Edward III's Household Knights in War and Peace, 1327-1377

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Abstract

Over the last thirty years, Edward III has claimed his rightful place amongst the most successful kings of medieval England. A significant aspect of Edward's reign that has as of yet been largely overlooked, however, is the place of the royal household knights within it. This is a significant omission for the household knights permeated many aspects of Edward's reign and were integral to the way in which he conducted his wars and governed his kingdom.

In order to provide a comprehensive investigation of Edward's household knights, this thesis consists of four principal sections. The first concerns the composition of the knightly household under Edward III. It considers, in turn, the mechanisms by which the household knights were bound to the king and his household, and who Edward III's household knights were and why they were retained. The second section focusses on the military duties of the household knights, examining their role in military organisation and financial administration, the conduct of foreign warfare, international diplomacy and defensive warfare. The third section investigates their place in national and local politics and government, and how this changed over Edward's reign. Finally, the fourth section addresses the rewards on offer to the household knights in return for time in service.

By providing a study of Edward's reign through the prism of this group of knights, this thesis allows for a number of important revisions to be offered concerning late-medieval kingship, politics and warfare.

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Abbreviations

Acta Bellicosa	*Acta Bellicosa,* in *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. and trans. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 1986).
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BL	British Library
CCharR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
The English Government at Work, 1327-1336	*The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ed. J.F. Willard, W.A. Morris, J.R. Strayer and W.H. Dunham (Cambridge, MS, 1940-50), 3 vols.
Foedera	*Foedera, conventiones, etc.*, ed. T.F. Rymer (London, 1704-35), 20 vols.
Foedera (Record Edition)	*Foedera, conventiones, etc.*, ed. T.F. Rymer (The Record Edition: London, 1816-69), 7 vols.
Froissart (*Luce*)	*Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. S. Luce, et al. (Société de l'histoire de France: Paris, 1869-1975), 15 vols.
Froissart (*Oeuvres*)	*Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867-77), 25 vols.
Geoffrey le Baker	G. Baker, *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebrooke*, trans. D. Preest and ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 2012).
Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*	C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986).

Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I'	R.L. Ingamells, 'The Household Knights of Edward I' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 1992), 2 vols.
Jean le Bel	J. le Bel, *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290–1360*, ed. and trans. N. Byrant (Woodbridge, 2011).
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
Knighton's Chronicle	H. Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. and trans. G. Martin (Oxford, 1995).
Ormrod, *Edward III*	W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven and London, 2013).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com.
P&P	*Past and Present*
PROME	*Parliament Rolls of Medieval England,* available at: http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home.html.
Rickard, *The Castle Community*	J. Rickard, *The Castle Community: English and Welsh Castle Personnel, 1272-1422* (Woodbridge, 2002).
RS	Rolls Series
Rot. Scot.	*Rotuli Scotiae* (London, 1814-19), 2 vols.
Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II'	A. Tebbit, 'The Household Knights of Edward II' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Bristol, 2006).
Tout, *Chapters*	T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Manchester, 1920-33), 6 vols.
TNA	The National Archives
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell	*The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. M. Lyon, B. Lyon and H. Lucas (Brussels, 1983).
Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*	G. Wrottesley, 'Crecy and Calais', in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire, Edited by the William Salt Archaeological Society*, 18 (London, 1897).

Introduction

There are few who would now deny Edward III a place amongst the ranks of medieval England's most successful kings. While inevitable blemishes remain on Edward's record, particularly in his earlier and later years, recent studies of his reign have remarked not only on his longevity but also the domestic peace and foreign success that characterised the central three decades of his reign.[1] Such praise has not always been so forthcoming. Though for five-hundred years after his death Edward was hailed as the ideal of medieval kingship, from the late nineteenth century the influential work of William Warburton, T.F. Tout and William Stubbs drastically diminished Edward's reputation.[2] These scholars were dismissive of Edward's statesmanship, finding him to be a stubborn monarch, dangerously preoccupied with war and driven by a desire for popularity to the point of disaster. This, they argued, led the king to neglect his domestic duties and sacrifice much of the crown's authority in return for the cooperation of the nobility, in particular the parliamentary Commons. Pioneering though these works were, their conclusions were inescapably characteristic of a 'Whig' approach, as modern historians have come to term it.[3] The traditional criticism levelled at this interpretation of the past is its inherent present-mindedness. Put another way, 'Whig' historians were prone to allowing their present-day values to shape their reading of history. For Edward III's reign, this meant that the interpretations offered at this time were

[1] See, for instance, Ormrod, *Edward III*; I. Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III, Father of the English Nation* (London, 2006).
[2] W. Warburton, *Edward III* (London, 1875); T.F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III* (London, 1905); W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (4th edn.: Oxford, 1906), 3 vols.
[3] For more see, Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 593-8; G. Dodd, 'Historians of the Late Medieval English Parliament', *History Compass*, 12 (2014), 474-5.

fundamentally tainted by late nineteenth and early twentieth century perceptions of strong national leadership and parliament's place within the political system. Accordingly, 'Whig' historians were quick to portray the fourteenth century as an ongoing struggle for supremacy between crown and parliament, a struggle in which Edward III surrendered too much.

It was not until the mid-twentieth century that efforts were made to discredit this interpretation. K.B. McFarlane was the first to defend Edward, arguing that his reign was not as detrimental to royal authority as Whig historians had suggested.[4] This radical change in judgment was facilitated by a fundamental shift in approach that took place within McFarlane's work. McFarlane sought to move away from the 'constitutional histories' so popular in the early twentieth century, preferring instead to focus on 'political history'. For McFarlane, it was not the institutions that mattered to our understanding of the past, but the people. As such, he no longer viewed the king and nobility as natural enemies, but instead proposed a model in which political dialogue and cooperation were fundamental to the success of each party. The result of this for Edward III was that he could now be presented as an extremely capable medieval monarch who was skilled at aligning the nobility's interests with his own, both at home and aboard, which allowed him to restore the reputation of the crown after the disastrous reign of Edward II.

With this new approach firmly entrenched in the minds of later medieval historians, Edward's reputation went from strength to strength in the 1950s and 1960s. May McKisack argued that the evidence of Edward's abilities lay in the thirty years of political harmony which spanned the middle years of his reign, an unparalleled feat amongst England's medieval kings.[5] Similar conclusions emerged in Gerald Harriss' study of parliament and royal finance in late-medieval England, published in 1975, which highlighted the sense of common purpose that Edward promoted between himself and the parliamentary Commons, rather than focussing on their areas

[4] K.B. McFarlane, 'Parliament and "Bastard Feudalism"', *TRHS*, 4th series, 26 (1944), 53-79, available in K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays*, ed. G.L. Harris (London, 1981), pp. 1-22; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973).
[5] M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959); M. McKisack, 'Edward III and the Historians', *History*, 45 (1960), 1-15.

of opposition.[6] After the feast of McKisack's and Harriss' work, however, nearly two decades of relative famine followed. While the biographical studies of Paul Johnson and Michael Packe began to add weight to McKisack's conclusions, these studies, aimed largely at a non-specialist audience, offered little new by way of evidence or approach.[7] Caution towards Edward's reign also persisted at this time, with praise often carefully metred, and some, such as Richard Kaeuper, still set on emphasising Edward's deficiencies.[8]

Since the 1990s, Edward's reputation has been on an unfailingly upward trajectory. In this, four crucial areas have come to broadly shape our understanding of this reign. The first is the style of 'consensus politics' that flourished under Edward. The concept of 'consensus politics' is not a new feature amongst scholarship of this reign, having formed part of the early criticisms levelled against Edward's style. What has changed, however, is our understanding of how this affected the strength of the monarchy in the fourteenth century. Building on the work of McFarlane, McKisack and Harriss, Mark Ormrod suggested that Edward's style of cooperative government was not a sign of weakness, but instead a sensitive response to the changing nature of medieval kingship. Indeed, Ormrod asserted that it was during the central years of this reign that the king finally came to terms with the monarchy's place within the political landscape of later medieval England and realised the advantages of a consensual relationship with his nobility. This allowed Edward to create an effective and broadly harmonious political system whilst maintaining the monarchy's place at its centre.[9] In other words, what 'Whig' historians saw as a detrimental degradation of royal rights is now seen as prudent delegation.

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[6] G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975). See also, G.L. Harriss, 'War and the Emergence of the English Parliament', *JMH*, 2 (1976), 35-56.
[7] P. Johnson, *The Life and Times of Edward III* (London, 1973); M. Packe, *King Edward III* (London, 1983).
[8] This was particularly true of, M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1980); R. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988).
[9] W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 110-14; W.M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 75-7; Ormrod, *Edward III*. See also G.L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *P&P*, 138 (1993), 28-57.

The second development lies with Edward's distribution of royal patronage. The work of James Bothwell, in particular, has demonstrated the sophistication with which Edward bestowed favour on his followers. Bothwell has shown that during the 1330s Edward was intelligent in his appointments to the peerage and the grants of land which accompanied these, which allowed him to create a loyal following at the core of the political system without alienating established members of the aristocracy.[10] Building on the work of Ormrod, meanwhile, Bothwell highlighted an important transformation which took place during Edward's reign regarding the nature of the patronage on offer. This transformation saw a move from the granting of 'patronage of land' to 'patronage of honour'.[11] In other words, there was a tangible shift from land-based grants during the early part of Edward's reign, to the granting of short-term feudal rights, such as wardships and marriage rights as well promotions to higher ranks within the nobility, after 1340. This allowed Edward to reward his loyal followers with no permanent diminution to the crown's resources, and kept those he rewarded focussed on service to the crown for future reward.

The third important area falls within the remit of military history – the so-called 'medieval military revolution'. It has been argued that battlefield tactics, and the conduct of warfare more broadly, underwent a significant change during the fourteenth century, particularly within the reign of Edward III. Championed by Clifford Rogers, Michael Prestwich, Kelly DeVries and Andrew Ayton, it is now broadly accepted that after the crushing defeat at Bannockburn in 1314 the days of the mounted cavalry charge on the battlefield faded in preference of a defensive system based on dismounted men-at-arms flanked by archers.[12] These new military tactics proved their worth

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[10] J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III, the English Peerage and the 1337 Earls: Estate Redistribution in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 36-42; J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth–Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1129-33; J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 15-27.

[11] W.M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority in England, 1340-60', *History*, 72 (1987), p. 6; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 28-45.

[12] C.J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War', *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241-78; C.J. Rogers, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy, 1327-1360', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 265-83; M. Prestwich, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, ed. C. Richmond and I. Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 19-38; K. DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1996); A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military*

during Edward's reign at the famous victories of Halidon Hill, Crécy and Poitiers. In addition to these tactical developments, the 'medieval military revolution' also witnessed a number of important administrative reforms in English royal warfare, as well as the increasing professionalization of soldiery. Indeed, the private military retinue, facilitated by the increasing use of indentures of retainer, became the central element in English armies during Edward's reign and allowed armies to mature from forces of conscripted men, required to serve on the basis of the feudal obligations that they owed the crown, into professional, paid armies, consisting of numerous private retinues, each of which was commanded by an individually contracted military captain.

Finally, and most recently, the biographies of Edward III by Ian Mortimer and Mark Ormrod have emphasised how Edward's conformity to contemporary notions of 'good kingship', and all that this entailed, were fundamental in securing domestic peace and bolstering his authority.[13] The fourteenth-century notion of 'good kingship' centred on the expectations which came with the tenure of the office. These included acting as a military champion, a cultural and chivalric patron, an arbitrator of disputes and maintaining political responsibility.[14] For Mortimer and Ormrod, Edward willingly endeavoured to, and largely succeeded in, meeting these expectations. This, they argue, was central in cultivating political support for Edward over such an extended period of time.[15]

Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 9-25; A. Ayton and J.L. Price, 'Introduction: The Military Revolution from a Medieval Perspective', in *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J.L. Price (London, 1998), pp. 1-22; A. Ayton, 'Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P.R. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 215-39. For arguments against a military revolution, see S. Morillo, J. Black and P. Lococo, *War in World History: Society, Technology, and War from Ancient Times to the Present* (Columbus, OH, 2008), i, p. 15. For recent work on the part of technology and the longbow in this process, see C.J. Rogers, 'The Development of the Longbow in Late Medieval England and "Technological Determinism"', *JMH*, 37 (2001), 321-41.

[13] Mortimer, *The Perfect King*; Ormrod, *Edward III*.

[14] Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, p. 395. For more on Edward as a chivalric monarch, see J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982); R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013); M. Keen, 'Chivalry and Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 250-66.

[15] Jonathan Sumption's recent biography of Edward has offered an impression of the king more in keeping with opinion of the late 1980s. Sumption argues that Edward was a 'heroic failure', stressing that while Edward benefitted from an ability to forgive political opponents and easily befriend influential members of his nobility, he lacked political foresight, had a poor grasp of the financial demands of his reign, and was ultimately too focussed on pursuing an unwinnable war at the expense of all else. Such a stance is perhaps unsurprising given that Sumption's impression of

From the earliest work of William Warburton to the most recent biography by Mark Ormrod, Edward III's reign has been subject to immense historical scrutiny. Despite this considerable attention, the place of the royal household knights has remained a peripheral, if not entirely absent, aspect of these studies. Such an oversight is significant for, throughout Edward's reign, the household knights occupied a central position in England's foreign wars and domestic politics. This group of knights, roughly thirty of whom were bound directly to the royal household each year through the giving of robes and fees in return for their loyalty and service, acted as trusted military leaders, prominent courtiers, and key government administrators both nationally and locally. If this long and influential kingship is to be more fully understood, therefore, a detailed study of Edward's household knights is necessary.

Household Knights and Historiography

It was as part of the wealth of administrative histories of medieval England that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century that the household knights first appeared in scholarly work. In particular, T.F. Tout and J.H. Johnson offered early examinations of the household knights' contributions to military organisation, recognising them as the military core of the royal household, ready to expand their ranks at times of war to form the nucleus of a royal army.[16] These early conclusions were swiftly built on by historians focussed on the royal household in later medieval England, which once again stressed the military and administrative purposes of these knights.[17] Such a position was also furthered by military historians at this time, particularly within the context

Edward III is largely formed from his expansive history of the Hundred Years War, and is thus naturally inclined to emphases the military aspects of Edward's reign above all else. Given the brevity of the study, it ultimately does little to detract from Ormrod or Mortimer's fuller image of the king. See J. Sumption, *Edward III: A Heroic Failure* (London, 2016), esp. pp. 23-5, 39, 103-4.

[16] Tout, *Chapters*, ii, p. 31; J.H. Johnson, 'The King's Wardrobe and Household', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, i, pp. 206-49.

