.T.R. Enrolled Foreign Accounts, E 372/191, m.54d).

Port and Ship	Master	Constable	Mariners	Boys
DARTMOUTH				
James	Reginald Passur	1	25	2
CHEPSTOW				
Katerine	Roger Tresour	-	14	2
BREST				
Margarete	William Fryng	-	13	2
TYNEMOUTH				
Nichole	Robert Hunte	-	25	2
FOWEY				
Petre	Richard Broun	1	10	2
HENNEBONT				
George	Henry Gybon	1	16	2
TENBY				
Trinite	Hameliny Clerc	1	25	2

APPENDIX C : 2

Places occupied by French garrisons on the eve of Lancaster's arrival in Gascony in 1345.

The following list has been compiled from records of payments made to the garrison forces preserved in transcript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nouvelle acquisitions françaises, 7413, fos.286v-95r; formerly part of the collection Descamps, vol.83). Only the principal garrisons are given, together with the names of those in command.

"Establies par deça la Garonne":

Puymirol (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen); Guillaume Rollant, knight bannaret, seneschal of Rouergue.	Malause (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. & cant. de Moissac); Raimond Bernard de Durfort, lord of La Capelle.
Agen (Lot-et-Garonne, ch.-l. dep); Guillaume Cauveroque.	Bajamont (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. & cant. Agen); Guillaume de Caumont, sergeant-at-arms, captain.
Le Puy-Saint-Michel de Penne (? Penne d'Agenais, Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot); Gautier de Maisières, knight.	Port-Sainte-Marie (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen); Aimar de Mauléon, knight.
Tombeboeuf (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, cant. de Monclar); Arnaud de Caumont, son of the lord of Tombeboeuf.	Sainte-Livrade (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot).
Casseneuil (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot).	Monflanquin (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot).
Montpezat (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas).	Fumel (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot).

- Sauveterre-en-Agenois (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot). Marmande (Lot-et-Garonne, ch.-l. arr.).
- La Réole (Gironde, ch.-l. arr.); Guillaume de la Baume, Thibaut de Barbazan. Montségur (Gironde, arr. La Réole).
- Sauveterre (Gironde, arr. La Réole); Ogier de Barbazan, Barthélemy de la Baume, Adémar de Mauléon. Blasimon (Gironde, arr. La Réole, cant. Sauveterre); Arnaud Raimond de Castelbajac.
- Sainte-Ferme (Gironde, arr. La Réole, cant. Pellegrue); Ogier de Montaut, lord of Saint-Front. Auwillar (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Moissac).
- Astaffort (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Moissac). Nerac (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen).
- La Plume (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen). La terre de Fezensaguet; Guiraud d'Armagnac, vicomte de Fezensaguet.
- La terre du Fié-Marconf; Jean de Lomagne. Condom (Gers, ch.-l. arr); Bertrand de Lisle, captain in Condomois.
- Sos (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Nerac, cant. Mezin). Poudenas (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Nerac, cant. Mezin).
- Mezin (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Nérac). Damazan (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Nérac).
- Villeton (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Mas-d'Agenais). La terre du sire de Lisle en Agenais; Bernard Jourdain, sire de Lisle.
- Grezet-Cavagnan (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Bouglon). Le Mas d'Agenais (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande); Beaumont d'Esterac, Gaillard de Castelpugon, Arnaud Raimond de Castelbajac.
- Bouglon (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande). Bazas (Gironde, ch.-l. arr); Oth de Montaut, Bernard de Pardailan, Thibaut de Barbazan.
- Langon (Gironde, arr. Bazas); Jean, count of Armagnac. La terre d'Armagnac; Jean, count of Armagnac.

Monlezun (Gers, arr.
Condom, cant. Nogaro);
The lord of Monlezun.

Castelnau-Tursan (Landes, arr.
Saint-Sever, cant. Geaune).

Castelsarrazin-en-Béarn
(Landes, arr. Saint-Sever,
cant. Amou).

"Establies de Toulousain":

Muret (Haute-Garonne).

"Establies de Perigord":

Bourg-sur-Gironde
(Gironde, arr. Blaye);
Payen de Mailly, seneschal
of Périgord.

Fronsac (Gironde, arr. Libourne).

Bergerac (Dordogne, ch.-l. Limeuil (Dordogne, arr. Bergerac).
arr.).

Cognac

Bourdeille (Dordogne, arr.
Périgueux, cant. Brantome).

Estissac (Dordogne, arr.
Bergerac, cant. Villambard).

APPENDIX C : 3

Lancaster's itinerary in Aquitaine in 1345-6 and 1349-50.

The itinerary is largely composed from royal confirmations of his letters preserved in the Gascon Rolls (C 61) in the Public Record Office. Several original letters have also been used. Evidence other than that provided by the dating clauses of his letters is differentiated.

1345

MARCH.

13. Indenture with the king (E 159/123, m.254; Appendix no.

MAY.

10. Commission as the king's captain and lieutenant issued to him (Rymer, III, i, 34-5, 37 & 38, where it is wrongly dated 10 April).
22. Arrived at Southampton with his retinue (E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d).

JULY.

23. Set sail from Falmouth (E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d).

AUGUST.

9. Disembarked at Bordeaux (E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d).
24. Bergerac capitulated (Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 61 & 99; Chronique de Guyenne, 400; Bertrand, 31-4).

SEPTEMBER.

2. Bergerac (Bibl. nat., Périgord 52; Lespine, Chatellenies et Châteaux, LZ, 59-60).
10. Bergerac (Arch. dép. Basses-Pyrénées, E 131; Appendix

OCTOBER.

21. Battle of Auberoche (Villani, 927; Chronique

de Bazas, 44; Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 61; Chronique de Guyenne, 401).

collection Doat, vol.189, fos.238r-43r; collection Bréquigny, vol.28, fo.191r. & seq).

NOVEMBER.

2. La Réole (E 159/123, m.327).
12. La Réole (C 61/60, m.32).
17. La Réole (C 61/60, m.34).
26. La Réole (Bibl. nat.,

DECEMBER.

1. La Réole (C 61/59, m.7).
10. La Réole (C 61/60, m.5).
20. La Réole (C 61/60, m.3).
25. La Réole (C 61/61, m.1).

1346

JANUARY.

12. La Réole (C 61/60, m.29).
23. La Réole (C 61/60, m.19).
26. La Réole (C 61/59, m.10; Arch. hist. Gironde, I, 302-3 & 305-6, nos. CLII & CLIV).
31. La Réole (C 61/59, m.6).

MAY.

1. La Réole (E 43/741).
16. La Réole (C 47/24/7, no.3).

JUNE.

23. Treasury at La Réole (E 404/508/47).

JULY.

3. La Réole (Arch. dép. Basses-Pyrénées, E 188; Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.189, fos.251r-3v; C 61/67, m.5).
26. La Réole (C 61/59, m.10).

FEBRUARY.

1. La Réole (C 61/59, m.6).
5. La Réole (C 61/59, m.6).

APRIL.

2. Bordeaux (C 61/59, ms. 6 & 7).
22. Bordeaux (C 61/60, m.41). Siege of Aiguillon by the duke of Normandy begun between 10 & 15 April (Appendix C, no. 4).

AUGUST.

7. La Réole (C 61/60, m.25; CPR, 1348-50, 24).
12. Left La Réole for Bergerac (Avesbury, 372).

14. Bergerac (Rymer, III, i, 302).
20. Siege of Aiguillon raised (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373; Appendix Lancaster still in Bergerac, but left for Villeréal shortly afterwards (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373).
27. Villeréal (C 61/60, m.32).
4. Took Poitiers (Dispatch, Avesbury, 374; Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7).
12. Poitiers (C 61/60, m.36).
13. Left Poitiers for Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Dispatch, Avesbury, 374).
19. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (C 61/60, m.22).
21. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (C 61/60, ms.6, 7, 19 & 20).

SEPTEMBER.

12. Left La Réole on raid into Saintonge and Poitou (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373). Sauveterre surrendered to him (ibid).
20. Arrived Châteauneuf-sur-Charente (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373).
21. Took Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373).
29. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (C 61/60, m.17).
30. Left Saint-Jean-d'Angély for Poitiers (Dispatch, Avesbury, 374).
29. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (C 61/60, m.17).
30. Plassac (C 61/59, m.6).
31. Bordeaux (CPR, 1345-8, 474).

NOVEMBER.

20. Arrived Châteauneuf-sur-Charente (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373).
21. Took Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Dispatch, Avesbury, 373).
29. Saint-Jean-d'Angély (C 61/60, m.17).
30. Left Saint-Jean-d'Angély for Poitiers (Dispatch, Avesbury, 374).
5. Bordeaux (C 61/60, m.1).
8. Bordeaux (CPR, 1345-8, 558).
12. Bordeaux (C 61/60, m.30).
13. Bordeaux (C 61/69, m.6).
20. Bordeaux (C 61/60, m.7).
26. Bordeaux (E 101/171/4, File 1, Part 2, no.20).
28. Bordeaux (C 61/60, m.14).

OCTOBER.

1. Took Lusignan (Dispatch, Avesbury, 374).

1347

JANUARY.

1. Arrived back in England (E 101/25/9; E 372/191, m.54d).

FEBRUARY.

1. Released from office (Rymer, III, i, 104; CPR, 1345-8, 526).

1349

AUGUST.

28. Commission as the king's captain and lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc issued to him (Rymer, III, i, 188-9).

27. In the neighbourhood of Agen, moving down the south side of the Garonne in the Brulhois (Arch. hist. Agenais, I, 187).

DECEMBER.

OCTOBER.

18. Commission as the king's captain and lieutenant in Poitou issued to him (Rymer, III, i, 190).

30. La Réole (C 61/67, m.15).

NOVEMBER.

3. Bordeaux (E 43/293, no.2).
6. Bordeaux (E 43/293, no.3).

1350

FEBRUARY.

14. Bordeaux (C 61/64, m.1).

4. Bordeaux (C 61/65, m.6).

5. Bordeaux (C 61/63, ms.5 & 8).

MARCH.

2. Bordeaux (C 61/63, m.11).

24. Chastillon (CPR, 1348-50, 541; C 61/62, m.5).

MAY.

10. Arrived back in London (E 372/195, m.46).

APPENDIX C : 4

Itinerary of the duke of Normandy in 1344 and 1345-6.

The itinerary is largely composed from original mandates preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Titres originaux and Titres originaux scelléz in the collection Clairambault; Pièces originales) and royal confirmations of his letters preserved in the Chancery Registers of the Trésor des Chartes in the Archives Nationales. References to other letters in the Bibliothèque Nationale, various communal archives and printed works are given in full.

Letters issued in the duke's name by his father or his council, and which do not therefore indicate his presence, have not been utilised. The former bear the warranty note "Par monseigneur le duc du commandement (du volonte) du roi", the latter "Par monseigneur le duc a la relation de son conseil etant de present a ...".

Letters which do testify to his presence bear one of the following warranty notes: "Par monseigneur le duc", "Per dominum duce[m]", "Par monseigneur le duc, present ...", "Per dominum duce[m], presente (presentibus) ..."; "Par monseigneur le duc" or "Per dominum duce[m]" followed by "a la relation de ...", "ad relationem ...", "a vostre relation", "ad vestram relationem" or "qui sub signare voluit"; and the name of a secretary, councilor or councilors. Letters issued by him in council, and which do testify to his presence, bear one of the following warranty notes:

"Par monseigneur le duc en son conseil", "Per dominum ducem in suo consilio", "Par monseigneur le duc en son grant conseil", "Par monseigneur le duc, present le conseil", "Par monseigneur le duc a la relation du conseil" or "Per dominum ducem ad relationem consilii". These letters have been utilised.

1344

MAY.

26. Tournon (JJ 80, fos. 108v-9r, no.664).

(JJ 68, fo.82r, no.145).
Beaucaire (JJ 68, fos. 82v-3v, no.147. JJ 75, fos.94r-6r, no.191).

JUNE.

3. Avignon (JJ 68, fo. 482r-v, no.348).

JULY.

7. Apud Turnun prope Pontis Avinionis (JJ 75, fos.199v-200r, no.334).

4. Agen (JJ 76, fo.58r-v, no.69).

Day not given:

Nimes (JJ 68, fo.105r-v, no.194). Montpellier (JJ 75, fo.212r-v, no.348).

9. Apud Turnun capit' pontis Avinionis (JJ 75, fo.55v, no.175).

AUGUST.

12. Villeneuve-les-Avignon (JJ 75, fo.35r, no.63).

22. Toulouse (JJ 76, fo.161r-v, no.270).

Day not given:

29. Buzet (Pièces originales, vol.1522, de la Heuse, no.4).

Villeneuve-les-Avignon (JJ 68, fo.82v, no.146; fo.83v, no.148. JJ 74, fo.23r, no.41). By Villeneuve-les-Avignon

Day not given:

Toulouse (JJ 68, fo.423r-v, no.130; fo.425r-v, no.234. JJ 74, fos.121v-2r, no.210).

JJ 75, fos.175v-6v,
no.302; fos.328v-30r,
no.549; fo.355r, no.584.
JJ 77, fo.15r, no.24).
Buzet (Arch. comm.
Toulouse, AA 45/12).

SEPTEMBER.

4. Cahors (JJ 78, fo.113v,
no.214). By Montauban
(JJ 75, fo.38v, no.73).
6. Montauban (Arch. comm.
Toulouse, AA 6/37; AA
8/58; AA 45/15).
22. Matincy (JJ 80, fo.197r-
v, no.282). Cahors (JJ
68, fo.95r, no.180; fo.
98r-v, no.186).

Day not given:

Cahors (JJ 75, fos.84v-
5v, no.174; fos.259v-60r,

Day not given:

A l'ospital de lez
Bonteneuf (

1345

JUNE.

Day not given:

Toulouse (JJ 76, fo.161r-
v, no.270).

JULY.

Day not given:

By Montpellier (JJ 75,
fo.297r-v, no.505).

AUGUST.

2. Carcassone (C. Devic &
J. Vaissete, Histoire
générale de Languedoc,

no.430. JJ 81, fos.100r-lr,
no.346. Titres originaux,
vol.212, p.9431, no.92.
JJ 81, fos.170r-lr, no.346).
By Montauban (JJ 75, fo.
145r, no.278). Montauban
(Arch. comm. Toulouse
AA 45/17. JJ 75, fo.325r-v,
no.542). Lauzerte (JJ 75,
fo.88r, no.181). Agen
(JJ 68, fos.424v-5r, no.133.
JJ 75, fo.242v, no.400.
JJ 77, fo.164v, no.266.
JJ 80, fo.44r-v, no.85.
Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII,
146-7, no.LXVI; 147-9,
no.LXVII).

NOVEMBER.

IV, 257).

Day not given:

Le Mans (JJ 68, fo.66v,
no.117). Sablé-sur-Sarthe
(JJ 77, fo.2v, no.2).

SEPTEMBER.

2. Marmouitiers (Devic &
Vaissete, op.cit., 257).
19. Poitiers (Titres originaux,
vol.53,
23. Poitiers (Bibl. nat., H 115)
Day not given:
Poitiers (JJ 68, fo.61v,

no.106; fo.66v, no. 118. JJ 80, fo.197r-v, no.282). Chauvigny (JJ 68, fos.426v-7v, no.236).

OCTOBER.

2. Limoges (JJ 75, fo. 127r, no.242).
4. Limoges (Devic & Vaissete, *op.cit.*, 257. JJ 68, fo.84v, no.151; fo.89r-v, no.163).
5. Limoges (Devic & Vaissete, *op.cit.*, 257. JJ 68, fo.93r, no.173; fo.98v, no. 187).
19. Angoulême (JJ 84, fo. 197r-v. no.383).
24. Angoulême (JJ 75, fos. 295r-6r, no.499).
28. Angoulême (JJ 84, fo. 276v, no.534).
30. Angoulême (Titres originaux scellez, vol.142, fo.290lr).

Day not given:

Limoges (JJ 68, fo. 64v, no.111; fo.86r, no.147. JJ 76, fos. 169v-170r, no.290). Angoulême (JJ 68, fo. 89v, no.164; fo.99r, nos.188 & 189).

NOVEMBER.

3. Angoulême (JJ 68, fo. 466r).

7. Angoulême (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.189, fo.181r).
 23. Châtillon-sur-Indre (Bibl. nat., collection Moreau, 230; Inventaire de Périgord, chapter 38, no.42).
 25. Chatillon-sur-Indre (JJ 75, fos.55v-6r, no.108. Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, nos.41 & 43).
 27. Châtillon-sur-Indre (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.243)
- Day not given:
- Angoulême (JJ 68, fos.89v-90r, no.165; fo.42lr, no. 225; fo.426r-v, no.235. JJ 75, fo.240v, no.394. JJ 82, fo.82r-v, no.122). Caunay (JJ 75, fo.309r. JJ 76, fos.166v-7r, no.283). Lusignan (JJ 75, fo.4v, no. 14). Châtillon-sur-Indre (JJ 68, fo.78r, no.135. JJ 77 fos.32r-3r, no.59. Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.243, pp.160 & seq).

DECEMBER.

9. Châtillon-sur-Indre (Pièces originales, vol.17, Ailly, no.6).
16. Châtillon-sur-Indre (Pièces originales, vol.17, Ailly, no.5).
20. Châtillon-sur-Indre (Bibl. nat., Gaignères, 151).
22. Chatillon-sur-Indre (Bibl. nat., Gaignères, 152. H 115).

26. Châtillon-sur-Indre
(Bibl. nat., H 115).
27. Châtillon-sur-Indre
(Pièces originales,
vol.2314, Poitiers,
no.40).

Day not given:

Châtillon-sur-Indre
(JJ 80, fo.69r-v, no.137;
fos.375r-6r, no.578).

1346

JANUARY.

6. Loches (Devic &
Vaissete, op.cit.,
10. Loches (JJ 81, fo.3r-
v, no.5).
12. Loches (Pièces
originales, vol.1774,
Luilly, no.2).
16. Loches (Bibl. nat.,
H 115).
17. Loches (Devic &
Vaissete, op.cit.,
257).

Day not given:

Châtillon-sur-Indre
(JJ 77, fo.17r, no.
28).

FEBRUARY.

1. Châtillon-sur-Indre
(JJ 76, fo.240r, no.
398).

Day not given:

Châtillon-sur-Indre
(JJ 68, fo.475r-v,
no.340. JJ 75, fo.
294v, no.494. JJ 77,
fo.27r, no.44).
Loches-lez-Beaulieu

(JJ 75, fo.248r-v, no.408).
Loches-sur-Beaulieu (JJ 80,
fos.192r-3r, no.273).

MARCH

10. Loches (JJ 81, fo.3r-
v, no.5).
12. Loches (Pièces
originales, vol.1774,
Luilly, no.2).
16. Loches (Bibl. nat.,
H 115).
17. Loches (Devic &
Vaissete, op.cit.,
257).
13. Cahors (Bertrand, 288)
22. Montauban (Devic &
Vaissete, op.cit., 259).
30. Montauban (Bertrand, 228
& n.1).

Day not given:

Montauban (JJ 76, fo.158r-
v, no.264. Arch. nat.,
collection Doat, vol.87,
fo.151r. & seq).

APRIL.

5. Agen (Devic & Vaissete,
op.cit., Preuves, col.205).
7. Agen (Arch. comm. Toulouse,
AA 4).
9. Moissac (Bibl. nat., H 115).
10. Agen (Devic & Vaissete,
op.cit., IV, Preuves, col.
209).
16. In our tents before
Aiguillon (JJ 75, fo.257r-
v, no.423).
27. In our tents before
Aiguillon (Ordonnances

des rois de France,
II, 242).

nostris ante Aculeon
(JJ 77 fos.59v-60r, no.112).

29. In our tents before
Aiguillon (Bibl. nat.,
collection Languedoc,
vol.97, fo.37r & seq.
Titres originaux
scelléz, vol.154.
Pièces originales,
vol.1125, Fermant,
no.6).

Day not given:

In our tents before
Aiguillon, dated
according to French
Chancery usage April,
1345/6, and therefore
prior to 16 April,
which is Easter Day
(JJ 68, fo.448r, no.
298). In our tents
before Aiguillon,
post 16 April (JJ 75,
fo.59v, no.117. JJ
76, fo.204r-v, no.338).

MAY.

10. In our tents before
Aiguillon (JJ 76, fo.
161r-v, no.270).
18. In our tents before
Aiguillon (Bibl. nat.,
collection Doat, vol.
103
27. In our tents before
Aiguillon (Bibl. nat.,
H 115).

Day not given:

In our tents before
Aiguillon (JJ 76, fo.
114r-v, no.169. JJ 77,
fo.15v, no.26). Acta
fuerunt hoc in castro

JUNE.

1. In our tents before
Aiguillon (JJ 80, fos. 375r-
6r, no.578).
4. In our tents before Aiguillon
(Bibl. nat., Gaignères,
vol.560
6. In our tents before Aiguillon
(JJ 78, fo.43r, no.92).
17. At the siege before Aiguillon
(Bibl. nat., collection Doat,
vol.243, fo.176r & seq).
18. In our tents before Aiguillon
(JJ 68, fo.92r, no.170).

Day not given:

In our tents before Aiguillon
(JJ 68, fo.456v. JJ 76, fo.
132r, no.213. JJ 82, fo.34r-v,
no.54). In our tents before
Aiguillon and Tonneins (JJ 68,
fo.442v, no.281). In our tents
between Aiguillon and Tonneins
(JJ 76, fo.181r, no.299. JJ 81,
fo.122v, no.226). In our tents
between Tonneins and Aiguillon
(JJ 68, fo.453r-v, no.286).

JULY.

11. In our tents between Tonneins
and Aiguillon (JJ 77, fo.44v,
no.79).
12. In our tents between Tonneins
and Aiguillon (Arch. comm.
Toulouse, AA 45/21).
18. In our tents before Aiguillon
(Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII,
152-3).
22. In our tents before Aiguillon

(Pièces originales, vol.2031, Montmorency, no.7).

26. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol. 189, fos.258r-9v).

Day not given:

In our tents between Tonneins and Aiguillon (JJ 76, fo.147r, no. 243. JJ 82, fo.106v, no.161). In our tents between Aiguillon and Tonneins (JJ 68, fos. 440v-1r, no.275).

AUGUST.

1. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bertrandy, 342 & n.2).
3. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bertrandy, 51-2 & 52, n.1).
4. In our tents before Aiguillon (Devic & Vaissete, op.cit.,
9. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bertrandy, 343).
13. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol. 127, fo.178r. & seq).
19. In our tents before Aiguillon (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol. 189, p.260 & seq).
20. Agen (JJ 81, fos.438r-9r, no.820).

22. Agen (JJ 76, fo.122r-v, no.190).

23. Agen (JJ 77, fos.195r-7v, no.316. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 5/274; AA 45/22. Arch. hist. Gironde, XXXIII, 153-5).

24. Agen (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.157

25. Moissac (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.189, fos.263r-4r. Bertrandy, 352-3 & 353, n.1).

Day not given:

In our tents before Aiguillon (JJ 68, fo.84r, no.149; fo.433r, no.232; fo.448v, no.279; fo.456v, no.292). Agen (JJ 68, fo.107r-v, no.197; fo.483r. JJ 76, fos.52v-4r, no.62; fos. 88v-9r, no.119; fos.142r-3r, no. 232. JJ 77, fo.33v, no.61. JJ 80, fo.277, no.383. JJ 81, fos.96r-7r, no.173. JJ 82, fos.70v-1r, no.103; fos. 254v-5v, no.380. Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 13/250. Bibl. nat., collection Decamps, vol45 bis., fos.446r. ~~8~~ seq).

Letters issued in the duke's name by his father or his council and which have therefore not been utilised:

1345

MAY.

Day not given:

Bois de Vincennes (JJ 68, fo.94r, no. 176). La Suze-au-Maine (JJ 68, fo.94r, no.175). Conflans (JJ 75, fo.204r, no. 338).

SEPTEMBER.

Day not given:

Rays (JJ 81, fo.345r-v, no.673).

DECEMBER.

Day not given:

Bois de Vincennes (JJ 68, fos.417r-8r, no.219).

1346

MARCH.

1. Rays (JJ 68, fo.61v, no.65).
19. Rays (JJ 75, fo.275r, no.451).

Day not given:

Poissy (JJ 74, fo.112r, no.192).

JUNE.

4. Toulouse (Bertrandy, 257-8 & 323-4, correcting Devic & Vaissete, op.cit.,

Itinerary of the treasury of the duke of Normandy
in 1345 and 1346.

The itinerary is composed from original letters of acquittance given to Bernard Fermant (F), treasurer of the duke, and Jean Chauvel (C), treasurer of wars of the king and the duke, for payments made by them to troops serving under the command of the duke. The letters are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Titres originaux and Titres originaux scelléz in the collection Clairambault; Pièces originales), some of which have been published by Bertrand.

1345

APRIL.

- | | |
|---|---|
| | 25. C, Angoulême (<u>Bertrand</u> ,
101 & n.3). |
| 3. C, Toulouse (Pièces
originales, vol.2286,
Pins, no.4). | 29. C, Angoulême (<u>Bertrand</u> ,
101 & n.3). |

OCTOBER.

10. C, Limoges (Bertrand,
101 & n.2).

1346

JANUARY.

- | | |
|--|---|
| | 19. F, Châtillon-sur-Indre
(Pièces originales, vol.
2314, Poitiers, no.39). |
| 2. F, Châtillon-sur-Indre
(<u>Bertrand</u> , 284). | |

APRIL.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 13. F, Tours (Pièces
originales, vol.1774,
Luilly, no.3). | 29. F, In the tents before
Aiguillon (Pièces originales,
vol.1125, Fermant, no.5). |
|---|--|

JUNE.

5. F, Port-Sainte-Marie (Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, no.42).
26. C, Port-Sainte-Marie (Pièces originales, vol.2286, Pins, no.5).

JULY.

6. F, Port-Sainte-Marie (Bertrandy, 340).
22. F, Port-Sainte-Marie (Bertrandy, 340).
28. Port-Saint-Marie (Bertrandy, 340-1).
29. Port-Saint-Marie (Bertrandy, 341).

29. F, In the host before Aiguillon (Pièces originales, vol.2031, Montmorency, no.8).
29. C, In the fields before Aiguillon (Pièces originales, vol.2286, Pins, no.7).

AUGUST.

2. F, Port-Sainte-Marie (Pièces originales, vol.683, Charny, no.5).
11. F, Port-Sainte-Marie (Titres originaux, vol.202, p.8549)
20. C, Agen (Pièces originales, vol.2286, Pins, no.8).
25. F, Moissac (Bertrandy, 353 & n.2).

Letters of acquittance given by Bernard Fermant, treasurer of the duke,¹ for sums received by him:

1345

MAY.

14. Limoges (Pièces originales, vol.1125, Fermant, no.3).

1346

APRIL.

30. In the tents before Aiguillon (Pièces originales, vol.1125, Fermant, no.7).

1. He styles himself "tresorier en cest present voiage de Gascoigne pour monseigneur le duc de Normandie et de Guienne" in a letter of acquittance dated 26 September, 1345 (Pièces originales, vol.1125, Fermant, no.2).

APPENDIX C : 5

Prisoners taken at Bergerac and Auberoche.

(1) Prisoners taken at Bergerac:

Jean de Galard, lord of Limeuil (Avesbury, 356; Murimuth, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 400; Arch. nat., JJ 82, fos.385v-6v, no.601, & fo.412r, no.662; J 190^B no.63).

Henry de Montigny, seneschal of Périgord and Quercy (Avesbury, 356; Murimuth, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 400).

Geraud, lord of Crussol, and the lords of Rynake (? Renac), Monclar, Mounthalle (? Montaut), Gordelha or Gordhella, Pellaberme, Frountonne or Fontonne, and Saussignac (Murimuth, 249 & 251).

(2) Prisoners taken at Auberoche:

Bertrand, count of Lille-Jourdain, general of the French army at Auberoche (Avesbury, 356; Murimuth, 190, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Villani, 927; Froissart, III, xvi, 70, 289 & 291; Anonimale Chronicle, 18). Still held on 6 May, 1346, and probably still on 26 June (Bibl. nat., Parlement, 12, fo.242v).

Louis de Poitiers, count of Valentinois and of Diois; killed or died of wounds soon after the battle (Avesbury, 356; Murimuth, 190, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Villani, 927; Froissart, III, xvi, 70, 289 & 291; Anonimale Chronicle, 18; C. Devic & J. Vaissete, Histoire generale de Languedoc, IX, 575).

Arnaud d'Euze (or d'Eveze), vicomte of Caraman (Murimuth, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Villani, 927; Froissart, III, xvii, 289 & 291). Still held on 29 April, 1346, and probably on 6 May following (Bibl. nat., Parlement, 12, fo.). Ransom still unpaid on 30 May, 1346, when the inhabitants of Monttricoux (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Montauban, cant. Negrepelisse), of which he was lord, pledged the communal revenues of the Deveze and the port of Monttricoux for a sum of 200 pounds petits tournois towards the payment of his ransom (Bertrand, 124; Froissart, III, xvii, n.2).

Amaury IV, vicomte of Lautrec and lord of Ambres (Murimuth, 249 & 251; Villani, 927; & Froissart, III, xviii & 289, who is wrong, however, in stating that he was killed). He was still held in May, 1346, but lost Pons, his sub-sergeant-at-arms and prévôt of Réalmont, an esquire in his retinue (Devic & Vaissete, loc.cit.).

Arnaud, vicomte of Monclar (Murimuth, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401).

Pierre, vicomte of Lautrec and lord of Montredon (Murimuth, 250 & 252; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; & Froissart, III, xviii & 289, who calls him the vicomte of Murendon, which is further confused by Luce, ibid., xviii, n.1).

Arnaud de la Vie, vicomte of Villémur (Murimuth, 250 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Froissart, III, xvi-ii, 289). Released by 10 June, 1346 (Bibl. nat., Parlement, 12, fo.249r).

Arnaud Roger de Comminges, vicomte of Bruniquel (Murimuth, 250 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; & Froissart, III, xvi & 289, and the Anonimale Chronicle, 18, who erroneously confuse him with Pierre Raymond, count of Comminges. On 17 December, 1346, the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant of King Philip in Languedoc, granted Roger de Comminges, lord of Clermont-Soubeiran, 2,000 pounds tournois in aid of his ransom (Devic & Vaissete, op.cit., 576).

Amaury, vicomte of Narbonne (Villani, 927).

The vicomte of Coresan (Murimuth, 249 & 251).

The vicomte of Germanacie (Murimuth, 250 & 252).

Agout des Baux, seneschal of Toulouse (Murimuth, 250 & 252; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Villani, 927; Froissart, III, xvii, 289 & 290). He had been replaced as seneschal of Toulouse by 6 November, 1345, but oncemore held the office by 15 January, 1347 (Luce, in Froissart, III, xvii, n.4).

Aymar de Poitiers, lord of Chalançon, later of Veyne, fifth son of Aymar IV of Poitiers, and brother of the count of Valentinois and of Diois (Froissart, III, xvii, 70, 289 & 291, who wrongly asserts that he was killed, ibid., xvii, n.7). On 25 November, 1345, Duke John of Normandy granted him 300 pounds tournois "en recompense

de ses services" (Bibl. nat., Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, nos.43 & 41).

Pons de Villemur, lord of Saint-Pol (Murimuth, 250; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Arch. nat., JJ 77, no.320).
? Saint-Paul de Jarrat in the Arriège.

Jean de la Porte, lord of Jumilhac (Murimuth, 250; Chronique de Guyenne, 401). Still held on 21 January, 1348, and probably on 18 February following (Bibl. nat., Parlement, 12, fo.).

Bertrand and Géraud des Prez, brothers, of Périgord (Murimuth, 250; Chronique de Guyenne, 401; Arch. nat., JJ 84, fo). Bertrand's ransom was fixed at the least at 12,000 gold pennies in ecus, which, together with the other expenses in which his captivity involved him, he was only able to meet and so gain his liberty with the help of an annual rent of 70 pounds tournois, granted to him by the archbishop of Auch, lieutenant of King Philip in Languedoc in 1349 (Arch. nat., JJ 84, fo).