[17] G.H. White, 'The Household of the Norman Kings', *TRHS*, 4th series, 31 (1948), 127-55; A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959); A. Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1966).

of thirteenth-century warfare: R.F. Walker was the first to establish their number, duties and the rewards which service could bring under Henry III in his 1954 doctoral thesis.[18]

Important though these early works were in establishing the household knights' role in military administration, it was during the 1970s and 1980s that a fuller picture of the household knights and their place within late-medieval warfare and politics began to emerge. Of particular influence were Michael Prestwich and Chris Given-Wilson. Prestwich's primary focus lay with the household knights of Edward III's grandfather, Edward I, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. He identified the household knights as the core of Edward I's armies and began to investigate the methods of, and reasons behind, royal retention.[19] Prestwich also indicated that it was during Edward I's reign that the household knights began to take on some domestic responsibilities, acting as diplomats, royal administrators and councillors. Given-Wilson's work, on the other hand, concentrated on the royal affinity in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[20] Content to accept Prestwich's characterisation of the knightly household as primarily a military body prior to the 1370s, Given-Wilson argued that it was during the reign of Richard II that the royal knights became a political force. Of particular note was Given-Wilson's concept of a 'gentry retaining policy'.[21] This contended that, under Richard, the knightly household was reinvented to meet the ever-changing nature of kingship and political society by bringing members of the increasingly influential county gentry directly into royal service. This, argued Given-Wilson, enabled Richard to powerfully establish his personal rule in the early 1390s and successfully extend his authority into England's shires, a policy that Henry IV broadly replicated after seizing the crown from Richard in 1399.[22]

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[18] R.F. Walker, 'The Anglo-Welsh Wars, 1217-1267, with Special Reference to English Military Development' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1954), pp. 66-7.

[19] M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp. 41-66; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 147-54. See also M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *familia regis* under Henry I', *History*, 52 (1977), 15-23; J.O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', *EHR*, 96 (1981), 1-35.

[20] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 203-57; C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS*, 5th series, 37 (1987), 87-102.

[21] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 212-26.

[22] For more on Henry IV's affinity, see D. Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom: The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Minnesota, 1996); M. Arvanigian, 'Regional Society

Together, Prestwich and Given-Wilson's research significantly furthered our understanding of royal knights and their place within the later medieval polity. Whilst writing largely concurrently, however, the cross-over between their work was surprisingly limited. Indeed, aside from Given-Wilson's brief acceptance of Prestwich's conclusions as a backdrop to his own study, their published research in this area – separated only by the reign of Edward III – developed mostly independently of one another.[23] An unfortunate consequence of this has been that subsequent work on the household knight of later medieval England has been divided between those focussed on Edward III's predecessors and those concerned with his successors. Of those focussed on Edward III's predecessors, Ruth Ingamells was the first to expand on Prestwich's work. Her doctoral thesis considered the military and political functions of Edward I's household knights. It agreed with Prestwich that Edward I's household knights provided the core of royal armies, but also demonstrated that they held influential positions in parliament and the offices of central and local government, including the shrievalty.[24] Since Ingamells' thesis, similar work has also been undertaken by Alistair Tebbit on the reign of Edward II, who argued that many of Ingamells' conclusions are equally applicable to this reign, adding that the household knights were also important in supporting Edward in the civil wars which plagued his reign, though their loyalty could not always be relied upon in such circumstances.[25]

While a good deal of consensus has emerged from the work undertaken on the household knights of Edward's predecessors, the same cannot be said for those focussed on his successors.

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and National Politics: The Rise of the Lancastrian North', in *Regions and Regionalism: Essays in Honour of A.J. Pollard*, ed. Peter Fleming (Woodbridge, 2016); M. Arvanigian, '"Lancastrianization" of the North in the Reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413', in *Reputation and Representation in Later Medieval England*, ed. D. Biggs, A.C. Reeves and S. Michalove (Leiden, 2004), pp. 9-38. Following the publication of Given-Wilson's work, Richard II's reputation as one of medieval England's least successful kings was challenged further by a number of scholars. See, for instance, the essays in *The Age of Richard II*, ed. J.L. Gillespie (Stroud, 1997), and *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. A. Goodman and J.L. Gillespie (Oxford, 1999). See also N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1997).

[23] This is in spite of Given-Wilson's doctoral thesis, which focussed on the Edward III's household from 1360-77, being supervised by Prestwich.

[24] Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I'. See also R.L. Ingamells, 'The Political Role of the Household Knights of Edward I', in *Thirteenth Century England V: Proceedings of the Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Conference, 1993*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 29-36.

[25] Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', esp. pp. 23-62. See also S. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999); K. Lightfoot, 'The Household Knights of Henry III, 1216-1258' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Wales, 2006).

The first to build on Given-Wilson's conclusions for the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was Rosemary Horrox. Horrox's book, the first full-length study of the later medieval royal affinity, focussed on the complex relationship between service and reward during the rule of Richard III and largely echoed and extended Given-Wilson's arguments. She identified the royal affinity as one of the core elements in Richard's short yet eventful reign, citing it as an important way in which Richard was able to extend his influence across the country, but ultimately a key factor in his downfall as it led him to become too reliant on a narrow group of personal retainers in his governance of the realm.[26]

Shortly after Horrox's work, a new model of English political society in the later Middle Ages began to emerge in the work of a number of influential scholars focused on fifteenth-century England, including Christine Carpenter, Edward Powell and John Watts, which has had a transformative effect on how the place of the royal affinity in the late-medieval polity is understood.[27] There are three interrelated areas in which this is most apparent. The first pertains to royal patronage. As discussed above, Bothwell has argued that during the reign of Edward III it was the king's duty to distribute largesse to his subjects and that in doing so he was able to effectively build up a group of loyal men to serve him. Under the model of kingship put forward by Carpenter, Powell and Watts, however, it is suggested that placing too much emphasis on the crown's need to 'buy' the support of the nobility through the distribution of material patronage requires a return to broad assumptions reminiscent of pre-McFarlane, 'Whig' interpretations of the later Middle Ages: namely that the king and nobility were naturally in opposition. Instead, the 'fifteenth-century model' of political society, as it might be termed, argues for a reassertion of the

[26] R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 13-14.
[27] C. Carpenter, *Loyalty and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 347-60; C. Carpenter, 'Political and Constitutional History: Before and After McFarlane', in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, ed. R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (Stroud, 1995), pp. 195-8; C. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in England in the Fourteenth Century', in *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald*, ed. S. Boardman and J. Goodare (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 61-2; E. Powell, 'After "After McFarlane": The Poverty of Patronage and the Case for Constitutional History', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval English History*, ed. D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies and P. McNiven (Gloucester, 1994), pp. 11-3; J. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 97-8.

fundamental principles of McFarlane's work and contends that the nobility should once again be viewed as the natural allies of the crown, not rebels in need of financial incentives in return for their loyalty. According to the 'fifteenth-century model', then, a king did not need to buy the support of select members of the nobility by retaining them as part of his royal affinity because their alliance was already naturally assured.

The second area worth highlighting is the distinction that is made in the 'fifteenth-century model' of political society between the 'public authority' and 'private power' of the late-medieval monarchy. The idea that the king possessed 'two bodies' – one his private person, the other his public persona – was first established by historians over half a century ago.[28] Nevertheless, the importance of the 'public-private' dynamic of medieval kingship received renewed emphasises within the 'fifteenth-century model'. Writing in 2000, Helen Castor argued that Henry IV, V and VI struggled to reconcile the private interests of their role as dukes of Lancaster with their position as kings of England, and that it was not until Edward IV took the throne in 1461, when the duchy was integrated into the 'body politic' of the crown, that this tension was resolved.[29] Indeed, in direct opposition to Given-Wilson, Castor argued that 'in a society where the hierarchies of government, both formal and informal, depended fundamentally on the universal and universally representative authority of the crown, the king's leadership of a private, regional affinity threatened to compromise the credibility of his claim to the public power of the monarchy'.[30]

The third and final area of the 'fifteenth-century model' of kingship worth highlighting is the duties it maintains were expected of a king. These included acting as the ultimate defender of the realm, ensuring the maintenance of domestic law and order, upholding the nobility's rightful place as royal advisors, and honouring their role at the head of England's localities. These criteria are broadly similar to those that Ormrod and Mortimer identified in their biographies of Edward

[28] E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
[29] H. Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), esp. p. 312.
[30] Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster*, quotation at p. 306.

III, and which they believe he was largely successful in meeting. What is important for understanding the royal affinity's place in political society, however, is the emphasis that proponents of the 'fifteenth-century model' attach to the king's obligation to respect the nobility's role as the dominant force in local political society. Indeed, it is argued that the rise of 'bastard feudalism' in fourteenth-century England, in which financial exchanges became more important than tenurial ties in linking a lord to his retainer, led to England becoming a patchwork of 'lordly spheres of influence', in which each county or region came to be dominated by the most prominent magnate in the region, who controlled the local polity through his own privately retained affinity.[31] Under such a model, the extension of royal authority into England's localities through the king's private affinity was a most unwelcome intrusion.

According to the 'fifteenth-century model' of political society, then, a king did not need to retain a royal affinity because the alliance of the nobility was already naturally assured, and doing so risked exposing the king too much as a private patron and upsetting the dominance each lord expected to enjoy in his locality. Importantly, although this model emerged in a fifteenth-century context, it has more recently been extended into the later fourteenth century by Alison Gundy.[32] Gundy argues that the 'fifteenth-century model' of political society is equally applicable to the reign of Richard II and that interpretations of this reign in the last thirty years have too often been tainted with a patronage-focussed model of kingship. Taking her lead from Castor's work on the Lancastrian kings of England, Gundy thus argues that Richard's excessive recruitment into his royal affinity, especially after 1397, was not, as Given-Wilson suggested, a prudent policy, but was to the detriment of his relationship with the higher nobility and one of the core reasons behind his deposition.

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[31] Quotation from, C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), p. 1. For more on the rise of bastard feudalism in the fourteenth century, see J.M.W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 1989); S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990); C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 8-24; Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in England in the Fourteenth Century'.

[32] A.K. Gundy, *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. pp. 10-31.

Recent work on the place of the royal affinity in the later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century polity has thus painted it in an almost exclusively negative light. There are, however, a number of reasons why the criticisms of Castor and Gundy are not applicable to the household knights of Edward III, which suggest that presenting royal retaining as an exclusively damaging policy is inaccurate. It shall be seen in Chapter 7, for example, that there are significant doubts as to whether the all-important structures of local political society that Carpenter, Castor and Gundy view as essential in placing the nobility at the head of local political society were sufficiently established during the reign of Edward III to prevent the successful extension of royal authority through the use of private retainers. Indeed, the mechanisms of bastard feudalism on which the 'fifteenth-century model' of political society is so reliant were still very much in their infancy during Edward III's reign and did not become the dominant feature of political society until at least the 1380s. Moreover, regardless of how receptive political society was or was not to the extension of royal authority through Edward's retainers, the fact that Edward's household knights were more explicitly military retainers than the later 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' meant that they had a less pronounced impact on local political society under Edward III, and thus attracted less criticism than later royal knights. Indeed, more often than not, Edward's household knights were too busy furthering English interests abroad to be the source of widespread complaint at home – though there were some exceptions to this. Finally, although some consideration will be given in Chapter 7 to the question of whether the retaining of royal knights was, at its most basic level, compatible with political society at this time, for the most part the contributions that the household knights made to Edward's reign, and the response with which these met amongst the political community, will be discussed in relation to their specific contexts. Put another way, this thesis does not aim to suggest that royal retaining was always a good or bad thing. Rather, it argues that under Edward III the household knights were used in such a way as to ensure that they were seen by the vast majority of the king's contemporaries as a valuable means through which he could rule his kingdom and fight his wars.

Such a stance accords well with recent work undertaken on the royal affinity in later medieval England by Chris Given-Wilson and Gwilym Dodd. In his recent biography of Henry IV, Given-Wilson offered a compelling defence of the place of the royal affinity in the later Middle Ages. Given-Wilson argued that, though a 'doubled-edged sword', so long as the maintenance of a royal affinity was not extended so far as to encourage criticism of factionalism against the king, it was essential in providing 'the arteries by which governmental authority was explained, distributed and enforced.[33] A similar position has been adopted by Gwilym Dodd. As is suggested here, Dodd too argues that the royal affinities of later medieval England should not be understood as either an inherently good or bad thing. Rather, their appropriateness as a royal policy should be analysed in relation to the specific context in which it arose. For the reigns of Richard II and III, on which his work is focussed, this meant that the royal affinity only became a source of political tension when its personnel were recruited from, or relied on too heavily to promote royal authority in, any one geographic area. It similarly only became problematic when 'misbehaving royal knights or esquires placed a king in the invidious position of having to choose between showing good lordship to his retainers by letting them "off the hook", on the one hand, and fulfilling his obligations as king by exercising the impartial hand of justice… on the other'.[34] While this latter issue would seem to corroborate the position put forward by Castor and Gundy – that the tension between the 'private' and 'public' bodies of the king was insurmountably apparent in the royal affinity – Dodd argues that 'the "private" nature of royal authority… was not uniquely the product of the royal affinity but was arguably an inescapable facet of kingship in general'. For Dodd, 'even "good" kings found it hard to resist the natural tendency to protect loyal and trusted servants'. Together, then, Dodd and Given-Wilson have overseen a significant rehabilitation of the place of royal knights in the late-medieval English polity – one which this thesis aims to continue.

[33] C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 424-38, quotation at p. 438.
[34] G. Dodd, 'Tyranny, Affinity and Locality: The Public and Private Authority of Richard II and Richard III' (forthcoming).

Since the seminal work of Prestwich and Given-Wilson, the knightly household has thus come to occupy an important, if polarised, position at the very heart of debate on late medieval kingship. It is striking, however, that the reign which separates these two strands of historiography – that of Edward III – has gone without specific examination. Edward III's household knights have not been entirely ignored. In addition to Given-Wilson's brief coverage of the latter years of Edward's reign, Caroline Shenton provided important insight into the place of the household knights in the opening years of Edward's rule in her doctoral thesis in the mid-1990s.[35] Shenton posited that, after the coup of 1330, Edward's skilled handling of royal patronage, the court and his household knights allowed him to assert his personal rule to great effect. In particular, she argued that the personnel Edward chose to rely on, including his household knights, proved crucial in allowing him to rebuild the reputation of the monarchy following the uncertainty of Edward II's last years and his own minority rule. There are, however, shortcomings in the work of both Given-Wilson and Shenton. The most immediately apparent is their unsatisfactory coverage. Shenton's thesis focussed only on the opening phase of Edward's reign, whilst Given-Wilson's study was confined to its last years. This has left the significant middle years of Edward's rule, when the king was at the height of his personal authority, untouched. Of equal significance are a number of thematic questions that both Given-Wilson and Shenton have left unanswered, which this thesis must address. Neither, for instance, offered a rigorous examination of the household knights' developing place within central and local politics during this reign, nor their place in Edward's broader patterns of patronage.[36] Likewise, no attempt was made in these works to engage in any detail with the military functions of these men. This latter issue has received some attention from Christopher Candy in the context of Edward's Scottish wars.[37] However, this lone article cannot provide a full assessment of the household knights' place in warfare across this reign.

[35] C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1995).
[36] These issues are discussed very briefly in Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III*, pp. 154-5.
[37] C. Candy, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War, Part III: Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp. 49-62.