Guillaume de Cormeilhan (Murimuth, 250, "monsire Gormhonne"; Chronique de Guyenne, 401, "mossen Cornilhon"; Arch. nat., JJ 77, fo.183v & JJ 81, fos.361v-2r, no.705, "Guillelmus Cornilhani"). Captured whilst fighting in the retinue of the count of Valentinois ("Dilectus noster Guillelmus Cornilhani, qui nobis, in guerris nostris, in obsedio Alberoque, ubi, in comitiva dilecti et fidelis nostri comitis quondam Valentiniensis ultimo defuncti, per inimicos nostros captus, et magna pecuniae summa redemptus extitit, diu fideliter servivit" (Arch. nat., JJ 77, fo.183v & JJ 81, fos.361v-2r, no.705).

Terselet de Poytes or Thessolet de Peyteus (Murimuth, 249 & 251; Chronique de Guyenne, 401).

Hautecuer de Poitiers (Chronique de Guyenne, 401, "Hauc de Cur"; Murimuth, 250, "Hughes de Vaus"; Bibl. nat., collection de Languedoc, vol.97, fo.37r. et seq., and Pièces originales, vol.2314, Poitiers, no.42).

Guillaume de Pierrepertuse, lord of Cugugnan and Solaiges in the sénéchaussée of Carcassone; served in the retinue of the count of Lille-Jourdain (Devic & Vaissete, op.cit., 576, quoting a "registre de Murat").

Bernard Bernardi, damoiseau of Sebazan, standard-bearer of the vicomte of Narbonne, wounded fighting alongside him,

died several days later (Devic & Vaissete, loc.cit.).

Bertrand de Masquerans, Brun Cesset, Almaric de Tarnpans, Bernard d'Orinssanh and Aymar de Teulinhang (Chronique de Guyenne, 401).

Bertram de Londes, Raynald de Ralastyns, Lowys Poyters, Haut Inere (brother of Gastard), Bertram de Cambuha, Ameneu de Lautre, Arnald de Falgeros, Bertram de Sedame, Waryn Fassete, Corbolan Verge, Bertram de Durnesan and his cousin Bernard de Durnesan, Thebaud de Ches, Bertram Ferras, and Eymer de Garnan (Murimuth, 250).

Guillem de Malemort or Gaubert de Malamort or both (Murimuth, 250, & Chronique de Guyenne, 401).

APPENDIX C : 6

Lancaster's dispatch of his second campaign in Aquitaine in 1346.

I have annotated the text of Lancaster's dispatch,¹ which the earl is said to have sent to England under his seal,² in order to establish its authenticity and to provide sources for the narrative account of the campaign which appears in Chapter Three.³

"Endroit dez novels saundroit, sachez qe, devaunt le feste de lassumpcion nostre Dame iij. jours,⁴ nous remuasmes de la Roele devers lez parties de Bruggerak,⁵ et avons assemblez illesques toutz lez seignurs de Gascoigne et autres gentz qestoient hors de establez, al entent de chivacher, et avons illesques consail ou lez seignurs susditz; si qavaunt nostre partir dillesques nous vienent ascuns gentz, chivalers et aultrez, pur demaunder trieves de par lez Fraunceis qe gesoient unqore a siege devant Aquilloun.⁶ Mais, puis qe nous savons qe monseigneur le roy estoit arive

1. Published by E.M.Thompson, Avesbury, 372-4.
2. "literis ipsius domini comitis, sub suo sigillo ad Angliam destinatis" (ibid., 372).
3. Vide supra., pp.
4. 12 August.
5. His letters were still being given at La Réole on 7 August (C 61/60, m.25; CPR, 1348-50, 24), but at Bergerac on 14 August (Rymer, III, i, 302).
6. The duke of Normandy's letters were still being dated in his tents before Aiguillon on 13 & 19 August (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.127, fo.178r. & seq; vol.189, p.260 & seq.).

en Normandie,¹ nous ne vodrons mie assentir a nulle trieve; et sur ceo lez enemys se leverent du siege le Dimange proschein devaunt le feste de seint Bartholemeu,² et sen departierent mult ledement, car ils perdrent graunt partie de lor biens et de lour gentz et lesserent lour tentes et tut le plus de lour herneis. Si qe, si tost qe nous le savons, nous tenismes avaunt nostre chemyn en Augeneys et venismes devaunt la ville Real, la quele nous estoit rendue et aultres villes et chastels dentour tout plain.³ Et, quant avons estable cele ville et le pais, nous chivachons tut le pais et alames droit a Tonynges et Aquilloun, et les feismes establer ausi et le pais enviroun. Et puis repairasmes arere a la Reole, et y demurrasmes bien viij. jours, et avons illesqes consail, et avons illesqes tut le pais. Et departismes nostre host en trois, et lessames le seignur de la Brette, mounsire Berard de Bret, seneschal de Gascoigne, mounsire Alexandre de Camont, et aultres devers lez parties de Besades; le seignur Duracz et aultres seignurs de Ageneis lessames celes parties; et tenismes avaunt nostre chemyn vers le parties de Centoyne od mil hommes darmes. Et remuasmes le xij^{me} jour de Septembre et geusmes en une bone ville qe nous feust mesme le jour renduz, la ville de Salveterre. Et lendemayn, quant nous avons pris serment de ceaux de la ville, nous tenismes avaunt nostre chemyn

1. Edward landed at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue on 12 July (Avesbury, 358).
2. 20 August. The duke of Normandy's letters were still being dated in his tents before Aiguillon on 19 August (Bibl. nat., collection Doat, vol.189, p.260 & seq.), but at Agen on 20, 22, 23 & 24 August, and at Moissac on 25 August (Normandy's itinerary, infra., Appendix).
3. There is a letter of his given at Villeréal on 27 August (C 61/60, m.32).

bien viij. jours, saunz assailler une ville od chastel, tantqe nous venismes au chastel de Nau, qest sour la rivere de Charente; et illesqes feismes reparailler le pount qestoit debruse, car leawe estoit si profonde qe homme ne poet passer par ailleurs, et passames illesqes lendemain. Et avons cele jour novels qe lez gentz mounsire Wautier de Manny, qavoient conduyt de Fraunceis daler au roy par terre, fusrent pris et emprisonez deinz la ville de Seint Johan Aungelin; et ensi fusrent, et mounsire Wautier estoit esckape soi tierce a graunt payne; si qe nous tenismes avaunt nostre chemyn devers la dite ville et lassailames, et feust gaigne par force, Dieu mercy, et lez gentz gettez hors du prisone.¹ Et demurrasmes la viij. jours et establions la ville,² et ceux de la ville nous fisrent serment et devindrent

1. By brief of the privy seal given before Calais on 12 November following, Edward wrote to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer "...Porce que nostre chere et foial Wauter de Mauny nadgaires avoit lettres de plein et sauf conduit de Johan, filz et lieutenant de nostre adversaire de France, pour avoir venuz devers nous es parties ou nous sumes, sicome pierte par la copie des dites lettres close dedeinz cestes, et emienant devers nous il est aresteu en Roialme de Fraunce countre la fourme du dit conduit, malicieusement, et sibien par enchesone du bon et greeable service q'il nous ad fait, come pour l'entiere affectione que nous avoms envers sa persone, herriouissement q'il feust perdant ou ordamagez nieinment tant come il est issint prisoner, si vous mandons que vous soiez eidantz gracieusement au dit Wauter et a ses attornez en quelconque ils averont affaire devers vous tant com il serra issint absent hors de nostre Roialme, qâr nous voloms q'il soit favorez par toutes les voies que homme purra, sanz offence des lois de nostre Roialme..." (E 159/123, m.47d., with note "Memoranda quod lettrarum de qua sic mencio superius in brevi consuit' eidem brevi et est in custodia marescalli").
2. There is a letter of his dated in Saint-Jean-d'Angély on 29 September (C 61/60, m.17).

Engleis, et deivent de lor costage demesne durant la guerre treover CC. hommes darmes et DC. au pie en garnison de la dite ville, et en temps du pees acrestront lor rentes au roy plus par an qils ne soleient paier a roy de Fraunce chescun an de iiij. mil escutz. Et lendemain de seint Michel¹ nous chivacheasmes vers la citee de Peyters, et geusmes une nuyt devaunt la ville de Lysingham, qest une forte ville, si qe homme la aloit assailler, et feust gaigne par assaut, et le chastel nous feust rendu, qest un de plus noblez chastels et de pluz fortz qe sont garrez en Fraunce od en Gascoigne.² Et nous establoms le chastel et la ville et y lessames bien C. hommes darmes et autrez gentz au pie ovesqe eux. Et chivachasmes devaunt la cite de Peyters et lez requerreismes; mais ils ne voleient rien faire, car il lor sembla lor ville assetz forte et si estoient assetz dez gentz. Si qe homme lassaila, qe feust le proschein Mescredy apres le seint Michel,³ et feust pris par force et toutz ceaux de la ville fusrent pris ou mortz.⁴ Et lez seignurs qestoient dedeinz, une evesqe et bien iiij. barouns, qaunt ils virent la prise de la ville, sen alerent dautre part. Et nous y demurrasmes bien viij. jours.⁵ Et estoions al escrivere de

1. 30 September.

2. According to the Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7, Lusignan was taken on 3 October.

3. 4 October.

4. The Chronique de Maillezais, 166-7, also sayd that he took Poitiers on 4 October.

5. There is a letter of his dated at Poitiers on 12 October (C 61/60, m.36).

cestes al ville de Seint Johan, et avons dez bones villes et chastels qe nous sount renduz entour.¹ Et ensi avons fait une beale chivache, le Dieu merci, et sumes revenuz a Seint Johan;² et pensons dillesques tenir nostre chemyn devers Burdeaux,³ qele chose serra fort a feare, a ceo qe lez enemys sont quillez en pays; mais espoiroms de feare bien, od leaide de Dieu".

1. These included Rocheford, Soubise, Taillebourg and Tonnay-Charente (See Appendix *C, no. 8*).
2. There are several of his letters dated at Saint-Jean-d'Angély on 19, 21 & 29 October (C 61/60, ms.6, 7, 17, 19, 20 & 22).
3. ~~There~~ There is a letter of his dated at Plassac on 30 October (C 61/59, m.6), and another dated at Bordeaux on 31 October (CPR, 1345-8, 474).

APPENDIX C : 7

Further grants made by Lancaster in Aquitaine.

(1) Grant for life of the place of Saint-Chestier, then in French obedience, together with full jurisdiction and all the profits pertaining thereto, to Raymond de Pellegrue, for his good service, should he conquer it (Warrant for letters under the great seal, upon petition for confirmation, Westminster, 7 March, 1352; C 81/353/21757).

(2) Grant for life of the place of Aymot, with full jurisdiction and all profits, to Gilbert de Pellegrue, the younger, when he should conquer it: he had done so by the spring of 1352 (Warrant for confirmation under the great seal, upon petition, Westminster, 6 March, 1352: C 81/353/21756).

(3) Grant of the place of Montjoye, with its appurtenances, from Lancaster, and the place of Sauvetat from the seneschal of Gascony, to Gausbert de Beauville, king's valet; double concession for his good services representing an annual value of £40 sterling (C 81/330/19481 & E 101/167/12). Together with Pons de Beauville and others he conducted a cattle raid around Agen early in 1351, thereby depriving the French garrison of the city of victuals (Arch. comm. Agen, BB 1).

(4) Grant of the prévôté of Ombrière, Bordeaux, for life to Stephen Rumbelow (E 101/167/17, m.2). Rumbelow was one of Lancaster's donees in England (Appendix

(5) Grant of £221 tournois annual rent to Assience de Caumont, nephew of the lord of Tumbabone, to be had from the property of the lord of Bironia, the king's enemy, and situated in the place and district of Landuno (Current payment, 1348, E 101/167/10, fo.19; E 101/167/12, fo.14; E 372/204, m.44).

(6) Grants to Guillaume and Gerald de Picon, damoiseaus, of annuities of £125 bordelaise from the profits of the prevote of Sauveterre (Current payment, 1348, E 101/167/10, fo.19; E 101/167/12, fos.2 & 13v).

(7) Grant to Bertrand de Fumel, lord of Mont-Astier, in aid of the ransoms of his sons, held prisoner by the French (Current payment, 1348, E 101/167/10, fo.19; E 101/167/12, fo.13v; E 372/204, m.44).

APPENDIX C : 8

Places taken by Lancaster's forces in 1345-6, 1349-50 and 1356.

The following lists are designed to provide details of sources not quoted in the footnotes to the text. They are not intended to be exhaustive.

I

1345-6

Places taken between the submission of Bergerac and the battle of Auberoche.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Bergerac (Dordogne, ch.-l. d'arr). | 24 August, 1345 (<u>Petite Chronique de Guyenne</u> , 61, no.37, & 99; <u>Chronique de Guyenne</u> , 400; <u>Bertrand</u> , 31-4. |
| La Mongie | By October, 1345 (Arch. nat., JJ 68, fo.86, no.147; <u>Bertrand</u> , 43-4 & 44, n.1). |
| Lalinde (Dordogne, arr. Bergerac). | C 61/63, m.9; <u>Bertrand</u> , 44, n.2, & 67; <u>Avesbury</u> , 356; <u>Froissart</u> , III, |
| Laforce & Lunas (Dordogne, arr. Bergerac). | By 2 September, 1345 (Bibl. nat., Périgord, 52; Lespine, Châtellenies et Châteaux, LZ, 59-60; <u>Bertrand</u> , 33, n.1; <u>Froissart</u> , III, xiv, n.8). |
| Beaumont (Beaumont-du-Périgord, Dordogne, arr. Bergerac). | <u>Bertrand</u> , 45. |
| Montagrièr (Dordogne, arr. Ribérac). | <u>Bertrand</u> , 46 & 75; <u>Avesbury</u> , 356. |

- Pellegrue (Gironde, arr. La Réole). C 61/60, m.9; Bertrandy, 56-8.
- Montsegur (Gironde, arr. La Réole). Chronique de Bazas, 44.
- Maurens C 61/60, m.6 & SC 8/243/12138; Bertrandy, 69-71 & 97.
- Saint-Jean-d'Eyraud Bertrandy, 71.
- Les Lèches (Dordogne, arr. Bergerac, cant. Laforce). Bertrandy, 69 & 71.
- Mucidan (Dordogne, arr. Ribérac). Bertrandy, 69 & 71.
- Saint-Louis (Dordogne, arr. Ribérac, cant. Mucidan). Bertrandy, 41, 61, 70 & 71; Avesbury, 356.
- Saint-Astier (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux). C 61/60, m.14; Bertrandy, 41, 70-2 & 75; Avesbury, 356.
- Isle Bertrandy, 41, 68, 70, 75 & 76.
- Bonneval (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux). Bertrandy, 41, 47, 75, 76 & 106-8.
- Auberoche (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux). Bertrandy, 76.
- Saint-Privat (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux, cant. Savignac-les-Eglises). Arch. mun. Périgueux, Bertrandy, 76-7 & 77, n.1.
- Saint-Raphaël (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux, cant. Bertrandy, 76-7 & 77, n.2.

Places taken between the battle of Auberoche and the commencement of the siege of Aiguillon by the duke of Normandy.

- | | |
|--|---|
| La Réole (Gironde, ch.-l. d'arr). | By 2 November, 1345 (E 159/123, m.327). |
| Aiguillon (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Port-Sainte-Marie). | By 10 December, 1345 (C 61/60, ms.5 & 6). |
| Castelsagrat (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Moissac). | Taken between 21 November, 1345, and 7 April, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Agenais</u> , I, 61; <u>Bertrand</u> y, 156-8 & 247). |
| Monclar (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, ch.-l. cant.). | Taken between 21 November, 1345, and 7 April, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Agenais</u> , I, 61; <u>Bertrand</u> y, 189 & 241). |
| Villereal (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, ch.-l. cant.). | Taken before 27 August, 1346 (C 61/60, m.32). |
| Bajamont (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. & cant. Agen). | Taken before 7 April, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Agenais</u> , I, 61). |
| Beauville (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen). | Taken before 7 April, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Agenais</u> , I, 61). |
| Montagnac (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Seyches). | Taken before 7 April, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Agenais</u> , I, 61). |
| Realville | <u>Bertrand</u> y, 248-9. |
| Mirabel | <u>Bertrand</u> y, 248-9. |
| Montpezat (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Prayssas). | C 61/60, m.5; <u>Bertrand</u> y, 191-2; <u>Froissart</u> , III, xxiii, & n.l. |
| Miramont (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Marmande, cant. Lauzun). | <u>Bertrand</u> y, 196 & n.l. |

Places taken between the raising of the siege of Aiguillon by the duke of Normandy and Lancaster's return to England.

Sauveterre (Sauveterre-de-Guyenne, Gironde, arr. La Réole).	12 September, 1346 (Dispatch, <u>Avesbury</u> , 373).
Châteauneuf-sur-Charente	20 September, 1346 (Dispatch, <u>Avesbury</u> , 373).
Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Charente-Maritime,	21 September, 1346 (Dispatch, <u>Avesbury</u> , 373).
Lusignan	3 October, 1346 (<u>Chronique de Maillezais</u> , 166-7); between 30 September and 4 October (Dispatch, <u>Avesbury</u> , 374)
Poitiers (Vienne, ch.-l. dep.).	4 October, 1346 (Dispatch, <u>Avesbury</u> , 374; <u>Chronique de Maillezais</u> , 166-7; certainly there 12 October (C 61/60, m.36).
Monstreuil-Bonin	Taken before 19 October, 1346 (<u>Chronique de Maillezais</u> , 166-7; <u>Froissart</u> , IV,
Soubise	Taken on Poitevin campaign. In English control by December, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Poitou</u> , XIII, xxx & n.2, 330-2).
Tonnay-Charente (Charente-Inférieure, arr. Rochefort).	C 61/60, ms.3 & 20; C 61/61, m.1; <u>Arch. hist. Poitou</u> , XIII, xxx & n.2.
Rochefort	<u>CPR</u> , 1345-8, 560.
Taillebourg	Taken on Poitevin campaign. In English control by December, 1346 (<u>Arch. hist. Poitou</u> , XIII, xxx & n.2, 330-2).

II

1349-50

Places taken between 27 November and 30 December 1349.

Narratives of the campaign are to be found in the Chronique Normande, 92; the Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 62, no.46; and Knighton, II, 66. The first two authors confuse the raid with that of the Black Prince in 1355 (cf. Chronique Normande, 282, n.9, and Petite Chronique de Guyenne, 70, n.1), but it is clear that Lancaster reached Toulouse.¹

Laplume (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen).

Garrisoned by Robert de Beverley and John de Asprode, knights, together with their retinues, during the period 20 December, 1349 to 22 February, 1350, by order of Lancaster (E 404/508/73 & 75; E 403/355, m.19). Re-taken by Armagnac and Houdetot in July, 1350 (Chronique Normande, 93 & 284).

Astaffort (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen).

Taken "tempore quo comes Lancastrie accessum fecit ad partes Tholosanie ... cum sue exercitu" (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fo.176r-v, no.231) together with a neighbouring mill (ibid., fos.176r-7r, no.232), and re-taken by the French in July, 1350 (Chronique Normande, 92 & 283).

Cuq (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Astaffort).

Re-taken by Armagnac and Houdetot (Chronique Normande, 92 & 283).

1. There is a letter of remission of King Philip touching an offence committed "environ la feste de la nativite nostre seigneur derriene passe que nos ennemis furent devant Thoulouse" (Arch. nat., JJ 78, fo.54, no.114).

- Fals (Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Astaffort). Re-taken by Armagnac and Houdetot (Chronique Normande, 92 & 283).
- Dunes (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Moissac, cant. Auvillars). Re-taken by Armagnac and Houdetot (Chronique Normande, 92 & 283).
- Beaumont-de-Lomagne (Tarn-et-Garonne, arr. Castelsarrasin). Garrisoned by Lancaster (Chronique Normande, 92 & 283).
- Grenade (Haute-Garonne, arr. Toulouse). The pillage is referred to as "novissime facta" in letters of King Philip of December, 1350 (Arch. nat., JJ 80, fos.221r-4v). For the destruction of the bridge, see Arch. comm. Toulouse, AA 35, no.76.
- Merville (Haute-Garonne, arr. Toulouse). Phillip Wolff, Commerces et Marchands de Toulouse, 1350-1450, Paris (1954), 37.

1356

Places taken by Lancaster's forces on their return to Brittany from the Loire valley in 1356.

- Domfront (Orne, ch.-l. d'arr.). Arch. nat., JJ 85, fo.84v, no.105; JJ 119, fo.54v, no.84; Xla.20, fos. 208 & 378r-80r, no.124; Xla.21, fos. 8r, 13r, 73v-5v, no.3, 209v-210r & 211r; Bibl. nat., Chartes Royales, V, no.96; Quittances, XIII, no.1245; Rymer, III, 421, 427, 536, 547; CPR, 1361-4, 495; P.Chaplais, in the Camden Miscellany, vol.XIX, Camden Society, third series, LXXX (1952), 18; S.Luce, Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque, 188 & 494.
- Messei (Orne, arr. Domfront). Arch. nat., JJ 119, fo.54v, no.84; Xla.21, fos.73v-5v, no.3 & 215v; Rymer, III, 391, 421, 536 & 547; CPR, 1361-4, 495; Chaplais. loc. cit.; Luce, op.cit., 188 & 495.

- Villiers (Villiers-Charlemagne, arr. Chateau-Gontier, cant. Grez-en-Bouere). Arch. nat., X^{la}.20, fos.208 & 378r-80r; X^{la}.21, fos.8r, 13r, 73v-5v, no.3, 209v-10r & 211r; Rymer, III, i, 536-47; CPR, 1361-4, 495; Chaplais, loc.cit., Luce, op.cit 495.
- Conde-sur-Noireau (Calvados, arr. Vire). Arch. nat., X^{la}.21, fos.73v-5v, no. 3; CPR, 1361-4, 495; Chaplais, loc.cit.
- Saint-Germain-du-Crioult Rymer, III, i, 421.
- Martainville Rymer, III, i, 421.
- Tinchebray Arch. nat., JJ 119, fo.54v, no.84.
- Saint-James-de-Beuvron A. de la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, III, 550; V. Ménard, Histoire religieuse, civile et militaire de Saint-James de Beuvron, Avranches (1897), 61-2; R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, I, 266.
- Avranches Chronique de Mont-Saint-Michel (1343-1468), 5; Fragments d'une chronique inédite relatifs aux événements militaires arrivés en Basse-Normandie, 6; Arch. nat., JJ 89, no.181; De la Borderie, loc.cit.; Ménard, loc.cit.; Delachenal, loc.cit.

APPENDIX C : 9

A nominal roll of the men who served in Lancaster's retinue on military and diplomatic missions.

The following list comprises the names of the men who served, or were intended to serve, in Lancaster's comitiva on military and diplomatic missions. It does not include the names of those who served in other retinues of the armies which he commanded. Only records dealing with service in his comitiva have, therefore, been utilised. These are:

(1) Exchequer records, especially records of payments. These are the most valuable and consist of two surviving pay rolls, which include nominal rolls, preserved amongst the Accounts Various, one for the Scottish expedition of 1336 (E 101/15/12), the other for the expedition to Aquitaine of 1345-6 (E 101/25/9); a list of the names of those who were compensated for horses killed in action in the Low Countries in 1338-40, preserved in Norwell's Wardrobe Book among the collection of Miscellaneous Books (E 36/203, fo.125v); a number of debentures issued to those who sold their horses before leaving Bordeaux in 1350, preserved amongst the Writs and Warrants (E 404/508/51-72, 74 & 76-9) and listed on the Issue Roll for that year (E 403/355, m.19); and writs of exoneration from service in the king's army in 1346-7, enrolled on the Memoranda Roll (King's Remembrancer) for 1347 (E 159/123).

(2) Chancery records. These are less valuable and include letters of protection and general attorney, enrolled on the Scottish, Gascon and Treaty Rolls (C 71/21; C 61/56-8 & 61-2; C 76/12-27, 29, 32-8 & 40); the surviving requests for these letters, preserved amongst the files of Warrants (C 81/1724 & 1730); and the surviving warrants for the issue of writs of exoneration from service in the king's army in 1346-7, also preserved amongst the files of Warrants (C 81) Many of the letters of protection and general attorney, and writs of exoneration, relating to 1347 have been published by Wrottesley.¹

The list is not exhaustive. The financial records are confined to four campaigns (1336, 1338-40, 1345-6 & 1349-50), only two of them pay-rolls (1336 & 1345-6), and one (1345-6) deficient in the names of the esquires. The Chancery records, although they cover most of the missions, are less reliable. Letters of protection and general attorney were only requested for, and issued to, a small proportion of Lancaster's comitiva. Occasionally, they were not issued at all. Moreover, those which were requested and issued prior to the commencement of a mission (as opposed to during its course) only provide evidence of intended service. Doubtless this was almost always performed, but circumstances sometimes arose which prevented its performance. It is evident, for instance, that the men who were given letters of protection and general attorney to join Lancaster in Gascony in 1350, as those who were given similar letters to accompany him

1. Crecy and Calais.

to Normandy and Brittany in 1355, never left Portsmouth.¹ Definite evidence of service and non-performance of service have, therefore, been indicated where letters of protection and general attorney constitute the sole evidence for a mission.

Wherever possible, I have retained the original spelling of a name. My choice of variant spellings has had to be arbitrary. I have used the prevailing form where one exists, but have modernised where one does not.

All known knights are indicated and the letter K placed before the year or years in which they are first known to have served as knights. Known service as an esquire is similarly distinguished by the use of the letter E.

Key to the missions:

1336	Scotland (military)
1338-40	Low Countries (military)
1340	Low Countries (military)
1341	Scotland (military)
1342-3	Brittany (military)
1343	Spain (diplomatic)
1344	Aquitaine-Spain-Avignon (administrative/diplomatic)
1345-6	Aquitaine (military/administrative)
1347	Calais (military)
1348	Calais-Flanders (diplomatic)
1349-50	Aquitaine (military/administrative)

1. Vide supra, pp.

1354-5 Avignon (diplomatic)
 1355 Normandy-Brittany (military)
 1356-8 Normandy-Brittany (military)
 1359-60 Reims campaign (military)

Abbreviations used:

E1	E 101/15/12
E2	E 36/203, fo.125v
E3	E 101/25/9, m.3
E4/no.	E 404/508/no.
E5	E 403/355, m.19
E6/m.	E 159/123, m.
C1/no.	C 81/1724/no.
C2/no.	C 81/1730/no.
C81/no./no.	C 81/no./no.
C71/no./m.	C 71/no., m.
C61/no./m.	C 61/no., m.
C76/no./m.	C 76/no., m.
Wr.	Wrottesley, <u>Crecy and Calais.</u>

Aberbury, Richard de, Kt. K1356-8 (C2/36; C76/34/8 & 15),
 served.
 Aldebury, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Aldewyncle, John de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
 1342-3 (C76/17/26); 1345-6 (E3);
 1347 (C76/25/25); cf.C1/49.
 Arnald, John, of Evesham, 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 burgess.
 Asteley, Ralph de, Kt. K1342-3 (C1/41; C76/17/22);
 1345-6 (E3).
 Audeley, James de, Kt. K1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19).
 Audeley, Peter de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Audley, William, armourer. 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Auncel, William 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
 Aunsel, Alexander, Kt. K1345-6 (E3; E6/126); 1347 (C76/
 25/25); 1348 (C76/26/10); 1349-
 50 (E4/79; E5); 1354-5 (C76/32/
 4); 1355 (C76/33/8), no service;
 1356-8 (CPR, 1358-61, 225);
 1359-60 (C76/38/16).

 Baa, Thomas de 1338-40 (E2).
 Bacoun, Thomas 1345-6 & 1347 (Wr.152), served.
 Bakepuys, Thomas E1336 (E1).
 Bakepuys, William E1336 (E1).
 Baker, William 1345-6 (E3).
 Balle, William 1345-6 (E3).
 Barington, Theobald de E1336 (E1).
 Barker, Walter 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Basset, John, of Rushden, Kt. K1356-8 (C76/35/6), served.
 Bassyngbourn, Humphrey de 1342-3 (C76/17/27).
 Bastreville, Richard, Kt. 1344 (C76/19/19); K1345-6 (E3);
 1347 (C76/25/25).
 Beauchamp, Gilbert 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Beaufou, William 1345-6 & 1347 (C81/1760/12;
 Wr.167).
 Beaurepeyr E1336 (E1).
 Bedeford, Walter de 1345-6 (E3).
 Bekard, William 1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
 Bekeryng, Thomas de 1347 (Wr.133).
 Bekyngham, John de 1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
 Beler, Roger, Kt. 1340 (C76/15/20); K1342-3 (C76/
 17/16 & 26); 1345-6 (C2/14;
 C76/20/16 & 19; E3); 1347 (C76/
 25/25); 1355 (C76/33/9 & 10),
 no service; 1359-60 (C76/38/16);
 cf.C1/54/61.

- Beler, Roger, son of Alice
 late wife of Roger 1340 (C76/15/20); 1342-3 (C76/
 17/16); 1345-6 (C76/20/16);
 1347 (C76/25/25); cf. C1/54 & 61.
- Beler, Roger, son of Roger 1345-6 (C76/20/16); 1347 (C76/
 25/25).
- Bere, Thomas de la 1347 (C76/24/2); 1355 (C76/33/
 9), no service.
- Bermyngham, Walter de, Kt. 1354-5 (C76/32/4); 1355 (C76/33/
 8), no service; K1359-60 (C76/
 38/16).
- Bernak, Robert E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (E2); 1359-
 60 (C76/38/16).
- Bernak, William, Kt. K1345-6 (E3); 1349-50 (C61/62/6),
 no service.
- Bernard, Richard E1336 (E1).
- Bernaston, Thomas de, Kt. K1359-60 (C76/38/16), served.
- Berton, William de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
- Bertram, Robert, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9), no service;
 1356-8 (C76/34/15); 1359-60
 (C76/38/16; C76/40/1), served.
- Bettesthorn, John de 1359-60 (C76/38/16; C76/40/12),
 served.
- Birhoure, John de 1345-6 (E3).
- Birsall, John 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
- Birstall, John de 1356-8 (C76/35/12).
- Birthoure, Nicholas de 1345-6 (E3).
- Blount, John, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8); K1345-6 (E3);
 1347 (C76/24/7), served.
- Blount, Wackyn le E1336 (E1).
- Blyton, John de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9), no service;
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Bolton, Robert de E1336 (E1).
- Bolyngbrok, Bertrand de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Bolyngbrok, Robert de 1356-8 (C76/35/6), served.
- Bonyngton, Walter de K1355 (C76/33/8), no service;
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Bordeaux, mayor of
 (Reginald de Biskele) K1345-6 (E3).
- Borham, John de 1342-3 (C76/17/30 & 39).
- Bosevill, Robert de 1345-6 & 1347 (E6/102).
- Bosoun, John, of Claxton, Kt. 1342-3 (C1/59; C76/17/27);
 1344 (C76/19/19 & 22); 1345-6
 (C76/20/16; E3); cf. C1/53.
- Bower, Roger, son of Richard
 le, of St. Albans 1347 (C76/24/12).

- Boyville, John, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Bradmare, Thomas de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Braunche, Andrew 1338-40 (C1/33; C76/12/8);
 1340 (C1/43; C76/15/6), served;
 1342-3 (C76/17/26).
 Bredon, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1344 (C76/
 19/19); 1345-6 (C76/20/15);
 1359-60 (C76/38/16), served.
 Brerele, Hugh de 1355 (C2/47; C76/33/9 & 10), no
 service.
 Brettenille, Richard de 1345-6 (C76/20/15); cf. C1/49.
 Bridd, Geoffrey 1345-6 (E3).
 Briggeham, Roger, son of 1347 (C76/24/5).
 Thomas de
 Brinyhurst, John de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Brocas, Bernard, Kt. 1349-50 (C76/27/4 & 6); K1354-5
 (C76/32/4); 1355 (C76/33/9),
 no service; 1356-8 (C76/34/16).
 Brocas, John, Kt. K1359-60 (C76/40/10), served.
 Brok, Hamo 1354-5 (C76/32/4).
 Bucher, Henry 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Bulstrode, Edmund de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8;
 E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/26); 1345-6
 (C76/20/15); 1347 (C76/25/25).
 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Bulton, William de 1345-6 (E6/161).
 Burdegala, Oliver de K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347
 (C76/25/25; Wr.146), served.
 Burdet, Robert, son of Robert 1355 (C76/33/3), no service;
 Burdet of Hovecote, Kt. 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Bures, John de, of Surrey, 1345-6 (E3).
 Kt. K1355 (C76/33/3 & 8); 1356-8
 (C76/35/6).
 Burgoyne, Hurtaud de, Kt. 1349-50 (C61/62/6), no service.
 Burton, John de, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
 1345-6 (E3).
 Bury, William de, of London 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Bushy, Jankyn 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Butelry, John de la 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19); 1345-6
 (C76/20/15); 1347 (C76/25/25);
 Buxton, Roger de, clerk. 1349-50 (C61/61/2), no service;
 Buxton, Thomas de, Clerk. 1353-4 (vide supra, pp.
 Byntre, Walter de cf. C2/32 & CPR, 134, 380.
 E1336 (E1).