Though important, the combined contributions of Given-Wilson and Shenton are thus insufficient in providing a detailed account of the household knights' place in Edward III's reign. In order to rectify this, this thesis aims to provide a much fuller picture of Edward's household knights that not only demonstrates the significance of these men to Edward's reign, but which reconciles thirteenth and fifteenth-century interpretations of these royal knights and their place within the late-medieval polity.

Scope, Structure and Sources

In the absence of detailed work on the fourteenth-century household knight, it is necessary to begin this study with an assessment of the composition of Edward III's knightly household. Such an assessment is not straightforward, and raises a number of important and challenging questions. By what mechanisms were household knights retained in the fourteenth century? What is the correct terminology to use when discussing household knights? To what extent did members of the knightly household share a sense of collective identity? And how did this change over the course of Edward's reign? The answers to these questions will allow us to understand the very essence of what it was to be a household knight, and addressing them in Chapter 1 provides a necessary foundation for the rest of the thesis. It is also important to establish early on who the household knights were and why they were retained. Indeed, the knightly household was not a homogenous group of men devoid of distinguishing characteristics. Rather, each man had his own lands, career and interests outside the royal household, as well as specific skills or qualities that singled him out for recruitment into it. While it is not practical within the scope of this thesis to offer biographical detail for each of Edward's household knights, nor plausible from the surviving sources, the purpose of Chapter 2 is to offer a prosopographical analysis of the personnel of the knightly household asking why certain individuals were retained, what factors affected the number of men that the king was able to recruit each year, and for how long individuals typically served.

Doing so will give an initial flavour of who the household knights were and what their primary purpose was. It will also allow important new information regarding the development and composition of the late-medieval military 'retinue' to be offered. This is important because, as discussed above, the emergence of the private military retinue over the fourteenth century was an integral aspect of the so-called 'medieval military revolution' that took place in England at this time. And yet, while a number of important case studies have been undertaken of comital and knightly retinues, which have stressed the continuity and cohesion of these groups, the most substantial 'retinue' of all, that of the king, has thus far been overlooked.

Once this essential groundwork has been covered, consideration will be given to what the household knights actually did – the services they offered the king. Given the fact that household knights permeated so many aspects of the late-medieval polity, and yet have been largely absent from scholarship of Edward III's reign, this will involve a re-evaluation of a number of important assumptions concerning fourteenth-century warfare, politics and kingship. In terms of military history, the focus of Part 2 of this thesis, this will require us to examine the household knights' involvement in raising, supplying and financing royal armies, as well as the place they occupied in the broader structures of military leadership at a time when a revolution in military tactics was challenging the battlefield supremacy of the traditional military aristocracy. Doing so will allow the knightly household to take on a more central role in our understanding of how Edward III's wars were fought than has been hitherto appreciated and, in turn, adjust a number of long-held assumptions about the way in which Edward III's Scottish wars and the early part of the Hundred Years War were conducted. The household knights' extensive contributions to the defence of England and English-held lands abroad, and the regularity with which they were chosen to serve on diplomatic embassies, will also be examined in Part 2 of the thesis. While both these elements of household service were heavily entwined with the political role that the household knights performed, the importance each had in furthering Edward's war aims means it is only right to address them within the Military Functions section of this thesis.

Following this, the household knights' place within the government of Edward III's reign, and the fourteenth-century polity more broadly, will be addressed in Part 3. To what extent did Edward surround himself with household retainers at court, on his council or in parliament? How far was this palatable to the wider political community? And to what extent should household knights be thought of as royal cronies, to be relied upon to provide the king with unwavering loyalty and support? Similarly, why were the interventions of Edward's household knights in local governance not as disruptive to his reign as Castor and Gundy have suggested they were under his successors? And what does this tell us about the acceptability of royal retaining in late-medieval England? Answering these questions takes us to the heart of some of the most important debates surrounding political society in the fourteenth century and reveals a great deal about Edward's qualities as king. The same is also true of the final section of this thesis, which explores key issues surrounding the relationship between service and reward in the fourteenth century. What do the grants made to Edward III's household knights reveal about the place of royal patronage in the exercise of 'good kingship' in the later Middle Ages? And how important were these rewards in enticing men to serve the king?

There is an important methodological complication to this study which must be addressed at the outset of this thesis. Indeed, a theme which runs throughout is the question of whether Edward's household knights performed the activities they did specifically because they were household knights, or whether it was simply that Edward was retaining the sorts of men who would naturally have taken on prominent military and political responsibilities. This interpretative question is particularly present in the two central sections of this thesis, focused on the household knights' military functions and political utility, respectively. Many of those who served as household knights under Edward III, such as Walter Mauny, Reginald Cobham and Guy Brian, were, for example, amongst the most conspicuous warriors of their generation, and ascertaining the extent to which this was the result of their household service is problematic. Was their household service the main causal factor in their distinguished careers? Or was it simply a

consequence of it? Likewise, men such as William Montagu and William Clinton, widely recognised as two of the king's most intimate companions during the first half of Edward's reign, were household knights between 1327 and 1337. How did this effect their relationship to the king and their presence on the political stage? And how influential was it to both men being raised to earldoms in 1337? Answering these questions is integral to this thesis. Similar themes are also apparent in the final section of this thesis, concerning the rewards which came with time in household service. Were household knights specifically favoured in the dispersal of royal patronage and shows of royal favour? If so, why, and what were the ramifications of this?

The substantial scope of this study demands an especially broad range of sources be utilised. The records kept at the National Archives, particularly the exchequer accounts, contain a plethora of information regarding the household knights' military endeavours and administrative duties. The chancery rolls, meanwhile, provide crucial insight into the tasks these men carried out on the king's behalf in both national and local government, and reveal a great deal the rewards they received for their time in service. Where possible, the information provided by these sources has been placed into tables, maps, graphs or in appendices to allow for ease of reading and clarity of analysis. However, though every effort has been made to ensure that these are as comprehensive as possible, problems with source survival mean that they cannot be absolute in their coverage. The fact that records of the personnel of the knightly household only exist for twenty-six years of Edward's fifty-year reign, for example, means that it has not been possible to trace every man who served as a household knight, and thus the list of household knights given in Appendix 1, though as detailed as possible, is incomplete. It is also significant that many of the sources available for this study, as is the nature of medieval records, reveal far more about the leading knights of Edward's household than they do its lesser-known members. For example, though explicit references to household knights are regrettably rare in contemporary chronicles, these sources do offer valuable information regarding the role of some of Edward's principal household knights at the most important moments of Edward's reign, such as during major political crises and on large-

scale military campaigns. Likewise, in some cases, published biographies offer detailed accounts of the lives and careers of Edward's most senior household knights. This is especially true of G.F. Beltz's study of the original Garter knights as well as the more recent *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, both of which have been utilised here.[38] Though the value of such sources cannot be overlooked, it would be easy to allow them to lead us to focus too heavily on the most remarkable men in the knightly household at the expense of providing a balanced assessment of the household knights as a whole. Caution has been taken, therefore, to ensure that as wide a cross section of Edward III's household knights as possible inform this study.

Finally, it is important to note that the relationship between the king and his household knight was, in many ways, a personal one. Though, as will be seen, glimpses of this aspect of the relationship can be observed on occasion, for the most part it cannot truly be ascertained from the surviving documents. Which members of the household did the king get on best with on a personal level? Contemporary chroniclers offer some indication in this area, such as Thomas Gray, who comments on the closeness of the king's relationship to William Montagu in the 1330s,[39] but such references are few and far between. Likewise, what duties did the household knights carry out for the king on an informal, day-to-day basis? These tasks made up an important part of household service, yet they were almost always communicated orally and so have left little to no trace in the records. It must be remembered throughout this thesis, then, that strong personal bonds existed between Edward and his household knights which undoubtedly affected the way in which they served the king and yet remain largely hidden to us.

[38] G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London, 1841); *ODNB*.
[39] T. Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Surtees Society, CCIX: Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106-7.

Part 1

The Knightly Household

1

The Mechanics of Retaining

The system of retaining household knights during the reign of Edward III was, at its roots, one of relative simplicity. Having evolved gradually since the reign of King John, if not earlier,[1] from Edward I's reign it had consisted of two ranks: a lower rank of simple household knights (*milites hospicii Regis*/*milites simplices*) and an upper rank of household bannerets (*bannerettis hospicii Regis*). For both ranks at this time, status as a household knight was denoted by the biannual receipt of robes and fees through the royal wardrobe.[2] These robes and fees, distributed at Easter and Michaelmas, were done so at a fixed rate dependent on one's status within the household. Household bannerets received robes to the value of 16 marks and fees of 20 marks if retained for the entire year, while simple household knights received half these sums.

Though these were the basics of the household knight system under Edward III, important questions need to be addressed in this opening chapter about the intricacies of this system, how it operated in practice, and what this means for our understanding of the household knight in the fourteenth century. How defined was the position of a household knight? What is the correct vocabulary to use when discussing these individuals? And to what extent did those serving in the royal household feel a sense of collective identity? It is also important to trace how the system

[1] J.O Prestwich and M. Chibnall have identified that household knights were being retained by the crown as early as the reign of Henry I, but without the existence of sufficient central government records before King John's reign it is impossible to know precisely how this system worked: see J.O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', *EHR*, 96 (1981), 1-35; M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *familia regis* under Henry I', *History*, 52 (1977), 15-23.
[2] For more, see J.H. Johnson, 'The King's Wardrobe and Household', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, i, pp. 238-9.

changed over the course of Edward's reign. Indeed, the second half of the fourteenth century witnessed a period of unparalleled transformation in the composition of the knightly household, as the long-established household knights gave way to a newer rank of 'chamber knights' (*milites camere Regis*) during the 1360s, while a system of 'king's knights' (*milites Regis*) and 'king's esquires' (*scutarius Regis*) emerged after the accession of Richard II in 1377. This altered the very essence of what it was to be a royal knight and is of paramount importance to understand from the outset of this thesis.

1.1 Retaining Household Knights, *c.* 1327-1360

Between his accession in 1327 and the early 1360s, Edward III issued robes and fees to a small number of simple household knights and household bannerets twice a year, every year, who collectively formed the household knights. While it was possible for a household knight of either rank to receive robes and fees for just one season, particularly if the summer saw active campaigning, it was uncommon. Likewise, it was seldom that a household knight received only robes or only fees. What differentiated a household banneret from a simple household knight was his superior social and military status, both inside and outside the royal household. Those retained as simple household knights were 'knights bachelor', the lowest formal rank of knighthood. Those serving as household bannerets were, as their name suggests, of the rank above this, 'knights banneret'. This had a considerable impact on the functions these men could perform. In a military context, bannerets were entitled to a higher rate of pay on campaign, were permitted to lead other knights in battle, and were allowed to display a square banner in place of a knight bachelor's triangular pennant. Their presence on the political stage was also markedly greater. Some household bannerets were, for instance, summoned to parliament as peers of the realm, whereas those serving as simple household knights had to be with content with a place amongst the

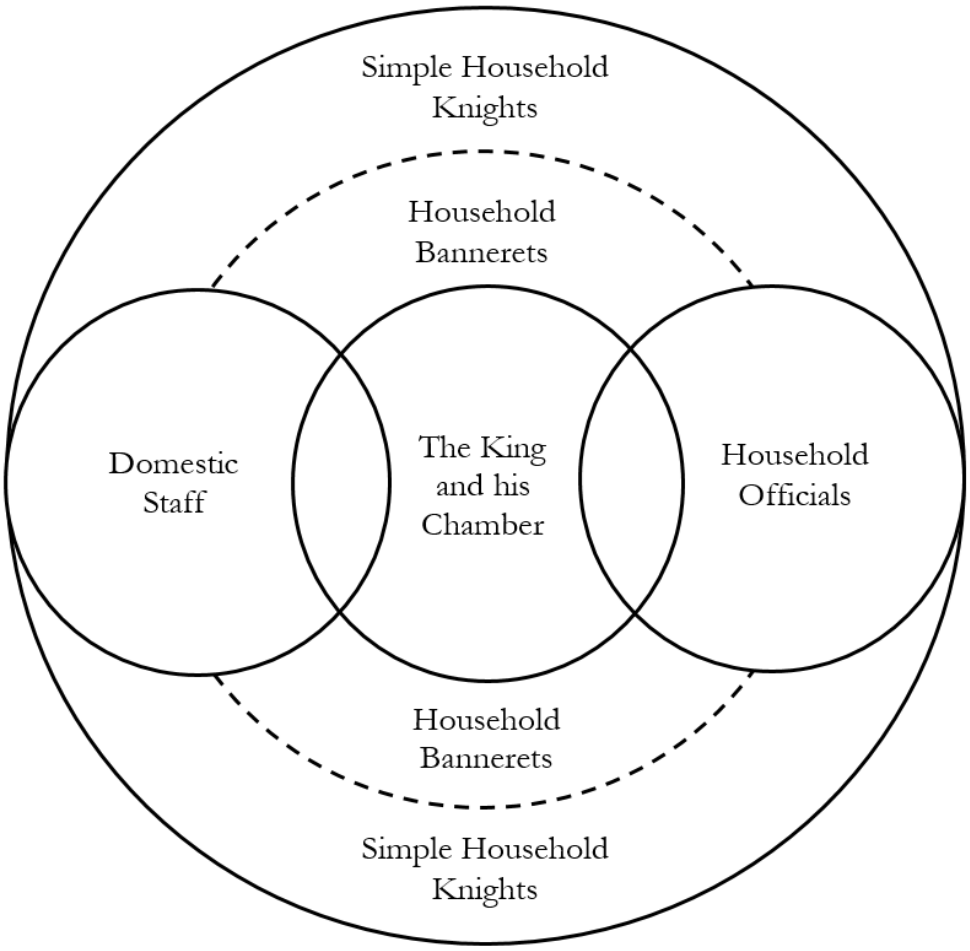
Commons.[3] As Caroline Shenton has discussed, the difference between the household bannerets and simple household knights would have been immediately visible by the robes they wore. In 1329, each banneret received *roba* consisting of four separate garments – probably a tunic, cloak, hood and cap – made of thirteen ells of fine wool, along with a liner of strengthened sindon, a muslin-like material, to go under the main tunic. The simple household knights, meanwhile, were given robes consisting of just three garments made from ten ells of wool and a sindon liner.[4] Thus, while collectively forming the king's household knights, the household bannerets and simple household knights were distinct ranks.

What place did these two ranks occupy within the broader structures of the royal household? The royal household in fourteenth-century England was both a domestic body, responsible for attending to the king's daily needs, as well as a political one, with important responsibilities within the governance of the realm. The household knights' place within this is best appreciated through a visual depiction of the household's structure at this time. In Diagram 1.1, the king and his chamber – the most intimate part of the royal household, providing the king with his daily needs and personal spending money – is represented as a central circle, around which the rest of the household revolved. The king's circle is intersected on either side by two groups: the 'domestic staff' and the 'household officials'. The first of these groups, the 'domestic staff', represented what would go on to become the 'downstairs' of the great early modern households. It contained personnel such as clerks, cooks and grooms; in essence, anyone who was responsible

[3] For more on the relationship between social status and military leadership at this time, see M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven and London, 1996), chapter 7, esp. pp. 159-84; A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 54-5. Though for an earlier period, A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England: The Earls of Edward I, 1272-1307* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 76-86; and D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 79-91, are also useful. For more on the political significance of bannerets, see J.E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), pp. 349-51; and C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p. 61.