- Caldecotes, Henry de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Camoys, Hugh de, Kt. 1349-50 (E4/17; E5).
 Camoys, John de, Kt. K1347 (Wr.142).
 Camoys, Ralph de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; C76/23/25;
 E3); 1347 (C76/25/26); 1349-50
 (E4/68 & E5).
 Carlisle, Richard de 1348 (C76/26/9).
 Carpenter, Thomas le 1345-6 (E3).
 Caudray, Fulk de 1345-6 & 1347 (C81/321/18583;
 E6/154).
 Caumpeden, Henry de, clerk. 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1344 (C76/
 19/23); 1345-6 (C1/34; C76/20/
 25); 1348 (C76/26/9).
 Cauntelough, Nicholas de, B1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8;
 bannaret E2).
 Causton, Robert de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347
 (C76/24/5).
 Cayley, Hugh de E1336 (E1); 1355 (C76/33/9), no
 service.
 Chaddesden, Thomas de E1336 (E1).
 Chaddesden, William de E1336 (E1).
 Charnels, Thomas de, Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/22); 1347 (Wr.
 156), served.
 Chamberleyn, Robert 1344 (C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/
 20/15).
 Chaumbre, William de la 1345-6 (E3).
 Chaumpaigne, Richard 1347 (Wr.150), served.
 Chaumpaigne, Thomas E1336 (E1).
 Chester, Richard de 1345-6 (E3).
 Chetewynd, Roger de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Cheyne, Roger, son and heir of Hugh le 1356-8 (C76/35/7), served.
 Cheyney, Thomas 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
 Chippelegh, Robert de 1345-6 & 1347 (Wr. 171), served.
 Clarell, Thomas, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
 Cliff, Henry, son of John 1348 (C76/26/7), served
 de, by Hemmyngburgh
 Clifton, Gervase de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/16; E3); 1354-5
 (C76/32/4); 1355 (C76/33/8), no
 service.
 Clynton, Thomas de 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Cok, Henry 1348 (C76/26/7), served; cf.
 C2/51.

- Cok, Thomas, Kt. K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/26); 1343 (CPR, 1340-3, 18); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19 & 22); 1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1349-50 (C61/61/2; E5); cf. C1/37 & 60; C2/24.
- Cok, William E1336 (E1).
- Cole, Thomas 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Colvill, Thomas 1344 (C76/19/19).
- Combirhale, Adam E1336 (E1).
- Conestable, William, Kt. K1336 (E1).
- Cornewaille, William de, king's serjeant-at-arms. 1355 (C2/41; C76/33/4), no service.
- Corordoun, William de E1336 (E1).
- Cosington, Stephen de, Kt. 1344 (C76/19/23); K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347 (C76/25/25; Wr.180), served; 1349-50 (C76/27/4; E4/52; E5).
1338-40 (C76/12/8).
- Coteford, John de E1336 (E1).
- Coterell, James 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Cothom, William de E1336 (E1).
- Coupelond, William de 1345-6 (Wr.172); 1347 (C76/25/21 & 25; Wr.172), served on both occasions.
- Courteney, Thomas de
- Cray, John, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
- Cresseholme, Robert de 1359-60 (C76/40/15), served.
- Cressewell, Henry de, senior E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
- Cressewell, Henry de, junior E1336 (E1).
- Cressewell, Thomas de E1336 (E1).
- Cressy, Hugh de, of Rysgate E1336 (E1); 1342-3 (C76/17/22 & 27); 1345-6 (C76/20/15).
- Creyk, John de E1336 (E1).
- Croft, Hugh de K1336 (E1).
- Curson, Jankyn E1336 (E1).
- Cusaunce, Peter de, Kt. 1349-50 (C61/62, m.6), no service; 1355 (C76/33/9), no service; K1356-8 (C2/39; C76/34/13).
- Cusaunce, William de 1342-3 (C76/17/11 & 39), served; 1343 (CPR, 1343-5, 16).
- Dalton, John de, Kt. K1344 (C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/23/8; E3).
- Darcy, Owen 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
- Darcy, Robert, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
- Darcy, Roger, son of John, Kt. K1345-6 (E3); 1347 (Wr.134).

- Denvere, John de 1347 (C76/25/25).
 Despenser, Hugh le 1341 (C71/21/3).
 Despenser, Hugh le, son and heir of Eleanor, late wife of William la Zouche of Mortimer. 1341 (C71/21/3).
 Despenser, Phillip le 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2);
 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19).
 Destor, Henry, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Deverwik, Thomas E1336 (E1).
 Devom, John de, Kt. K1336 (E1).
 Deyncourt, William 1347 (C76/25/18), served.
 Donyngton, Edmund de 1344 (C76/19/19).
 Draxcote, John de 1349-50 (C76/27/5).
 Durreзме, Wilkok de E1336 (E1).
 Dusthorp, John de 1356-8 (C76/34/8 & 15), served.
 Dutton, William 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
- Elmeshale, John 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Elsyng, William de, master mercer and founder of the hospital of the Blessed Mary within Cripplegate, London. 1348 (C76/26/4), served.
- Ely, John 1345-6 (E3).
 Ercedeakne, John, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/4 & 8).
 Espagne, Vascomede d', Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Estcote, John de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Eterhe, Henry de 1345-6 (E3).
 Eustorp, John de 1356-8 (C76/34/8), served.
 Everard, Edmund, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1342-3 (C76/17/26 & 27); 1343 (CFR, 1337-47, 338); K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347 (C76/24/2; Wr.156), served; 1359-60 (C76/38/16), served.
- Everingham, Adam de, of Laxton, Kt. K1342-3 (C76/17/22 & 27); 1344 (C76/19/19 & 22); B1345-6 (C76/20/15; C61/58/2; E3); 1347 (C76/24/1; C81/322/18631; Wr.147), served; 1348 (C76/26/2), served; 1355 (C76/33/8), no service; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Everingham, Edmund de, Kt. K1356-8 (C2/33; C76/34/14; C76/34/17), served; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).

Facombergh, Jankyn E1336 (E1).
 Facomberge, Walter, Kt. K1336 (E1).
 Facoun, Hugh 1345-6 (E3).
 Fakenham, Thomas de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Falde, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Farlee, Richard de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Fauconer, Damel E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (E404/493/
 474).
 Felton, William, son of 1356-8 (C76/35/7), served.
 William de, Kt.
 Ferour, William le 1338-40 (C76/14/4), served.
 Ferrers, Ralph de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Ferrers, William de, Kt. K1359-60 (C76/38/16; C76/40/11),
 served.
 Fery, John 1356-8 (C76/34/2), served.
 Fishide, Richard de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 FilzHugh, Nicholas 1345-6 (E3).
 FilzJohn, Richard 1345-6 (E3).
 FilzRalph, William 1345-6 (E3).
 FitzAlayn, William, Kt. K1356-8 (C2/35; C76/34/2), served
 FitzHerbert, Ralph 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 FitzHerbert, Reginald le 1342-3 (C76/17/24 & 26).
 FitzSimon, Richard, Kt. K1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19);
 1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
 1355 (C76/33/10), no service.
 FitzWilliam, John K1345-6 (E3).
 FitzPayn, Robert le, Kt. 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Flete, Laurence de 1345-6 (C61/57/5).
 Flicham, Roger, son of
 Roger, baron of
 Florak, Thomas, Kt. 1349-50 (C76/27/1; E4/77; E5);
 1356-8 (E101/174/12); 1359-60
 (C76/38/16).
 1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
 Folnull, Matthew de 1356-8 (C76/34/7 & 18), served.
 Forestor, Giles, of Fleece 1347 (Wr.119 & 125).
 Freville, Baldwin de 1355 (C76/33/8).
 Friday, Thomas 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Fulkyngham, John de 1349-50 (C76/27/4).
 Furnivall, Thomas de, Kt. 1356-8 (C76/35/16).
 Fust, John, of Lewes
 Gerberge, John 1359-60 (C76/38/1), served.
 Gernoun, Nicholas, Kt. E1336 (E1); K1349-50 (E4/78; E5).
 Gerst, William othe 1345-6 (E3).
 Gillyng, Thomas, Kt. K1345-6 (C1/38; C76/20/15; E3).

- Glascote, Richard de E1336 (E1).
 Glendon, Alan de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Glenton, John de E1336 (E1).
 Godechepe, Henry 1359-60 (C76/38/12).
 Goushull, Nicholas de 1342-3 (C1/59; C76/17/27);
 K1345-6 (E3).
 K1345-6 (E3).
 Grailly, Jean de (captal
 of Buch), Kt.
 Grailly, Pierre de (vicomte
 of Benauges and Castillon-
 sur-Dordogne), Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Grenacres, Richard de 1356-8 (C76/35/16), served.
 Grendon, Robert de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Grendon, Thomas de, son of 1342-3 (C76/17/16 & 27).
 Robert de, of Brancote.
 Grene, John atte 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Grene, Robert de la 1349-50 (E4/57); 1356-8 (C76/
 34/15); 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Greneburgh, William de,
 archdeacon of Stafford, late
 parson of Kingsley.
 Grey, John de, of 1338-40 (E2); K1341 (C71/21/3);
 Codenore, Kt. B1345-6 (C76/20/15; C76/22/16;
 E3); 1347 (C76/24/5); 1348 (C76/
 26/4), served; 1354-5 (C76/32/3
 & 4).
 Grey, John de, son and heir 1341 (C71/21/3); 1345-6 (C76/20/
 of John de, of Codenore. 15); 1347 (C76/24/8 & 12); 1348
 (C76/26/4), served; 1355 (C76/
 33/4 & 9), no service.
 Grey, John de, son and heir 1345-6, in the retinue of John
 of Richard de, of Codenore, de Grey of Codenore (C81/1727/
 Kt. 60; C76/20/16); K1347 (C76/24/
 12); 1348 (C76/26/4), served.
 Grey, Richard de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (E2).
 Grey, William de, Kt. K1336 (E1).
 Greystock, William, lord B1345-6 (E3; E6/170); 1349-50
 of, bannaret. (C76/27/4).
 Griseley, Robert de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Grove, Thomas 1349-50 (C61/62/6), no service.
 Gumby, Stephen de K1345-6 (E3; E6/79).
 Gynewell, John, clerk. 1338-40 (E404/501/303; C76/12/
 8).

- Hagesthorp, Hugh E1336 (E1).
 Hakelut, Edmund 1348 (C76/26/7), served.
 Hale, Frank de, bannaret. B1345-6 (E3).
 Hale, John del 1345-6 (E3).
 Halle, William del, of 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Dorset.
 Hamwyk, John de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Haroldorun, Roger 1338-40 (E2).
 Hasring, Richard de, Kt. K1342-3 (C76/17/26).
 Hastang, John de, Kt. K1347 (C76/24/8; Wr.117), served.
 Hastynges, Hugh de, Kt. K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
 1340 (C76/15/21); 1355 (C76/33/
 8), no service; 1356-8 (C76/34/
 15); 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Hastynges, Ralph de, Kt. K1336 (E1); 1342-3 (C76/17/22);
 1344 (C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/
 20/15; E3); 1347 (C76/24/5);
 1359-60 (C76/38/16); cf.C1/46.
 Hastynges, William de, Kt. E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8;
 E2); K1345-6 (E3).
 Hastynges, William de, E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (E2).
 the nephew.
 Hastys, Roger 1344 (C76/19/19).
 Haveryng, Richard de, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1345-6
 (C76/20/6; E3; C81/321/18522;
 C81/322/18623; E6/173d); 1355
 (C76/33/9), no service; 1356-8
 (C76/34/15); 1359-60 (C76/38/16),
 served.
 Haydok, Matthew, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Hebden, Richard de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; C61/58/1;
 E3; E6/139); 1347 (E6/139);
 1355 (C76/33/8), no service;
 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Hemmenhale, John de 1344 (C1/55; C76/19/19).
 Hengare, Edmund de, Kt. 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Hereford, Thomas de, Kt. 1347 (C81/321/18549; E6/172);
 K1349-50 (E4/54; E5); 1356-8
 (C76/34/15).
 Hersey, John de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Heseden, Thomas de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Heselarton, Simon de, Kt. K1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Heselarton, Walter de, Kt. 1354-5 (C76/32/4); K1359-60
 (C76/38/16).
 Heton, William de 1355 (C76/33/8).

- Hewdon, Simon de E1336 (E1).
 Higham, John de, parson of
 the church of Denford. 1345-6 (C76/20/15); 1359-60
 (C76/38/16).
 Hok, Roger 1345-6 (E3).
 Holand, John de 1342-3 (C1/59; C76/17/27).
 Holyns, Roger 1355 (C76/33/9), no service;
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Hulle, Walter 1345-6 (E3).
 Huntynghfeld, William de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/8), no service;
 1356-8 (C76/34/4 & 5), served.
 1359-60 (C76/38/16; C76/40/11),
 served.
 Hurell, William 1345-6 (E3).
 Huwet, John 1345-6 (E3).
 Hynkeleye, Robert de,
 chaplain. 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Idanaye, Walter 1356-8 (C76/34/8 & 14), served.
 Illary, Edward 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Ingeldesthorp, William de 1341 (C71/21/5).
 Inkepenne, John de 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Irreys, John le, baker. 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Isle, Warren del, son of
 Gerard del, Kt. 1356-8 (C76/34/15);
 K1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Keu, Hugh le 1345-6 (E3).
 Kirketon, John de, armourer. 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Knyther, Hikedon E1336 (E1).
 Koterell, Nicholas E1336 (E1).
 Kyngeston, William de 1356-8 (C76/35/16).
 Kyrkham, Nicholas, son of
 Robert de 1349-50 (C2/25; C61/61/1);
 cf.C1/55.
 Langeton, William de 1344 (C76/19/19).
 Lenedale, John de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Lescrop, Geoffrey, son
 of Henry. 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Lestraunge, Roger, of
 Knockin (lord of Dunham),
 Kt. 1347 (C76/24/21); 1348 (C76/26/
 4), served; K1355 (C76/33/9), no
 service; 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
 Lestraunge, Thomas, of
 Knockin. 1347 (C76/24/8).
 Leycestre, Robert de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Limginlers, John de 1355 (C76/33/9 & 10), no
 service.

Lolles, Walter
 Loring, Nigel, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
 Kl345-6 (C76/20/15; C76/22/6; E3);
 1349-50 (C76/27/4); 1351-2
 (CPR, 1350-4, 179).
 Loudham, John de 1355 (C76/33/8 & 10) no service.
 Longeford, Nicholas de, Kt. Kl336 (E1); 1356-8 (C76/34/4 &
 14), served; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Lovel, John, Kt. Kl344 (C1/49; C76/19/19).
 Lovel, Ralph, Kt. Kl356-8 (C76/34/8 & 14).
 Lovel, William, Kt. Kl347 (C76/24/5; Wr.142, 143 &
 154-5), served.
 Lude, Thomas 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Lughteburgh, Master William 1354-5 (C76/32/4).
 Calf of
 Lombard, Peter, of Benerbaco 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Lunel, Phillip, Kt. Kl345-6 (E3).
 Luterel, Andrew, Kt. Kl345-6 (E3; E6/124); 1347 (Wr.
 148).
 Lymbury, John de, Kt. Kl345-6 (E3).
 Lymbury, Phillip de, Kt. 1344 (C76/19/19 & 22); Kl345-6
 (C76/20/15; E3; E6/126); 1347
 (C76/25/25); 1348 (C76/26/10);
 1349-50 (C76/27/3); 1356-8
 (C76/35/9; C76/36/11), served;
 1359-60 (C76/38/16 & 17), served;
 cf. C1/63.
 Makeseye, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Mallore, Christopher 1347 (C2/12; C76/24/5).
 Mancestre, Edmund de, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
 Manion, Ferdinand, of London 1345-6 (C76/23/15), served.
 Mare, Peter de la, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2); 1342-3
 (C76/17/26); Kl345-6 (C76/20/15;
 E3; E6/140); cf. C1/40.
 Mare, Robert de la, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2); Kl344
 (C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/20/15;
 E3); 1347 (C76/25/25); 1349-50
 (E4/51-79); 1356-8 (C76/34/14);
 1359-60 (C76/38/16); cf. C1/49.
 Mare, Thomas de la 1347 (Wr.150) served; 1359-60
 (C76/38/16), served.
 Markant, Robert 1349-50 (C61/61/2; E5).
 Marinyon, William, Kt. Kl344 (C76/19/19).
 Marny, Robert de, Kt. Kl355 (C76/33/9), no service;
 1356 (C76/34/5, 16 & 18),
 served.

- Mawardyn, John de E1336 (E1).
 Maydeford, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Medewe, Adam atte E1336 (E1).
 Meignill, Hugh de (lord of Hornby), Kt. K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8; C76/13/13; E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/26 & 29); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19); B1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3; E6/127d).
 Meignill, William de (son of Hugh de), Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/22); K1345-6 (E3); 1347 (C76/25/24); 1349-50 (C2/30; C61/62/6), no service; 1356-8 (C76/34/15); cf. C2/51.
 Meynill, Thomas de E1336 (E1); 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Melbourne, Peter de E1336 (E1).
 Melton, John de E1336 (E1).
 Melton, Thomas de, brewer. 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Meryden, Thomas 1345-6 (C76/20/15).
 Metham, Thomas de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/10), no service; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Middleton, William de, clerk. 1344 (C1/55; C76/19/19).
 Ministre, Bartholomew de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Mirfeld, William de 1355 (C76/33/8), no service; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Mohun, Pagan de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/26); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/20/15); 1347 (C76/25/25); 1349-50 (E4/60; E5).
 Mohun, Reginald de, Kt. K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E3); 1342-3 (C76/17/27); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C2/23; C61/58/3; E3); 1349-50 (C76/27/4).
 Molso, Richard de, chaplain. 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Monketon, Richard de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Monemouth, John de 1355 (C76/33/8), no service; 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Monemouth, Walter de 1336 (Bateson, Leicester Borough Records, II, 25); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Montferrand, Bertrand de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 More, Nicholas atte, Kt. 1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
 Morley, William de 1347 (C76/25/25).

Moubray, John de, of Axholm, Kt.	1341 (C71/21/3); K1356-8 (C76/34/15).
Moubray, John de, son of John de, of Axholm, Kt.	1341 (C71/21/3); K1356-8 (C76/34/15).
Moubray, John de, junior.	1356-8 (C76/34/15); 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
Mounceaux, Jankyn	E1336 (E1).
Mounioie, Thomas	1337 (CPR, 1334-8, 535); 1338-40 (E2); 1345-6 (C2/26; C61/58/3).
Mulle, William atte	1345-6 (E3).
Mulne, Adam atte	1345-6 (E3).
Mulne, Walter atte	1345-6 (E3).
Mutford, Edmund de	1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
Nerford, Reginald de	1347 (C76/24/5).
Neumarche, John de	1356-8 (C76/34/15); 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
Nevill, John de, Kt	K1345-6 (E3).
Nevill, Robert de, son of Phillip de, Kt.	1344 (C76/19/19); K1345-6 (E3).
Nicol, William, of London	1356-8 (C76/34/15).
Norreys, William	1355 (C76/33/4 & 8), no service.
Northwro, John de	1356-8 (C76/34/8 & 14), served.
Norwich, John de, Kt.	K1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19 & 22); B1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347 (C76/24/7).
Norwich, Robert de	1347 (Wr.135), served.
Nowers, Jankyn	E1336 (E1).
Oldenhull, Robert de	1355 (C2/49; C76/33/8), no service.
Orreby, John de	1343 (C76/18/13).
Overton, Thomas de	1338-40 (C76/12/3).
Overton, William de	1355 (C76/33/4), no service.
Overton, William, son and heir of William de	1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
Overton, William de, clerk.	1359-60 (C76/38/16).
Panetria, Nicholas de	1349-50 (E4/71; E5).
Parker, Richard	1356-8 (C76/35/15).
Pavely, Walter de, Kt.	K1349-50 (E4/64; E5); 1351-2 (C76/29/).

- Paynel, John, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/17; E3);
1349-50 (C61/62/6), no service;
1356-8 (C76/35/15), served;
1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Paynel, Ralph, Kt. K1345-6 (E3); 1355 (C76/33/8),
no service; 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
1345-6 (C1/38; C76/20/15).
- Pemberton, William, son and
heir of Roger de
Pemberton, William, son of
Roger de 1345-6 (C1/38; C76/20/15).
- Penham, Thomas de, clerk. 1348 (C76/26/7), served.
- Penwortham, Roger de E1336 (E1).
- Percy, Henry de, son of
Henry de 1347 (C76/25/23), served.
1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Perpoint, Edmund de, Kt. 1347 (C76/25/21), served;
1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
K1359-60 (C76/38/16; C76/40/11),
served.
- Perpoint, John de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
- Perton, John de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9 & 10), no service.
- Peyure, Nicholas, Kt. K1345-6 (C1/58; C76/20/15; E3);
1347 (C2/15; C76/24/12).
1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Pipe, Henry de K1356-8 (C76/34/8 & 14).
- Pipe, James de, Kt. E1336 (E1).
- Plays, Thomas 1355 (C76/33/9), no service;
- Pole, Edmund de la, Kt. K1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Pole, John de la 1338-40 (E2).
- Pole, Michael de la 1355 (C76/33/9 & 10), no service.
- Pole, Thomas de la 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Pomniers, Guillaume Sanche,
lord of B1345-6 (E3).
- Pommiers, Guillaume de K1345-6 (E3).
- Pommiers, Helie de K1345-6 (E3).
- Popham, John de 1340 (C76/15/24).
- Popham, Phillip de 1359-60 (C76/38/16); cf. SC1/40/
109.
- Preston, Adam de 1345-6 (E3).
- Preston, William de E1336 (E1).
- Proctour, Thomas le 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Puyan, ? de K1345-6 (E3).
- Pykeman, Robert, fishmonger
of London. 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
- Pykeryng, James de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).

Quentin, William de 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Radeclive, Robert de E1336 (E1).
 Ramesbury, Thomas de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
 Rammeheye, Henry de E1336 (E1).
 Reppex, Robert de E1336 (E1).
 Repynghale, John, son of Adam de 1338-40 (C1/50; C76/12/8).
 Reygate, Jankyn E1336 (E1).
 Reymes, Robert de E1336 (E1).
 Robyn, Broun E1336 (E1).
 Rocheford, John de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Rocheford, Thomas de E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Rochynges, Thomas de 1344 (C76/19/19); 1347 (C81/322/18630), served.
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Rogersone, William, of Kirkestone in Lyndeseye.
 Ronolme, Richard de, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
 Roos, Henry 1356-8 (C76/35/6), served.
 Roos, Robert de, Kt. K1336 (E1).
 Roos, Thomas de, Kt. 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2);
 1342-3 (C76/17/26).
 Roos, Thomas de 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2).
 Roos, William de 1349-50 (C76/27/4).
 Rouclyff, Richard de, Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/22);
 K1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19).
 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Ruthyn, Robert K1342-3 (C1/39; C76/17/23, 26 &
 29); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19 &
 22); 1345-6 (C76/20/15; C76/23/
 24; E3); 1347 (Wr.147), served;
 1349-50 (C61/62/6), no service;
 1355 (C76/33/9 & 10), no
 service; 1356-8 (C2/40; C76/34/
 5 & 15), served; 1359-60 (C76/
 38/16), served; cf. CPR, 1358-61,
 273.
 Ryvere, Thomas de la 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1342-3 (C76/
 17/26); 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19,
 22 & 23); 1345 (C76/20/15);
 1347 (C76/24/8 & 12); 1355 (C76/
 33/8), no service; 1356-8 (C76/
 34/16); 1359-60 (C76/38/16).

- St. Andrew, John de 1347 (C76/24/5).
 St. Peter, John, son of Kl1345-6 (C61/58/3; E3).
 Uriam de, Kt.
- St. Philbert, John, son 1345-6 (C1/42; C76/20/15);
 and heir of John de 1349-50 (C81/ /21264; C61/61/
 1), served.
 Kl1359-60 (C76/38/3 & 16), served.
- Salvayn, Gerard, of
 Herswell, Kt.
 Salvayn, John, Kt. Kl1356-8 (C76/34/15); 1359-60
 (C76/38/10), served.
 1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
- Sammus, Walter, of Suffeld 1345-6, with John de Grey of
 Sandwich, John de Codenore (C76/20/16); 1347
 (C76/25/25).
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Sapy, John de, of Ridmerleye
 Abytot 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
 Sauntresdon, William de 1347 (C76/24/5).
 Sauston, William, son of
 William de
- Say, Geoffrey de 1338-40 (C76/12/8; E2).
 Saynill, John, of Eland 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Scales, Robert de 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
 Scargill, Warren, Kt. Kl1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
 Scargill, William de, Kt. 1345-6 (C76/20/15); Kl1356-8
 (C76/34/15).
 1345-6 (E3).
 1345-6 (E3).
 1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Schawe, John atte
 Schelton, John
 Schoyl, Henry
 Scotton, John de
 Scures, John de, Kt. Kl1336 (E1).
 Senior, Robert de Kl1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Seybrok, Walter, Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/26).
 Seymore, Robert de Kl1345-6 (E3).
 Seymore, William
 Seyton, John de, Kt. Kl1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 1356-8 (C76/34/14).
 Kl1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/ 3 &
 8; E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/27);
 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19); 1345-6
 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347 (Wr.134 &
 171), served; 1356 (C76/34/16).
 Kl1336 (E1); 1342-3 (C76/17/24);
 Kl1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
 Kl1336 (E1).
 1355 (C76/33/9 & 10), no service.
 Kl1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Seyton, Richard de, Kt.
- Seyton, Thomas de
 Shardelowe, John
 Sharnebourn, Andrew de, Kt.

- Shawe, Robert de
Shefeld, John de, Kt. 1355 (C76/33/2), no service.
K1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Shelton, Richard de, Kt. K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
1342-3 (C76/17/26); 1345-6 (E3);
1347 (C81/323/18763), served.
- Shelton, Robert de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
Sholl, Richard 1345-6 (C76/20/15); 1355 (C76/
33/9), no service; 1359-60
(C76/38/16); cf. C2/9.
- Simeon, Simon E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8;
E2); 1340 (C76/15/20); 1342-3
(C76/17/26 & 30); 1344 (C1/49;
C76/19/19, 22 & 23); 1345-6
(C76/20/7 & 15; Wr.147), served;
1347 (C76/24/5; Wr.147); 1349-50
(C76/27/4); 1354-5 (C76/32/3);
1356-8 (C76/34/14); 1359-60 (C76/
38/16; C76/40/11), served.
1356-8 (C76/34/15).
1359-60 (C76/38/16), served.
- Smith, Timothy
Sothull, Henry de
Stanleye, Adam de
Staunton, John, of Hull
Staynton, Henry de
Staynton, Richard de E1336 (E1).
1348 (C76/26/4), served.
1344 (C76/19/19).
1344 (C76/19/22);
1345-6 (C1/38; C76/20/15).
1338-40 (C76/12/8).
1345-6 (E3).
1355 (C76/33/4), no service.
- Stone, Richard de
Stopworth, William de
Stutenill, John de
Stysak, Fergaunt de, Kt.
Sulny, Avery de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
K1345-6 (E3); 1356-8 (C76/34/15);
cf. C2/51.
- Sutton, Richard de 1349-50, with Bartholomew de
Burghersh, the son (C61/61/1).
- Swardeby, Thomas de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
Swayn, John 1345-6 (E3).
Swinford, Norman de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3; E6/123); 1347
(C76/25/25); 1355 (C76/33/3 &
9); 1356-8 (C76/34/4).
1338-40 (C76/12/8).
- Swynnerton, Thomas de
- Taillour, Sopphers la
Tamworth, Nicholas de, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
1355 (C2/50; C76/33/9), no
service; K1359-60 (C76/38/11),
served.

Tartas, Gerard de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
 Tasseler, John 1345-6 (E3).
 Tatreshale, John de 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Tempest, Richard 1347 (C76/25/23), served.
 Thornton, Thomas de, tailor 1356-8 (C76/35/7), served.
 Thornton, Walter de, tailor 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Thorp, Edmund de, son of 1347 (C76/24/5); K1355 (C76/33
 Robert de, Kt. 9), no service; 1359-60 (C76/
 40/11), served.
 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Thorp, William de K1359-60 (C76/38/16; C76/40/11).
 Tippetot, John, Kt. 1345-6 & 1347 (C81/1760/12;
 Trikyngham, Roger de Wr.167), served.
 1345-6 & 1347 (Wr.152), served.
 Trussebut, Hugh, Kt. E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8;
 Trussell, Theobald, Kt. E2); 1342-3 (C76/17/22);
 K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3); 1347
 (Wr.131), served; 1348 (C76/26/
 7), served; 1349-50 (C61/62/6),
 no service; 1355 (C76/33/4 & 8),
 no service; 1356-8 (C76/34/8,
 14 & 15), served; 1359-60
 (C76/38/16; C76/40/11), served;
 cf.C1/35; C2/13 & 51.
 Trussell, William, Kt. K1341 (C71/21/5); 1345-6 (E3).
 Tuchet, Thomas, son of 1356-8 (C76/34/8 & 14), served.
 Robert, of Lauton
 Twyford, John de, the father, K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
 Kt. 1341 (Knighton, II, 23).
 Twyford, John de, the son, K1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 Kt.
 Twyford, Raulyn de E1336 (E1).
 Twyford, Robert, son of E1336 (E1); K1338-40 (C76/12/8).
 John de, Kt.
 Twyg, Edward 1345-6 (E3).
 Tycolshide, William E1336 (E1).
 Tyryngham, John de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).

Ufford, Edmund de, Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/22); K1344 (C1/49;
 C76/19/19); 1345-6 (C76/20/15);
 1349-50 (E4/53; E5); 1356-8
 (C76/34/15); 1359-60 (C76/38/
 16).
 Ufford, Robert de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/15; E3).
 Ufford, Thomas de, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9), no service.