[4] C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1995), pp. 56-7; TNA, E101/384/7 m. 4. See also F. Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes in England, c.1200–c.1330', *EHR*, 111 (1996), 279-98; F. Lachaud, 'Textiles, Furs and Liveries: A Study of the Material Culture of the Court of Edward I (1272-1307)' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1992); and M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 93-135.

Diagram 1.1 – The Structure of the Royal Household, c. 1327-1360:



for the daily running of the household as a royal residence. The second ring, the 'household officials', contained any member of the royal household who held a position within its administrative arm, which was to form the 'upstairs' of early modern households. This included the keeper of the wardrobe and the keeper of the Privy Seal. It also, significantly, included the steward and chamberlain, both of whom were usually household bannerets. The steward had overall responsibility for the running of the household, which included holding the court of the king's verge, with jurisdiction over all crimes committed within a twelve-mile radius of the household.[5] The chamberlain, meanwhile, controlled personal and written access to the king and had charge of many of his possessions, including the royal jewels. The incumbents of both these

[5] See Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 48-53; W.R. Jones, 'The Court of the Verge', *Journal of British Studies*, 10 (1970), 1-29.

offices enjoyed an intimate relationship with the king and a footing on the national political stage. The lesser office of knight marshal of the hall, meanwhile, which was responsible for keeping the lay members in check on a day-to-day basis and assisting in the operation of the court of the verge, was occupied by two simple household knights.[6]

Though some household knights had roles to play within the domestic and administrative departments of the household, the vast majority – both simple household knights and household bannerets – formed a final ring that encased the rest of the household. This placement of the household knights is important, for the household knights acted as a bridge between the heart of the royal household and the wider world. This is to say that, while they had some responsibilities within the household, and each knight probably had some form of direct access to the king, they were, as will be seen in later chapters, more commonly tasked with acting as influential royal representatives in England's localities, as diplomatic ambassadors abroad, and as military captains in Edward's armies. As such, the household knights need to be in contact with both the centre and periphery of any model. The household knights' ring has also been subdivided between the simple household knights and household bannerets to account for these two ranks and the fact that the household bannerets generally enjoyed a more intimate relationship with the king.

One complication to the model provided in Diagram 1.1 is where to place the 'household esquires'. As with the household knights, the esquires were a group of lay individuals of gentry stock retained in royal service through the granting of household robes twice a year, usually at a ratio of roughly two esquires for every knight. Given the fact that – as shall be seen in Chapter 2 – many household knights began their careers as household esquires, and that household knights and esquires often performed similar functions, a case could be made for including them within the outer ring of Diagram 1.1 and thus broadening the scope of this thesis to include their ranks. Indeed, some household esquires served as sergeants-at-arms who, together with a small number

[6] See, Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 49, 71-3; C. Given-Wilson, 'The Court and Household of Edward III, 1360-1377' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of St Andrews, 1975), pp. 2-3.

of archers retained by the king, made up the king's personal bodyguard and, alongside the household knights, formed the king's personal military retinue.[7] They were also often dispatched to act as the king's enforcers throughout the kingdom, pursuing those who had committed crimes against the crown, something that – as discussed in Chapter 7 – household knights were also widely used for. However, there are a number of important reasons why they are not included in the outer ring of Diagram 1.1, and do not form part of the central focus of this thesis. Not least amongst these it that doing so would make the scope of this study impractically large. More importantly, the simple knights and bannerets were the only two ranks of the household to receive fees in addition to their robes. This suggests that they were a defined group within the household. Likewise, the esquires were more routinely resident in, and involved in the everyday functioning of, the household. The day-to-day duties expected of them were, therefore, often distinct from those of members of the 'knightly household'. The majority of household esquires were assigned to a specific department within the household in order to assist with carrying out its duties, often purveying supplies and running errands.[8] This was not something that the household knights were routinely tasked with. Consequently, dependent on the duties assigned to each household esquire, they could sit within any of the rings of Diagram 1.1.

If the household knights were a defined group within the structures of the king's household, what terminology is most appropriate to use when discussing to them? The term 'household knights' (*milites Regis*), which has been adopted as the predominant one in this thesis, was used with regularity across Edward's reign: this was how they were described in all but one wardrobe account book of the reign. The phrase 'knightly household' has also been used throughout this study because, while it was never used by contemporaries, it has long been an accepted part of historians' parlance and captures well what these men represented. Another term that appears on occasion in

[7] Richard Partington's article on Edward III's sergeants-at-arms is a useful study of these men: R. Partington, 'Edward III's Enforcers: The King's Sergeants at Arms in the Localities', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 89-106. See also the Household Ordinances of York (Dec., 1318), printed in T.F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1913), pp. 281-2, which details the number and functions of these men.
[8] Partington, 'Edward III's Enforcers'; Tout, *Reign of Edward II*, pp. 281-2.

contemporary records is *familia* (familiars). In a livery roll of 1329, for example, *familia* was used as a heading under which Edward's household knights were listed.[9] However, the term has broader connotations than simply the household knights and was most commonly used to describe a group from within the royal entourage who were particularly close to the king. The term *comitatus* (retinue) was also sporadically applied to these men. Such term is once again laden, however, with wider implications, this time regarding the wider military body that accompanied the king and his household on campaign, which also included the household esquires and archers. Another term that was used intermittently was *retentus* (retainers).[10] Once again, however, the household knights were only part of a broader group that might be described as 'retainers'. Consequently, the terms *familia*, 'retinue' and 'retainers' have been largely avoided here unless specifically applicable.

To what extent were Edward III's household knights beginning to form part of a 'royal affinity' in the mid-fourteenth century? The word 'affinity', though only used rarely by contemporaries, has generally been adopted by historians of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to describe the group of household officials, formal retainers and other casual well-wishers of a noble, capable of extending his personal and political influence throughout their locality.[11] As discussed in the Introduction, this concept was extended into the royal sphere by Chris Given-Wilson, who argued that the king's knights and king's esquires that Richard II retained in his service, along with the staff of the royal household, formed the first 'royal affinity'.[12] More recently, Helen Castor has made the case that Richard's king's knights and esquires did not yet

[9] TNA, E101/384/7, m. 4. For more on the *familia*, see Church, *Household Knights of King John*, pp. 1-15; Prestwich, 'Military Household'; Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *familia regis*'.
[10] The French word *retentu* was also occasionally used. Both *retentus* and *retentu* simply mean 'retained'. It is the regularity with which these terms were used in indentures of retainer in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that has led historians to adopt the term 'retainers' as a result. See, J.M.W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 1989), p. 10.
[11] Though the precise boundaries of the noble affinity are unclear, the above outline is representative of the general consensus in this area. For some useful definitions see, K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 102-21; M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97; C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR*, 95 (1980), pp. 515-18; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 8-38; M. Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995); J. Ross, *The Foremost Man of the Kingdom: John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513)* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 176-7.
[12] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 211-17.

represent a 'royal affinity', but rather a failed attempt on Richard's part to emulate mechanisms increasingly being used by his lords to extend their influence into their localities. For Castor, it was not until Henry IV took the throne in 1399 that a 'royal affinity' became a reality, as a consequence of the merging of the Lancastrian affinity with the crown. Moreover, argues Castor, a true 'national royal affinity' cannot be spoken about until 1461, when the separate entities of the duchy of Lancaster, its affinity, and the crown were combined under the first Yorkist king, Edward IV.[13]

There is a case to be made, however, that Edward III's household knights were coming to represent part of a 'royal affinity' much earlier than this. Indeed, if the most basic definition of an affinity is taken as the mutually beneficial arrangement in which a patron retained notable members of the nobility and gentry in his service through the giving of robes, fees or like rewards, then the epithet could easily be applied to the Edward's household knights. Even so, there are a number of important dissimilarities between the noble affinity and Edward III's knightly household which must be recognised. The method of bonding patron to retainer, whilst clear-cut in the royal household, was not so with noble affinities. Though the noble affinity was still in its infancy in the fourteenth century, Mark Ormrod has identified the indenture of retainer, the payment of annuities and the granting of liveries as three of the principal means through which the nobility were beginning to construct their followings.[14] Such variable and fluid means of retaining royal knights did not exist until after 1377. There were also key differences between the core purposes of a traditional noble affinity and those of the king's household knights. As shall be seen in subsequent chapters, while Edward III's household knights did have important political functions to fulfil, their primary function was military. This is again at odds with the noble affinity, which has long been understood as a primarily political body, designed to extend the local influence of its noble

[13] H. Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 18-19, 312.
[14] W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 151-2. See also McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, pp. 102-21; Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity', pp. 515-18; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).

patron.[15] The extent of the differences between Edward III's household knights and the late-medieval noble affinity, then, suggest it would be incorrect to view them as part of a 'royal affinity' at this stage. Nevertheless, as a provisional model for a group of retainers bound directly in royal service, it is perhaps fair to see the household knights as part of a 'proto-royal affinity' under Edward III, that paved the way for the rise of a true 'royal affinity' later in the century.

If this was how the household knight system worked, how are the names of those who served in such a capacity to be identified? Despite the increasing regularity with which indentures of retainer were used amongst noble affinities in the fourteenth century, royal household knights were not held under such contracts. The most likely reason for this is that the terms under which they served, and the duties expected of them, were either too well known to require such clarification, or too flexible to be restrained by it. Consequently, explicit documentation concerning an individual's membership to the royal household does not exist.[16] In its absence, the primary way in which the household knights can be identified each year is through the lists of recipients of household robes and fees contained within the 'foreign expenditure' section of the wardrobe account books, which were submitted as a list of the annual expenses incurred by the wardrobe to the exchequer for audit. The survival rates of wardrobe account books (or counter rolls thereof, which contain the same information) are particularly good for the earliest and latest years of Edward's reign, allowing for detailed lists of household knights to be constructed between 1327 and 1344, and 1364 and 1377 (see Appendix 1). The survival of these documents for the central two decades of Edward's reign is, however, less favourable. In the absence of wardrobe account books, there are other avenues from which the names of household knights might be recovered. Rolls of liveries were produced during Edward's reign, which record details of all livery commissioned by the king for the royal tailors and contain occasional references to those who

[15] See, for instance, Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity'.
[16] For more on the records pertaining to household membership in fourteenth-century England, see J.M.W. Bean, '"Bachelor" and "Retainer"', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 3 (1972), 117-31.

were serving as household knights. A livery roll of the great wardrobe dating from 1347-49 records that robe allowances were made for a total of twelve men styled 'chamber knights' for a royal hastilude at Lichfield in 1348.[17] There are also sporadic, if rare, references to an individual's status as a household knight in other government documents. In 1339, Gawain Corder was referred to as a 'knight of the king's household' on the Close Rolls.[18] These alternative means of identifying household knights are, however, only sufficient to supplement the information provided in the wardrobe account books, and do not give a full impression as to who served as household knights in any given year on their own.

The most notable year for which no manuscript record of household membership survives is 1346, the year of Edward's largest military campaign, the Crécy-Calais campaign. A tentative list of ninety-four household knights for this year can, however, be offered from the pay roll (*vadia guerre*) accounts of the English army on this campaign.[19] These *vadia guerre* accounts are not without complications, for the originals, compiled by Walter Wetwang, keeper of the wardrobe from 1344-47, have not survived. Instead, the information contained within them can only be ascertained from a number of incomplete or heavily condensed transcriptions of the originals, the most notable of which is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century transcription housed in the College of Arms archives and published in George Wrottesley's *Crecy and Calais*.[20] Also of use is a copy kept in the British Library, which appears to have been transcribed at a similar time to the College of Arms manuscript, and which has been partially printed in *Lettres de Rois*…, edited by M. Champollion-Figeac.[21] Though these transcripts are far from complete, their authenticity, and the

[17] TNA, E101/391/15, mm. 5-6.
[18] *CCR, 1337-39*, p. 76.
[19] For more on this and what follows, see M. Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign of 1346', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2018).
[20] College of Arms, M Series, M.16bis, ff. 82-97, printed in Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 191-202.
[21] BL, Harleian MS. 3968, ff. 114r-131v, printed in *Lettres de Rois, Reines et Autres Personnages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre*, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac (Paris, 1839), pp. 82-5. The link between the two was first made in A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 242-51. Another, limited transcription can be found in the *Brut* Chronicles, though this account is so condensed that its uses are largely limited to corroborating the information provided in the other two: *The Brut; or, The Chronicles of England*, ed. F.W.D. Brie (London, 1908), ii, pp. 538-41.

authenticity of the information contained within them, is generally well established. Andrew Ayton, for instance, has drawn attention to a number of Memoranda Roll entries from the 1350s which make reference to the existence of Wetwang's *vadia guerre* accounts, and provide useful confirmation of the likely legitimacy of the information contained within the transcriptions.

Although the information contained in these accounts can be relied on with some confidence, there are issues when drawing the names of the household knights from them. There are, for instance, an additional sixteen men listed as household knights in the British Library manuscript that are not contained within the College of Arms account. Likewise, there is no way of knowing how many additional men serving as household knights for this campaign have been omitted from the transcriptions altogether. Of greater concern is the fact that it is unclear whether those listed as 'household knights' in the Wetwang transcriptions were formally retained as such. Indeed, no explicit evidence survives to corroborate whether household robes and fees were ever distributed to these individuals. Rather, our classification of them as household knights relies largely on a heading provided in Wrottesley's version of the College of Arms manuscript, which was probably added by an early modern clerk, rather than Wetwang himself. It was largely for this reason that Andrew Ayton, when offering a tentative list of men that he believed served as household knights on the Crécy campaign, suggested that only forty-nine of the men listed in the Wetwang accounts should be considered household knights.[22] Ayton's list is, however, arguably too restrictive in the men it identifies as household knights as it includes only those whose membership of the royal household can be corroborated by service immediately preceding and/or following the campaign. While the uncertainty of the documentation for the household in 1346 in part justifies such caution, it does have the effect of unfairly excluding a number of individuals who almost certainly did serve as household knights just for the year 1346 – something that was not uncommon for fourteenth-century household knights.

[22] Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', pp. 246-50.