- Uvedale, Thomas de, Kt. K1345-6 (SC1/41/62); 1356-8
(C2/37; C76/35/6 & 17), served;
1359-60 (C76/38/16).
- Vache, Richard de la, Kt. K1342-3 (C1/44; C76/17/30 & 39).
Verdon, John de, the son, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
Verdoun, Thomas de, Kt. K1345-6 (C76/20/6 & 15; C61/58/2;
E3; Wr.159); 1347 (C76/25/18 &
25; C81/322/18661; Wr.159),
served.
- Vernoun, John, Kt. K1356-8 (C76/34/15).
Vernoun, Geoffrey 1345-6 (E6/172); 1347 (C76/24/5),
served, apparently in the retinue
of John de Norwich (E6/172).
- Vilynton, Amery de, Kt. K1345-6 (E3).
- Wake, Thomas, lord of K1345-6 (E3; C81/1761/54);
1347 (Wr.123 & 147), served.
- Waleys, Stephen E1336 (E1).
Walkefare, Richard, Kt. 1345-6 (C1/42; C76/20/15);
K1349-50 (C76/27/4; E4/69; E5);
1356-8 (C76/34/15).
- Walkyngton, John de, Kt. E1336 (E1); 1338-40 (C76/12/8);
1342-3 (C76/17/26); K1345-6
(C76/20/15; E3); 1347 (C76/25/
25); cf. C1/49 (1344).
1344 (C76/19/19).
1347 (C76/24/12).
1345-6 (C76/20/15).
1349-50 (E4/61; E5).
1359-60 (C76/38/16).
1347 (Wr.150), served.
- Walkyngton, Roger de E1336 (E1).
Walrond, Thomas 1338-40 (C76/13/13), served.
1347 (C76/24/5).
Walton, Henry de, clerk. K1356-8 (C76/34/14).
Walton, Richard de, clerk. 1342-3 (C76/17/19).
Walton, Robert de, clerk. K1345-6 (E3).
Warde, John 1345-6 (E4/47); 1348 (C76/26/9);
1349-50 (C76/27/4).
1345-6 (E3).
1345-6 (E3).
- Warde, Thomas de la 1345-6 (E3).
Warmete, William K1355 (C76/33/9), no service.
Warrenne, Edward de 1347 (C76/24/1).
Wasteneys, Hugh, Kt. E1336 (E1).
Wasteneys, Thomas 1356-8 (C76/35/6).
- Waure, Phillip de, Kt.
Welbourne, John de, clerk.
- Welford, John de
Werinton, Thomas de
West, Thomas, Kt.
Weston, Geoffrey de
Weston, John de
Weston, John de

Whethampstede, John, son of Nicholas de 1347 (C76/24/5).
 White, John 1355 (C76/33/8), no service.
 Whitegift, Thomas, of Loughborough 1356-8 (C76/34/4), served.
 Wholle, Richard, the son 1348 (C76/26/7), served.
 Wilyngton, Ralph de 1341 (C71/21/3).
 Wilughby, Richard de E1336 (E1).
 Wite, Richard 1345-6 (E3).
 Wite, William, son of Walter le, of Holton 1345-6 (E3; CPR, 1345-8, 82);
 1347 (C76/25/25).
 Wokyndon, Peter de 1341 (C71/21/3).
 Wotton, Peter de, clerk. 1342-3 (C1/36; C76/17/22 & 26);
 1345-6 (C76/20/15).
 Wydemere, Henry de 1359-60 (C76/38/16).
 Wykham, Robert de 1338-40 (C76/12/8); 1342-3
 (C76/17/27); 1347 (C76/25/18),
 served.
 Wyn, William, Kt. K1355 (C76/33/9); 1356-8 (C76/
 34/15).
 Wyndesore, William de 1356-8 (C2/29 & 44; C76/35/17),
 served.
 Wyse, Serlo 1355 (C2/50; C76/33/9), no
 service.
 Wyttoun, William de E1336 (E1).
 Ymone, Nicholas 1338-40 (C76/13/13), served.
 Younge, Richard le, of Shenyndon 1342-3 (C76/17/26).
 Zouche, John la 1342-3 (C76/17/22).
 Zouche, Richard la, Kt. 1345-6 (E3).
 Zouche, William la, son of Ivan la, of Haryngworth, Kt. 1342-3 (C76/17/22); 1345-6
 (E6/145); 1347 (Wr.145), served;
 K1359-60 (C76/40/10), served.
 Zouche, William la, of Lubbesthorp, Kt. K1345-6 (E3); 1347 (C76/24/5).
 Zouche, William la, of Totteneyns, grandson of William la, of Haryngworth, bannaret. 1344 (C1/49; C76/19/19);
 B1345-6 (CPR, 1345-8, 467; C76/
 20/15; E3); 1349-50 (C61/61/1),
 served.

APPENDIX D
GASCON ARMIES

APPENDIX D, TABLE A.

Troops in the King's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine, 1337-1343.

	September		October		November		December	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Lords:								
Retinues	184		161		152		152	
Garrisons	79	1	152		152		152	
Bernard Ezi:								
Retinue			1,000					
Garrison			237					
Other Knights:								
Retinues	18				42	4		
Garrisons								
Damoisseaus:								
Retinues	47		149		149		149	
Garrisons	26		116		90	2	13	
Others:								
Retinues			30		88			
Garrisons								
Bordeaux Admirals:								
Garrisons			108		1,428			
Totals:								
Garrisons			5,058		422		1,908	
Garrisons & Retinues			3,850		620		2,838	

Totals

See details for 1337-1343.

of which are given in the details of the troops sent into and were off to the various parts of the duchy for service of the king's army. The accounts of the costs of the troops are given in the accounts of the king's household.

APPENDIX D.

Troops in the king's pay

	September 1337			September 1338			September 1339			September 1340			October 1342			January 1343		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
<u>Lords:</u>																		
Retinues	184	4	1,377	191		1,349	101		705	252		522	161		440	248		1,236
Garrisons	79	15	382	141	15	700	18		85	87		350	157		580	150		390
Bernard Ezi : Retinue Garrison													170		1,000	25		1,172
															537	170		537
<u>Other Knights:</u>																		
Retinues	18		43	39	7	133	6	4	35	9	4	45			5			5
Garrisons				3		40												
<u>Damoisseaus:</u>																		
Retinues	47	3	123	86	3	213	24	3	158	61		282	14		61	14		61
Garrisons	26		152	38	2	416	15	2	96	13	2	90	24		116	23		104
<u>Others:</u>																		
Retinues	30	4	143	68	11	277	10	4	6	22	3	82	30		136	30		136
Garrisons	7		120	9		140	7		120	3		40						
<u>Bordeaux Admin.²</u>																		
Garrisons	153		1,652	267		2,570	126		1,781	79		1,428	108		795	108		795
<u>Totals:</u>																		
Garrisons	265	15	2,306	458	17	3,866	156	2	2,082	182	2	1,908	459		2,028	451		1,826
Garrisons & Retinues	544	26	3,992	832	38	5,838	307	13	2,926	524	9	2,839	670		3,670	768		4,476

Cavalry: Percentages of

Retinues	13%	18%	15½%
Garrisons	10%	10%	9%
Total Troops	12%	12%	10%

Totals.

14%	25%	15%
8¾%	18%	20%
15½%	15½%	15%

Key:

Column A - Men-at-Arms; Column B - Armed Men;

Column C - Foot Sergeants.

Figures for the troops in garrisons of lords, other knights, etc., indicate numbers defending their personal lands and castles. Those for the troops maintained in garrisons by the Bordeaux administration indicate numbers defending the larger towns and castles of the duchy (See Table B following).

Notes:

1. The table is based on records of payments made and outstanding to the troops, recorded in three surviving accounts of the constables of Bordeaux and their lieutenants or deputies, the controllers, for the years 1337-45 (E 101/166/11 & 12; E 101/167/3). The totals are for sample periods only, since it is not possible to give overall figures for the entire period owing to the variation in the dates in which the troops came into and went off the king's pay. Sources and further details of the troops maintained by Bernard Ezii, Lord of Albret, are available in Table C following.

2. For details, see Table B following.

APPENDIX D.

TABLE B.

APPENDIX D, TABLE B.

Garrisons raised by the Bordeaux Administration.

Place	September 1337		September 1338		September 1339		September 1340		October 1342		January 1343	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Saint-Sever	56	1,079	85	1,319	89	1,389	29	699				
Penne	17	55	58	249								
Bonnegarde	13	248	3	228	3	187	3	187		321		321
Saint-Macaire	41	98	57	190	7	40	21	75	4	17	4	17
Libourne	2	10	2	10	see note							
Agen	10	126	11	226	24	150						
Blaye	4	24	4	24								
Sorde & Hastings		12	26	210	3	15	3	15				
Caumont			1	4			7	412				
Mezin							4	30	74	357	74	357
Bordeaux Castle	10						10		10		10	
Bayonne Castle				10			2	10				
Mauléon			20	100					20	100	20	100
Totals	153	1,652	267	2,570	126	1,781	79	1,428	108	795	108	795

Key:

Column A = Mounted Armed Men; Column B = Foot Sergeants.
 The table is based on records of payments made and outstanding to the troops, recorded in three surviving accounts of the constables of Bordeaux and their lieutenants or deputies, the controllers, for the years 1337-45 (E 101/166/11 & 12; E 101/167/3). The totals are for sample periods only, since it is not possible to give overall figures for the entire period owing to the variation in the dates in which the troops came into and went off the king's pay. Thus, in May-June 1339 4 mounted armed men, 20 foot sergeants and 88 English archers served in the garrison of Libourne, whilst no figures are available for September 1339.

APPENDIX D, TABLE C.

Troops maintained by Bernard
Ezi, Lord of Albret, 1341-1353.

Handwritten notes at the top left of the page, including dates and names, partially obscured by a fold.

8/3
2 8 3A
Handwritten notes on the left margin.

Handwritten text in the center of the page, possibly a title or a specific entry label.

Year	Month	Day	Location / Event	Count
1353	10	23	...	0
1352	10	22	...	0
1352	10	21	...	4
1352	10	20	...	4
1352	10	19	...	8
1352	10	18	...	4
1352	10	17	...	0
1352	10	16	...	0
1352	10	15	...	0
1352	10	14	...	0
1352	10	13	...	0
1352	10	12	...	0
1352	10	11	...	0
1352	10	10	...	0
1352	10	9	...	0
1352	10	8	...	0
1352	10	7	...	0
1352	10	6	...	0
1352	10	5	...	0
1352	10	4	...	0
1352	10	3	...	0
1352	10	2	...	0
1352	10	1	...	0

APPENDIX D TABLE C.

Troops maintained by Bernard Ezi, Lord of Albret. 1341-1353.

Source ¹	Period Of Service	Employment	Retinue		Foot	Other	Period Of Service	Employment	Above Retinue			Wages Due	
			Mounted Men-at-Arms	Foot					Mounted Men-at-Arms	Foot	Others	£	s. d.
143	12/7/41- 21/10/41	Defence of his lands, Castles, &c.	154	365	365		55 days of same period.	Defence of his lands &c. from invasion.	137	1,300	431 archers	2,461	4 5
142	31/10/41- 9/1/42	Ibid.	154	365	365			For negotiations & royal needs (£333.6s.8d.).				1,805	5 0
140	9/1/42- 29/9/42.	Ibid.	161	370	370		25/6/42- 24/9/42.	Defence of his lands, castles, &c.	75	988			
							26/6/42- 7/8/42.	Ibid.		1,000			
							14/8/42- 18/8/42.	To raise siege of his place of Oexin, besieged by Béarnaise.		800			
							5/9/42- 10/9/42	To raise sieges of his places in Guyenne, besieged by Béarnaise. Replacement of horses.	40	2,700			4,707 8 10
											120 mounted archers 200 crossbowmen.		
139	29/9/42- 7/2/43	Garrisoning of his places & towns in duchy for defence.	150	365	365		31/5/42- 7/2/43.	Defence of royal patrimony.			60 mounted archers 400 foot archers.		(2,823 gold écus)
							15/6/42- 7/2/43.	Custody & defence of the duchy.		1,000			
							1/11/42- 7/2/43.	Ibid.	25	172			
							30/9/42- 7/2/43.	Garrison of places & castles in Vte. Tartas.	20	172			6,222 17 10
		places on enemy frontiers			200								1,584 0 0
129	20/10/43- 17/8/44.	Garrison of his lands, &c.	99	200	200								1,991 12 4
130	7/6/45- 23/3/46.	Royal service in war in Gascony.	Self & 185	940	940								3,945 8 0
1132	23/3/46- 9/11/46.	Garrison of his lands, &c.	Self & 185	940	940								3,992 9 0
133	8/11/46- 8/12/46.		Self & 59	80	80								219 10 0
128	12/12/46- 11/3/47.	Garrison of 'Basaco, Medecino, Landaraco, Damasano'	60	300	300								420 10 0
135	3/2/47- 6/10/47.	King's service in war in Gascony.	Self & 89	500	500								1,938 18 4
122	10/4/48- 1/5/49.	Garrison of his castles and places on enemy frontiers.	Self & 60	200	200								1,834 14 8
123	2/5/49- 6/3/50.	Ibid.	Self & retinue										2,628 15 4
125	27/11/50- 8/12/50. 8/12/50- 19/12/50.	Garrison of town of Bonnegarde. Ibid.	10	200	200								28 16 4
E 101/ 170/20, fos. 64r, 81r & 83v, & E 101/ 168/3.	1/5/51- 1/10/53.	King's service in the duchy	100	100	100	100	25/1/52- 14/9/52.	mounted sergeants			60 mounted archers.		10,307 19 0

1. E 101/503, nos. 122-3, 125, 128-30, 132-3, 135, 137, 138-40 & 142-3; E 101/168/3 & E 101/170/20, nos. 64r, 81r & 83v.

APPENDIX D, TABLE D.

TABLE D.

Troops maintained by some Gascon lords at sample periods in the years 1337-1343. (Column B - Infantry (foot sergeants).)

January	October 1342	October 1340	September 1340
A	B	A	B
42		50	24
40	150	40	
60	500	60	
20	100	20	
			100
			682

50	200	50
15	50	15
30	30	30

APPENDIX D.

Troops maintained by some Gascon lords

The figures in this table are taken from records of wages constables of Bordeaux and their deputies, lieutenants and

Column A = Cavalry (men-at-arms and mounted armed men);

Leader Of Retinue	September 1337		September 1338		September 1339		September 1340		October 1342		January 1343	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Hugh de Geneva, capt. & lieut. of the duchy.							24		50		45	6
Alexander de Caumont.									40	120	40	120
Raymond, viscount of Fronsac.									60	500	60	500
Arnaud Garsie de Got, lord of Puyguilhem.	24	200							20	100	20	100
Pierre de Galard.							29	100				
Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch.	75	685	75	685	75	685	75	685				
Bérard d'Albret.			79	345								
Gaillard, lord of Landiranis.			9	137								
Pons de Castillon.	18	198	24	198								
Raymond Guillaume, Lord of Caupenne.	9	25	15	50								
Bertrand de Durfort.			11	40								
Guillaume Raymond de Durfort.	11	60	11	60								
Bernard de Fossat, lord of Logoiran & Podensac.	17	70	17	70								
Amanieu de Fossat.					18	50						
Arnaud Garsie de Fossat, lord of Thouars.									9	30	9	30
Amanieu de Mad-aillan, lord of Montasctruc.												
Geoffroy, lord of Ornon.	15	60	15	60								
Senebrun, lord of Lesparre.	17	165	11	140								
Elie de Saint-Symphorien, lord of Landiranis.	10	44	10	44			17	165				
Arnaud, lord of Curton.												
Guillaume Raymond de Madailan, lord of Puyol.									16	50	16	50
									50	100	50	100

TABLE D.

at sample periods in the years 1337-1343.

paid to the troops, available in the accounts of the controllers (E 101/166/11 & 12; 167/3).
Column B - Infantry (foot sergeants).

APPENDIX D, TABLE E.

Troops in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine, 1349-1354.

The figures in this table are taken from records of wages paid to the troops, available in the accounts of the constables and controllers of Bordeaux for the years 1349-54 (E 101/168/3, fos.1r-7v; 170/12, fos.55v-61v; 170/20, fos.47r-85r).

The following abbreviations have been used:

Column A - Men-at-Arms; Column B - Mounted Sergeants;

Column C - Foot Sergeants; Column D - Mounted Archers.

E1 = E 101/168/3; E2 = E 101/170/12; E3 = E 101/170/20.

GARRISONS

PLACE	A	B	C	D	PERIOD OF SERVICE; SOURCE
<u>Tonnay Charente:</u> Elie de Landiranis	20		50		27/12/50-4/4/54 (E1, fo.7r).
<u>Port-Sainte-Marie:</u> Gaubert de Boneville	21		50		8/3/51-5/11/51 (E1, fo.
<u>Aiguillon:</u> Guillaume de Lunas, co-seigneur of <u>Libourne:</u> Thomas Craven, Esq.	6		12		9/8/52-8/11/52 (E3, fo.50v).
John de Chaddeston, English Esq.	10	10			13/3/52-18/4/52 (E2, fo.58r).
Thomas Batworth, Esq.	10	50			8/3/53-8/4/53 (E3, fo.61r).
Thomas de Watworth, English Esq.				8	8/11/52-31/2/53 (E3, fo.56v).
Jean de Pommiers, Kt.	10	7		7	21/6/53-20/7/53 (E3, fo.63v).
Bérard d'Albret, lord of Veyres	17 8 15 21	4 2 15	4 2		3/7/53-18/7/53 (E3, fo.63v).
Jean de Colerubucin, Kt. of Bordeaux	2	2			31/8/53-5/9/53 5-6/9/53 6-11/9/53 29/9/52-24/3/53 (E3, fos.50r & 83v).
<u>Bazas:</u> Robert Appleby English sergent-at-arms				16	5 days (E3, fo.55v).
Jean de la Tour, Kt.	2	4			13/1/52-20/2/52 (E2 fo.56r. & cf. fo.57r).
	2	5			6/11/51-6/3/52 & 29/9/53-27/2/54 22/7/51-5/11/51 (E1, fos.3v, 8v & 13r; E2, fos.57v & 83v).
Soudan de Preissac	10				(E1, fo.6r).

Lavardac:

Michael de Galard, 4 6 6 15/12/52-26/2/53
Esq., Captain (E3, fos.58v-9r).

Taillebourg:

John Chaworth, 6 28/7/52-10/8/53
English Esq. 7 6 Paid 25/9/52
(E1, fo.9r; E3, fo.48r)

Saint-Jean-d'Angély:

Guillaume Nichol, Esq. 6 40 6/9/49-?/?/51
(E1, fo.3r).

Henry Rose, English 4 18 10/11/49-24/5/51
Esq. (E1, fo.4r; cf.E2,
fo.55r).

Rocheford:

Frank de Hale, captain 25 30 30 26/12/50-5/11/51 &
of the castle foot 16/7/52-4/4/54
(E1, fo.14r &
E 404/502/186; cf.
E 404/5/34).

Blaye:

Constable of Bordeaux 80 50 150 17/9/52-21/11/52
(E3, fo.48v).
Seneschal of Aquitaine 60 140 Paid 8 March, 1353
(James de Pipe) 60 100 Paid 20/4/53 & 24/5/53
foot (E3, fos.62r, 63v &
81r).

Montpezat:

John Mancel, 20 60 30 28/11/52-31/2/53
Captain foot (E3, fos.55v-6r).

Miramont:

Bernard Ferrand, 6 14/12/52-1/3/53
Captain (E3, fos.52v+3r & 64v)
John de Mountbey, Esq. 10 20 23/8/52-12/11/52
(E1, fo.5v).
Mézin: 10 15 22/6/53-7/7/53
(E3, fo.63r).

Saint-Livrade:

Gilbert de Pellegrue 20 15 30 27/2/53-28/3/53
(E3, fo.58r).

Arnaud de Gum, Esq. 10 12 Ibid.
Amanieu d'Albret, 20 20 6/3/53-3/4/53
Captain. (E3, fo.59r).

Dymeto & Semensaco:

Gilbert de Pellegrue, 15 30 26/12/50-6/10/51
Esq. (E1, fo.2v).

Saint-Emilion:

Richard de Norton			31	15/8/52-8/11/52
			foot	(E3, fo.50v).
Guillaume Polet	4			6/8/52-28/8/52
				(E3, fo.53v).
John Basset, Kt.	2		4	1/3/53-8/4/53
Captain				(E3, fo.61v).
<u>Castelmoron & Ladignac:</u>				
Amanieu de Montpezat	6		15	8/1/51-9/8/52
	10	10	20	9/8/52-21/1/53 &
				10/3/53-15/2/54
				(E1, fos.10r & 12v;
				E3, fos.50r-v, 63r
				& 81v).
<u>Saint-Macaire:</u>				
Simon Charnels,	6		20	26/7/52-31/2/53
English Esq.				(E3, fo.56r).
Castellan				
<u>Boneville:</u>				
Pons, lord of	30		100	8/1/51-5/11/51
				(E1, fo.3r).
<u>Bourg:</u>				
Amanieu de Lamote,	7	12		9/9/52-1/10/52
Kt., Castellan				(E3, fo.49r).
<u>Sauveterre:</u>				
(en-Guyenne)				
Edmund de Charnels,	8		40	28/2/53-29/9/53
English Esq.				(E3, fo.64v).
Pons de Castillon, Kt.	4	2		4 days
				(E3, fo.55r).
<u>Clairac:</u>				
Raymond, abbot & lord	21		50	9/8/52-1/3/53
of				(E1, fo.10v & E3, fo.
				82r).
<u>Saint-Sever:</u>				
Thomas de Hampton,	10		6	26/12/50-5/11/51 &
Seneschal of Landes				20/7/52-12/11/52 & ;
				12/4/53-28/2/54
				(E1, fos.4r & 13v-14r;
				E3, fo.51r; E 101/
				650/19).
<u>Madaillan:</u>				
Amanieu de Fossat,	1	30	30	27/12/50-29/9/51
lord of	31	30	30	29/9/51-4/4/54
				(E1, fos.lv, 10v,
				12r, 13r; E3, fo.61v).

<u>Didona:</u>			
<u>Soudan de Preissac,</u> lord of	37	140	26/2/47-1/11/48 (E3, fo.84r; cf. E1, fo.9r).
<u>Puynormand:</u>			
<u>Bérard d'Albret</u>	20	20	5/1/52-30/3/53 (E1, fo
<u>Doazit & Montaut:</u> (and other places of:)			
<u>Auger, lord of</u> <u>Mussidan</u>	10	50	29/9/52-26/2/53 (E1, fo.10v; E3, fos. 59v & 80v).
<u>Chalais:</u>			
<u>Guillaume de Garland,</u> lord of	25		11/1/53-23/1/54 (E1, fo
<u>Mauléon:</u>			
<u>Raymond de Mille-</u> <u>Sanctis, castellan</u> of castle of	20	100	6/9/51-5/11/51 & 6/7/52-11/12/53. (E1, fos.8r & 13r; E3, fo.82v).
<u>Novi Castri (Castri</u> <u>Novi) in Périgord:</u>			
<u>Jean de Lobenx, Kt.</u>	10	25	18/10/52-25/12/52 (E1, fos.5v & 8r).
<u>Saint-Barthelemy,</u> <u>Cassaneuil & Puymiclan:</u>			
<u>Guiscard de Caumont</u>	10	20	28/7/52-9/11/52 (E3, fo.53v).
<u>Reibera & Savinhaco:</u>			
	12	15	12/1/53-9/3/53 (E1, fo.4v; E3, fo. 81v).
<u>Margneyron:</u>			
(church near St.Foy)			
<u>Elie de Saint-Martin,</u> Esq.	3		29/9/52-12/12/52 (E3, fo.52v).
<u>Tenbe:</u> (Castle)			
<u>Albert de Cayronello</u>	5	15	29/9/52-12/12/52 (E3, fo.53r).
<u>Clarmont, Belregard &</u> <u>Foulas (places of):</u>			
<u>William Darampton, Kt.</u>	11	40	17/7/52-27/1/54 (E1, fo.6r).

<u>Cosa (place of):</u> William Darampton, Kt.	4	10		5/11/53-28/1/54 (El, fo.6r).
<u>Roquabrun & Salabrunen</u> (places of): Betino de Galargues	6		15	18/7/52-23/1/54 (El, fo.5v).
<u>Castillon (castle):</u> Pierre de Grailly, viscount of Benauges	10			8/9/51-6/10/51 (El, fo.2r).
<u>Docroseo (castle):</u> Guillaume Arnaud de Pompegato, Esq.	5		15	26/12/50-5/11/51 & 17/7/52-23/1/54 (El, fo
<u>Leninhaco & Camboz</u> (places of): Guillaume Arnaud de Lamote, lord of Leninhaco	15		30	25/9/53-15/9/54 (El, fo.8r).
<u>Arduno (place of):</u> Garcieco Dardyr, Esq.	(3)		(25)	26/12/50-5/4/54 (El, fo.13r; but subsequently cancelled in account).
<u>Montpezat, Saint-Médard</u> <u>and Temple (places of):</u> Ramfroid de Montpezat, lord of	12	12	30	9/8/52-18/2/53 (El, fo.12v).
<u>Moneronis (castle of):</u> Bernard de Gresec, attorney of Amanieu de Montpesat				Self & retinue
<u>Chaumont, Beligard &</u> <u>Solas (places of):</u> William Daranhay	10		40	28/7/53-28/10/53 (E2, fo.84v).
Totals in Garrisons	880	394	1299	205 & 191 foot
Percentages of overall total (2969)	30%	13%	44%	7% & 6% foot

RETINUES

LEADER OF RETINUE	A	B	C	D	PERIOD OR SERVICE; SOURCE
Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	30		30		28/7/52-7/3/53 & 9/12/53-4/4/54 (E1, fos.7v & 8v).
Gilbert de Pellegrue	15		30		26/12/50-6/10/51 (E1, fo.2v).
Bérard d'Albret	68	60			6 days (E3, fos.58r-v & 60r).
Guiscard de Caumont	2		2		10/11/52-5/4/54 (E1, fo.7r).
James de Pipe, Kt. Seneschal of Aquitaine	61		100		21/11/52-21/11/53 (E1, fo.5r).
Guillaume Amanieu de Mussidan	9		12		Paid 6 March, 1353 (E3, fo.60r).
Bernard, lord of Montferrand	28	34			(E3, fo.59v).
Bernard Ferrand, Kt.	10	20			Paid 26 February 1352;
	6	10			12/12/51-22/2/52
Raymond de Béarn, lord of Castro-Novo	10		50		28/9/52-8/4/53 (E1, fo.4v; E3, fo. 82v).
William de Greneway				40	30/9/52-8/4/53 (E1, fo.5r).
Jean Dyne, Kt.	5				21/10/51-30/4/53 (E1, fo.10v; E3, fo. 62r).
Berenger de Viners of Catalonia	21		60		7/6/51-6/10/51 (E1, fo.4v).
Hugh de Ronyhaco	35		260		26/12/50-5/11/51 & 16/7/52-8/4/53 (E3, fo.83r-v).
Jean de la Landa	10				Paid 16 March, 1353 (E3, fo.60r).
Anstencio de Porta, Kt.	3	4			Paid 17 August, 1353 (E3, fo.64v).
Bertrand Marescalli, Esq.	1	4			Paid 5 June, 1352 (E2, fo.59v).
Raymond de Brolio, Esq.	1	2		1 foot	3/10/52-10/12/53 (E1, fo.5r).

Army commanded by Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret, and the constable of Bordeaux, sent into the neighbourhood of Bergerac to resist a French attempt to capture Montcuq. 4 days service in 1352 (E 101/170/20, fos.51r-2r, 55r & 64v).

LEADER OF RETINUE ¹	A	B	C	D
Arnaud Amanieu, son of Bernard Ezi, lord of Albret	51	200		
Bérard d'Albret	33	25		
Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers	36	4	25	
Amanieu d'Albret, lord of Langoiran	11	10		
Senebrun, lord of Curton	14	8		
Soudan de Preissac, lord of Didoha	5	5		
Pierre de Lamote, lord of Roquetaillade	7	6		
The captal of Podio Acuto, Kt.	11	50		
Pons de Castillon, Kt.	4	2		
Gilbert de Pellegrue, Kt.	6	10		
Bernard Ferrand, Kt.	4			
Gaillard de Puy, Kt.	3			
Guillaume Amanieu Andrien, Kt.	8	6		
Jean Columb, Kt.	5	10		
Anstencio de Ponta, Kt.	3	2		
Raymond Bernard de Gum, Kt.	31	100		
Total Army	232	438	25	= 695
Percentages of total	33%	63%	4%	= 96% cavalry
Totals in Retinues	540	567	569	40 & 1 foot = 1717
Percentages of total	31½%	33%	33%	2½% = 67% cavalry
Totals in Garrisons And Retinues	1320	961	1868	245 & 192 foot = 4586
Percentages of total	29%	21%	41%	5% & 4% foot = 55% cavalry

APPENDIX D, TABLE F.

Troops enlisted in the six companies raised to resist operations carried out in the Agenais by troops under the command of the count of Armagnac (lieutenant of King John in Languedoc), and in Saintonge by troops under the command of Jean de Clermont (marshal of France and lieutenant of King John in Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring places), in 1354. 20 days service (E 101/650/85-92; 171/4, File 2, Part 2, no.27 & File 3, Part 2, no.26).

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Men-at-Arms</u>	<u>Mounted Sergeants</u>
Bernard d'Albret	34	50
Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	34	50
Guillaume Arnaud de Lamote, lord of Lezinhas	16	
Fortius Sans, lord of Saint-Arailha	9	
Guillaume Bernard, lord of Ornon	8	
The captal of Podio Acuto, Kt.	10	
Bernard Ferrand, Kt.	7	
Jean de Maun, Kt.	1	
Isarneitus de Roquefort, Esq.	7	

1) Company under the command of Bertrand, lord of Montferrand, dispatched into the Agenais to relieve Aiguillon, Lusignan and the neighbouring places besieged by a company under the command of the count of Armagnac. 15 days service (E 101/650/30-42, 55 & 108; 171/4, File 1, Part 3, nos.26, 29 & 30).

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Men-at-Arms</u>	<u>Mounted Sergeants</u>	<u>Mounted Archers</u>	<u>Foot Sergeants</u>
Bertrand, lord of Montferrand	32	40		
Guillaume-Sanche, lord of Pommiers	22		2	
Senebrun, lord of Curton	7		1	2
Gaillard, lord of Agnassac	5			
Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	31			20
Guillaume de Bering, lord of Lesparre	6	4		
Bernard, lord of Ornon	10	3		
Gilbert de Pellegrue, lord of Eymet	14	10		25
Amanieu d'Albret, lord of Langoiran	18	6		
Arnaud Garsie, lord of Thouars	?			
Arnaud Columb, Kt.	1			
Jean Columb, Kt.	6			
Raymond de Pellegrue, Kt.	10			
Guiscard de ? Kt.	1	1		
Jean Corbinc, Kt.	26			
Pons d'Audiran, Esq.	2			

2) Company dispatched to resist a company under the command of the count of Armagnac which was operating in the Bordelais, the Bazadais and the Landes, particularly in the neighbourhood of Saint-Sever. 10 days service (E 101/650/99).

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Men-at-Arms</u>	<u>Mounted Sergeants</u>
Amanieu de Pommiers, lord of Fargues	6	

3) Company dispatched into the frontiers of Périgord, Limousin and Quercy, to resist the French operating in those parts, and subsequently diverted into the Agenais to resist a company under the command of the count of Armagnac which was operating around Mauron. 30 days service (E 101/650/53-4).

Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	19	37
Guiscard de Caumont, lord of Saint-Barthélemy	?	?

4) Company dispatched to relieve the bastides built before Aquistris, which were under assault by a company under the command of Jean de Clermont. 2 days service (E 101/650/104 & 108).

Bertrand, lord of Montferrand	33	40
Bernard d'Albret	53	69

5) Company enlisted by, and under the command of, Soudan de Preissac (who was ruling the office of seneschal of Aquitaine), employed in the capture of the fortresses of Absac, Coutras and Temple (from which a company under the command of Jean de Clermont were conducting operations against Libourne and Saint-Emilion). 15 days service (E 101/650/22-6 & 72; 171/4, File 1, Part 2, nos.10-12).

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Men-at-Arms</u>	<u>Foot Sergeants</u>
Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	20	
Guillaume-Sanche de Pommiers, viscount of Fronsac	30	
Pierre de Lamote, lord of Roquetaillade	6	
Bernard Ferrand, Kt.	4	8
Arnaud de Puylouant, Kt.	5	
Raymond de Pellegrue, Kt. lord of Eymet, Kt.	10	
Guillaume Amanieu de Bourg, Kt.	4	
Gerald de Puy, Kt.	2	

Company sent to Libourne and Saint-Emilion to resist raids being carried out in the country there by the company under Clermont's command. 6 days service (E 101/650/59-63).

Soudan de Preissac, lord of Didonia	8
Pons, lord of Castillon	4
Guillaume Bernard, lord of Ornon	8
Arnaud d'Albret, lord of Cubzac	22
Guillaume Sanche, lord of Pommiers	15

6) Company under the command of Auger, lord of Mussidan, sent to take command of the town and castle of Bergerac. 15-22 days service (E 101/650/98 & 100).

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Men-at-Arms</u>	<u>Mounted Sergeants</u>	<u>Mounted Archers</u>
Auger, lord of Mussidan	12	7	9
Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats	45		

APPENDIX D, TABLE G.

Retinues in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine in 1348.