Importantly, there are a number of factors that mean that a greater degree of confidence can be placed in the identification of these men as household knights than Ayton is willing to permit. For example, while the section of the wardrobe account recording the recipients of household robes and fees in 1346 does not survive, the summaries of expenditure in these areas do. The summary of robe payments offers little help, for robes were distributed to all members of the household, not just the knights and bannerets. The summary of fee payments is more instructive, however, as it was only the knights and bannerets of the household who received these payments. The summary records that £770 (roughly 1,167 marks) was spent on fees for household knights in 1346. Given that the standard fee payments were 20 marks to household bannerets and 10 marks to simple household knights, fees could have been paid to either thirty-four household bannerets and sixty simple household knights, or thirty-six household bannerets and fifty-six simple household knights.[23] Crucially, the first of these two permutations offers figures that are only two household bannerets and one simple household knight short of the list given in the Wetwang transcriptions, a shortfall that is almost exactly made up by the addition of Alan Clavering, Warin Trussell and Edward atte Wood, who, though they feature in no account, were likely household knights in this year.[24] Moreover, ninety-four household knights is not an implausible figure for such a militarily active year. Indeed, while Edward retained an average closer to fifty household knights a year between 1327 and 1360, it was far from unusual for him to retain in far greater numbers for an important military campaign. In 1347, just a year after Crécy, Edward is known to have retained eighty-two household knights for the lengthy siege of Calais. In 1359, meanwhile, some fifty-seven household knights accompanied the king on the Reims campaign. Finally, a significant number of those recorded as household knights in the Wetwang transcriptions had also already had long careers in the household prior to the Crécy campaign, making them likely candidates for the receipt of household robes in 1346: overall, just twenty-two of the ninety-one

[23] TNA, E101/390/12, f. 45r.
[24] See Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', p. 246, n. 5 and p. 248, n. 15.

household knights listed in the Wetwang accounts (24 percent) had no known connection to the royal household other than in 1346, suggesting that those listed almost certainly were the household knights for that year (see Appendix 1).

If the names provided by the Wetwang transcriptions are taken as an accurate account of the household knights for 1346, it is possible to identify a total of 284 individuals who served as household knights during the reign of Edward III. There were undoubtedly more than this who did so. But, given the fact that records of the personnel of the knightly household only exist for little over half of Edward's reign (twenty-six out of fifty years), the names of a small number of men who served for short durations, particularly in the 1350s where sources are thinnest, cannot be uncovered. There are also additional variations and complications within the household knight system that limit the accuracy of the list of household knights provided in Appendix 1. For example, the household knight system in the fourteenth century was not always so rigid that those who were in receipt of robes and fees were considered household knights and those who were not were excluded from it. William Clinton is not included amongst the recipients of household robes and fees for 1329, yet there can be little doubt that he was considered a household knight in this year given that he had served as such for the past two years and continued to do so thereafter until his creation as the earl of Huntingdon in 1337.[25] Likewise, Bartholomew Burghersh the younger was referred to as one of Edward's 'household knights' in 1364 by Jean Froissart, despite there being no record of Burghersh having received household robes after 1344.[26] While it is unlikely that Froissart was in a position to know whether or not Burghersh was formally in receipt of household robes at this time, as a result of the fact that he was mainly based on the continent while producing the section of his chronicle that covers the 1360s, it is nevertheless clear that to some of Edward's contemporaries Burghersh was thought to be acting as a household knight.[27] On rare

[25] TNA, E101/384/7, m. 4.
[26] Froissart (*Oeuvres*), vi, p. 392.
[27] The identification of Burghersh as one of Edward's 'household knights' on this occasion may also have been influenced by the Burghersh was, by the 1360s, serving in the household of the king's eldest son, the Black Prince.

instances, meanwhile, individuals such as John Staunton were retained in the royal household for life, though they do not appear in the robe and fee lists.[28] Finally, there are records of initiation ceremonies for those joining the royal household under Edward II, suggesting that entry to it was a considerable affair and membership not solely dictated by robe receipts, though no evidence of such practice survives for Edward III's reign. The names of Edward's household knights provided in Appendix 1 must, therefore, be seen only as the best possible guide to the personnel of the knightly household; the incomplete survival of the sources and fluidity of the system in practice simply do not allow for a definitive list to be produced.

1.2 Cohesion and Collective Identity

To what extent did the individuals retained as household knights form a cohesive group? The importance of collective identity in the Middle Ages has been a feature of historiography since Jacob Burckhardt, writing in 1860, asserted that '[medieval] man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family or corporation.'[29] While such a bold statement is no longer part of historiographical orthodoxy, collective identity is still seen as an important feature of social and political life in the Middle Ages. In his work on the livery collar in fifteenth-century England, for instance, Matthew Ward recently argued that the decision to display royal livery by including a livery collar on one's tomb monument clearly placed an individual 'within a group'. This, argues Ward, positioned an individual within a small context of 'like-minded acquaintances'.[30]

There is reason to believe that a strong collective sentiment also existed amongst Edward III's household knights. First, it is perhaps significant that the household knights are almost always singled out as a specific group within any documentation that mentions them, such as wardrobe account books and livery rolls. This clearly indicates that the household knights were, at the very

[28] *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 173.
[29] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (6th edn.: London, 1860), p. 81.
[30] M. Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identify and Affinity* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 84.

least, thought of in collective terms by the wardrobe clerks who produced these documents.[31] This would have been reinforced amongst a wider audience in the visual spectacle of the household knights wearing their matching livery during household festivities. There are also a number of factors which suggest that household knights thought of themselves as part of a distinct group. A strong sense of *esprit de corps* would almost certainly have existed amongst the household knights. These men frequently spent many months serving alongside one another on military campaign and such service would have served to create a 'brotherhood-in-arms' relationship between members of the king's household. It was such a relationship that Nigel Saul depicted between Maurice Berkeley and Thomas Bradeston, who served contemporaneously as household bannerets in the 1330s and 1340s.[32] David Green argued a similar point in his work on the military retinue of the Black Prince, asserting that military service provided a common bond between its members, particularly in the 1350s.[33] Likewise, work by Richard Barber on the Order of the Garter, of which nearly half of the founding members were serving household knights, has highlighted how strong the sense of cohesion was amongst those who fought alongside one another in the middle years of Edward's reign.[34] These relationships, forged through shared experience, would have been particularly strong amongst those who served together for the longest time. It is possible to see this in the activity of household knights outside their household duties. Gawain Corder and Reginald Cobham, for example, both of whom served as household knights during the 1330s and 1340s and campaigned together on numerous occasions in Scotland and on the continent, clearly

[31] Stephen Church makes a similar point for the household knights of King John: S. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 13.
[32] N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 76-7.
[33] D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1998), pp. 262-4; D. Green, 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 133-52. See also N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 29. For the later retinue of the Black Prince see D. Green, 'The Later Retinue of Edward the Black Prince', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44 (2000), 141-51.
[34] R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013), pp. 301-6. For more on the connection between household knights and the Order of the Garter, see below, pp. 212-5.

became close associates: in a land transaction of 1347, Corder entailed a great amount of land to Cobham to ensure its smooth succession to Corder's heirs after his death.[35]

Importantly, Edward was not immune to the bonds that could be formed on military campaigns and in courtly pursuits. Indeed, the closeness of the king to household knights such as William Montagu in the 1330s is well known. In his *Scalacronica*, Sir Thomas Gray wrote that Montagu and the king led a 'jolly life' together in the 1330s, regularly engaging in 'jousts and tournaments, and feasting the ladies'.[36] Likewise, in 1333 Edward and Montagu appeared at court together dressed in identical red taffeta surcoats embroidered with birds, another sign of their close personal relationship.[37] Though particularly strong, Edward's bond to Montagu was not unique. In 1343, William Sturmy, who had been a household knight since 1338, returned to England from campaigning with the king in Brittany seemingly as a result of illness or injury. To ease his journey, Edward sent writs to all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs and ministers stating that they should 'furnish a carriage at the king's charge as required for William Sturmy, who stood with him in service and Brittany and has come back to the port of Portsmouth with armour and other things'.[38] Later that year, Sturmy was granted respite from the duties of knighthood for three years as he was 'so ill he could not labour without great bodily peril'.[39] A year later this was extended for life as he was 'old and paralytic'.[40] That Edward should be so concerned with the welfare of his household knights, even after they left service, offers an indication of the warmth that could exist between the longest serving household knights and their king.

[35] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 250.
[36] T. Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Surtees Society, CCIX: Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106-7.
[37] TNA, E101/388/8, m. 6; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 134; Shenton, 'The English Court', p. 195.
[38] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 13.
[39] Ibid., p. 137.
[40] Ibid., p. 361.

1.3 Chamber Knights and King's Knights

While the system of retaining simple household knights and household bannerets remained a constant for the first thirty years of Edward's reign, the knightly household underwent a dramatic transformation during the last two decades of his reign, particularly in the first few years of the 1360s. In 1360, fees and robes were distributed to a group of fifty-seven simple household knights (*milites hospicii Regis*) and household bannerets (*bannerettis hospicii Regis*), in the same way they had been since the late thirteenth century.[41] In 1364, the next year for which records survive, however, robes and fees were instead provided for just twelve men now styled 'chamber knights' (*milites camere Regis*).[42] Kings of medieval England continued to retain a small number of 'chamber knights' for the rest of the fourteenth century and much of the fifteenth. Clearly a monumental shift in royal retaining occurred in the first half of the 1360s. Remarkably, the only investigation to have been offered into the transition from household knights to chamber knights so far is that of Chris Given-Wilson, who contended that the lack of foreign war in the 1360s, coupled with Edward's increasing domesticity, meant that the decade saw a move from the military-focussed household knights to a new group of domestically-focussed chamber knights.[43] Given-Wilson is almost certainly correct in his conclusions. Nonetheless, it is important to offer additional detail on the intricacies of the rise of the chamber knights in the fourteenth century, for it was not as straightforward as this picture would suggest.

The chamber knights retained after 1360 were held in royal service via the same mechanisms that had bound the simple household knights to the royal household: biannual fees and robes were paid through the royal wardrobe at an annual rate of 10 and 8 marks, respectively. These sums suggest that it was the simple household knights that gave way to the chamber knights, rather than

[41] TNA, E101/393/11, f. 76r.
[42] TNA, E101/394/16, m. 9.
[43] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 204-11. See also Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 9, fn. 25.

the household bannerets. This is supported when personnel are considered: of the chamber knights in receipt of robes for 1364, all of those who had also received household robes in 1359-60 had done so as simple household knights.[44] It is also important to note that, unlike simple household knights, the rank of household banneret did not cease entirely. Rather it persisted in relation to the most senior positions within household officialdom. As outlined above, prior to 1360 the steward and chamberlain of the household had both been selected from those retained as household bannerets, and this was also the case after 1360. Allowances were made to a *baneretto seneschallo hospicii Regis* (banneret-steward of the king's household) at the traditional rate of 20 marks for fees and 16 marks for robes on a biannual basis after 1360. Payment was also, on occasion, made at this rate to a *camerarius hospicii Regis* (chamberlain of the king's household).[45] Clearly, some semblance of the old system persisted.

It is also important to note that 1364 was not the first year in which the term 'chamber knight' was used in reference to the knightly retainers of the kings of England. The earliest known use of the phrase can, as Given-Wilson correctly asserts, be traced to 1320, when the author of the *Annales Paulini, sub anno 1320* described Edmund Darel, who was implicated in a plot to seize Edward II's wife, Queen Isabella, as a *miles de camere domini Regis* (knight of the lord king's chamber).[46] The term was used again in 1322-23, when Giles Beauchamp was styled *chevalier de la chamber le Roi* (knight of the king's chamber), and John Sturmy as the *seneschal de la chamber Roi* (steward of the king's chamber).[47] As Kathryn Warner has recently noted, Beauchamp was also referred to in such terms in a list of payments made from Edward II's chamber in 1326.[48] The explanation that Given-Wilson provided for these occurrences was that they were the by-product of the increased prominence that the royal chamber enjoyed while the younger Hugh Despenser

[44] TNA, E101/394/16, m. 9; E101/393/11, f. 76r.
[45] In 1376 this was Robert Ashton, TNA, E101/389/9, ff. 3, 27.
[46] *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS: London, 1882), i, pp. 287-8.
[47] J. Conway-Davies, 'The First Journal of Edward II's Chamber', *EHR*, 30 (1915), pp. 677-8.
[48] K. Warner, 'Bought by the King Himself: Edward II, his Chamber, his Family and his Interests in 1325-26', in *Fourteenth Century England X*, ed. G. Dodd (Woodbridge, 2018), p. 7; Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 122, p. 70.

was acting as chamberlain. This argument is a logical one, and goes some way in accounting for these early uses of the term. It is important to note, however, that the use of these terms was not replicated in any wardrobe documentation at the time, with the system of 'simple household knights' (*milites hospicii Regis/milites simplices*) and 'household bannerets' (*bannerettis hospicii Regis*) continuing unperturbed. The term 'chamber knight' also received some usage during Edward III's reign prior to 1360. The robes and fees section of the counter roll of daily foreign expenses for 1338 lists a group of twenty-three *milites camere* (chamber knights) in conjunction with the traditional *bannerettis hospicii Regis* (household bannerets) of that year, where simple household knights would normally be expected to feature.[49] The term was used again in 1338, when the royal household was in Antwerp and rooms were provided *pro militibus camere domini Regis* (for the knights of the king's chamber).[50] These were the first occasions on which the term featured in official government records. A decade later, in 1348, twelve knights were described as *milites camere Regis* (chamber knights) in a livery roll of the great wardrobe in relation to a royal hastilude at Lichfield.[51] Finally, in 1355, John Staunton was retained by the king for life as 'a knight of his chamber and one of his household'.[52] This is particularly significant, for it suggests that there was some distinction between membership of the household and chamber by this time.

How are these occurrences to be accounted for? It may be that innocent scribal error lay behind this language, though in the absence of wardrobe account books for each of these years it is impossible to verify this. However, this seems an unlikely explanation, particularly given that it was used on two separate occasions in the same year in 1338, and that household and chamber membership were individually specified in the grant made to Staunton in 1355. A more likely explanation lies, as was the case with Despenser in the 1320s, with the history of the chamber. As T.F. Tout has shown, the years 1333-55 saw the chamber return to prominence after it had fallen

[49] TNA, E101/388/5, mm. 9-11.
[50] *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 231-2.
[51] TNA, E101/391/15, mm. 5-6.
[52] *CPR, 1353-58*, p. 173.

from grace alongside the Despensers in the late 1320s. During this time, some lands were taken under the administrative umbrella of the chamber for the first time since the early 1320s, and the chamber became increasingly important in military administration.[53] The use of the term in these years would, then, seemingly reflect this increasing prominence. The implication of this is that the term chamber knight was being used long before 1360 to differentiate a select core of knights bound to the king through his most personal office.

Although the rise of the chamber knights was a long road of experimentation, the 1360s should still be seen as the key phase in its development. Indeed, while the idea that some knights could be attached to the king through the royal chamber, as opposed to the household, clearly emerged during the middle decades of Edward's reign, it was only during the 1360s that the long-established household knight ceased to be retained for good. The term did not vanish from usage entirely, but it never again appeared in the wardrobe account books, and allowances of robes and fees were never again made to any *banerettis hospicii Regis* (household bannerets) or *milites hospicii Regis* (simple household knights). In comparison, the term *milites camere Regis* (chamber knights) was used in four of the five wardrobe account books between 1360 and 1377, and all three of those to have survived from Richard II's reign. This is not to say that some scribal variation did not occur in the early years of the chamber knight system. Indeed, Given-Wilson drew attention to a list of thirty-four persons for whom robes were provided for the Christmas festivities of 1366, twenty-three of whom were described as *bachelerii* (bachelors).[54] Were these the chamber knights for that year? J.M.W. Bean found the word *bachelerii* being used in the registers of John of Gaunt and the Black Prince's households to denote a core group of knights retained at the heart of these establishments, who were elsewhere described as *milites camere* (knights of the chamber).[55] It thus seems likely that this term was borrowed by the scribe in 1366 to denote a group who were

[53] Tout, *Chapters*, iv, pp. 238-311. See also S.B. Chrimes, *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 197-8.
[54] TNA, E101/395/10; Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 207-9, 281.
[55] Bean, "'Bachelor" and "Retainer'", pp. 121-2. See also, Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 22-32.

essentially chamber knights. Certainly the crossover between the chamber knights and *bachelerii* was strong. All thirteen of those who had served as chamber knights in 1364 featured amongst the twenty-three men listed as *bachelerii* in 1366, four of whom – Thomas Beauchamp, Alan Buxhull, Peter de Breux and Richard Pembridge – also received robes as chamber knights for 1366-67 (see Appendix 1). Of the remaining ten, four – Thomas Murreux, Robert Ashton, John de Ypres and Roger Elmerigg – all served in the household in either the late 1350s or 1370s. As Given-Wilson argues, the terms *bachelerii* and 'chamber knight' can, therefore, be roughly equated.

Importantly, it was also only after 1360 that the expectations placed on these men, and their duties as royal retainers, began to reflect this changing vocabulary. The most immediately apparent point here is one of numbers. Indeed, while anywhere between twenty and one hundred household knights could be retained in any given year under Edward III, the largest number of chamber knights to have been simultaneously in receipt of robes was twelve in 1364, while the average was nearer five.[56] It is also significant that these numbers were substantially more stable than they had been under the household knights. Unlike the household knights, the number of chamber knights did not increase at times of war, suggesting that this was no longer their chief occupation. Instead, as Given-Wilson rightly contends, the primary function of these chamber knights was domestic.[57] The reduction in numbers would also have had the effect of increasing the cohesion amongst this group. Indeed, while men often came and went quickly under the household knight system, the small number of chamber knights in Edward's last years had a much slower turnover rate. As a result, this group would have been yet more cohesive than the household knights had been. This appears to have been appreciated by external observers. Chancery documentation in the 1370s, for instance, begins for the first time to include the phrase 'one of the knights of the king's chamber' when referring to one of the royal knights, a practice that had been followed only on very rare

[56] See below, Table 2.1, p. 55.
[57] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 210.

occasions in relation to household knights.[58] It also fundamentally altered the relationship these knights had with the wider royal household. Indeed, as can be seen in Diagram 1.2, the move from household knights to chamber knights stripped the household of its principal outward facing group. In its place, it was left with a small group of retainers within the broader confines of his chamber who, while still influential courtiers, were no longer used as frequently to extend royal authority into England's localities, nor lead her armies.

If it is now clear *how* the transformation of the household knights into chamber knights occurred, it is necessary to consider *why* this change happened. The explanation that Given-Wilson gave for the decline of the household knight was a simple one: lack of war in the 1360s, an absence of royal participation upon its renewal in the 1370s, and the king's increasing domesticity in his last year left them surplus to requirements.[59] Lack of war was certainly a significant factor. As shall be seen in the next chapter, the demands of warfare were the single largest consideration that Edward made when recruiting his household knights. The fact that the household knights fell away so sharply upon the signing of the treaty of Brétigny, which ushered in nearly a decade of peace with France, can therefore have been no coincidence. Lack of war was not the only reason for such a decline. The way in which armies were raised developed significantly over the fourteenth century, and this may too have had an impact. Most important here was the rise of the indenture of war. These legal contracts, which acted as a physical record for both parties of the terms of military service, became increasingly common over the fourteenth century and by 1360 were the primary way in which the crown could raise an army.[60] This took much of the burden of gathering troops off the crown's shoulders; the king could now simply enter into contracts with his leading captains, who would in turn be expected to make subcontracts and so on until an army had formed.

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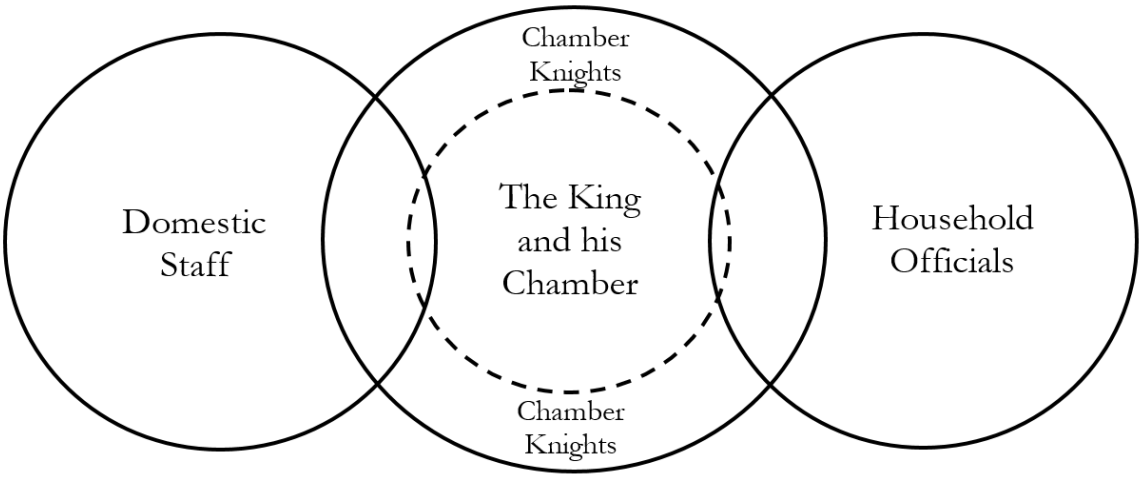
[58] See, for example, *CPR, 1370-74*, p. 77, 436; *CPR, 1372-77*, p. 5. For the earlier use of 'knight of the king's household', see *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 302; *CCR, 1337-39*, p. 76.
[59] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 206-12.
[60] The entire English army that served on the Reims campaign of 1359-60 was raised in such a way. For more, see A.E. Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', in *Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. V. H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacobs (Manchester, 1933), pp. 283-97; Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', pp. 159-252.

Diagram 1.2 – The Structure of the Royal Household, c. 1360-1377:



It was, therefore, no longer necessary for the king to keep about him a permanent group of household knights who could expand at times of war to form the core of Edward's armies, as had long been the case. Upon renewal of war in 1369, after nearly a decade without household knights, it is, therefore, unsurprising that the king did not feel the need to recruit a great number of household knights to fill his armies – times had moved on.

While the changing demands of warfare offer the most likely explanations for the fall of the household knights, they do not explain why the chamber knights rose in their place. As already outlined, of unquestionable importance was the increasing prominence the chamber enjoyed over the fourteenth century. Indeed, the chamber gradually came to replace the hall as the heart of activity in the royal household, and that this should be reflected in a shift from household knights to chamber knights is unsurprising.[61] Admittedly, the chamber's rising prominence in the 1330s, 1340s and early 1350s was halted, and to some extend reversed, in the second half of the 1350s, as the wardrobe sought to retain its position in the administrative hierarchy. Nevertheless, the idea of a small group of knights attached to the king's chamber had, by this stage, been tried and tested on enough occasions to ensure that it continued and flourished thereafter.[62] The changing

[61] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 204-11; Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 9, fn. 25.
[62] Tout, *Chapters*, iv, pp. 312-48.

personality of Edward in his later years must also have been important. Indeed, the contraction of royal knights at this time, and their increased intimacy with the king, should undoubtedly be viewed as part of the wider trend by which the king kept an ever smaller group of courtiers around himself in his last years.[63]

Given the fact that the final phase of Edward's reign was so transformative in the history of the royal household knight, it is useful to finish this chapter by considering what happed after his death in 1377. Given-Wilson suggested that Richard II did not return to the household knight system upon his accession to the throne in 1377. Rather, he continued to retain a small number of chamber knights and began adding to their ranks by retaining influential members of the county gentry, commonly referred to as 'king's knights' (*milites Regis*) and 'king's esquires' (*scutarius Regis*), who were more numerous and less formally bound in royal service than the earlier household knights had been.[64] Given-Wilson's model has, however, been challenged by Shelagh Mitchell. While Mitchell accepted that a core of chamber knights emerged within the household in the 1360s and persisted under Richard II, she emphatically disputed Given-Wilson's reading of the new 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires'. Instead, Mitchell argued that these royal knights were not a new phenomenon, but were, in essence, the same entity as Edward III's household knights, and were understood as such by their contemporaries.[65] For Mitchell, it is only an erroneous translation of the terms used to describe these men in chancery documentation that has led to them being differentiated from the earlier household knights.

Though Mitchell offered a number of valuable reconsiderations about the duties of the later 'king's knights' and 'esquires' and their similarities to the earlier household knights, such as the

[63] See Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 524-49; Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 142-60, 207-11.
[64] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 211-17.
[65] S. Mitchell, 'Some Aspects of the Knightly Household of Richard II' (unpublished PhD thesis: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1998), esp. pp. 1-69. For a summary of her arguments, see S. Mitchell, 'The Knightly Household of Richard II and the Peace Commissions', in *The Fifteenth Century II: Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 45-6; G. Dodd, 'Henry V's Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413', in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. G. Dodd (York, 2013), pp. 47-8.

renewed emphasis she placed on their military duties, there are flaws in her argument. First, while some 'king's knights' did serve the king in a military capacity, such service tended to be rendered by only a core of 'king's knights' from within the wider affinity.[66] By comparison, it was common for over 95 percent of Edward III's household knights to serve with him on any given military campaign.[67] Likewise, the way in which Richard II's 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' were bound to the king was fundamentally different to the way in which the household knights of Edward III were. They did not receive household robes and fees through the wardrobe. Rather, they were bound directly to the king through the granting of exchequer annuities, royal badges and, increasingly after 1389, life contracts. Many of those who served as household knights under Edward III also received such items, but never as a means of retaining them in household service.[68] A consequence of this was that these men were nowhere recorded as a single group, and would have had no means of identifying themselves as such in the same way the household knights did through their household robes. The sense of cohesion and collective identity under the 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' would, therefore, have been less apparent than it had been with the household knights. Moreover, it means that the method used to identify these men as royal retainers is different to that used for Edward III's household knights. Because they appear in no wardrobe account book, a man's status as a 'king's knight' after 1377 can, as Mitchell identified, only be inferred from the description *miles noster* (our knight) following their name in chancery documentation. Importantly, this differed from the form used to describe members of the wider knighthood in these documents. Members of the knighthood not retained as 'king's knights' were described using the form: *nostro* (our), followed by their name and then finally the suffix *miles*

[66] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 221-2. See also Mitchell, 'Some Aspects of the Knightly Household', pp. 100-4; D. Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom: The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Minnesota, 1996), pp. 363-417.
[67] See below, p. 124.
[68] See below, pp. 264-7.

(knight). In this instance, *nostro* (our) was simply used as a convention to show that the knight was a subject of the king, while the suffix *miles* (knight) was only intended to record his rank.[69]

The fact that Richard II's 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' can only be identified in sources which rarely recorded who Edward III's household knights were, and *vice versa*, means that it is not possible to trace the changing terminology used to describe these men continuously through a single document type. The only reference in chancery documentation to specifically refer to one of Edward's household knights as his personal retainer comes in the close rolls for 1339, when Gawain Corder is described as a *miles hospicii Regis* (knight of the king's household).[70] In legal proceedings in 1340, meanwhile, the household knights John Lisle of Rougemont and John Montgomery were both described as *vostre bachelor* (his [i.e. the king's] bachelors) in a form not dissimilar to that which became common under Richard II.[71] Even so, when the language used across a variety of government sources is examined, it becomes clear that a definite change in the vocabulary used by contemporaries when discussing these men occurred in 1377.

Let us take first the term *miles hospicii Regis* (household knight). This term was used routinely to describe Edward III's knightly retainers, and appeared in all but one of his wardrobe account books before 1360. Comparatively, such language was used very rarely during Richard's reign. The principal occasion on which it appeared after 1377 came in 1385 when, in relation to a brawl which occurred involving John Holland and Ralph Stafford, both were described as 'household knights' in the patent roll.[72] Given that this is an isolated instance, however, it seems likely that an outdated term was being used by an individual scribe within the chancery, rather than this being their formal style.[73] This is supported by the fact that the term 'king's knight' (*miles Regis*), which appeared just

[69] For a useful summary: Dodd, 'Henry V's Establishment', pp. 47-8.
[70] TNA, C54/163, m. 6; *CCR, 1339-41*, p. 76.
[71] TNA, SC1/38/100, printed in *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Edward III*, ed. G.O. Sayles (London, 1958), v, pp. cli-clii.
[72] *CPR, 1385-89*, pp. 62, 99.
[73] On this point, see C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS*, 5th series, 37 (1987), p. 90.

once under Edward III, emerged with some regularity during Richard's reign.[74] The sole appearance of this term under Edward III came in the wardrobe account book of 1359-60, when Edward's household knights were described as *banerettis Regis/milites Regis* (king's bannerets/king's knights). Importantly, this is the only account book to survive from the period during which Edward's household was merged with that of Queen Philippa, and so this language was probably used to make clear that these were Edward's retainers, not Philippa's. Richard II's knightly retainers, on the other hand, were often described using such language, especially in chancery documentation. Admittedly, use of the term 'king's knight' here is complicated by the fact that the original chancery rolls, as noted, used the term 'our knight' (*miles nostro*), rather than 'king's knight' (*miles Regis*), as appears in the calendared versions. Nevertheless, where these men are referred to in third-person in the original chancery documentation the accepted term after 1377 appears to have been *miles Regis* (king's knight). There are various letters of protection issued throughout Richard II's reign and recorded on the chancery rolls, for example, which described specific individuals as *milites Regis* (king's knights). This includes letters of protection issued to the John Colville, *miles Regis* (king's knight), in 1378, and a knight serving in the retinue of the William le Scrope, *miles Regis* (king's knight), in 1397.[75] While Mitchell is therefore correct to see the 'household knights' and 'king's knights' as similar counterparts, they were not the same thing.

This is seemingly confirmed in the difference between 'household esquires' and 'king's esquires' – groups that Mitchell largely ignores. Indeed, unlike the household knights, the household esquires (*scutarius hospicii Regis*) continued to receive robe and fee payments as part of the royal household after 1377. In addition to them, a number of men described as 'king's esquires' (*scutarius Regis*) in the chancery documentation were also retained by the king through the granting of exchequer annuities, royal badges and life-contracts.[76] Clearly, there was a perceivable difference

[74] Given-Wilson records that it was used to describe some three-hundred men between 1377 and 1413: Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 211.
[75] TNA, C76/63, m. 13; C66/347, m. 15.
[76] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 212.