This table is based on records of wages paid to the troops, available in the accounts of the constable and controller of Bordeaux for 1348 (E 101/167/10, fos.20r-22r; 167/12, fos.14v-15v; and enrolled account at the Exchequer, E 372/204, mm.44).

The following abbreviations have been used:

A = E 101/167/10; B = E 101/167/12; C = E 372/204.

<u>Leader of Retinue</u>	<u>Date of Pay</u> <u>(1348)</u>	<u>Source</u>
Guiscard de Caumont, lord of Saint-Barthélemy, Kt.	17 August	A, fo.20r; B, fo.14v (co-lord in A, fo.21r; 17 May & 2 June in B, fo.15r).
John Dyen, Kt.	30 March	A, fo.20r; B, fo.14v.
Walter de Brugimot	1 April	A, fo.20r; B, fo.14v.
Pons de Bonneville	5 April	A, fo.20r; B, fo.14v. Cf. E 403/341, m.3.
Bexio de Caumont	12 April	A, fo.20r; B, fo.14v.
Arnaud Garsie de Fossat, lord of Thouars, Kt.	12 April	A, fo.20v; B, fo.14v.
Pierre de Savignac, Esq.	29 April & 27 May	A, fo.20v; B, fo.14v.
Raimond de Pellegrue, Kt.	31 April	A, fo.20v; B obliterated.
John de Cornwall, Captain of Monségur	1 May & 12 June	Ibid., & E, m.44.
Bertrand de Miramont, Esq.	15 May	A, fo.20v; B obliterated.
Arnaud de Cazeneuve, Captain of Montignac.	18 May	Ibid., & C, m.44.
John Chainé, Captain of Saint-Astier	24 May	A, fo.21r; B obliterated; C, m.44.

Bertrand de Bedeissan, Kt., Captain of Lissa	17 May	A, fo.21r; B, fo.15r; C, m.44.
Guillaume Raimond de Fourcès & Roquefort	27 May	A, fo.21r; B, fo.15r.
Gautier de Fossat, Kt., co-lord of Aiguillon & Captain of the bourg of Fossat d'Aiguillon	Ibid.	Ibid., & C, m.44.
Guillaume de Lunas, Kt., co-lord of Aiguillon & Captain of the bourg of Lunas d'Aiguillon	Ibid.	Ibid.
Arnaud de Ferra, Captain of Podii Serossa	Ibid.	A, fo.21r; B, fo.15r.
Bertrand de Clusell, Captain of Damazan	Ibid.	Ibid., & C, m.44.
Élie Vigier, co-lord of Monségur & other co-lords of Monségur	12 June	A, fo.21v; B, fo.15v.
Bertrand de Fourcès, co-lord of Fourcès & Roquefort	27 May	A, fo.21v.
Gilbert de Pellegrue, Captain of Daus	Ibid.	Ibid., & C, m.44.
Bertrand de Filartigua	Ibid.	A, fo.21v.
Raimund de Cassanea, Kt.	Ibid.	Ibid.
Senebrun, lord of Curton, Kt.	2 June	Ibid.
John de Stafford, Kt. of the Order of Saint-John		Ibid.
Gaubert de Bonneville	20 June	B, fo.15v. Cf. E 403/ 341, m.3.
Thomas de Hampton, Kt., Seneschal of Landes	21 July	A, fo.22r; B, fo.15v.
Thomas de Weston, Captain of Libourne	26 July & 4 September	Ibid., & C, m.44.
Roger de Chatrenton, sent to Bourg with 40 archers	1 August	A, fo.22r; B, fo.15v.
John Bennet, castellan of the castle and town of Saint-Jean-d'Angély.		C, m.44

APPENDIX D, TABLE H.

Captains and castellans in the king's pay in the duchy of Aquitaine, 1337-45 and 1348-54.

This list is not exhaustive, but has been compiled from information available in records of wages paid to the troops in the accounts of the constables and controllers of Bordeaux and their lieutenants for the years 1337-45 and 1348-54 (E 101/166/11 & 12; 167/3; 167/10, fos.20r-22r; 167/12, fos.14v-15v; 168/3, fos.1r-7v; 170/12, ffos.55v-61v; 170/20, fos.47r-85r & E 372/204, m.44).

CAPTAINS

Aiguillon (départ. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen, cant. Port-Sainte-Marie) Gautier du Fossat, co-lord of Aiguillon, captain of the bourg of Fossat d'Aiguillon, and Guillaume de Lunas, Kt., co-lord of Aiguillon, captain of the bourg of Lunas d'Aiguillon; wages paid on 27 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.21r & 167/12, fo.15r; E 372/204, m.44).

Blaye (départ. Gironde)
Berard, lord of Albret; wages paid for period 6 February, 1337 - 28 August, 1338 (E 101/166/11, payments to the troops, entry 142).

Bourg (départ. Gironde, arr. Blaye)
Guillaume-Sanche, co-lord of Pommiers; wages paid for period 28 September, 1342 - 29 September, 1343

Damazan (départ. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Nérac)
Bertrand de Clusell; wages paid on 27 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.21r & 167/12, fo.15r; E 372/204, m.44).

Daus (départ.)
Gilbert de Pellegrue; wages paid on 27 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.21v & E 372/204, m.44).

Lavardac (dép.

Michael de Galard, Esq; wages paid on 27 March, 1352 (E 101/170/12, fo.58v), and for period 15 December, 1352 - 26 February, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fos.58v-59r).

Libourne (dép. Gironde,

Arnaud Garcie du Fossat, knight, lord of Thouars; wages paid for period 26 June, 1337 - 16 November, 1338 (

Thomas de Weston; wages paid on 26 July & 4 September, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.22r & 167/12, fo.15v; E 372/204, m.44).

Lissa (dép.

Bertrand de Bedeissan, Kt., wages paid on 17 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.21r & 167/12, fo.15r; E 372/204, m.44).

Mézin (dép.

Pons, lord of Castillon, Kt., appointed on 14 October, 1342, and wages paid for period 4 October, 1342- 22 January, 1343 (

Miramont (

Bernard Ferrand, Kt., wages paid for period 14 December, 1352 to 1 March, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fos.52v-53r & fo.64v).

Monségur (dép. Gironde, arr. La Réole,

John de Cornwall; wages paid on 1 May & 12 June, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.20v; E 372/204, m.44).

Montignac (dép.

arr. Langon, cant. Targon)

Arnaud de Cazeneuve; wages paid on 18 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.20v; E 372/204, m.44).

Montpezat (dép.

Bernard de Ferrand, Kt., wages paid in 1351 (E 101/170/20, fo.53r). John Mancel; wages paid for the period 28 November, 1352 - 31 February, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fos.55v-6r).

Penne (dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Villeneuve-sur-Lot

Fortanero des Garranque; wages paid on 11 November, 1338 (

Podio Serossa (dép.

Arnaud de Ferra; wages paid on 27 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.15r). *fo.21r & 167/12,*

Saint-Astier (dép.

John Chainé; wages paid on 24 May, 1348 (E 101/167/10, fo.21r; E 372/204, m.44).

→ *entre Livi-Sanie-Ravie & Montpezat (su wa)*
here

Caster
Castro
Sanct.
Maria } Port-Sainte-Marie (dép. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen
Gaubert de Bonneville; wages paid on 20 March, 1352
(E 101/170/12, fo.58v).
Rocheford Castle
Frank de Hale

Saint-Émilion (dép.
John Basset, Kt., wages paid for period 1 March, 1353 -
8 April, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fo.61v).

Saint-Foy-La-Grande (dép. Gironde, arr. Libourne
Elie de Pommiers; wages paid on 27 February, 1352
(by which date it had been captured by a force under his
command), and on 20 & 30 March, 1352 (E 101/170/12, fos.
56v & 58v).

Saint Livrade (dép.
Amanieu d'Albret, lord of Logoiran; wages paid for period
6 March - 3 April, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fo.59r).

Saint-Macaire (dép. Gironde, arr. La Réole
Guillaume Sanche de Pommiers, Esq., wages paid for period
25 February, 1338 - 10 March, 1339 (

Tonnay-Charente (dép. Charente-Inférieure, arr. Rochefort-
sur-Mer
Elie de Landiranis; wages paid on 24 November, 1351, and
1 & 2 April, 1353 (E 101/170/12, fo.55r & 170/20, fo.61r).
The custody of the town and castle had been committed to
him by Lancaster in 1346 (C 81/332/20638 & 20639; C 61/61,
ms.1 & 3).

CASTELLANS

Blaye (dép. Gironde
Guillaume de Campanea; wages paid for period 20 August, 1335 -
14 November, 1338 (

Bourg (dép. Gironde, arr. Blaye
Amanieu de Lamote, Kt., wages paid for period 9 September -
1 October, 1352 (E 101/170/20, fo.49r).

Mauléon Castle (département).

Raymond de Mille-Sanctis; wages paid for periods 6 September - 5 November, 1351 & 6 July, 1352 - 11 December, 1353 (E 101/168/3, fos.8r & 13r & 170/20, fo.82v).

Saint-Macaire (département. Gironde, arr. La Réole

Pierre de Martilhac; wages paid for period 4 November, 1335 - 6 January, 1337 (

Simon Charnels, English Esq., wages paid for period 26 July, 1352 - 31 February, 1353 (E 101/170/20, fo.56r).

APPENDIX E
GASCON FINANCES

Source	50-50.	Nov. '51- July '52.	April '54- Sept. '61.	£	s.	d.
APPENDIX E, TABLE A.						
Accounts of the constable of Bordeaux,						
E 101,	0		303	3	0	
	0		4,122	9	4	
E 101,	0	3,663 15 0	86,196	5	5	
			600	7	11	
E 101,						
E 372, m.44	0	10,312 16 8	30,979	18	6	
E 372, ms.53		568 5 8	732	2	11	
			2,407	5	8	
	0		205,261	14	4	
			4,549	4	9	
			103,053	19	7	
E 372, m.40	0		10,808	15	0	
E 372, m.46v			816	5	0	
E 372, m.39			169	2	1	
E 372, m.55						
1. As						
2. Fr			218,706	8	10	
3. En			147,781	0	8	
4. In	0		8,816	3	4	
5. In		2,483 18 2	348	3	9	
Bo		inc. above				
6. In			inc. above			
	0		27,813	8	8	
			3,537	11	9	
		inc. above				
	0		2,753	8	8	

APPENDIX E. ACCOUNTS OF THE CONSTABLES OF BORDEAUX AND THEIR DEPUTIES.¹

Source	Dates	RECEIPTS			EXPENSES		Balance £ s. d.	Outstanding £ s. d.
		Ducal £ s. d.	Foreign ² £ s. d.	Total £ s. d.	Troops £ s. d.	Total £ s. d.		
E 101/166/11	Sept.'38- Sept.'39.		1,824 0 10	8,332 5 5	5,339 8 0½	13,963 6 9½		5,631 1 4½
E 101/166/12	Sept.'40- Sept.'41.			16,692 15 0	8,168 10 0½			
E 101/167/3	Sept.'42- Sept.'43.				9,674 15 10½	31,191 2 1		
E 372/204, m.44	March'48- Sept.'48.	1,242 4 11	1,143 15 10	2,386 0 9	1,143 15 10 ³	2,232 8 11½	153 11 9½	
E 372/207, ms.53-55	Sept.'48- Sept.'49. Sept.'49- Sept.'50. Sept.'50- Dec.'50.		9,697 3 2	13,418 8 1	4,435 11 2	13,360 15 7	57 12 6	
			23,797 0 6	29,389 3 0½	17,735 7 8	22,796 4 7	6,592 18 5	
				708 10 11	7,704 11 10	8,495 18 3		7,787 7 4
E 372/198, m.40	Dec.'50- Nov.'51.	4,309 1 4½	1,615 13 4	6,024 14 8½		6,070 11 10½		45 7 1½
E 372/207, m.46v	Nov.'51- July.'52.	2,914 9 8		2,914 9 8		2,802 11 3½	111 18 4	
E 372/199 m.39	July.'52- April'54.	3,785 3 7½	9,307 17 5½	19,093 1 1		51,006 1 2		
E 372/207, ms.55-72.	April'54- Sept.'61.		41,052 6 10½	90,012 10 11½	43,741 5 9	89,918 13 8½ ⁶	506 9 11½	

1. Assessed in sterling. £1 sterling to £5 bordelaise.
2. From the Wardrobe in 1338-9 and thereafter from the Exchequer
3. Entirely for garrisoning Bergerac.
4. Includes £57.12.6. balance from the previous year.
5. Includes £33.16.5. profits from 'brefs de Bretagne' at Bordeaux.
6. Includes £352.11.11½. previously outstanding.

DETAILS OF THE ACCOUNTS (1)

RECEIPTS	Sept.'38- Sept.'39.		Sept.'40- Sept.'41.		Sept.'42- Sept.'43.		Sept.'48- Sept.'49.		Sept.'49- Sept.'50.		Sept.'50- Dec.'50.		Nov.'51- July '52.		April'54- Sept.'61.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance																
Rents	140	8 3	114	11 8			83	5 8	288	2 4	32,964	12 0 8	27	10 0	383	3 0
Returns of bail- lages and prévôtes	1,472	19 6	2,946	13 10			791	0 0	1,830	6 8	901	0 0			4,122	9 4½
Wine custom (2)	2,229	8 4	35,147	13 5			2,077	2 10½	5,104	16 1½	14	0 0	3,663	15 0	86,196	5 5
Little custom							25	0 0	14	0 0					600	7 11
New levies on wine and merchandise	4,336	8 5	2,033	12 1												
Minting	23,557	8 11	2,325	12 0			12,290	0 2½	23,890	16 6	2,250	16 5	10,312	16 8	30,979	18 6
Confiscations (3)	534	1 7½					1,037	0 0					568	6 8	732	2 11
Profits of justice	270	10 0					1,402	0 0	3,436	0 0					2,407	6 8
Loans									714	0 0						
Foreign repts (4)	9,120	2 0					48,485	15 10	118,985	2 6	4,209	5 0			205,261	14 4½
Money profits									3,496	15 0					4,549	4 9½
Owed on account							900	15 10			376	17 6			103,053	19 7
Sale of artillery															10,808	15 0
Customs payments															816	5 0
Sales and re-sales 'Brefs de Bretagne'															169	2 1
Total Receipts	41,661	7 0½	83,464	0 0			67,092	0 5	146,945	14 9½	40,716	11 7	14,572	8 4	450,062	14 8
EXPENSES																
Outstanding																1,762 19 11½
Alms & chapel (5)	9	7 7	38	3 0	47	15 3	87	15 0	79	16 3	17	7 6			10 16 8	1,411 11 4
Treasury expenses	94	4 9	46	7 2	108	2 4									20 0 0	39,346 11 7½
Wages & robes (6)	4,427	15 0	5,094	12 5	21,267	6 10	4,542	15 7	3,937	5 9	923	4 8½	11,498	1 8	218,706	8 10
Wages of troops (6b)	36,697	0 1	40,842	10 1	48,373	19 3	22,177	15 10	88,676	18 4	38,522	19 2				
Negotiations	4,361	15 11½	4,812	13 9	7,122	6 10½										147,781 0 8
Foreign payments	30	0 0			10,396	7 9										8,816 3 4
Grants by king (7)	2,849	13 1	11,735	14 5	43,997	6 1	6,741	9 2	16,629	0 0	40	0 0	2,483	18 2½	348	3 9
Grants by seneschal	5,916	13 6	5,682	11 5	5,566	18 3			100	0 0			inc. above			inc. above
Nuncii	853	0 0	1,866	2 0	1,171	17 6	60	0 0								inc. above
Replacement of horses	1,266	3 0			1,629	0 0										27,013 8 9
Pensions and annuities (8)	7,275	6 0			7,180	11 10	32,618	15 0	2,715	4 2	2,520	0 0				1,637 11 9
Works & repairs (9)	2,442	19 6	513	13 5	94	18 5	40	0 0	150	0 0						
Artillery							150	0 0	135	0 0						
Provisioning of towns & castles	3,592	15 6					inc. above		1,141	18 4					inc. above	2,769 8 9
Expenses & necessaries							385	7 6	416	0 0	456	0 0				
Total Expenses	69,816	13 11½	155,955	10 5	66,803	18 1	113,981	2 10	42,479	11 4	14,012	16 6½	449,593	8 9	469	5 10
Balance							288	2 4								
Outstanding																1,762 19 9½ ⁽¹⁰⁾

- (1) Assessed in bordelaise. £5 bordelaise to £1 sterling. The sources are given in the left-hand table.
- (2) Levied at Bordeaux. The figures for September 1348 to December 1350 are for the great wine custom and keela.
- (3) Goods of rebels.
- (4) The figure for September to December 1350 represents payment by the English Exchequer of diverse debts of the Bordeaux treasury to seigneurs and others.
- (5) Chapel alone in September 1338 to September 1343.
- (6) Of ministers and councillors. In November 1351 to July 1352 the figure includes wages of troops, nuncii and provisioning of towns and castles.
- (7) In September 1348 to September 1349 the figure includes provisioning of towns and castles. In April 1354 to September 1361 it includes replacement of horses
- (8) Payments to 'king's stipendaries' in September 1338 to September 1343; 'diverse payments' in September 1348 to December 1350; and 'annuities and payments' in April 1354 to September 1361.
- (9) On Bordeaux castle in September 1348 to September 1350.
- (10) Settled on account for April 1354 to September 1361.

(6b) The £36,697. 0. 1. paid out in the year from September 1348 represent part-payment only of bills amounting to £295,517 5s. 11d. the £40,842. 10s. 1d. paid out in the year from September 1340 represent part-payment only of new bills amounting to at least £139,957. 19s. 7d. and in the year from September 1342 represent part-payment only of new bills amounting to £333,217. 19s. 4d.

APPENDIX F
BRETON ADMINISTRATION

APPENDIX . ACCOUNTS OF GILES DE WYNGREWORTH, TREASURER OF BRITTANY.

	Sept. 1359- Sept. 1360- (E 101/174/45) £ s. d.	Sept. 1360- Sept. 1361- (E 101/175/45) £ s. d.	Sept. 1361- June 1362. (E 101/176/19) £ s. d.
RECEIPTS			
<u>Vannes</u>			
Ransoms (1)	1,531 18 3	1,578 5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	664 7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Increase in corn from several parishes (2)	56 16 0	56 16 0	
Capitanesse (3)	27 9 4	27 9 4	
Receiver (4)			
Constable & Janitor (5)			
Ransoms outstanding from previous year	123 6 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Custom on wine and merchandise arriving by sea	201 13 3	189 14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	181 15 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Custom on wine arriving by land	8 6 8	20 10 8	14 12 0
Custom on corn shipped to Bordeaux	41 18 8	46 5 4	13 8 8
Farms of mills & town	47 2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	44 5 4	33 6 8
Prize money	10 13 4		
Confiscations (6)	14 5 4	22 2 8	16 12 0
Goods & cattle escheated by John de Foderingay	122 2 8		
<u>Bécherel</u>			
Ransoms (7)	4,534 3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Farms of offices of receiver, constable and janitor (8)	300 0 0		
<u>Ploërmel</u>			
Ransoms (9)	4,496 10 5		
Reparations (10)	292 10 8		
Farms of offices of receiver, constable and porter (11)	546 13 4		
Farm of castle of Grimbaldi de Bosco	133 6 8	Nil, because Nicholas de Dagworth held it by demise of the king.	
Ransoms of town of Hennebont		133 6 8	
<u>Farm of town of Hennebont</u>			
	373 17 4	Nil, because Ralph Barry held it by demise of the king for a farm of £400 p.a. payable to the Exchequer.	
<u>Farm of the castle of Pluimer (Pymuier, Pymuer)</u>			
	133 6 8	Nil, because Edward de Twyford, Kt., & Thomas Alderwiche held the castle by demise of the king for 2,000 écus p.a. farm, payable to the Exchequer.	
Total Receipts (12)	12,873 18 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,240 19 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	924 12 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
EXPENSES			
<u>Vannes</u>			
Wages of captain (13) and garrison, and diverse other payments and allocations	2,489 8 0	937 8 0	
<u>Bécherel</u>			
Wages of captain (14) and garrison, and costs of diverse works & operations in the town	400 3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Victuals provided to captain & garrison	49 7 3		
<u>Ploërmel</u>			
Wages of captain and garrison, and diverse payments and allocations to men within precincts of the town.	3,316 4 9		
Wages of lieutenant of the duchy (15) and his retinue.	8,783 4 9		
Retinue of treasurer of Brittany (6 men-at-arms & 8 archers)	426 13 4		
Total Expenses (16)	15,465 1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,811 0 0	1,397 2 8
Balance		429 19 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Outstanding	2,591 2 10 $\frac{1}{4}$		472 9 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Owed to lieutenant (Robert de Herle)	2,387 8 4		
Balance outstanding	203 14 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Outstanding from 1359-60		203 14 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Balance from 1360-61			226 4 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total Balance (17)		226 4 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Total Outstanding	203 14 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ (18)		246 5 1

NOTES

- Ransoms due from the town amounted to £1,578 5s.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. p.a. This was fully paid in 1360-61. In 1359-60 £34.12s.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. was un-paid owing to the rebellion of several parishes, and £11.14s.8d. was replaced to several parishes on account of their poverty. In 1361-2 £913.18s.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. due for Saint-Michael term remained un-paid because it fell outside the terminal date of the account.
- No receipts were accounted in 1361-2 because it normally fell in Saint-Michael term.
- Ibid. "Capitanesse" is defined as a custom on corn.
- The revenues which he normally received were allocated to the treasurer of Brittany as wages.
- The revenues which they normally received were allocated to the captain of the garrison of the town as wages.
- Escheats within the reventions of the town.
- Ransoms due from those parishes within the reventions of the town amounted to £7,399.10s.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Of this sum, in 1359-60, £1,499.15s.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was un-paid because of the poverty and inability to pay of several parishes; £1,210.16s.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. owing to the rebellion of several parishes; and £154.15s.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was replaced to diverse parishes on account of their poverty. A further sum of £1,941.1s.8d. remaining outstanding from ransoms to have been paid during the office of Thomas Florak and Robert de Walton, receivers of Bécherel during Henry de Tatton's office as treasurer of the duchy, remained unpaid. In the years 1360-62 nothing was received because William de Latimer, custodian of Brittany, held the town, together with the ransoms and profits pertaining thereto, for which he was directly responsible to the king.
- The figure for 1359-60 includes receipts for the Easter term only.
- Ransoms due from those parishes within reventions answerable to Ploërmel amounted to £5,757.18s.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Of this sum £169.19s.2d. was un-paid owing to the poverty and inability to pay of several parishes; £1,042.2s.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was un-paid owing to the rebellion of several parishes; and £49.6s.8d. was replaced owing to the poverty of several parishes. In the years 1360-62 nothing was received because Sir Richard de Grenacres held the town by demise of the king for a farm of 8,000 écus of the coin of King John, for which he was answerable to the Exchequer.
- Payments over and above the customary ransoms and referred to as "reparations" in the accounts.
- This figure for 1359-60 does not include receipts from the constable for Saint-Michael term, since they had been allocated to the repair of the walls of the town.
- Several other towns and castles are listed from which receipts were not forthcoming, viz: the town of Uerande and the castle of Île de Batz because they were held by John de Montfort, of the king's wish, and he received the profits thereof "pro secretis camere sue sustenand'"; the castles of Blairand Vielle-Cour held by a German soldier, Raudekin Almand, by reason of his conquest of them; the castle of Kermovan held by a Breton, Tannequy (Tangy, Tango) de Kermovan by hereditary right; the castles of Fougeres, Chastelblanc and La Gravelle held by Robert Knoles by reason of his conquest and by wish of the king; the castle of Roche-des-Anes held by Robert de Grenacres by demise of the king for a farm of 1,000 écus p.a., payable at the Exchequer; the town of Quimperlé held by John Rosse by grant and wish of the king; the town of Conk held by Monicot de France by grant and wish of the king; the town of 'Gymelygnigan' ('Gymlygynyham', 'ymeligyngan') held by Sir Roger Davy by hereditary right of his wife; the castle of Pestivien also held by Davy by conquest; the castle or tower of Carhaix ('Carraheis', 'Carreys', 'Kareis', 'Carraheys') also held by Davy; the town and castle of Brest and the tower of L Conquet held by Sir Mathew Gournay (de Gurnay) by wish of the king; the castle of Trémazan held by a Breton knight, Guillaumed de Castello, of his own disposition and subsequently by wish of the king; the castle of Île de 'Usham' held by Olivier, seigneur of Clisson, of his own disposition and subsequently by wish of the king; and the castle of 'Colet' held by Walter Huet by demise and wish of the king.
- Thomas Beauchamp in 1359-60; Robert de Latimer in 1360-61.
- William de Latimer in 1359-60.
- Robert de Herle in 1359-60.
- The total figures for the years 1360-62 are available in Wyngreworth's enrolled account with the Exchequer (Pipe Roll, 36 Edw. III, m.41d). The figures for the year 1360-61 can also be had from E 101/175/4 which also gives the following expenses (as part of the £1,811 total expenses) in wages and grants: £13.6s.8d. to the abbey of Vannes; £53.6s.8d. to Bonabé de Callac, Kt.; £5.6s.8d. to ~~the town of~~ Alan, son of Tristan du Vale; £5.6s.8d. to Guillaume de Rosewe; £133.6s.8d. to Olivier, lord of Clisson; £77.6s.8d. to Jean le Barbu; £21.6s.8d. to William de Veer; £57.12s.0d. to John de Beverley; £26.13s.3d. to Giles de Cloune.
- Settled on account for 1361-62.
- Settled on account for 1360-61.

RECEIPTS OF GILES DE WYNGREWORTH, TREASURER OF BRITTANY, 1359-1362.
APPENDIX A' 1378' 7'

APPENDIX F, TABLE B.

Administrative personnel in the duchy of Brittany.¹

TREASURERS AND RECEIVERS

John Coupegorge: appointed prior to 2 April, 1343 (CPR, 1343-5, 351), he held office in the years 1343-5 (E 372/188, m.55). He was a member of council and prominent in ducal service (vide supra., pp. 754-6).

John Charnels: appointed by indenture with the king at Rockingham on 25 November, 1345 (E 101/61/68; Appendix A, no.4).

Henry de Tatton: held office during the lieutenancy of John Buckingham, 1358-59, and succeeded by Giles de Wyngreworth (E 101/175/1, nos.15-18; 175/6, no.1; 174/4, m.4). He had held office as treasurer of Calais in the financial year 1350-51 (Pipe Roll, 24 Edw. III, m.45). He was dead by 7 September, 1359 (CCR, 1354-60, 595). See also CPR, 1348-50, 34, 42, 329, 398; 1350-54, 468; 1358-61, 322; and CCR, 1343-6, 460; 1346-9, 462.

Giles de Wyngreworth: appointed by the king and council on 20 August, 1359 (E 101/175/1, no.12), and re-appointed by them on 13 August, 1360, for a further year, commencing 29 September, 1360 (Rymer, III, i, 506). He submitted accounts to the Exchequer for the period September 1359 - June 1362 (E 101/174/4 & 5; 175/4; 176/9; Pipe Roll, 36 Edw. III, ms.41d, 42 & 47; Appendix F, Table A).

VANNES

Captains (Vannes and the castle of Elven):

Thomas de Beauchamp: appointed by indenture with Robert de Herle, lieutenant and guardian of the duchy, on 1 October, 1359. He was to maintain a garrison of 20 men-

1. For the captains and lieutenants of the duchy and the council there, vide supra., pp. 61, n.1 & 754-60.

at-arms and 30 archers until 29 September, 1360, and was to receive 7,500 écus in quarterly payments, together with all the profits and emoluments appertaining to the offices of constable and porter of Vannes, and the ransoms and other profits of the parish of Elven, due for Christmas and Saint Michael terms. He also undertook to provide 100 men-at-arms and 10 archers whenever they should be required (E 101/175/6, no.36). By letters dated at Plöermel on 20 August, 1360, Herle ordered Giles de Wyngreworth, treasurer of the duchy, to pay the sums in question to Beauchamp (E 101/175/1, no.24). He was re-appointed by Herle for the period 29 September, 1360 - 21 January, 1361, together with the same garrison (E 101/175/4).

Robert de Latimer; appointed by indenture with his brother, William Lord Latimer, lieutenant and guardian of the duchy, on 22 January, 1361, on the same terms as Beauchamp until 1 November, 1361 (E 101/175/6, no.30). He received wages accordingly for the period 21 January, 1361 - 6 September, 1361 (E 101/175/4). He was re-appointed by Latimer on 10 September, 1361, to 29 September, 1362, on the same terms (E 101/175/7, no.24).

Receivers:

Simon de Blockeley, Kt: appointed by Herle, he was in office on 31 December, 1359 (E 101/175/1, no.19). He was receiver of Becherel in the following year (vide infra., pp.294-5).

Giles de Wyngreworth: in office as treasurer of Brittany and receiver of Vannes in the years 1360-62 (E 101/175/1, nos.27-29, 43, 59, 61, 81 & 82; 174/6, no.12; 174/4 & 5; 175/4 & 5; 176/9). The treasurer of the duchy customarily held the receivership of Vannes, and was entitled to its revenues to meet the costs of his treasurership (cf., eg., E 101/175/6, no.1). The office was therefore usually exercised by way of the lieutenant of the treasurer, as receiver of Vannes, in the receipt of Vannes, viz:

Lieutenants of the receivers:

Houchon Peyntour: held office on 12 July, 1360 (E 101/175/1, no.20), 14 August, 1360 (ibid., no.22), 24 September, 1360 (ibid., nos.23 & 45), 28 September, 1360 (ibid., no.48),

29 September, 1360 (ibid., no.21) and, though not in name, 16 August, 1360 (ibid., no.58).

Roger Berners: held office on 31 January, 1362 (E 101/175/7, no.9) and, though not in name, 14 February, 1362 (ibid., no.33). On 3 July, 1362, commissions were issued for his arrest (late receiver of Vannes and lieutenant of Wyngreworth, treasurer of Brittany), to be brought before the king's council for his failure to account for moneys which he had handled in the duchy (CPR, 1361-4, 284; Rymer, III, ii, 659).

Hochequin Berners: in office on 24 March, 19 April and 28 May, 1362 (E 101/175/7, nos.1, 2, 10 & 12).

BÉCHEREL

Captains:

William Lord Latimer: held office on 3 July, 1360 (E 101/175/1, nos.93 & 95), and in the period 29 September, 1360 - 24 June, 1362 (E 101/175/1, nos.92 & 94; 175/5, m.7; 176/9, m.5).

Receivers:

Thomas Florak: held office during the terms of All Saints, 1357, and Saint John the Baptist, 1358 (E 101/174/12). He was a retainer of Lancaster (vide supra., pp 696-7).

Robert de Walton: held office during the terms of Saint Michael, 1358, Easter 1359 and Easter 1360 (E 101/174/12), and was in office on 4 November, 1359, and 20 March & 4 June, 1360 (E 101/175/1, nos.10, 104 & 106).

Both Florak and Walton are referred to as receivers of Bécherel "du temps le Duc de Lancastre et de monsieur Robart de Herle" (E 101/174/12), and during Tatton's treasurership of the duchy (E 101/174/6, no.1; E 101/174/4, m.1).

Simon de Blockeley: in office on 3 & 10 July, and 3 & 8 August, 1360 (E 101/174/6, no.15; 175/1, nos.91, 93, 95 & 96), but had ceased to hold the office by 18 October following (E 101/175/1, nos.92 & 94). He is referred to as Herle's chaplain on 4 June, 1360, and was acting as his clerk and attorney in the duchy (in respect of wages outstanding to

him during his lieutenancy) on 20 November, 16 & 27 December, 1360, and 24 January, 1361 (ibid., nos.2, 3, 5 & 6).

Robert de Lyndeby: in office on 28 September, 1360 (E 101/174/12), and 16 October, 1360 (E 101/174/6, no.14). He is referred to as clerk and deputy of William Lord Latimer, captain of Bécherel, during the financial year from 29 September, 1359 (E 101/174/4, m.4).

PLÖERMEL

Captains:

Richard de Grenacres: held office with a garrison of 40 men-at-arms and 80 archers during the period 8 November, 1359 - 23 June, 1360, and a further 8 men-at-arms and 68 archers for a quarter within this period (E 101/175/1, no.85). On 14 June, 1360, he was re-appointed by Herle for the period 24 June, 1360 - 1 September, 1360, and was to maintain a retinue of 6 men-at-arms and 10 archers (E 101/175/1, no.87; cf. also, no.86). During the financial years 29 September, 1360 - 24 June, 1362, he held the office by demise of the king (E 101/175/5, m.7; 176/9, m.5).

Thomas de Preston, Kt: appointed by Herle, lieutenant and guardian of the duchy, for the period 29 September - 8 November, 1359 (E 101/175/1, no.89b), he received part payment of wages for this period of himself and the garrison under his command on 28 October and 20 November, 1359 (ibid., no.88 & 89a).

Receivers.

Giles de Wyngreworth: treasurer of Brittany, in office as receiver of Plöermel on 20 July & 20 August, 1360 (E 101/175/1 nos.67 & 71). On both of these occasions, however, he was acting through his lieutenant, Richard de Sutton (vide infra).

John Cockyngg: held office on 14 & 15 January; 4, 25 & 26 February; 29 September; 30 October and 15 December, 1359 (E 101/175/1, nos.73-78 & 83). On most of these occasions, however, he was acting by way of his lieutenant, Thomas de Wetewang (vide infra).

Lieutenants of the receivers:

Richard de Sutton: in office on 20 July and 20 August, 1360 (E 101/175/1, no.71 & 67), and, though not referred to as lieutenant, 26 June, 1360 (ibid., no.7).

Thomas de Wetewang: in office on 14 & 15 January; 4 & 25 February; 30 October and 15 December, 1359 (E 101/175/1, nos.73 & 74, 76-78 & 83) and, though not referred to as lieutenant, 4 March, 1360 (ibid., no.8).

OTHER OFFICERS¹

Captain of the castle of Colet: Walter Huet rendered account as captain for the period 29 September, 1359 - 31 August, 1360, when he received a grant of the castle and all the profits appertaining thereto, for a period of one year, and afterwards as the king should wish, for 100 marks yearly, from Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, then the king's lieutenant in France (E 101/27/26).

Collectors of Mauron: John Jubers in office on 15 January, 1359 (E 101/175/1, no.73).

Collectors of Canne: Geoffrey de la Sale in office on 26 February, 1359 (E 101/175/1, no.73).

Collectors of the parishes of Bazouges, Hédé, Tinténiac, Combourg, Cubriac and Gevezé (Île-et-Villaine): Oliver de Boys in office on 2 July, 1360 and 28 July, 1360 (E 101/175/1, nos.97 & 98).

Captain of Guérande: Jean de Saint-Gilles on 28 May, 1362 (E 101/175/7, no.30).

1. The list is not, of course, exhaustive. For further captains and castellans, see Appendix F, Table A, notes.

APPENDIX G

SUMS PAID FOR PRISONERS TAKEN AT POITIERS

APPENDIX G.

SUMS PAID FOR PRISONERS TAKEN AT POITIERS.

Sources.

Payments, E 403/387, m.19 & 27; 398, m.22, 24 & 39; 392, m.5 & 18; 394, m.32; 397, m.7. Letters of acquittance, E 404/500/104 & 311; E 43/127 & 397.

Payments, E 403/397, m.27; 388, m.33; 392, m.19; 403, m. Letters of acquittance, E 43/208, no.1; 617. E 404/500/25 & 26; 501/487. Appointment of attorneys, GPR, 1358-61, 62.

Payments, E 403/397, m.27; 388, m.32; 392, m.19; 403, m. Letters of acquittance, E 43/208, no.2; E 404/500/26; 501/487; 506/87. Appointment of attorneys, GPR, 1358-61, 62.

Contract, E 30/1637; Appendix A no.7. Payments, E 30/1632; E 403/388, m.17; 392, m.19 & 22; 394, m.32; 403, m.24 & 40. Mandates for payment and letters of acquittance, E 43/281; 346, no.2; 528. E 101/28/8. E 404/6, file 40, nos.24 & 25; file 41 (28 October, 1360). E 404/500/96; 504/127; 505/33. Appointment of attorneys, GPR, 1354-8, 62; 1358-61, 62.

Payments, E 403, m.40-41. Mandates for payment and letters of acquittance, E 404/6, file 41 (11 March, 1361). E 404/501/500.

APPENDIX G . SUMS PAID FOR PRISONERS TAKEN AT POITIERS.

1. Acquired by the king:

(a) Prisoners purchased by the Black Prince for the king:¹

Prisoners and captors from whom purchased.	Purchasing Prices.	Amounts Paid.	Sources.
JEAN D'ARTOIS, COUNT OF EU, from Élie de Pommiers, lord of Arbanats.	30,000 florins (£5,656.5s.0d).	23,561 florins 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d (£4,440.9s.0d) by 12 July, 1365.	Payments, E 403/387, ms.19 & 27; 388, ms.22, 34 & 39; 392, ms.5 & 18; 394, m.35; 397, m.7. Letters of acquittance, E 404/500/104 & 311; E 43/127 & 392.
JEAN, COUNT OF VENDOME, from Raymond Guillaume, lord of Caupene, and Monicaut d'Ossages.	ibid.	25,635 florins 1s.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d (£4,605.0s.0d) by 10 March, 1361.	Payments, E 403/387, m.27; 388, m.33; 392, m.19; 403, m. Letters of acquittance, E 43/208, no.1; 617. E 404/500/25 & 26; 501/480. Appointment of attorneys, <u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 65.
JEAN DE MELUN, COUNT OF TANCARVILLE, from Raymond Guillaume, lord of Caupene, and Monicaut d'Ossages.	ibid.	18,330 florins 1s.7d (£3,456.5s.0d) by 10 March, 1361.	Payments, E 403/387, m.27; 388, m.32; 392, m.19; 403, m. Letters of acquittance, E 43/208, no.2; E 404/500/26; 501/487; 506/85. Appointment of attorneys, <u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 65.
JACQUES DE BOURBON, COUNT OF PONTHEIU AND LA MARCHE, from Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch; Etienne Daex; Menancon de Casaus; Arnaud Guillaume de Puy Louan; Raymond Arronstauh; Arnaud de Puy and Pierre de Casaus.	25,000 florins (£4,713.10s.10d).	Total by 17 January, 1362.	Contract, E 30/1632; Appendix A, no.9. Payments, E 30/1632; E 403/388, m.17; 392, ms.19 & 22; 394, m.35; 403, ms.24 & 40. Mandates for payment and letters of acquittance, E 43/281; 346, no.2; 558. E 101/28/8. E 404/6, File 40, nos.54 & 55; File 41 (28 October, 1360). E.404/500/96; 504/127; 505/33. Appointment of attorneys, <u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 636; 1358-61, 65.
JEAN, COUNT OF SAAREBRUCK, AND OTHERS from Arnaud d'Albret, lord of Cubzac.	20,000 florins (£3,770.16s.8d); later disputed.	£600 by 11 March 1361.	Payments, E 403, ms.40-41. Mandates for payment and letters of acquittance, E 404/6, File 41 (11 March, 1361). E 404/501/500.

1. Except where indicated to the contrary the florins are old gold florins, valued at 3s.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d each.

APPENDIX G (CONTINUED).

Contract, E 403/388; Appendix A, no. 10. Payments, E 30/1506; E 403/388, no. 17, 27. Letter of acquittance, E 43/310.

Contract, E 403/388; Appendix A, no. 10. Payments, E 30/1506; E 403/388, no. 17, 27, 35 & 33; 392, no. 19; 394, no. 15. Letters for payment and letters of acquittance, E 43/340, no. 1; 402. E 404/500/310; 509/52. Appointment of attorneys, GIR, 1354-8, 632; 1358-61, 65.

Contract, E 404/500/241; Appendix A, no. 11. Payments, E 404/500/241; E 403/387, no. 17 & 27. Letter of acquittance, E 404/500/127 & 212.

Contract, E 404/500/241; Appendix A, no. 11. Payments, E 404/500/241; E 403/387, no. 16, 17 & 27. Letter of acquittance, E 404/500/127.

Contract, E 403/387; Appendix A, no. 11. Payments, E 403/387, no. 27; 388, no. 18; 392, no. 19. Letter of acquittance, E 43/409 & 458; E 404/504/32.

Contract, E 403/388; Appendix A, no. 11. Letter of acquittance, E 43/310.

Prisoners and captors from whom purchased.	Purchasing Prices.	Amounts Paid.
JEAN DE CHALON, COUNT OF AUXERRE, from Bertrand, lord of Montferrand; Denot de Grians (called Saint- Sever) and Gaillard de Saint-Germain.	17,000 florins (£3,205.4s.2d).	14,500 florins (£2,733.16s.8d) by 19 February, 1358.
JEAN DE NOYERS, COUNT OF JOIGNY, from Arnaud Raymond, viscount of Orthe.	15,000 florins (£2,828.2s.6d).	Total by 10 March, 1361.
ARNOUL D'AUDREHEM, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, from Menaud de Béarn, Bertrand de Pressac, Bernard d'Audenne and L'abbat d'Ortes, knights; Bernard de Casset, lord of le Qua, and Lancelot de Latran, valets.	12,000 florins (£2,262.10s.0d).	Total by 16 December, 1357.
BONABÉS DE ROUGE, LORD OF DERVAL, from Jean de Grailly, captal of Buch, and Raymond de Montaut, lord of Mussidan.	10,000 florins (£1,884.8s.4d).	Total by 16 December, 1357.
CHARLES D'ARTOIS, COUNT OF LONGUEVILLE, from Jean Tuskanan, burgess of Bordeaux, and Hugh de Romescroft of Gascony.	6,500 florins (£1,222.18s.4d).	5,500 florins (£1,034.7s.6d) by 26 June, 1358.
JEAN, COUNT OF NASSAU, from Arnaud-Amanieu, son of the lord of Albret.	6,000 florins of Florence at 2s.10 ¹ / ₂ d. each. (£835).	4,000 florins (£575.0s.0d) by 25 June, 1358.

Sources. .(XIIIITHO) D XIGRETA

Contract, E 30/1506; Appendix A, no. 10. Payments, E 30/1506;
E 403/388, ms.17, 27 & 37. Letter of acquittance, E 43/353.

Payments, E 403/388, ms.17, 27, 32 & 33; 392, m.19; 394, m.35;
403, m.40. Mandates for payment and letters of acquittance,
E 43/346, no.1; 405. E 404/500/310; 509/52. Appointment
of attorneys, CPR, 1354-8, 635; 1358-61, 65.

Contract, E 404/500/243; Appendix A, no. 11. Payments,
E 404/500/243; E 403/388, ms.17 & 27. Letters of acquittance,
E 404/504/127 & 215.

Contract, E 404/500/241; Appendix A, no. 12. Payments,
E 404/500/241; E 403/387, m.28; 388, ms.16, 17 & 27.
Letters of acquittance, E 404/504/127.

Payments, E 403/387, m.27; 388, m.18; 392, m.19.
Letters of acquittance, E 43/409 & 458; E 404/504/32.

Payments, E 403/388, m.23; 392, m.18. Letter of
acquittance, E 43/319.

(b) Prisoners and shares in prisoners purchased
by the king:

Prisoners and captors or persons from whom purchased.	Purchasing Prices.	Amounts Paid and Sources.
PHILIP, SON OF KING JOHN; LOUIS, COUNT OF SANCERRE; AND MAURY, LORD OF CRAON, from the Black Prince.	£20,000.0s.0d.	<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 300.
BERNARD, COUNT OF VENTADOUR AND MONTPENSIER, from Bartholomew de Burghersh.	30,000 florins ¹ (£5,000.0s.0d).	22,000 florins (£3,666.13s.4d) by 11 December, 1359, when mandate issued for payment of remainder (Writ and Exchequer Certificate, C 47/28/6, no.12).
CHARLES D'ARTOIS, COUNT OF LONGUEVILLE, ³ from Reginald de Cobham.	6,500 florins ² (£1,222.18s.4d).	<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 167. Mandate for payment, E 404/6, File 36, no.29.
GONTIER DE BAIGNEUX, ARCHBISHOP OF LE MANS, from Robert de Clinton (a fourth part).	£1,000.0s.0d.	<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 63.
JEAN DE CHALON, COUNT OF AUXERRE, from Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk.	3,000 florins ² (£565.12s.6d).	<u>DNB</u> , XX, 12.

1. Old gold florins valued at 3s.4d. sterling each.
2. Old gold florins valued at 3s.9½d. sterling each.
3. For another share in, purchased by the Black Prince,
vide supra, p. 299.

Prisoners and captors
or persons from whom
purchased.

Purchasing
Prices.

Amounts Paid
and Sources.

REGNAUT, LORD OF
AUBIGNY, SENESCHAL OF
TOULOUSE, from Sir John
de Wengfeld.¹

2,500 marks
(£1,666.13s.4d).

Payment, E 403/387,
m.28.

1. Ibid.

APPENDIX H

EXCHEQUER FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, 1372-1377

APPENDIX H

Foreign Accounts

Examination of the Foreign Accounts drawn up in the period 47-50 Edward III, 1372-77 (L.T.R. Enrolled Foreign Accounts, E 364/7-11), produces the following substantial accounts:

Robert de Ashton, Admiral of the Fleet to the South, Oct. 1371 to Jan. 1372, £2,431.12s.7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. due. £2,153.14s.6d. paid by Jul. 1372.

Philip de Courtenay, Admiral to the South and West, March 1374 to Aug. 1374, £2,564.14s.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. due. £2,159.19s.2d. paid by Oct. 1374.

Hugh de Calverley, in company of Lancaster, June 1373 to June 1374, £3,417.12s.1d. due. £2,303.17s.1d. paid by October 1374.

Edward le Despenser in France, July 1373 to Dec. 1373. £9,656.14s.5d. due. £7,655.8s.8d. paid by Oct. 1374.

William de Neville, Admiral, March 1374 to July 1374. £2,545.16s.8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. due. £2,336.7s.4d. paid by Oct. 1375.

Earl of Warwick in Gascony, May 1362 to Nov. 1362. £3,131.10s.7d. due. £3,028.16s.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. paid by October 1376.

Ralph de Ferrers in Ireland, Aug. 1361 to May 1364. £2,354.17s.6d. due. £1,582.2s.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. paid by Dec. 1375.

Henry de Percy in France, July 1373 to April 1374. £7,502.12s.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. due. £5,331.6s.6d. paid by May 1376.

Hugh de Stafford, July 1373 to April 1374. £3,982 due. £1,153.9s.9d. paid by July 1375.

Earl of Warwick, on sea, Aug. 1372 to Oct. 1372. £1,566.18s.1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. due. £1,697.9s.0d. paid by Feb. 1377.

Earl of Warwick, in France, June 1373 to April 1374. £6,460.3s.2d. due. £5,272.6s.3d. paid by Feb. 1377.

Earl of Hereford, on sea, July 1372 to Oct. 1372. £4,850.8s.5d. due. £4,276.17s.9d. paid by Aug. 1376.

Earl of Suffolk, on sea and in France, June 1373 to April 1374. £3,315.4s.4d. due. £2,703.17s.1d. paid by Nov. 1376.

Earl of Warwick, on sea, Aug. 1372 to Oct. 1372. £1,566.18s.1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. due. £1,697.9s.0d. paid by Sept. 1372.

Duke of Lancaster, in France, July 1373 to April 1374.

£28,699.18s.8d. due. £19,057.12s.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. paid by July 1374.

Ralph Basset, in France, June 1373 to Feb. 1374.
£2,803.12s.3½d. due. £2,304.11s.6d. paid by June 1376.
Earl of March, in France, 1375. £9,597.12s.10½d. due.
£9,105.12s.5½d. paid by Nov. 1376.
Edward le Despenser, in France, 1375. £9,649.8s.2d. due.
£9,223.11s.11d. paid by June 1376½
Earl of Cambridge, in France, 1375. £9,610.15s.8d. due.
£9,230.13s.4d. paid by April 1376.

APPENDIX I
LANCASTER'S ITINERARY IN ENGLAND

APPENDIX I

Lancaster's itinerary in England

This is not a complete list of Lancaster's movements in England, but is intended to provide information about his residence when in this country in order to substantiate statements made in the text. It has largely been compiled from the dating clauses of letters issued in his name; but in some instances financial accounts and other documents which indicate his whereabouts have also been used. For his movements in 1328 & 1330-1332, see Chapter I, pages 16-20.

	1333
Kenilworth	28 September (DL 25/2061).
	1337
Berwick	15 May (DL 25/1330).
	1338
By Kenilworth	17 June (DL 25/966 & DL 42/11, fo.14).
	1341
By Pickering	5 August (DL 25/335, no.2 & DL 42/1, fo.191, no.108).
Leicester	1 November (CPR, 1361-4, 200).
Pontefract	6 November (DL 25/75).
	1342
Westminster	16 May (CPR, 1340-1343, 530; <u>Rymer</u> , II, ii, 1194).
Sandwich	8 October (C 81/287/15117).
	1343
Leicester	Immediately after Michaelmas (<u>M.Bateson, Records of the borough of Leicester, II, 60</u>).

1344

Belper 1 August (DL 42/11, fos.60v-61r).
 Leicester Hunted in the Frith after 15 August
 (Bateson, op.cit., II, 60).
 London 10 October (DL 27/36).
 Leicester 28 November (DL 25/2184 & DL 42/1, fo.198,
 no.125).
 Leicester 30 November (Knighton, II, 30).

1345

Kenilworth Castle 1 May (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 623).
 Southampton 22 June (DL 27/158).
 Southampton 23 June (SC 1/41/34).

1347

London 20 January (DL 25/2185 & DL 42/1, fo.199,
 no.126).
 London 1 March (DL 27/155).
 Lincoln 19 November (DL 27/127).
 Lincoln 27 November (CChR, 1341-1407, 444-5).
 London 2 December (CPR, 1348-50, 19).

1348

Savoy 12 April (SC 1/40/7).
 Lincoln After 20 April (Le Baker, 97).

1349

Kenilworth 6 February (E 403/344, m.24).
 Rothwell 7 July (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 623).
 Leicester 1 August (CChR, 1341-1407, 444-5).
 Savoy 24 August (CPR, 1348-50, 469).

1350

Lincoln 30 May (E 403/353, m.12).
 Lancashire 2 June (E 403/353, m.12).
 Savoy 3 June (SC 8/12667).

1351

Kingston Manor, Dorset 1 February (DL 41/9/7, no.4).
 Savoy Manor 20 February (W.A.Hulton, Theoucher book or chartulary of Whalley Abbey, IV, 1146-8).
 Savoy Manor 23 February (CPR, 1358-61, 242).
 Savoy Manor 24 February (Hulton, op.cit., IV, 1164-6).
 Kingston Manor, Dorset 6 July (CPR, 1358-61, 242).
 12 August (CPR, 1354-8, 381).
 12 October (CPR, 1354-8, 381).

1352

Savoy Manor 10 July (DL 41/9/7, no.1).
 Leicester 16 September (DL 41/10/34, nos.60 & 77).
 Leicester Castle 17 September (DL 41/9/7, no.2; DL 41/10/34,
 no.61).

1353

Savoy 18 April (SC 1/50/176).
 Savoy 28 April (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 736).
 Leicester 22 July (Bateson, op.cit., II, 89-90).
 Westminster 24 October (SC 1/40/122).

1354

London 13 March (R.Delachenal, "Premières négociations de Charles le Mauvais avec les Anglais, 1354-1355, BÉC, LXI, 1900, Pièces Justificatives, pp.277-9, no.VI).
 Savoy Manor 17 March (CPR, 1358-61, 242).
 London 17 March (Delachenal, op.cit., Pièces Justificatives, pp.279-80, no.VII).
 Savoy Manor 5 July (DL 42/11, fo.67v).
 Westminster 31 October (F.Bock, "Some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War, 1353-1356", BJRL, XV, 1931, pp.94-6).
 Dover 3 November (E 101/313/25).

1355

1356

Leicester Castle 28 February (J.Nichols, The history and antiquities of Leicester, I, ii, 295-6).
 Leicester, New College 24 March (A.H.Thompson, A history of the hospital and new college of the annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 29).
 By Leicester 27 March (DL 25/1860).
 Westminster 28 March (Rot.Scot., 792).
 Leicester Castle 20 April (DL 27/159).
 Leicester, New College 13 June (CCR, 1354-60, 318-9).

1357

Leicester 5 July (E 40/11440).

1358

Leicester Castle 3 April (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 738).
 Windsor 23 April (Reading, 130 & 273-4; Eulogium
 historiarum, 227).
 Tutbury Castle 24 June (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 740).
 By Liverpool 20 July (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 741).
 Castle
 Leicester 8 October (E 403/394, m.5; E 404/5/35).

1359

Reyte Manor, by 1 February (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 739)
 London
 Leicester Before 19 May (Bateson, op.cit., II, 109).
 Leicester Castle 20 June (CPR, 1358-61, 566).

1360

Cowick 12 August (John of Gaunt's Register, I, i, 745)
 Leicester Castle 15 August (Bateson, op.cit., II, 111-3).
 Savoy 1 December (SC 1/42/66).
 Whalley 16 December (DL 42/1, fos.74-5; Hulton, op.cit.,
 IV, 1154-8)

1361

Whalley 2 January (DL 42/1, fos.74-5, no.58).
 Leicester Castle 6, 11, 15, 20 & 23 March (Bateson, op.cit.,
 II, 113-4, 116-22, 122-3 & 124; CPR, 1356-69,
 159).

APPENDIX J
LANCASTER'S ANNUITANTS

APPENDIX J

Lands and annuities granted by Lancaster during the lives of the donees.

The table has largely been compiled from

(1) Duchy Records: original grants (G) amongst the Ancient Deeds (DL 25 & 27), enrolled on a ducal Chancery Roll (DL 37/1), and evident from mandates and confirmations in John of Gaunt's Register (JGR); and evidence of current payments in given financial years (CP), available in the Accounts Various (DL 28), Minister's Accounts (DL 29), and Miscellanea (DL 41).

(2) Enrollments in the royal chancery: licences for (L), and confirmations of (C), the grants; pardons for acquisition without licence, and licences to retain (P); and evidence of possession at the time of the duke's death (D). This information has been taken from the Calendars of Patent Rolls and Inquisitions Post Mortem (CPR & CIPM).

(1) Manors

Donee	Manor	County	Source
Aldewyncle, John de	North Standen	Wiltshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50); held of John of Gaunt (<u>JGR</u> , I, i, 438).
Berewyk, Hugh de, Kt.	East Garston and Market Lavington	Wiltshire	P, 24 October, 1352 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-54, 146).
Boyville, John de, Kt.	Marchington	Staffordshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Bracebridge, William	Barlow	Yorkshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Camoys, Hugh de, Kt.	Longstock	Hampshire	L, 8 October, 1350 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 573); D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50; <u>CIPM</u> , XI, 95).
Cosington, Stephen de, Kt.	Hartley Mauditt	Hampshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50; <u>CIPM</u> , XI, 95).
Dyneleye, John de, Kt.	Downham	Lancashire	G, 22 September, 135 (DL 37/1, m.6d); P, 30 October, 1357 (<u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 626).
Grene, Robert de la	Rye	Gloucestershire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Hale, Frank de, Kt.	Weston Patrick	Hampshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Lestraunge, Roger, of Knockin, Kt.	Dunham	Cheshire	<u>Black Prince's Register</u> , III, 438-9.
Mare, Peter de la, Kt.	East Garston and Market Lavington	Wiltshire	P, 10 March, 1349 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 261).
Mare, Robert de la, Kt.	Berwick St. James	Wiltshire	P, 10 March, 1349 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 268); D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50; <u>CIPM</u> , XI, 110); held until his death in 1382 (<u>JGR</u> , II, i, 766).
Marshall, William	Hardwick	Monmouthshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Mascy, Thomas	Coggeshall	Essex	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Mohun, Pagan de	Ebboth	Monmouthshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Neumarche, John de	Cridling	Yorkshire	L, 6 February, 1361 (<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 543); D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Panetria, Nicholas de	Torrisholme	Lancashire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Rumbelow, Stephen	Daventry	Northamptonshire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50); held of John of Gaunt (<u>JGR</u> , I, i, 831 & i, 1172); cf. Somerville, <u>Duchy of Lancaster</u> , 340 for later description.
Simeon, Simon	Kilburn	Yorkshire	Writ for confirmation under Great Seal, 20 August, 1349
	Ugley	Essex	(C 81/341/20581); D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Talbot, John	Swannington	Leicestershire	D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Ufford, Edmund de, Kt.	Passenham	Northamptonshire	P, 23 June, 1350 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 542); D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Walkyngton, John de, Kt.	North Standen	Wiltshire	P, 17 August, 1349 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 366).

(2) Annuities of £40

Donee	Manor	County	Source
Perpoint, Edmund de, Kt.	Washingborough	Lincolnshire	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/262/4069).
Uvedale, Thomas de, Kt.	Methwold	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).

(3) Annuities of 40 marks

Donee	Manor	County	Source
Bracebridge, William	Barlow	Yorkshire	G, May, 1345 (DL 42/1, fo.90r).
Hastynge, Ralph de, Kt.	Pickering	Yorkshire	Dugdale, <u>Baronage</u> , I, 579.
Ufford, Edmund de, Kt	Higham Ferrers	Northamptonshire	G, 1 March, 1347 (DL 27/155; Appendix <u>A</u> , no. 22); CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.37r).

(4) Annuities of £20

Donee	Manor, etc.	County	Source
Bertram, Robert, Kt.	Dunstanburgh castle	Northumberland	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 101).
Brocas, Bernard, Kt.	Pontefract honor		P, 25 February, 1358 (<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 20).
Burton, Robert de	Methwold	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Hale, Frank de, Kt.	King's Sombourne	Hampshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 95).
Gernoun, Nicholas, Kt.	Tunstead	Norfolk	L, 7 October, 1350 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 16); CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720); still held in 1383 (<u>JGR</u> , II, n.807).
Hereford, Thomas de, Kt.	Tunstead	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).
Loring, Nigel, Kt.	Gimingham	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Mohun, Pagan de	Godmanchester town	Huntingdonshire	CP, 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.9 & 10).
Mohun, Reginald de, Kt.	Godmanchester town	Huntingdonshire	CP, 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.74 & 75).
Rocheford, John de	Bolingbroke castle	Lincolnshire	CP, 1368-9; grant confirmed by John of Gaunt (DL 29/262/4069).

Seyton, John de, Kt.	Higham Ferrers	Northamptonshire	CP, 1352 (DL 41/10/34, nos.5 & 6).
Stillington, William de, Kt.	Hinckley	Leicestershire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, no.118).
Tamworth, Nicholas de Kt.	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	C, 19 March, 1361 (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 3).
Trussell, William, Kt.	Leicester honor		CP, 13 (DL 41/9/5, no.10).
Verdoun, Thomas de, Kt.	Raunds	Northamptonshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.38).

(5) Annuities of 20 marks

Donee	Manor	County	Source
Burton, Thomas de	Gimingham	Norfolk	P, 12 June, 1352 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 298).
Buxton, Thomas de, clerk	Tunstead	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Fauconer, Ingram	Melbourne	Derbyshire	P, 29 April, 1353 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 444).
Lathum, Thomas de, jnr., Kt.	West Derby	Lancashire	G, 11 January, 1361 (DL 37/2, entry 99).
Peyure, Nicholas, Kt.			D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, no.118).
Twyford, John de, jnr., Kt.	Hinckley	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31v).
Videliu, Thomas	Gimingham	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).

(6) Annuities of £10

Donee	Manor, etc.	County	Source
Fauconer, Ingram	Melbourne	Derbyshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 96, no.118).
Forcer, Nicholas and Margaret	Kenilworth	Warwickshire	P, 18 September, 1359 (<u>CPR</u> , 1358-61, 264).
Grendon, Phillip de	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Staffordshire	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/367/6130).
Melbourne, Peter de	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Staffordshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93, no.118); £3.6s.8d. in 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r); £5 in 1352 (DL 28/32/18, no.14).
	Shelston	Staffordshire	

Mohun, Hervy de	Kempsford	Gloucestershire	P, 21 August, 1349 (<u>CPR</u> , 1348-50, 370).
Naunton, Thomas de	Tunstead	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).
Popham, Phillip de	King's Sombourne	Hampshire	P, 5 June, 1353 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 464).
Rocheford, John de	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 94, no 118; DL 41/4/11, m.
Rose, Henry	Shapwick (another)	Dorset	
	Tunstead	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Ryvere, Thomas de la	King's Sombourne	Hampshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 95, no.118).

(7) Annuities of 10 marks

Donee	Manor, etc.	County	Source
Bokelond, Thomas de	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	D (DL 41/4/11, m.
Coroner, John and Agnes	Methwold	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4710).
Dacre, Laurence	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r).
Elmeshale, John de	West Derby	Lancashire	G, 1 May, 1345 (<u>JGR</u> , I, 623).
Florak, Thomas, Kt.	Collingbourne	Wiltshire	P, 10 November, 1350 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 8).
Hastang, John de, Kt.	Ducis Hinckley	Leicestershire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93).
Mohant, Robert	Shapwick	Dorset	D (DL 41/4/11, m.
Shelton, Richard de, Kt.	Hinckley town	Leicestershire	CP, 1352 (DL 41/10/34, no.61); D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 92).

(8) Annuities of £5

Donee	Manor, etc.	County	Source
Botiller, Nicholas le, Kt.	Duke's mills, Leicester	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 37/1, ms.8d, 9d & 10d).
Codeford, John and Isabel	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	D (DL 41/4/11, m.
Cook, John, of Leicester	Higham Ferrers	Northamptonshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.37r).

Fisshere	Methwold	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).
Tottebury Thomas	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	D (DL 41/4/11, m.
Usk, Nicholas de, cook	Duke's mills, Leicester	Leicestershire	P, 3 October, 1354 (<u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 103).
(9) Annuities of 5 marks			
Cook, Robert le	Kingston Lacy	Dorset	D (DL 41/4/11, m.
Dacre, Laurence	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
Fauconer, Amy, wife of Ingram	Melbourne	Derbyshire	P, 29 April, 1353 (<u>CPR</u> , 1350-4, 444); D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93, no.108).
Fauconer, John	Melbourne	Derbyshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93, no.118).
Irlaund, William d'	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
Knighton, Thomas de	Wirksworth	Derbyshire	CP (DL 29/367/6135).
(10) Annuities of £1.10s.0d.			
Blount, John, Kt.	Farms in Tutbury Honor		CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.13r).
Cravene, Richard de	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
Porter, Robert	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r).
(11) Annuities of £1			
Aldewyncle, John de	Raunds	Northamptonshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.38r); grant confirmed by him.
Barbour, Gautron	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r).
Botiller, William	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r).
Burbach, William	Raunds	Northamptonshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.38r).

Chambre, Jaket de la	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31r).
Curteys, John	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
Halle, Simon atte	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
 (12) Annuities of 1 mark			
Barber, Richard le	Methwold	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 & 1359-60 (DL 29/288/4719 & 4720).
Bocher, John	Hinckley	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31v).
Ferrour, Andrew	Desford	Leicestershire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.30r).
Keu, Hugh le	Shelton	Staffordshire	CP, 1352 (DL 28/32/18, nos.12 & 13); D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93).
 (13) Other Annuities			
Neumarche, John de	£14.0s.Od. Cridling	Yorkshire	P, 28 October, 1354 (<u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 114). He was later granted the entire manor (vide supra).
Rithre, John	£10.4s.Od. Elmsall Kirkby	Yorkshire Lincolnshire	L, 16 April, 1356 (<u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 370); G, 22 April, 1356 (<u>JHR</u> , II, 999); £6 out of Elmsall.
Marreys, John	£8.0s.Od.		D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, no.118).
Solleye, Thomas, parker of King's Sombourne	£7.14s.2½d. King's Sombourne	Hampshire	C1 (DL 29/682/11037).
Salop, Agnes de	£4.0s.Od. Hinckley	Leicestershire	C1 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.31v).
Aldewyncle, John de	£2.10s.Od. Higham Ferrers £1.0s.Od. Raunds	Northamptonshire Northamptonshire	C1 1352 (DL 28/32/18, nos.1 & 2). C1 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.38r), grant confirmed by him.
London, William de,	£2.10s.Od. Gimingham	Norfolk	C1 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Hastang, John de, Kt.	£2.0s.Od. Leicester	Leicestershire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93).