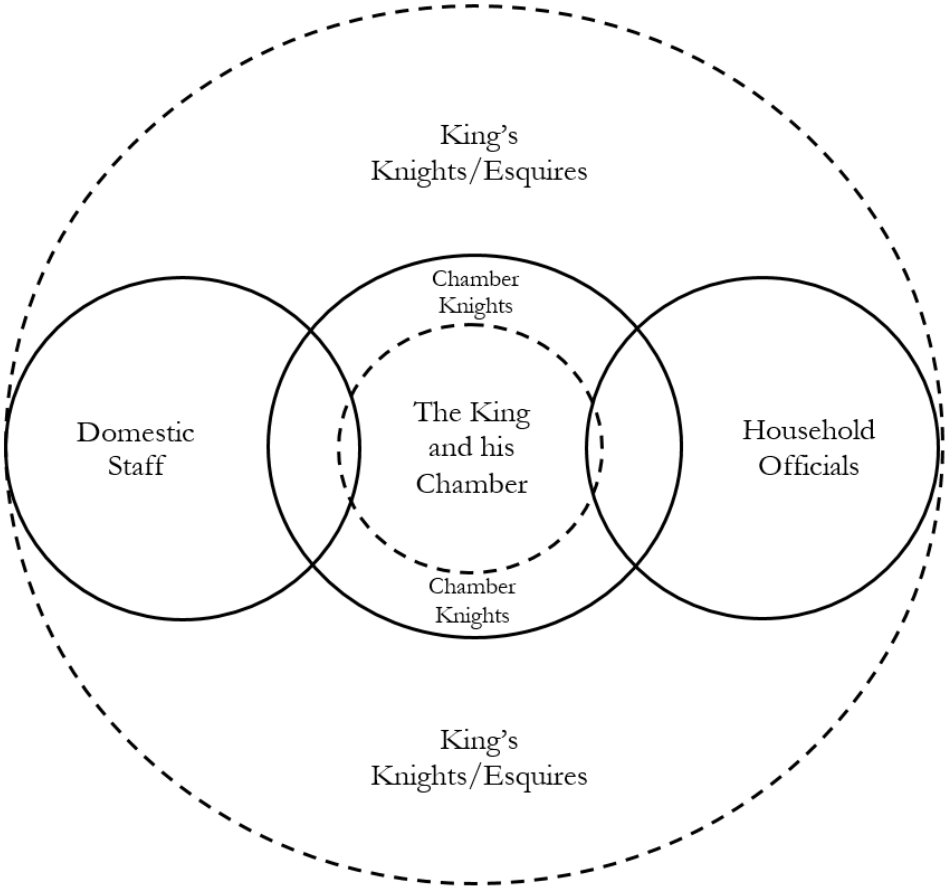
between 'household esquires' and 'king's esquires' under Richard II, a difference that was almost certainly replicated between 'household knights' and 'king's knights'.

As with the move from the household knight system to the retaining of chamber knights, the rise of the king's knights and king's esquires also had a significant impact on the structures of the royal household: as seen in Diagram 1.3, the outermost ring of the household that was responsible for extending royal influence outwardly had returned, but with some fundamental differences. First, the king's knights and king's esquires were no longer formally part of the household and as such they are represented here within a dashed line. Likewise, because of the persistence of the chamber knights, few of these men would have had personal relationship with the king in the manner that household knights had done. While the king's knights and esquires were broadly comparable to the earlier household knights, then, their relationship with the royal household was not.

If Richard II did not return to a system of household knights after 1377, why this was? The monarchy's continued lack of involvement in warfare was clearly important. Indeed, Richard II, who came to the throne as a minor, was no warrior even during his majority, and only engaged sporadically in martial affairs – chiefly in Scotland in 1385 and Ireland in 1394-95 and 1399.[77] Further, the indenture system which came to prominence under Edward III was by Richard II's reign so entrenched in military administration that it was unnecessary for Richard to return to a core of household knights within the army. If a return to the old system was not the way forward, why was a system of 'king's knights' deemed a better fit? The key to understanding this lies in the influences surrounding Richard. No royal household knight had been retained during Richard's lifetime, so this would have been an out-dated and unfamiliar concept to him. What would have been far more visible and far more familiar were the growing noble affinities of the later fourteenth century. In particular, John of Gaunt's affinity would have provided the ideal model for Richard.

[77] Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 135-47, 270-92. For a more generous account of Richard II as a willing military participant frustrated by a lack of suitable opportunities to campaign in person on the continent see, C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth and Politics, 1388-99* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 127-43, 235-43.

Diagram 1.3 – The Structure of the Royal Household, c. 1377-1399:



Gaunt's influence on Richard at the time of his ascension was unparalleled, and the size and splendour of his following would certainly have been attractive to Richard. Moreover, during the 1380s, when Richard first began to retain 'king's knights' in substantial numbers, Gaunt was active in his attempts to assert his claim to the throne of Castile.[78] Gaunt's following would, therefore, have been the most visible example of a 'royal affinity' available to Richard at this formative time, and would have been a strong factor in why Richard retained as he did.

[78] A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 111-43.

Conclusion

The fourteenth century was a time of transition for the household knights. For the first thirty years of Edward's reign, the system continued as it long had, with simple household knights and household bannerets retained through the giving of household robes and fees each year. Though these two ranks were distinct from one another, and – as will be seen in later chapters – their responsibilities and duties often subtly different, together they formed a cohesive group of royal retainers with a strong sense of collective identity. After 1360, however, the system changed dramatically. The retaining of chamber knights, which had been experimented with on various occasions during Edward's reign, became the prominent feature of the knightly household thereafter, altering what it was to be a royal knight and changing how men were held in royal service. After 1377, a new rank of 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' was added to these chamber knights. While Shelagh Mitchell has contended that these men were, in essence, the same entity as the earlier household knights, the weight of the evidence suggests this was not the case. Their primary duties were less overtly military in focus, the ways in which they were bound to the king were fundamentally different and ultimately less defined, and the language used by contemporaries to discuss these men underwent a clear – if not always absolute – change after 1377. The very essence of what it was to be a knight retained in the formal service of the king was, therefore, quite different at the end of the fourteenth century than it had been at Edward III's accession in 1327. Edward III's reign thus occupied a central place in the history of the royal knight in later medieval England.

2

Patterns of Recruitment

The system of biannually allocated robes and fees by which Edward III retained his household knights meant that the size and personnel of the knightly household was ever-changing. Each year new men entered household service while others left it, all, in theory, at the king's will. The focus of this chapter is to examine how and why the number of household knights retained, and the reasons behind the selection of these men, changed from year to year as it did during Edward's reign. This will be done in three main sections. The first shall consider the overall size of the knightly household, assessing how external factors influenced the number of household knights Edward retained. The second will investigate the continuity of service amongst household knights, the rate at which new men were recruited into the household, and the length of time spent by household knights in royal service. Finally, the third section will examine the personnel of Edward III's knightly household, asking who the household knights were and by what criteria they were chosen for service. From this, an initial flavour of who the household knights were and what they offered Edward III will begin to emerge.

This chapter will also offer important prosopographical data for the study of the late-medieval military retinue. Since 1994, when Andrew Ayton's *Knights and Warhorses* first highlighted the paucity of our understanding of who served in the private military retinues of the fourteenth-

century English nobility, a great push has taken place to rectify this.[1] Important progress has been made in the work of David Green, Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, David Simpkin, Andy King, Adam Chapman, Nicholas Gribit and Gary Baker, and as a result of the Medieval Soldier Database project, which offers an online catalogue of many of those who served in English armies between 1369 and 1453.[2] Nonetheless, the current state of affairs remains unsatisfactory: a great deal has yet to be understood about the stability and continuity of personnel in military retinues at this time, as well as the recruitment networks which provided men for each retinue. This chapter seeks to add to the recent wealth of work in this area by offering a study of the greatest 'retinue' of all: that of Edward III's knightly household. This is especially valuable as records for service in the knightly household at this time are far fuller than anything that exists for contemporary noble retinues, and therefore a more detailed investigation of retinue personnel is possible.

2.1 The Size of the Knightly Household

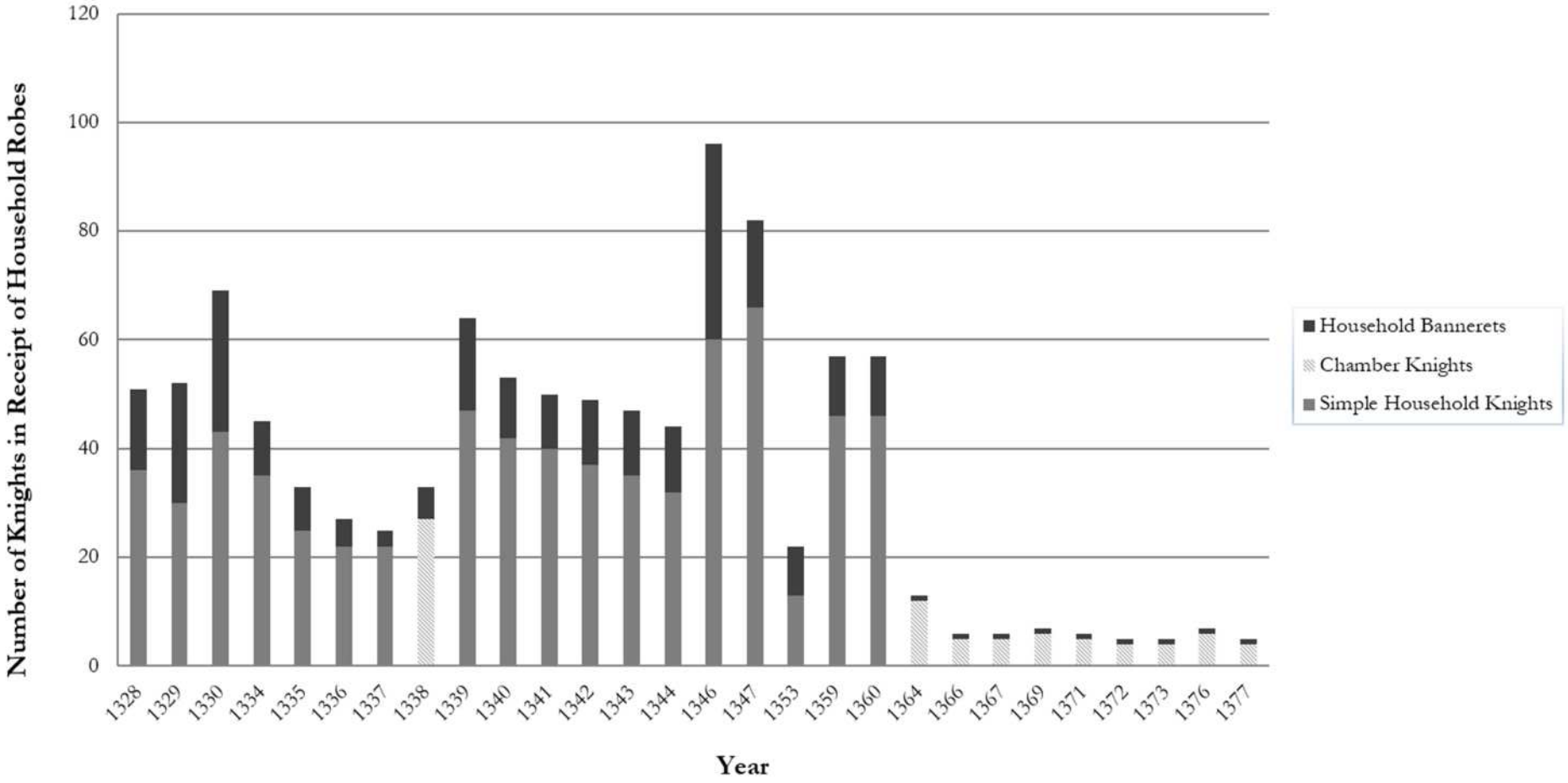
A total of 284 men are known to have served as household knights under Edward III, though undoubtedly more did so whose names have long been lost.[3] Prior to the move to the chamber

[1] A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994). See also A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 107-32; A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 35-107; A. Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. Chapman, A. King and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 9-59.

[2] D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1998), 2 vols.; D. Green, 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 133-52; A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004); A. Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, 2005), chapter 3; D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008); A. King, 'A Good Chance for the Scots? The Recruitment of English Armies for Scotland and the Marches, 1337-1347', in *England and Scotland at War, c.1296-1513*, ed. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2012), pp. 119-58; N. Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2016), esp. chapters 7 and 8; G. Baker, 'To Agincourt and Beyond! The Martial Affinity of Edward of Langley, Second Duke of York (c.1373-1415)', *JMH*, 43 (2017), 40-58. For the Medieval Soldier Database, see: www.medeival soldier.org. For its resultant publications, see: A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013); *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. Chapman, A. King and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2011); *Soldiers, Weapons and Armies in the Fifteenth Century: Journal of Medieval Military History IX*, ed. A. Curry and A.R. Bell (Woodbridge, 2011); and *Waging War in the Fourteenth Century: Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), ed. A.R. Bell and A. Curry.

[3] See Appendix 1.

Table 2.1 – Number of Household Knights retained by Year, 1327-1377:



knight system in the early 1360s, these were retained at an average of fifty per year. Such an average disguises the considerable variation in size that occurred in the knightly household between 1327 and 1360 (Table 2.1). The largest number of household knights simultaneously retained under Edward III was ninety-four, in late 1346. Just twenty-two household knights, on the other hand, received robes and fees in 1353, the smallest figure for any year before 1364. Above all else, the number of household knights retained was dictated by anticipated military activity; years in which heavy military campaigning was expected saw household knights retained in far greater numbers than years of peace. As noted above, 1346, the year of Edward's single largest military campaign, the Crécy campaign, saw nearly twice the average number of household knights retained, though thirty of these did not join the household until later in the year (see Appendix 2).[4] The following year, meanwhile, during which Edward was engaged in a lengthy siege of Calais, eighty-two men were being retained, another large figure.[5] Comparatively, in 1353, when just twenty-two household knights were retained, the king was not personally involved in active campaigning. The enlargement of the knightly household at times of war had also been common under Edward's predecessors. Though Edward II kept an average of nearer sixty household knights in service at any one time, he retained some 121 household knights for the ill-fated Bannockburn campaign of 1314, an unmatched figure for the fourteenth century.[6]

What did the household knights offer the king that caused them to be retained in such numbers at times of war? The army that accompanied English kings to war in the fourteenth century was 'essentially the household in arms': the household knights and the private military retinues that accompanied them provided the central 'household division' of royal armies around

[4] See, M. Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign of 1346', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2018).
[5] *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (Society of Antiquities, 1790), pp. 10-12.
[6] Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', p. 60. See also Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', i, pp. 23-31; M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp. 46-7; S. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 16-38; S. Church, 'The Knights of the Household of King John: A Question of Numbers', in *Thirteenth Century England IV: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1991*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 151-66. See also the table in Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 206.