05E

Warrenar, William	£1.10s.4d. Gimingham	Norfolk	CP, 1358-9 (DL 29/288/4719).
Fauconer, William	£1.10s.0d. Melbourne	Derbyshire	D (<u>CIPM</u> , XI, 93, no.118).
Colshull, Nicholas de	10s.0d. Marchington	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.12v).
Pole, Richard de la	10s.0d. Marchington	Staffordshire	CP, 1348 (DL 28/32/17, fo.17v).
(14) Other Grants			
Byntre, Walter de	A marsh near Yarmouth	Norfolk	Held until his death in 1381 (<u>JGR</u> , II, 581, 582 & 590).
Bulstrode, Edmund de	An oven in Leicester	Leicestershire	D (CPR, 1361-4, 50).
Gent, William	50 acres of land in Wolstanton	Staffordshire	G, 27 March, 1356 (DL 25/1860); C (<u>CPR</u> , 1354-8, 375).
Hastang, John de	Land (including the mills of Lillebourne) in Hinckley manor	Leicestershire	DL 29/198/3111; D (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 50).
Ireland, Richard de, his doctor	Site of the manor of Ulnes Walton	Lancashire	G, 18 December, 1359 (DL 37/2, m.30d); C (<u>CPR</u> , 1361-4, 251); valued at £10 per annum.
Keu, Hugh le	Pasture and land near Uttoxeter		<u>JGR</u> , I, 748 & 1468.
Simeon, Simon	Lands and tenements in Belper and Sibsey	Derbyshire Lincolnshire	Writ for C, 20 August, 1349 (C 81/341/20581). L, 11 August, 1357 (<u>CCR</u> , 1354-8, 601).

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

England

1. Public Record Officea. Chancery

- C 47 Miscellanea. Files 24/7 & 28/6.
- C 49 Parliament and Council Proceedings. Files 7, 8 & 66.
- C 61 Gascon Rolls. Nos. 56-70 (18-32 Edward III).
- C 71 Scottish Rolls. Nos. 13, 15-17 & 21 (7, 9-11 & 15 Edward III).
- C 76 Treaty Rolls. Nos. 11-43 (11-34 Edward III).
- C 81 Warrants:
 Warrants for the great seal: privy seals, files 270-384.
 Warrants under the signet and other small seals, files 1330-1338.
 Signed bills and other warrants, file 1394.
 Council warrants, file 1538.
 Warrants for letters of protection and general attorney, files 1657, 1720-1, 1723-5, 1727, 1730, 1747-8, 1751-65 & 1772-7.

Ancient Deeds

- C 146 Series
- C 148 Series CS
- C 202 Writs and Returns. H 13-17.

b. Duchy of Lancaster

Ancient Deeds

- DL 25 Series L. Nos. 75-6, 246-8, 313-8, 330, 335, 966, 972, 981, 983-7, 1128, 1249, 1846, 1860, 2061, 2082,

2182-5, 2268, 2302-3, 3415, 3460, 3557, 3566,
3578, 3580 & 3582-4.

- DL 26 Series LL.
- DL 27 Series LS. Nos. 36, 38, 96, 98, 117, 119, 121,
125, 127, 155, 158-9, 322-4 & 327.
- DL 28 Accounts Various, Miscellaneous. 32, nos.16-18.
- DL 29 Ministers' Accounts. 4/24-6, 31/569-70, 73/1450,
76/1497, 198/3111-2, 212/3246, 242/3886 & 3888-90,
262/4069, 288/4716-20, 324/5292-3, 366/6114,
367/6127-35, 430/6903, 507/8226, 542/8619, 584/9236,
592/9444, 615/9836, 680/10999, 682/11037 & 725/
11832-4 & 11843-4.
- DL 37 Chancery Rolls. Nos. 1 & 2.
- DL 40 Returns of Knights' Fees. 1, no.11.
- DL 41 Miscellanea. 1, no.33; 9, nos.1-7; 10, nos.32-4,
36 & 40.
- DL 42 Miscellaneous Books. Nos. 1-2 & 11.

c. Exchequer

- E 36 Miscellaneous Books. Nos. 203-4 & 278.
Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Deeds:
- E 40 Series A.
- E 41 Series AA.
- E 42 Series AS.
- E 43 Series WS. Nos. 127, 202, 208-9, 270, 281, 293,
298, 315, 319, 346, 361, 383, 392-3, 405, 409, 438,
451-2, 458, 462, 558, 598, 617, 665, 695, 699 & 741.
- E 44 Modern Series A.
- E 101 King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various:
Army, Navy and Ordnance, nos. 15/12; 20/25-6 & 33;
23/9 & 38; 24/18 & 20; 25/5, 7, 9 & 17-20; 26/25 &
34-5; 27/7 & 26; 28/8; 68/3 & 4.
France, nos. 166/11-12; 167/2-3, 8, 10, 12 & 17;
168/3; 170/12, 16 & 20; 171/1 & 3-5; 172/1-4;
173/6-7; 174/1, 4-6, 8, 10 & 12; 175/1 & 5-7;
176/9 & 10.

Nuncii, nos. 312/33 & 36-40; 313/1, 3-8, 10,
 12-19, 21-25, 27, 32-3, 37 & 41; 314/2-5.
 Wardrobe and Household, nos. 388/5 & 9; 389/8;
 391/9 & 15; 392/4 & 12; 393/10 & 11; 398/11.
 Miscellaneous, no. 507/22.
 Recent Additions, nos. 620/7 & 650.

- E 159 King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls. Nos. 120-3,
 125-6 & 132-3
- E 163 King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea. Nos. 4/27 & 28;
 5/38.
- E 202 King's Remembrancer, Writs. Files 33-41 & 62-74
 (6-38 Edw. III & Temp. Edw. III).
 King's Remembrancer, Ancient Deeds:
- E 210 Series D.
- E 212 Series DS.
- E 213 Series RS.
- Augmentation Office, Ancient Deeds:
- E 326 Series B.
- E 327 Series BX.
- E 328 Series BB.
- E 329 Series BS.
- E 330 Modern Series B.
- E 354 Series P.
- E 355 Series PP.
- E 358
- E 364 Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Enrolled Foreign
 Accounts, nos. 7-11 (47-50 Edward III).
- E 372 King's Remembrancer, Enrolled Foreign Accounts,
 nos. 187-8, 190-1, 193-5, 197-202 & 207.
- E 401 Receipt Rolls. Nos. 338, 341, 344, 347-9, 351, 355-6,
 359-60, 363, 366, 368, 370, 373, 375-6, 379, 381, 383,
 385, 387-90, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 404, 407, 410,
 413, 416, 419, 422, 425, 427, 429, 431, 434, 436, 441,
 443, 446, 449, 452, 454, 457, 460-1 & 464-5.

- E 403 Issue Rolls. Nos. 267, 271, 279, 282, 285, 288, 291, 294, 297, 299, 302, 305, 307, 309, 314, 318, 321, 326-8, 330-2, 335, 337, 339-41, 344, 347, 352-3, 355-7, 359, 362, 365, 368, 373-5, 377-8, 380, 382, 384, 387-8, 392, 394, 396, 398 & 401-3.
- E 404 Treasury of Receipt, Writs and Warrants for Issue:
Warrants for Issue, Parcels 3-6, Files 15-42
(6-35 Edward III).
Wardrobe Debentures:
486-8 Debentures and Receipts (Buckingham).
489 Debentures (Beche, Bury, Cook, Clopton).
490 " (Crosse, Cusance, Edington, Carter).
491 " (Farley).
492 " (Ferriby; 4 miscellaneous).
493 " (Norwell).
494 " (Retford).
495 " (Walton).
496 " (Wetwang).
497 " (Manton, Newbury, Taulas, Ousefleet, Wakefield, Wodehouse, Zouch).
498-9 " (Various).
500-7 Vouchers.
508 Vouchers relating to Bordeaux.
509-10 Letters Patent and Writs.
620-1 Warrants for Issue (Edward II - Richard II).
- LR 14 Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue, Ancient Deeds, Series E.

d. Transcripts

PRO 31/8 Volumes 133-4, 142-3 & 148.

e. Special Collections

SC 1 Ancient Correspondence. Vols. 40-2.

SC 8 Ancient Petitions:

Gascon Petitions, vols. 281-93.

Exchequer, vols. 312 & 330.

Others, vols. 56, 123, 228-31, 181, 242-9 & 296.

2. British Museum

Additional Charter 59142.

Cotton, Caligula D III and Nero C VIII.

Harley 4971.

Stowe 440 & 594.

Scotland

1. Edinburgh University Library

MS. 183.

France

1. Archives Nationales

a. Trésor des Chartes

J Layettes 188B, 190B, 241B, 362, 365, 370, 571,
 637 & 864.

JJ Registres 68 & 72-90 (1326-1361).

b. Monuments Historiques

K Cartons des Rois, Copies de Chartes, Histoire
 Étrangère: Negotiations, etc.
 Cartons des Rois 42-52 (1328-1380).

KK Comptes. No.8.

c. Chambre des Comptes de Paris

P Titres de la Maison Ducale de Bourbon: Bourbonnais.
 1355¹, nos.12^{ter} (1 & 2) & 16; 1356¹, no.220 bis;
 1358², no.582; 1364¹, no.1275; 1374², no.2425;
 1378², nos.3075 & 3095; 1389², no.257.

d. Parlement de Paris

Xla Parlement Civil, Registres 9-22 (Jugés, Lettres,
 Arrêts, 1338-72).

Xlb Parlement Civil, Minutes 9532 (Décrets et adjudications
 sur parchemin, rouleau, 1352-1586).

- X1c Parlement Civil, Accords 4 (Accords homologués au Parlement de Paris et autres transactions, 1348-1349).
- X2a Parlement Criminel, Registres 4, 6 & 7 (Transcriptions d'Arrêts, 1340-1343 & 1352-1367).

2. Bibliothèque Nationale

Collection Clairambault, vols. 6 & 7, 12 & 13, 18, 32 & 33, 36, 39-40, 43, 45, 47, 53, 60-63, 65, 80 & 81, 87, 106 & 114 (titres originaux scellez); vols. 137, 140, 185, 201, 212 & 213 (titres originaux); vol. 957 (administration provinciale: Languedoc).

Collection Doat, vols. 87, 103, 127, 157, 189 & 243.

Collection Decamps, vol. 45.

Collection d'Estampes, vol. 1.

Collection Gaignères, vols. 151-2 & 560.

Collection Moreau, vol. 230.

MSS. francaises, nos. 20683-4.

Nouvelle acquisitions francaises, no. 7413.

Pièces Originales, vols. 17, 24, 64-5, 77, 93, 106, 187, 192, 225, 231, 235, 247, 251, 264-5, 455, 526, 622, 669, 683, 708, 759, 774, 783, 855, 876, 922, 1041, 1043, 1047, 1065, 1091, 1121, 1125, 1151, 1279, 1344, 1373, 1379, 1389, 1394, 1417, 1438, 1474, 1479, 1515, 1518, 1522, 1537, 1612, 1633, 1661, 1668, 1722, 1732, 1735, 1774, 1923, 2018-20, 2031, 2093, 2097, 2100, 2103, 2286, 2288, 2314, 2323, 2328, 2335, 2343, 2373, 2613, 2750, 3027 & 3035.

3. Archives Départementales

a. Basses Pyrénées (Pau)

Série E. Nos. 31, 131 & 188.

b. Côte d'Or (Dijon)

Série B. Nos. 11922-5.

c. Gironde (Bordeaux)

Série E. Suppléments, nos. 2165, 2335, 2772, 2774,
3097, 3105, 3120, 3247 & 3968.

d. Loire Inférieure (Nantes)

Série E. Nos. 114, 116-7, 119, 125 & 201.

e. Lot (Cahors)

Série F. Nos. 1-18 & 27.

f. Nord (Lille)

Série B. Nos. 416 & 1316.

4. Archives Communalesa. Blaye (Gironde)

Série AA. No. 2.

b. Bourg-sur-Gironde (Gironde)

Série AA. No. 1.

c. La Réole (Gironde)

Série AA. Nos. 3 & 5.

d. Libourne (Gironde)

Série AA. No. 1.

e. Monségur (Gironde)

Série AA, No. 1.

f. Saint-Macaire (Gironde)

Série AA. No. 1.

Série CC. No. 1.

Série FF. No. 1.

g. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne)

Série AA. Nos. 1-60.

B. PRINTED DOCUMENTS

- Archives historiques de la Gascogne (Société historique de Gascogne. Paris and Auch, 1883-1913).
- Archives historiques de l'Agenais (Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Agen. 1 vol. Agen, 1894).
- Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis (Société des archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis. 48 vols. Saintes and Paris, 1874-1930).
- Archives historiques du département de la Gironde (Société des archives historiques du département de la Gironde. 58 vols. Bordeaux, 1859-1932. New series, 1 vol. Bordeaux, 1933-1936).
- Archives historiques du Poitou (Société des archives historiques du Poitou. 34 vols. Poitiers, 1872-1905).
- Archives municipales de Bayonne. Livre des établissements. Bayonne, 1892.
- Armitage-Smith, S. See John of Gaunt's Register.
- Atkinson, J.C. The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. 3 vols. Chetham Society, new series, IX, XI & XIV (Manchester, 1886-8).
- Baigent, F.J. The registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, bishops of Winchester (A.D. 1316-1323). Hampshire Record Society. London and Winchester, 1897.
- Barbeyrac, M. and Rousset, M. Supplement au corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens. See Dumont, J. Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens.
- Bateson, M. Records of the borough of Leicester. 4 vols. London, 1899-1923.
- Brutails, J.A. Documents des archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études: sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc.84. Paris, 1890).
- Calendars of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, vols. III-V (1300-1417). London, 1908-1916.

- Calendars of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I, vols. II-V; Edward II, vols. I-IV; Edward III, vols. I-XI (1279-1364). London, 1893-1910.
- Calendars of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, ed. J.Bain, vols. III & IV (1307-1509). Edinburgh, 1887 & 1888.
- Calendars of Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, vols. V-VII (1337-1369). London, 1915-1923.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analagous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, vol. XI (35-38 Edward III). London, 1935.
- Calendars of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, vol. I (1342-1419), ed. W.H.Bliss (London, 1896); Papal Letters, vols. II & III (1305-1362), ed. W.H.Bliss and C.Johnson (London, 1895 & 1897).
- Calendars of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward I, vols. II-IV; Edward II, vols. I-V; Edward III, vols. I-XII (1281-1364). London, 1891-1912.
- Chaplais, P. Some documents regarding the fulfilment and interpretation of the treaty of Brétigny, 1361-1369.
Camden Miscellany, vol. XIX (London, 1952), 1-84.
Camden Third Series, vol. LXXX.
- Charrier, G. Les jurades de la ville de Bergerac. 4 vols. Bergerac, 1892-1895.
- Delisle, L. Actes normands de la Chambre des Comptes sous Philippe de Valois, 1328-1350 (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen, 1871).
- Delpit, J. Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre. Paris, 1847.
- Déprez, E. See Papal Registers.
- Devillers, L. Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut, de l'avènement de Guillaume II à la mort de Jacqueline de Bavière, 1337-1436 (Collection de chroniques Belges inédites. 6 vols. Brussels, 1881-1896).
- Dumont, J. Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens. 8 vols. in 16. Amsterdam, 1726-1731. Supplement by M.Barbeyrac and M.Rousset, 5 vols. in 8. Amsterdam, 1739.

- Du Tillet, J. Recueil des guerres et traictez d'entre les rois de France et d'Angleterre. Paris, 1588.
- Ellis, H. Original letters, illustrative of English history. 3rd. series. 2 vols. London, 1846.
- Fletcher, W.G.D. 'Documents relating to Leicestershire, preserved in the episcopal registers at Lincoln', Associated Architectural Societies, Reports and Papers, XXI, 277-329, XXII, 109-50 & 227-365 (Lincoln 1892-1894).
- Gallard, A. Preuves de mémoires pour l'histoire de Navarre et de Flandre. Paris, 1648.
- Gasnault, P. See Papal Registers.
- Gibbons, A.W. Early Lincoln Wills. An abstract of the wills and administrations recorded in the episcopal registers of the old diocese of Lincoln, 1280-1547. Lincoln, 1888.
- Glénisson, J. See Papal Registers.
- Guérin, P. Recueil des documents concernant le Poitou contenus dans les registres de la Chancellerie de la France (4 vols. Archives historiques du Poitou, XI, XIII, XVII & XIX, Poitiers, 1881-1888).
- Hulton, W.A. The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey. 4 vols. Chetham Society, X, XI, XVI & XX (Manchester, 1847-1849).
- John of Gaunt's Register. Part I (1371-1375) ed. S.Armitage-Smith. 2 vols. Camden Society, 3rd. series (London, 1911) vols. XX & XXI. Part II (1379-1383) ed. E.C.Lodge and R.Somerville. 2 vols. Ibid (London, 1937), vols. LVI & LVII.
- Jones, P.E. See Thomas, A.H. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls.
- Laurent, H. Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique conservés aux Archives de l'Etat à Vienne, 1196-1356 (Commission royale d'histoire, Brussels, 1933).
- Laurent, M.H. See Papal Registers.
- Leibnitz, G.G. See Scriptorum Brunswicensia Illustrantium.
- Limburg-Stirum, T. de. Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348 à 1358. 2 vols. Bruges, 1898 & 1901.

Lodge, E.C. See John of Gaunt's Register.

Lumby, J.H. 'A calendar of the deeds and papers in the possession of Sir James de Hoghton, Bart., of Hoghton Tower, Lancashire', The Record Society for the publication of original documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, LXXXVIII (1936).

Magen, A. Jurades de la ville d'Agen, 1345-1355 (Archives historiques de l'Agenais, I, Agen, 1894).

Mollat, G. See Papal Registers.

Monuments du procès de canonisation du bienheureux Charles de Blois, Duc de Bretagne, 1320-1364. Saint-Brieuc, 1921 (History of Le bienheureux by Dom F.Plaine).

Morice, P.H. Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne. 3 vols. Paris, 1742-1746.

Nichols, J. A collection of all the wills extant of the Kings and Queens of England and every branch of the blood royal. London, 1780.

Nicolas, N.H. Testamenta Vetusta: illustrations of wills, of manners, customs &c. 2 vols. London, 1826.

Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race. 23 vols. Paris, 1723-1849.

Papal Registers published by the Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome:

Clément VI (1342-1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France. 3 vols. 5 fascs., ed. E. Déprez, J.Glénisson and G.Mollat. Paris, 1925 & 1958-1959.

Clément VI (1342-1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales intéressant les pays autres que la France. Vol. I, fasc. I, ed. E.Déprez and G.Mollat. Paris 1960.

Innocent VI (1352-1362). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France. Vol. I, fasc. I, ed. E.Déprez. Paris, 1909.

Innocent VI (1352-1362). Lettres secrètes et curiales. Vol. 1, fasc. I, ed. P.Gasnault and M.H.Laurent. Paris, 1959.

Register of Edward the Black Prince, 1346-1365. 4 vols.
Stationary Office, London, 1930-1933.

Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et petitiones et placita in Parlamento (1278-1503). 6 vols. London, 1783.
Index, London, 1832.

Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati (19 Edward I - Henry VIII).
Ed. D.Macpherson, J.Caley, W.Illingworth and T.H.Horne.
2 vols. Record Commission, London, 1814-1819.

Rymer, T. Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, etc.; or Rymer's Foedera, 1066-1383. Ed. A.Clarke, J.Caley, J.Bayley, F.Holbrooke and J.W.Clarke. 4 vols. in 7 parts.
Record Commission, London, 1816-1869.

Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft.
Ed. T.Hirsch, M.Söppen and E.Strelke. 5 vols. Leipzig, 1861-1874.

Scriptorum Brunswicensia Illustrantium. Vol.2, ed.
G.G.Leibnitz. Hanover, 1710.

Secousse, D.F. Recueil de pièces servant de preuves aux mémoires sur les troubles excités en France par Charles II, dit le Mauvais, roi de Navarre et comte d'Evreux.
Paris, 1755.

Somerville, R. See John of Gaunt's Register.

Thomas, A.H..and Jones, P.E. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls preserved among the archives of the city of London at the Guildhall, 1323-1482. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1926-1961.

Toulmin-Smith, L. Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby. Camden Society. Second Series, LII (London, 1894).

The itinerary of John Leland in or about 1535-1543. 5 vols.
London, 1906-1910.

Varin, P. Archives administratives de la ville de Reims. Collection de pièces inédites pouvant servir à l'histoire des institutions dans l'intérieure de la cité (Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. 8 vols. in 10. Paris, 1839-1853).

Viard, J. Documents Parisiens du regne de Philippe de Valois (1328-1350). 2 vols. Paris, 1899-1900.

- Würdtwein, S.A. Nova subsidia diplomatica. Heidelberg, 1785.
- Hruby, V. Archivum coronae regni Bohemiae, II (1346-1355).
Prague, 1928.
- Huber, A. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV
(1346-1378), in J.F.Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, VIII.
Innsbruck, 1877.
- Ludewig, J.P. de. Reliquiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi
diplomatum ac monumentorum ineditorum adhuc. Frankfurt
and Leipzig, 1723.

C. NARRATIVE SOURCES

1. England

Anonimale chronicle, The, 1333 to 1381, from a MS. written at St. Mary's Abbey, York, ed. V.H.Galbraith. Manchester, 1927.

Avesbury, Robertus de. De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi tertii, ed. E.M.Thompson. Rolls series, 93. London, 1889.

Brut, The, or the chronicles of England, ed. F.W.D.Brie. Early English Text Society, vols. 131 & 136 in one. London, 1906 & 1908.

Capgrave, Johannis. Liber de illustribus Henricis, ed. and translated into English by F.C.Hingeston. Rolls series, 7. London, 1858.

Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367, ed. J.Tait. Manchester, 1914.

Chronica monasterii de Melsa, a fundatione usque ad annum 1396, auctore Thoma de Burton, abbate. Accedit continuato ad annum 1406, a monacho quodam ipsius domus, ed. E.A.Bond. 3 vols. Rolls series, 43. London, 1866-1868.

Chronica monasterii Sancti Albani. Thomae Walsingham quondam monachi Sancti Albani: Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T.Riley. 2 vols. Rolls series, 28, I, i & ii. London, 1863 & 1864.

Chronicle of John Hardyng, The, ed. H.Ellis. London, 1812.

Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483, A, written in the fifteenth century and for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum, to which are added numerous contemporary illustrations, consisting of royal letters, poems and other articles descriptive of public events or of the manners and customs of the metropolis, ed. N.H.Nicolas. London, 1827.

Chronicles of London, ed. C.L.Kingsford. Oxford, 1905.

Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II,
ed. W.Stubbs. 2 vols. Rolls series, 76. London,
1882 & 1883.

Chronicon abbatie de Parco Lude. The chronicle of Louth
Park Abbey, with appendix of documents, ed. E.Venables,
with a translation by A.R.Maddison. Lincolnshire
Record Society. Horncastle, 1891.

Chronicon Angliae ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388
auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani, ed. E.M.Thompson.
Rolls series, 64. London, 1874.

Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI, e codice cottoniano
nunc primum typis mandatum, ed. J.Stevenson. Ballantyne
Club, Edinburgh, 1839. English translation by H.Maxwell,
The chronicle of Lanercost. Glasgow, 1913.

Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke, ed. E.M.Thompson.
Oxford, 1889.

Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnitthon monachi Leycestrensis,
ed. J.R.Lumby. 2 vols. Rolls series, 92. London, 1889 &
1895.

Chroniques de London depuis l'an 44 Hen.III jusqu'à l'an
17 Edw.III, ed. G.J.Aungier, Camden Society, XXVIII.
London, 1844.

Eulogium historiarum sive temporis. Chronicon ab Orbe
condito usque ad annum MCCCLXVI, a monacho quodam
Malmesburiensi exaratum. Accedunt continuationes duae,
ed. F.S.Haydon. 3 vols. Rolls series, 9. London,
1858-1863.

Murimuth, Adae. Continuatio chronicarum, ed. E.M.Thompson.
Rolls series, 93. London, 1889.

Scalacronica, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, knight. A
chronicle of England and Scotland from A.D. MLXVI to
A.D. MCCCLXII, ed. J.Stevenson. Maitland Club,
Edinburgh, 1836. English translation by H.Maxwell,
Scalacronica. The reigns of Edward I, Edward II and
Edward III. As recorded by Sir Thomas Gray. Glasgow,
1907.

2. France

Berthou, P.-A. de, 'Analyse sommaire et critique de la chronique de Saint-Brieuc', Bulletin archéologique de l'Association bretonne: Mémoires, XIX (1900-1901).
See Chronicon Briocense.

Breve chronicon comitum Flandriae (1333-1356), in Corpus chronicorum Flandriae (Recueil des chroniques de Flandre), ed. J.J. de Smet, III (Brussels, 1856), 5-30.

Chronica Aegidii li Muisis, in Corpus chronicorum Flandriae (Recueil des chroniques de Flandre), ed. J.J. de Smet, II (Brussels, 1841). See Chronique et annales de Gilles le Muisit.

Chronicle of Jean de Venette, The, translated by J. Birdsall, ed. with an introduction and notes by R.A. Newhall. Records of civilization, sources and studies, no. L. Columbia University Press. New York, 1953.

Chronicon Briocense (377-1415), ed. P.H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I (Paris, 1742), 7-102. See Berthou.

Chronicon Britannicum (211-1356), ed. P.H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I (Paris, 1742), 1-8.

Chronicon Britannicum alterum (593-1463), ed. P.H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I (Paris, 1742), 101-18.

Chronicon comitum (sive forestariorum) Flandrensiū, in Corpus chronicorum Flandriae (Recueil des chroniques de Flandre), ed. J.J. de Smet, I (Brussels, 1837), 34 ff.

Chronique de Bazas, 1299-1355, ed. M.E. Piganeau, Archives historiques du département de la Gironde, XV. Bordeaux, 1874.

Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin par Cuvelier, trouvère du XIV^{ème} siècle, ed. E. Charrière. 2 vols. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Première série: histoire politique. Paris, 1839.

Chronique de Guyenne (to 1346), published from the Livre des Coutumes of Bordeaux by H.Barckhausen, Archives municipales de Bordeaux, V. Bordeaux, 1890.

Chronique de Jacques Mascaro, published from Lo Libra de Memorias of Beziars in the Bulletin de la société archéologique de Beziars, I. Beziars, 1836.

Chronique de Jean le Bel, 1272-1361, ed. J.Viard and E.Déprez. 2 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1904 & 1905.

Chronique de Richard Lescot, religieux de Saint-Denis (1328-1344). suivie de la continuation de cette chronique (1344-1364), ed. J.Lemoine. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1896.

Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393), ed. S.Luce. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1892.

Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V, ed. R.Delachenal. 4 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1910-1920.

Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel (1343-1468), ed. S.Luce. 2 vols. Société des anciens textes français. Paris, 1879 & 1883.

Chronique et annales de Gilles le Muisit, abbé de Saint-Martin de Tournai (1272-1352), ed. H.Lemaître. Paris, 1906.
See Chronica Aegidii li Muisis.

Chronique Françoise (1341-1450), ed. P.H.Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I (Paris, 1742), 155-157.

Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368, ed. H.Géraud. 2 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1843.

Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle, ed. A. and É. Molinier. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1882.

Chronique romane: Le petit Thalamus de Montpellier, published in the Bulletin de la société archéologique de Montpellier, I. Montpellier, 1836-1840.

Chroniques de J. Froissart, ed. S.Luce, G.Raynaud and L. and A. Mirot. 13 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1869-1957. See Oeuvres de Froissart.

Chronographia regum Francorum, ed. H.Moranvillé. 3 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1891-1897.

Corpus chronicorum Flandriae, ed. J.J. de Smet. 4 vols. Recueil des chroniques de Flandre publié sous la direction de la commission royale d'histoire. Brussels, 1837-1865 (Collection de chroniques belges inédites).

Cronicques de Normendie (1223-1453), Les, ed. A.Hellot Rouen, 1881.

Fragments d'une chronique inédite relatifs aux événements militaires arrivés en Basse-Normandie de 1353 à 1389, ed. L.Delisle. Saint-Lô, 1895 (extract from the Annuaire de la Manche).

Fragments inédits de la chronique de Jean de Noyal, ed. A.Molinier, Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France, XX (Paris, 1883), 246-75.

Fragments inédits d'une chronique de Maillezais, ed. P.Marchegay, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, II (1840-1841), 148-68.

Grandes chroniques de France, Les, ed. J.Viard. 9 vols. Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1920-1937.

Oeuvres de Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove. 25 vols. in 26. Brussels, 1867-1877. See Chroniques de J. Froissart.

Petite chronique de Guyenne, jusqu'à l'an 1442, ed. G.Lefevre-Pontalis, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XLVII (1886), 53-79.

3. Other Foreign Authors

Crónica del rey Don Alfonso XI, ed. Francisco Cerdá y Rico. Biblioteca de autores espanoles, LXVI. Madrid, 1875.

Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, ed. B.C.Aribau. 3 vols. Biblioteca de autores espanoles, LXVI, LXVIII, LXX. Madrid, 1875-1878.

Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive chronicon Henrici de Hervodia, ed. A.Potthast. Göttingen, 1895.

López de Ayala, Pero. Crónica del rey D. Pedro, ed. E. Llaguno y Amirola. Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, I. Madrid, 1779.

Poema del rey D. Alfonso XI, ed. F.Janer. Biblioteca de autores espanoles, LVII. Madrid, 1864.

Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo XV, ed. B.C.Aribau. Biblioteca de autores espanoles, LVII. Madrid, 1864.

Villani, Giovanni. Cronica, ed. F.G.Dragomanni. 4 vols. Florence, 1844-1845.

Historie fiorentine, in L.A.Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, XIII-XIV. Milan, 1728-1729.

Villani, Matteo. Istorie (which continues the work of Giovanni for the years 1348-1364), in L.A.Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, XIV (Milan, 1729), cols. 9-770.

4. Other English Authors

Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines. The unpublished devotional treatise of Henry of Lancaster, ed. E.J.Arnould. Anglo-Norman Texts, II. Oxford, 1940.

The Babees Book, ed. F.J.Furnivall. Early English Text Society. London, 1868.

The Boke of Noblesse. Roxburgh Club, 1860.

The complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. W.W.Skeat. 7 vols. Oxford, 1897.

The voiage and travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt., which treateth of the way to Hierusalem and of Marvayles of Inde. London, 1727. Also Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Everyman's Library, 812. London, 1928.

D. MODERN WORKS

- Alis, R.L. Histoire de la ville d'Aiguillon et de ses environs. Agen and Sainte-Radegonde, 1895.
- Andrzejewski, S. Military organisation and society. London, 1954.
- Armitage-Smith, S. John of Gaunt. London, 1904.
- Arnould, E.J.F. Étude sur le livre des Saintes Médecines du duc Henri de Lancastre. Paris, 1948.
'Henry of Lancaster and his "Livre des Seintes Medicines"', Bulletin of John Rylands Library, XXI (1937), 352-86.
- Artonne, A. Le mouvement de 1314 et les chartes provinciales de 1315. Université de Paris. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres, XXIX. Paris, 1912.
- Atkyns, R. The ancient and present state of Glosteshire. London, 1712.
- Baines, E. History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster. 4 vols. London, 1836.
- Baldwin, J.F.B. The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages. Oxford, 1913.
- Balfour-Melville, E.W.M. Edward III and David II. The Historical Association, General Series, G 27. London, 1954.
'Papers relating to the captivity and release of David II', Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, third series, IX (1958), 3-56.
- Barnes, J. The history of that most victorious monarch Edward III. Cambridge, 1688.
- Bémont, C. La Guienne pendant la domination anglaise, 1152-1453. Esquisse d'une bibliographie méthodique. Helps for students of History, no.27. London, 1920.
- Bertrand, M. Étude sur les chroniques de Froissart: Guerre de Guienne. Bordeaux, 1870.
- Blok, P.J. Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche volk. Leiden, 1912. English translation by O.A.Bierstadt and R.Putnam, History of the people of the Netherlands. vols. New York and London,

- Blomefield, F., and Parkin, C. An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk. 5 vols. Fersfield, Norwich and Lynn, 1739-1775.
- Bock, F. 'Some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War (1353-1356)', Bulletin of John Rylands Library, XV (1931), 60-99.
- Boutruche, R. 'Anglais et Gascons en Aquitaine du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Problèmes d'histoire sociale', Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), 55-60.
- La crise d'une société; seigneurs et paysans du Bordelais pendant la guerre de cent ans. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, fasc. 110. Paris, 1947.
- La dévastation des campagnes pendant la guerre de cent ans et la reconstruction agricole de la France', Mélanges 1945, III, Études historiques. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, fasc. 106 (Paris, 1947), 127-63.
- Breuils, A. 'Jean I^{er}, comte d'Armagnac, et le mouvement national dans le Midi au temps du Prince Noir', Revue des questions historiques, LIX (1896), 44-102.
- Bridbury, A.R. England and the salt trade in the Later Middle Ages. Oxford, 1955.
- Bridges, J. The history and antiquities of Northamptonshire. 2 vols. Oxford, 1791.
- Broome, D.M. 'The ransom of John II, King of France, 1360-1370', Camden Miscellany, XIV. Camden Third Series, XXXVII. London, 1926.
- Brunel, C. 'A propos de l'édition de nos textes français du Moyen Age', Bulletin de la société d'histoire de France (1941), 67-74.
- Burne, A.H. The Crecy War. London, 1955.
- Capra, P.J. 'Au sujet des famines en Aquitaine au XIV^e siècle', Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde, IV (1955), 1-32.

Cazelles, R. Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg, roi de Bohême. Bourges, 1947.

La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois. Paris, 1958.

Chaplais, P. 'Documents concernant l'Angleterre et l'Écosse anciennement conservés à la chambre des comptes de Lille (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)', Revue du Nord, XXXVIII (1956), 185-210.

'English arguments concerning the feudal status of Aquitaine in the fourteenth century', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXI (1948), 203-13.

Gascon Appeals to England, 1259-1453. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis presented in the University of London, 1950.

'Le duché-pairie de Guyenne', Annales du Midi, LXIX (1957), 5-38.

'Le sceau de la cour de Gascogne ou sceau de l'office de sénéchal de Guyenne', Annales du Midi, LXVII (1955), 19-29.

'Règlement des conflits internationaux franco-anglais au XIV^e siècle (1293-1377)', Le Moyen Age (1951), 269-94.

'Un message de Jean de Fiennes à Édouard II et le projet de démembrement du royaume de France (janvier 1317)', Revue du Nord, XLIII (1961), 145-8.

'The chancery of Guyenne, 1289-1453', Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, ed. J. Conway Davies (Oxford, 1957), 61-96.

'The making of the treaty of Paris and the royal style', English Historical Review, LXVII (1952), 235-53.

Chrimes, S.B., and Brown, A.L. Select documents of English constitutional history, 1307-1485. London, 1961.

Clemesha, H.W. A history of Preston in Amounderness. Manchester, 1912.

Cokayne, G.E. The complete peerage. 13 vols. in 14. London, 1910-1959.

Communay, A. Essai généalogique sur les Montferrand de Guyenne. Bordeaux, 1889.

- Cosneau, E. Les grands traités de la guerre de cent ans. Paris, 1889.
- Coville, A. Les États de Normandie; leur origines et leur développement. Paris, 1894.
 'Les États Généraux de 1332 et 1357', Le Moyen Age, VI (1893), 57-63.
Les premiers Valois. La guerre de cent ans (1328-1422), in E.Lavisse, Histoire de France, IV, i, Paris, 1902.
L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380, in G.Glotz, Histoire générale. Histoire du Moyen Age, VI, ii (1328-1380). Paris, 1941.
- Cuttino, G.P. English diplomatic administration, 1259-1339. Oxford, 1940.
 'Historical revision: the causes of the Hundred Years War', Speculum, XXXI (1956), 463-77.
 'The Process of Agen', Speculum, XIX (1944), 161-78.
- Daumet, G. Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, fasc. 118. Paris, 1898.
- Delachenal, R. Histoire de Charles V. 5 vols. Paris, 1909-1931.
 'Journal des États Généraux réunis à Paris au mois d'Octobre 1356', Nouvelle revue historique de droit française et étranger, XXIV (1900), 415-65.
 'Premières negociations de Charles le Mauvais avec les Anglais (1354-1355)', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXI (1900), 253-82.
- Delisle, L. Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. Valognes, 1867.
- Denifle, H. La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans. 2 vols. Paris, 1897-1899.

Déprez, E. Études de diplomatique anglaise, 1272-1485.
Paris,

'La conférence d'Avignon (1344). L'arbitrage pontifical entre la France et l'Angleterre', Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A.G.Little and F.M.Powicke (Manchester, 1925), 301-20.

'La double trahison de Godefroi de Harcourt (1346-1347)', Revue historique, XCIX (1908), 32-4.

'La guerre de cent ans à la mort de Benoît XII; l'intervention des cardinaux avant le conclave et du Pape Clément VI avant son couronnement (25 avril - 19 mai 1342)', Revue historique, LXXXIII (1903), 58-76.

'La mort de Robert d'Artois', Revue historique, XCIV (1907), 63-66.

'La "Querelle de Bretagne", de la captivité de Charles de Blois à la majorité de Jean IV de Montfort (1347-1362), I: Pendant la captivité de Charles de Blois (1347-1356)', Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne, VII (Rennes, 1926), 25-60.

Les préliminaires de la guerre de cent ans. La papauté, la France et l'Angleterre (1328-1342). Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. LXXXVI. Paris, 1902.

'Une conférence anglo-navarraise en 1358', Revue historique, XCIX (1908), 34-39.

Devic, C., and Vaissete, J. Histoire générale de Languedoc. 16 vols. Toulouse, 1872-1904.

Dickinson, J.G. The congress of Arras, 1435. A study in medieval diplomacy. Oxford, 1955.

Dictionary of National Biography. London, 1885 ff. and 1908 ff.

Douch, R. The career, lands and family of William Montague Earl of Salisbury, 1310-1344 (unpublished M.A. thesis presented in the University of London, 1950).

Douët d'Arcq, L. 'Acte d'accusation contre Robert le Coq, évêque de Laon', Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, II (1840-1841), 350-387.

- Doyle, J.E. The official baronage of England. 3 vols. London, 1886.
- Drouyn, L. La Guienne militaire (histoire et description des villes fortifiées, forteresses et châteaux construits dans le pays qui constitue actuellement le département de la Gironde) pendant la domination anglaise. 3 vols. Bordeaux and Paris, 1865.
- Dugdale, W. The baronage of England. 2 vols. London, 1675.
Monasticon Anglicanum; or the history of the ancient abbeys and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales. 3 vols. in 1. London, 1693.
- Dunham, W.H. Lord Hastings' indentured retainers, 1461-1483: the lawfulness of livery and retaining under the Yorkists and Tudors. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXXIX. New Haven, 1955.
- Dupont-Ferrier, G. Études sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du moyen âge. 3 vols. Paris, 1930-1933.
Gallia regia, ou état des officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées de 1328 à 1515. 4 vols. Paris, 1942-1954.
'Ignorance et distraction administratives en France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles', Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, C (1939), 145-56.
Le rôle des commissaires royaux dans le gouvernement de la France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles', Mélanges Paul Fournier (Paris, 1929), 171-84.
Les officiers royaux des bailliages et sénéchaussées et les institutions monarchiques locales en France à la fin du moyen âge. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 145. Paris, 1902.
Nouvelles études sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du moyen âge. Les origines et le premier siècle de la Chambre ou Cour des Aides de Paris. Paris, 1933. Les origines et le premier siècle de la Cour du Trésor. Paris, 1936. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 266.

- Durtelle de Saint-Sauveur, E. Histoire de Bretagne: de l'origine à nos jours. Paris, 1946.
- Elton, J. 'The chapel of Saint Mary del Key, Liverpool', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, LIV, new series XVIII (1904),
- Eubel, C. Hierarchia catholica medii aevi. Munich, 1898-1900.
- Fawtier, R. Histoire des institutions francaises. See Lot, F., and Fawtier, R.
L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380, in G.Glotz, Histoire générale. Histoire du Moyen Age, VI, i (1270-1328). Paris, 1940.
Les Capétiens et la France. Paris, 1942.
 'Parlement d'Angleterre et états généraux de France', Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, (1953), 275.
- Flammermont, J. 'La Jacquerie en Beauvaisis', Revue historique, IX (1879), 123-43.
- Fournier, P. Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138-1378). Paris, 1891.
- Fox, L. Leicester Abbey. Leicester, 1949.
Leicester Castle. Leicester, 1944.
The administration of the Honor of Leicester in the Fourteenth Century. Leicester, 1940.
- Fox, L., and Russell, P. Leicester Forest. Leicester, 1948.
- Fryde, E.B. Edward III's war finance, 1337-1341: transactions in wool and credit operations. Thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. in the University of Oxford, 1947.
 'Edward III's wool monopoly of 1337', History, new series, XXXVII (1952), 8-24.
 'Loans to the English Crown, 1328-31', English Historical Review, LXX (1955), 198-211.
 'Materials for the study of Edward III's credit operations, 1327-48', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXII (1949), 105-38; XXIII (1950), 1-30.
 'The English Farmers of the Customs, 1343-1351', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series., IX (1958),

Funck-Brentano, F. 'Le caractère religieux de la diplomatie du moyen âge', Revue d'histoire diplomatique, I (1887),

Les origines de la guerre de cent ans. Philippe le Bel et Flandre. Paris, 1897.

Funk, A.L. 'Robert le Coq and Etienne Marcel', Speculum, XIX (1944), 470-87.

Galbraith, V.H. 'Extracts from the Historia aurea and a French 'Brut' (1314-47)', English Historical Review, XLIII (1928), 203-17.

'The battle of Poitiers', English Historical Review, LIV (1939), 473-75.

'The chronicle of Henry Knighton', Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948. A volume of memorial essays, ed. D.J.Gordon.(London, 1957), 136-48.

Gallard, A. Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire de Navarre et de Flandre. Paris, 1648.

Galway, M. 'Froissart in England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, VII, i (1959), 18-35.

Garnier, E. 'Notice sur Robert de Fiennes, connétable de France (1320-1384)', Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, XIII (1852), 23-52.

Gavrilovitch, M. Étude sur le Traité de Paris de 1259 entre Louis IX, roi de France, et Henri III, roi d'Angleterre. Paris, 1899.

George, H.B. Battles of English History. London, 1895.

Glenison, J. 'Quelques lettres de défi du XIVE siècle', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, CVII (1948-9),

Grosjean, G. Le sentiment national dans la guerre de cent ans. Paris, 1927.

Gruber, J. 'The peace negotiations of the Avignon Popes', Catholic Historical Review, XIX (1933-1934),

Guesnon, A. 'Documents inédits sur l'invasion anglaise et les États au temps de Philippe VI et Jean le Bon', Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Bulletin historique et philologique (1897), 208-59.

- Guigue, G. Récits de la guerre de cent ans. Les tard-venus en Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais, 1356-1369. Lyon, 1886.
- Guinodie, R. Histoire de Libourne et des autres villes et bourgs de son arrondissement. 3 vols. Libourne, 1876.
- Hall, A.T. The employment of naval forces during the reign of Edward III. Thesis presented for the degree of M.A. in the Department of History of the University of Leeds, 1957.
- Harvey, J.H. English medieval architects. London, 1954.
- Hay, D. 'The division of the spoils of war in fourteenth-century England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth series, IV (1954), 91-109.
- Hewitt, H.J. The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357. Manchester, 1958.
- Hewitt, J. Ancient armour and weapons in Europe. 3 vols. Oxford, 1855-1860.
- Holmes, G.A. The English nobility in the reign of Edward III. Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Cambridge, 1953.
- The Estates of the higher nobility in Fourteenth-Century England. Cambridge, 1957
- 'The rebellion of the earl of Lancaster, 1328-9', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXVIII (1955), 84-9.
- Honoré-Duverger, S. 'Des partisans de Charles le Mauvais, les Picquigny', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, CVII (1947), 82-92.
- 'L'origine du surnom de Charles le Mauvais', Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), 345-50.
- Hossart, Abbé. Histoire ecclésiastique et profane du Hainaut. 2 vols. Mons, 1792.
- Hubert, J. Le siège de Reims par les Anglais en 1359. Sedan, Suhaux, 1846.

- James, M.K. 'Les activités commerciales des négociants en vins gascons en Angleterre durant la fin du moyen âge', Annales du Midi, LXV (1953), 35-48.
- 'The fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon wine trade during the fourteenth century', Economic History Review, second series, IV, no.2 (1951), 170-196.
- Jenkins, H. Papal efforts for peace under Benedict XII, 1334-1342. London and Philadelphia, 1933.
- Jeulin, P. 'L'hommage de la Bretagne en droit et dans les faits', Annales de Bretagne, XLI (1934), 380-473.
- 'Un grand "Honneur" anglais. Aperçus sur le "comté" de Richmond en Angleterre, possession des ducs de Bretagne (1069/71-1398)', Annales de Bretagne, XLII (1935), 265-302.
- Jusselin, M. 'Comment la France se préparait à la guerre de cent ans', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXIII (1912), 209-36.
- Köhler, G. Die Entwicklung des Kriegwesens und der Kriegführung in der Ritterzeit von der Mitte des Xten Jahrhunderts bis zu den Hussitenkriegen. 3 vols. Breslau, 1886-1889.
- La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de, Histoire de Bretagne. 6 vols. 1896-1914.
- Lacabane, J. 'De la poudre à canon et de son introduction en France', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, VI (1844), 28-57.
- Lapsley, G.T. The County Palatine of Durham; a constitutional history. Harvard Historical Studies, vol.8. New York, 1900.
- La Roncière, C. de. Histoire de la marine française. 6 vols. Paris, 1899-1934.
- La Roque, G.A. de. Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Harcourt. 4 vols. Paris, 1662.
- Laurent, H. 'Les conventions de Saint-Quentin (juin 1347). Contribution à l'histoire de la première phase de la guerre de cent ans dans les Pays-Bas', Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire, XCI (1927), 89-180.

- Lauzun, P. 'Le château de Duras', Revue de l'Agenais XLVIII (Agen, 1921), 1-9 & 89-98.
- Lemoine, J. 'Du Guesclin, armé chevalier', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LVI (1895), 84-89.
- Le Patourel, J. 'Edouard III, "roi de France et duc de Normandie", 1356-1360', Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4^e série, XXXI (1953), 317-18.
 'Edward III and the kingdom of France', History, XLIII (1958), 173-89.
 'L'Administration ducal dans la Bretagne montfortiste, 1345-1362', Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4^e série, XXXII (1954), 144-7.
 'L'occupation anglaise de Calais au XIV^e siècle', Revue du Nord, XXXIII (1951), 228-41.
 'The treaty of Brétigny, 1360', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, X (1960), 19-39.
- Levett, A.E. 'Baronial councils and their relation to manorial courts', Studies in Manorial History, ed. H.M.Cam, M.Coate and L.S.Sutherland (Oxford, 1938),
- Lewis, N.B. 'The organisation of indentured retinues in fourteenth century England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, XXVII (1945), 29-39.
- Lodge, E.C. Gascony under English rule. London, 1926.
 'The constables of Bordeaux in the reign of Edward III', English Historical Review, L (1935), 225-41.
 'The relations between England and Gascony, 1154-1453', History (1934),
- Longman, W.A. History of the life and times of Edward III. London, 1869.
- Lot, F., and Fawtier, R. ed. Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge, I: Institutions seigneuriales (Paris, 1957); II: Institutions royales (Paris, 1958).
- Lowe, W.I. 'The considerations which induced Edward III to assume the title King of France', American Historical Association, Annual Report, I (1900), 535-83.

- Lubimenko, I.I. Jean de Bretagne, comte de Richmond. Sa vie et son activité en Angleterre, en Ecosse et en France (1226-1334). Lille, 1908.
- Lucas, H.S. The Low Countries and the Hundred Years War, 1326-1347. University of Michigan Publications; History and Political Science, 8. Ann Arbor, 1929.
- Luce, S. 'Du Guesclin au siège de Rennes', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LII (1891), 615-8.
Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque. La jeunesse de Bertrand (1320-1364). Paris, 1876.
 'Négociations des anglais avec le roi de Navarre pendant la révolution parisienne de 1358', Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France, I (1875), 113-31.
- Lyon, B.D. From fief to indenture.
 'The money fief under the English kings, 1066-1485', English Historical Review, LXVI (1951), 161-93.
- Mackinnon, J. The history of Edward the Third (1327-1377). London, 1900.
- Marboutin, J.R. 'Le château de Castelnoubel (commune de Bon Encontre)' Revue de l'Agenais (Bulletin de la société d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Agen), XXXVIII (Agen, 1911), 285-303, 398-408 & 477-493; XXXIX (Agen, 1912), 35-55, 141-163 & 197-226.
- Marlot, D. Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims. Reims, 1846.
- Masters, R. A history of Corpus College, with a continuation by J.Lamb. Cambridge, 1831.
- Ménard, V. Histoire religieuse, civile et militaire de Saint-James de Beuvron. Avranches, 1897.
- Mendl, B., and Quicke, F. 'Les relations politiques entre l'empereur et le roi de France de 1355 à 1356', Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, VIII, i (1929), 469-512.
- Meyer, P. 'Instructions pour la publication des anciens textes français', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXI (1910), 224-33.

- Mirot, L. 'Dom Bévy et les comptes des trésoriers des guerres. Essai de restitution d'un fonds disparu de la chambre des comptes', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXXVI (1925), 245-379.
- Mirot, L., and Déprez, E. 'Les ambassades anglaises pendant la guerre de cent ans. Catalogue chronologique (1327-1450)', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LIX (1898), 550-77; LX (1899), 177-214.
- Molinier, A. Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie. 6 vols. in 2. Paris, 1901-1906.
- Molinier, É. 'Étude sur la vie d'Arnoul d'Audrehem, maréchal de France, 130.-1370', Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, deuxième série, Antiquités de la France, VI, première partie (Paris, 1883), 1-359.
- Mollat, G. 'Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix entre la France et l'Angleterre (1353-1355)', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, X (1909), 729-43.
- 'La diplomatie pontificale au XIV^e siècle', Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), 507-12.
- Les papes d'Avignon (1305-1378). 3rd. edition. Paris, 1920.
- Monier, R. Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre de la fin du IX^e siècle à 1384. Paris, 1943.
- Moranvillé, H. 'Charles d'Artois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXVIII (1907), 433-80.
- 'Guillaume de Breuil et Robert d'Artois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XLVIII (1887), 641-50.
- 'Le siège de Reims, 1359-1360', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LVI (1895), 90-98.
- 'Philippe VI à la bataille de Crécy', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, L (1889), 295-96.

- Morgan, M. The English lands of the abbey of Bec. Oxford, 1946.
- Morice, P.H. Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne. 2 vols. Paris, 1750-1756.
- Morris, J.E. The Welsh wars of Edward I. A contribution to mediaeval military history based on original documents. Oxford, 1901.
- Nabonne, B. Gaston Phébus, seigneur du Béarn, 1331-1391. Paris, 1936.
- Newhall, R.A. Muster and review: a problem of English military administration, 1420-1440. Harvard Historical Monographs, XIII. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940.
- The English conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424: a study of fifteenth century warfare. Newhaven, Connecticut, 1924.
- Nichols, J. The history and antiquities of Leicester. 4 vols. in 8. 1795-1815.
- Nicolas, N.H. A history of the Royal Navy from the earliest times to the wars of the French Revolution. 2 vols. London, 1847.
- 'Observations on the institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, illustrated by the accounts of the Great Wardrobe of King Edward the Third, from the 29th of September 1344 to the 1st of August 1345; and again from the 21st of December 1345 to the 31st of January 1349', Archaeologia, XXXI (London, 1846), 1-163.
- Nys, E. Les origines du droit international. Paris, 1894.
- Offler, H.S. 'England and Germany at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War', English Historical Review, LIV (1939), 608-31.
- Oman, C. History of the art of war in the Middle Ages. 2nd edition, 2 vols. London, 1924.
- Owst, G.R. Literature and the pulpit in medieval England. Cambridge, 1933.
- Page, F.M. The estates of Crowland abbey. A study in manorial organisation. Cambridge, 1934.
- Pantin, W.A. The English church in the fourteenth century. Cambridge, 1955.

- Perroy, É. 'A l'origine d'une économie contractée: les crises du XIV^e siècle', Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations, IV (1949), 167-82.
- 'Charles V et le traité de Brétigny', Le Moyen Age, XXXVIII (1928), 255-81.
- 'Feudalism or principalities in fifteenth-century France', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XX (1947), 181-5.
- 'France, England, and Navarre from 1359 to 1364', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XIII (1935-1936), 151-54.
- 'Franco-English relations, 1350-1400', History, XXI (1936-1937), 148-54.
- 'L'affaire du comte de Denia', Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), 573-80.
- La guerre de cent ans. Paris, 1945. English translation by W.B.Wells, The Hundred Years War. London, 1951.
- 'Quatre lettres du cardinal Guy de Boulogne (1352-1354)', Revue du Nord, XXXVI (1954), 159-64.
- Petit, E. Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne. 9 vols. Dijon, 1885-1905.
- 'Séjours de Jean II (1350-1356)', Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Bulletin historique et philologique (1896), 587-612.
- Petit-Dutaillis, C., and Collier, P. 'La diplomatie française et le traité de Brétigny', Le Moyen Age, X (1897), 1-35.
- Pieri, P. Il Rinascimento e la crisi militare italiana. Bibliotheca di cultura storica, 45. Turin, 1952.
- Pirenne, H. Histoire de Belgique. 7 vols. Brussels, 1900-1932.
- 'La première tentative pour reconnaître Edouard III d'Angleterre comme roi de France', Annuaire de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand (Gand, 1902),

- Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.-A. Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne. Essai sur les rapports du Saint-Siège avec un état. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 133. 2 vols. Paris, 1928.
- Potter, J.M. 'The development and significance of the Salic Law of the French', English Historical Review, LII (1937), 235-53.
- Prince, A.E. 'The army and the navy', The English Government at Work, 1327-36, ed. J.F. Willard and W.A. Morris, I (1940), 332-93.
- 'The importance of the campaign of 1327', English Historical Review, L (1935),
- 'The indenture system under Edward III', Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith, and E.F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), 283-97.
- 'The payment of army wages in Edward III's reign', Speculum, XIX (1944), 137-60.
- 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III', English Historical Review, XLVI (1931), 353-71.
- Quicke, F. Les Pays-Bas à la veille de la période bourguignonne, 1356-1384. Contribution à l'histoire et diplomatique de l'Europe occidentale dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle. Brussels, 1947.
- Raines, F.R. 'A history of the chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster', Chetham Society, LIX & LX (1862 and 1863).
- Ramsay, J.H. The Genesis of Lancaster, 1307-99. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913.
- 'The strength of English armies in the Middle Ages', English Historical Review, XXIX (1914), 221-27.
- Raynaldus, O. Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit cardinalis Baronius.... 15 vols. Lucca, 1747-1756. These comprise vols. XX-XXXIV of the whole work begun by Baronius. Ed. with notes by J.D. Mansi and pub. in 38 vols. (1738-1759).

- Renouard, Y. 'L'ordre de la Jarretière et l'ordre de l'Etoile. Étude sur la genèse des ordres laïcs de chevalerie et sur le développement progressif de leur caractère national', Le Moyen Age, LV (1949), 281-300.
- Ribadieu, H. Les campagnes du comte de Derby en Guyenne, Saintonge et Poitou. Paris, 1865.
- Roques, M. 'Règles pratiques pour l'édition des anciens textes français et provençaux', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXXVII (1926), 453-9.
- Ross, C. 'The estates and finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, XII (Oxford, 1956), 3-22.
- Rowe, B.J.H. 'Discipline in the Norman garrisons under Bedford, 1422-35', English Historical Review, XLVI (1931), 194-208.
- 'John Duke of Bedford and the Norman Brigands', English Historical Review, XLVII (1932), 583-600.
- 'The estates of Normandy under the duke of Bedford, 1422-1435', English Historical Review, XLVI (1931), 551-78.
- Russell, P.E. The English intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II. Oxford, 1955.
- Salzman, L.F. Building in England down to 1540; a documentary history. Oxford, 1952.
- Sandeman, G.A.C. Calais under English rule. Oxford, 1908.
- Sanders, I.G. 'The texts of the treaty of Paris', English Historical Review, LXVI (1951), 81-97.
- Secousse, D.F. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II de Navarre. 2 vols. Paris, 1758.
- Somerville, R. History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I: 1265-1603. London, 1953.
- 'The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, XXIII (1941), 159-77.
- Soulé, Général. Le duché de Fronsac des premiers vicomtes aux ducs de Richelieu. Bordeaux, 1941.

- Stein, H. 'Les conséquences de la bataille de Cassel pour la ville de Bruges, et la mort de Guillaume de Deken, son ancien bourgmestre', Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire, LXIX (1899), 647-64.
- Stow, J. The annales, or generall chronicle of England, begun ... by maister J.S. and ... continued by E.Howes. London, 1615.
- Stubbs, W. The constitutional history of England, 5th ed. 3 vols. Oxford, 1896.
- Sturler, J. de. Les relations politiques et les échanges commerciaux entre le duché de Brabant et l'Angleterre au moyen âge. Paris, 1936.
- Tauzin, C. 'Les débuts de la guerre de cent ans en Gascogne (1327-1340)', Revue de Gascogne (1905), 385-406, 490-502 and 529-537.
- Taylor, J. 'The development of the Polychronicon Continuation', English Historical Review, LXXVI (1961), 20-36.
- Temple-Leader, J., and Marcotti, G. Giovani Acuto. Storia d'un condottiere. Florence, 1889. English translation by Leader Scott, Sir John Hawkwood (L'Acuto). Story of a condottiere. London, 1889.
- Templeman, G. 'Edward III and the beginnings of the Hundred Years War', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, II (1952), 69-88.
- Thompson, A.H. 'Notes on the colleges of secular canons in England', Archaeological Journal, LXXIV (19),
The abbey of Saint Mary of the Meadows Leicester. Published for the Leicestershire Archaeological Society. Leicester, 1949.
The history of the hospital and new college of the annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester. Leicester Archaeological Society. Leicester, 1937.
 'The registers of John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, for the years 1347-50', Archaeological Journal, LXVIII (1911),

Tourneur-Aumont, J. 'Conclusion de l'histoire militaire de la bataille de Poitiers (17, 18, 19 septembre 1356)', Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3^e série, XI (1936-1938), 433-64.

La bataille de Poitiers et la construction de la France. Publications de l'Université de Poitiers. Paris, 1940.

Tout, T.F. Chapters in the administrative history of medieval England. 6 vols. Manchester, 1920-1933.

'Medieval and modern warfare', Bulletin of John Rylands Library, V (1919),

'Some neglected fights between Crécy and Poitiers', English Historical Review, XX (1905), 726-30.

The history of England from the accession of Henry III to the death of Edward III (1216-1377). The political history of England, ed. W.Hunt and R.L.Poole, vol.III. London, 1905.

Trabut-Cussac, J.P. 'Bastides ou forteresses? Les bastides de l'Aquitaine anglaise et les intentions de leurs fondateurs', Le Moyen Age, LX (1954), 81-135.

Ullman, W. 'The development of the medieval idea of sovereignty', English Historical Review, LXIV (1949), 1-33.

Unwin, G. Finance and trade under Edward III. Manchester, 1918.

Valois, N. Étude historique sur le conseil du roi. Introduction to vol. 1 of his Inventaire des arrêts du conseil d'état. (Paris, 1886), v-clii.

Le conseil du roi aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Nouvelles recherches suivies d'arrêts et de procès-verbaux du conseil. Paris, 1888.

'Le gouvernement représentatif en France au XIV^e siècle. Étude sur la conseil du roi pendant la captivité de Jean le Bon', Revue des questions historiques, XXXVII (1885), 63-115.

'Notes sur la révolution parisienne de 1356-58; la revanche des frères Braque', Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris, X (1883), 100-126.

- Viard, J. 'Diplômes et lettres solennelles de Philippe VI de Valois', Le Moyen Age, XXI (1911), 225-35.
- 'Gages des officiers royaux vers 1329', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LI (1890), 238-67.
- 'Itinéraire de Philippe VI de Valois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXIV (1913), 74-128 & 525-619.
- 'Itinéraire de Philippe VI de Valois. Additions et rectifications', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXXIV (1923), 166-70.
- 'La campagne de juillet-août 1346 et la bataille de Crécy', Le Moyen Age, XXXVI (1926), 1-84.
- 'La chambre des comptes de Philippe VI', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XLII (1932), 331-59.
- 'La cour au commencement du XIV^e siècle', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXVII (1916), 74-87.
- 'La cour et ses "parlements" au XIV^e siècle', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXIX (1918), 60-67.
- 'La France sous Philippe VI de Valois. État géographique et militaire', Revue des questions historiques, LIX (1896), 337-402.
- 'La guerre de Flandre (1328)', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXXIII (1922), 362-82.
- 'La messe pour la peste', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXI (1900), 334-38.
- 'Le siège de Calais, 4 septembre 1346 - 4 août 1347', Le Moyen Age, XXXIX (1929), 129-89.
- 'Les projets de croisade de Philippe VI de Valois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XCVII (1936), 305-16.
- 'L'hotel de Philippe VI de Valois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LV (1894), 465-87 and 598-626.
- 'L'Ostrevant. Enquêtes au sujet de la frontière française sous Philippe VI de Valois', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXXII (1921), 316-29.

'Philippe de Valois avant l'avènement', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XCI (1930), 307-25.

'Philippe VI de Valois: la succession au trône', Le Moyen Age, XXXII (1921), 218-22.

'Philippe VI de Valois: le début du règne (février-juillet 1328)', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, XCV (1934), 259-83.

'Un chapitre d'histoire administrative: les ressources extraordinaires de la royauté sous Philippe VI de Valois', Revue des questions historiques, XLIV (1888), 167-218.

'Un prétendu voyage de Philippe VI de Valois dans le midi en 1349', Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, LXXI (1910), 39-48.

Victoria history of the counties of England.

Viollet, P. 'Comment les femmes ont été exclues en France de la succession à la couronne', Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, XXXIV (1895), II, 125-78.

Histoire des Institutions politiques et administratives de la France. 3 vols. Paris, 1890-1903.

'Les États de Paris en février 1358', Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXIV (1895), ii, 261-92.

Wagner, A.R. Heralds and heraldry in the Middle ages. An enquiry into the growth of the armorial function of heralds. Oxford, 1939. 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1956.

A catalogue of English mediaeval rolls of arms. Oxford, 1950.

Walton, M. The position and powers of the king's lieutenants in France during the reign of Edward III. Unpublished thesis presented for the degree of M.A. in the Department of History of the University of Leeds, 1957.

- Westermann, E.J. 'Emperor Charles IV and Pope Innocent VI', University of Colorado Studies, I (1941), 301-6.
- Whitaker, T.D. An history of the original parish of Whalley and honor of Clitheroe to which is subjoined an account of the parish of Cartmel. 4th ed. revised and enlarged by J.G.Nichols and P.A.Lyons. 2 vols. London, 1872-1876.
- Wilkinson, B. 'A letter to Louis de Mâle, count of Flanders', Bulletin of John Rylands Library, IX (1925), 177-87.
- Willard, J.F., and Morris, W.A., ed. The English Government at Work, 1327-36. Publications of the Medieval Academy of America, nos. 37, 48 and 56. 3 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940-1950.
- Wolff, P. Commerces et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350 - vers 1450). Paris, 1954.
 'Un problème d'origines: la guerre de cent ans', Eventail de l'histoire vivante: hommage à Lucien Febvre, II (Paris, 1953), 141-8.
- Wood-Legh, K.L. 'Some aspects of the history of the chantries during the reign of Edward III', Cambridge Historical Journal, IV (1932), 26-50.
- Wrottesley, G. Grécy and Calais, from the original records in the Public Record Office. Reprinted from the William Salt Archaeological Society. London, 1898.
- Zeller, B. Philippe VI et Robert d'Artois. Les commencements de la guerre de cent ans (1328-1345). Paris, 1885.