which the rest of the army was formed.[7] Typically, Edward III's household knights provided in the region of one sixth of the overall strength of English armies, though this was often substantially more, especially in the early 1340s. A scheme devised for raising an army for service in Brittany in the early 1340s would have seen a staggering 67 percent of the soldiers serving on the campaign doing so in household retinues, though this scheme never came to fruition.[8] In addition, there were qualitative differences between household and non-household knights that made the military service of the former particularly valuable. It was an expected part of household service, for example, that a household knight would accompany the king to war, even at short notice – an average of 95 percent did so between 1327 and 1360.[9] Because they were already in receipt of household robes and fees, it also appears to have been unnecessary to formalise the household knights' military service in a formal indenture, even when they were leading men in the king's absence. It is perhaps no coincidence that of the five main retinue captains in the earl of Lancaster's army that campaigned in Aquitaine in 1345-46, the only two who did not enter into a formal indenture with the king were Walter Mauny and Ralph Stafford, both of whom had been household knights for many years.[10] The military service that the household knights offered the king was thus more flexible and easier to deploy at speed than that of their non-household counterparts. There are numerous instances of this being utilised by the king in practice. In 1336, Edward and a force of 400 men consisting mainly of household knights and their retinues rode deep in the Scottish highlands to rescue the Countess of Atholl, whose castle at Lochindorb had come under siege from Scottish forces.[11] In the final days of 1349, meanwhile, Edward was forced to break off his Christmas festivities at Havering and ride to Calais to prevent a French force

[7] Tout, *Chapters*, ii, pp. 31, 133. See also Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance,* pp. 41-66; A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 25.
[8] TNA, C47/2/33, printed with commentary in M. Prestwich, 'English Armies in the Early Stages of the Hundred Years War: A Scheme in 1341', *BIHR*, 56 (1983), 102-13. See also below, pp. 106-12.
[9] See below, p. 124.
[10] Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 39-40.
[11] C.J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 116-19. For more on Lochindorb see *The Book of Pluscarden*, ed. and trans. F.J.H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 212-13.

reconquering the town, just two years after it had fallen to the English. Once again, the small force that accompanied him consisted almost entirely of household men.[12]

Though military activity was a constant factor in how many household knights were retained each year between 1327 and 1360, this was more notable after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War than before. In 1335, the year of Edward's largest Scottish campaign, only thirty-three household knights were retained. Comparatively, sixty-four household knights were issued robes and fees while campaigning with the king in the Low Countries just four years later. Thereafter, Edward did not retain fewer than forty household knights in any of the next eight years. The final campaign of Edward's reign for which household knights were retained, the Reims campaign of 1359-60, also saw them retained in high numbers, with fifty-seven household knights issued robes and fees for the duration. In all probability, this was a consequence of the sheer scale of Edward's war effort on the continent after 1337, which placed new stresses on many aspects of English royal government.[13] Nonetheless, Christopher Candy might also be right to suggest that the household knights were still proving their value as military captains during the 1330s, and that it was only after 1337 that the king was fully convinced of their worth in this respect. Indeed, if the Scottish wars of the 1330s did – as will be suggested in chapter 4 – act as a 'testing ground' for the household knights, the excellent service they offered the king in these years would explain why the king was more inclined to retain them in greater numbers after the opening of the Hundred Years War than before.[14]

In addition to military activity, the size of the knightly household was also, to some extent, dictated by the king's desire to demonstrate his prestige. As John Maddicott commented in the 1970s, 'the size and splendour of a magnate's retinue signalized his importance in the world'.[15]

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[12] R. Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), pp. 408-10; Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 89-93; Froissart (*Luce*), iv, pp. 73-80; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999), pp. 60-2.
[13] G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 231-312.
[14] C. Candy, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War, Part III: Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp. 49-62.
[15] J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), p. 40.

Though writing in relation to the earl of Lancaster's retinue in the early fourteenth century, Maddicott's words are no less applicable to Edward III's knightly household. As Alistair Tebbit has drawn attention to, Edward II often swelled the size of his knightly household to impress foreign rulers or demonstrate his primacy within his kingdom. In 1318-19, when relations between the king and the earl of Lancaster were deteriorating rapidly, Edward retained some sixty knights in his household in response to the fact that Lancaster was retaining fifty to fifty-five knights in his.[16] Though Edward III had no political rivals of the calibre of the earl of Lancaster to contend with during his reign, prestige was nevertheless a factor in his retaining. The considerable number of household knights recruited between 1338 and 1339, for example, may well have been inspired by Edward's desire to impress the foreign rules that he was attempting to broker alliances with at the time. Though the range of duties that household knights undertook ensured that they were always valuable to retain, it is crucial to remember, therefore, that, to some extent, simply retaining a sizable body of household knights was important.

Though military activity and the maintenance of royal prestige were important aspects in how many household knights were retained each year, there were a number of external factors that limited the extent to which they were able to dictate the size of the knightly household. Because the survival rate of wardrobe account books for the late 1340s and early 1350s is extremely poor, it is not possible to gauge what impact the Black Death (1347-50), which killed roughly one third of the population of England, had on the retaining of household knights.[17] Likewise, because Edward was only retaining a small number of chamber knights in the 1360s, when the plague made its second visit, this too holds no clues. Even so, given the fact that Edward only retained an average of fifty household knights a year for the majority of his reign, out of a pool of English knights that numbered in the thousands, it seems highly unlikely that it would have had a significant

[16] Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', pp. 27-9.
[17] For more on the Black Death and its demographic impact, see O.J. Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge, 2004); C. Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (London, 1997); J. Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *P&P*, 144 (1994), 3-35.

impact. If fewer household knights had been retained in the years following the Black Death, this would more likely have been a consequence of the lack of military campaigning which took place in these years as a result of the temporary truce made between England and France for the duration of the plague.

Beyond natural phenomena, it is worth remembering that household knights cost money: it took 36 marks (£24) a year in robes and fees to retain a household banneret, and 18 marks (£12) to retain a simple household knight.[18] An average of fifty household knights, as Edward kept during his reign, would, therefore, require expenditure of £680 (1,134 marks) for the year. This was not an inconsequential sum of money given the fact that Edward's personal income, taken mainly from his privately held lands, averaged little over £10,000 a year.[19] Moreover, these figures could easily escalate in years when the knightly household was greatly expanded. In 1346, Edward had to pay £816 (1,224 marks) for his thirty-four bannerets and £720 (1,080 marks) for his sixty simple household knights, a combined cost of £1,536 (2,304 marks).[20] The king might also be expected to pay supplementary costs incurred by household knights while on royal service. It would, for example, have been expected that the king provide food for the members of his household while on military campaign, and the kitchen accounts surviving from the Crécy campaign attest to just how significant the quantities consumed could be. Early on in the campaign the household consumed ninety-three cod, totalling 54*s*, salmon to the value of 26*s* 1*d*, twenty-four stockfish, eleven conger eels and four lampreys worth 4*s* apiece – more than three weeks' wages for an archer on the campaign – in a single day.[21] As discussed in Chapter 8, the king was also generous in the grants of land, annuities and other rewards to his household knights, all of which added up.[22]

[18] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 206.
[19] A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 62-5; G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975), esp. pp. 523-6.
[20] TNA, E101/390/12, f. 45r.
[21] TNA, E101/390/11, f. 58; M. Livingstone, and M. Witzel, *The Road to Crécy: The English Invasion of France, 1346* (Harlow, 2005), p. 112.
[22] See below, Chapter 8; Appendix 3.

The fact that Edward was willing to pay such sums of money to retain his household knights is a testament to the value he placed in their services. Nevertheless, such financial considerations also proved a limiting factor in how many knights the king could retain. In his work on Edward I's household knights, Michael Prestwich argued that the relatively conservative number of men retained during the 1290s, despite the king being engaged in wars on multiple fronts, is best explained by a lack of money.[23] Likewise, Jeffrey Hamilton has argued that, while 'the accounts for the seventh year of [Edward II's] reign [1313-14] have not survived… one would expect a decline in the size of the military household in consequence of the imposition of the Ordinances and the restrictions placed on the king's household by Thomas Lancaster and his allies' in 1311-12.[24] Though there were few direct criticisms made about Edward III's household expenditure before 1360, he too seems to have been more conservative in the number of household knights he retained at times when royal finances were most stretched. In 1338, for example, despite launching the first campaign against France in the Hundred Years War, Edward retained only thirty-three household knights, a possible reflection of the fact that the king was pushing his finances to breaking point in his pursuit to 'buy' allies in the Low Countries for his French war. That said, the following year, when Edward's finances were yet further strained, sixty-four household knights were retained – the fourth largest of Edward's reign. Clearly monetary constraints were not always factored into royal retaining, especially if, as in 1338, the king required a large number of household knights for his international prestige and military activity.[25]

The financial recklessness demonstrated by the king in the late 1330s caused him problems in the early 1340s. In 1340, Edward entered into a stand-off with the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Stratford, concerning the king's perceived disregard for the financial state of England in

[23] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 41-66.
[24] J.S. Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 48-9, and Appendix 2, p. 74.
[25] For more on royal finances in the late 1330s see, Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 231-52; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 212-46; E.B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward III in the Netherlands, 1337-40', in *Studies in Medieval Finance and Trade*, ed. E.B. Fryde (London, 1983), chapter 7, pp. 1149-52; E.B Fryde, 'Parliament and the French War, 1336-40', in *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, ed. E.B. Fryde and E. Miller (Cambridge, 1970), i, pp. 242-61.

favour of his ongoing conflict with France. The climax of this stand-off came in the winter of 1340-41 when, having returned from self-imposed political exile, Stratford was refused entry to parliament by the king – an unacceptable move in the eyes of the wider political community. Though both sides swiftly reconciled, the whole affair lingered in the minds of many for the next few years, something that was perhaps reflected in Edward's retaining patterns.[26] No new household knights were recruited between 1340 and 1344, and the fifty-three household knights that were being retained in 1340 fell to just forty-four by 1344. This offers an interesting contrast to the reign of Richard II, who recruited his king's knights and esquires most rapidly at times when the king felt his authority was threatened, such as in the late 1380s and late 1390s.[27] The reason for these two drastically different approaches to royal retaining at times of political crisis lies in the fact that, unlike Richard II king's knights, who were retained directly by the king through royal badges, life contracts and exchequer annuities, Edward III's household knights were retained through the royal wardrobe, the expenditure of which was audited by the exchequer. Edward, as with his predecessors, thus had to be cautious with the numbers of household knights he recruited at times when the crown was politically or financially unstable. The lack of recruitment into the knightly household during the early 1340s thus highlights that, while military activity and royal prestige were foremost in Edward's mind when deciding who should receive household robes and fees in any given year, these considerations did not exist in isolation from the financial and political realities of his reign.

2.2 Continuity and Length of Service

As with the overall size of the knightly household, the personnel retained by the king also changed from year to year. Attempting to calculate the precise rate at which individuals entered and left

[26] Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 253-93; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 226-46; N. Fryde, 'Edward III's Removal of his Minister's and Judges', *BIHR*, 48 (1975), 149-61.
[27] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 212-17.

household service is complicated by the fact that there are relatively few periods of Edward's reign during which the personnel of the household can be accurately identified in consecutive years: the decade between 1334 and 1344 is the only sustained period in which evidence survives to give a detailed picture of year-on-year changes in the household, though the survival rate of documentation for the minority years and the last decade of Edward's reign is also favourable. That said, the overall survival rate of wardrobe account books for Edward's reign is sufficient – with twenty-six years of his fifty-year reign covered – for a reasonable analysis of the continuity of personnel in the knightly household at this time to be offered.

Stability was a key characteristic of the knightly household under Edward III (Table 2.2). If Edward's reign is taken as a whole, an average of just 13 percent of household knights in any given year can be labelled 'new recruits', with the remaining 87 percent having served as such previously. There were spells when continuity of personnel was even higher than this. Aside from 1338, when fourteen new men entered the knightly household, and 1342, when nine new men were recruited, no more than two new men entered the household in any year between 1334 and 1344, and none at all entered household service from 1335-36. Consistency of personnel was also a prominent characteristic of the chamber knights after 1360, with no new knights entering service in 1367, 1372, 1373 or 1377, and just seven men entering the knightly household in total during the last decade of Edward's reign.

As with the overall size of the knightly household, the stability of its personnel could change dramatically as a result of external factors. The turnover of personnel during Edward's three-year minority, for instance, was considerably higher than for his personal rule. In 1329, 41 percent of household knights were 'new recruits', while a further 35 percent of household knights the following year were first time retainers. Though the establishment of any new regime would inevitably bring an influx of new personnel, especially one won by invasion and usurpation, the explanation behind the continued high turnover rates during the three years of minority also clearly

Table 2.2 – Turnover Rates of Personnel in the Knightly Household:

Year	*Total Retained*	*Overall Size Difference (from previous year)*	*Total Continuing*	*Percentage Continuing*	*Total New Recruits*	*Percentage of New Recruits*
1329	52	+1	36	69	16	31
1330	69	+17	41	59	28	41
1335	33	-12	33	100	0	0
1336	27	-6	27	100	0	0
1337	25	-2	23	92	2	8
1338	33	+8	19	58	14	42
1341	50	-3	49	98	1	2
1342	49	-1	40	82	9	18
1343	47	-2	45	96	2	4
1344	44	-3	44	100	0	0
1346	94	+50	34	36	60	64
1360	57	0	57	100	0	0
1367	6	0	6	100	0	0
1372	4	-1	4	100	0	0
1373	4	0	4	100	0	0
1377	4	-2	4	100	0	0
Averages:				87		13

Note: This table shows the turnover rates of household personnel only in years that follow another year in which household membership is known. The exception to this is 1346, for which the nearest record of household knights prior is 1344. The figures for this year have been included because they are of particular note given the size of the knightly household in this year.

lies with the influence of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer.[28] Indeed, over the course of the minority an increasing number of Mortimer's close associates were drafted into the royal household as a way of increasing his control over the young king and his household.[29] These men would have powerfully undermined the sense of continuity within the knightly household. During Edward's majority, military activity once more had an impact on turnover rates of personnel as men often entered the household in great numbers for a specific campaign, only to leave after one or two years of service. In 1346, only thirty-four of the ninety-four household knights retained (37 percent) had received robes and fees in 1344, the nearest year for which records exist.

[28] See, for instance, the work that has been carried out on Henry IV's affinity in the early years of his reign: Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 231-2; D. Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom: The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Minnesota, 1996), pp. 86-91; M. Arvanigian, 'Regional Society and National Politics: The Rise of the Lancastrian North', in *Regions and Regionalism: Essays in Honour of A.J. Pollard*, ed. Peter Fleming (Woodbridge, 2016); M. Arvanigian, '"Lancastrianization" of the North in the Reign of Henry IV, 1399-1413', in *Reputation and Representation in Later Medieval England*, ed. D. Biggs, A.C. Reeves and S. Michalove (Leiden, 2004), pp. 9-38.

[29] See below, pp. 189-93.

Although especially large campaigns such as Crécy had a detrimental impact on the continuity of personnel in the knightly household, warfare seems more broadly to have acted as a force for consistency. The opening years of the 1340s, though amongst the most militarily demanding of Edward's reign, saw the lowest number of new household knights recruited at any time in Edward's reign. As seen above, the lack of recruitment in these years may, in part, have been a result of the financial and political hangover which came from the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41. Nevertheless, it is significant that 98 percent of the household knights in 1341 had served as such in 1340.[30] Likewise, all of the household knights who served in 1344 had done so in 1343, of whom 95 percent had also served in 1342.[31] Even in 1346, a number of the 'new recruits' retained for this year were not entirely new. Rather, eight of the sixty men retained that year who had not been part of the household in 1344 had seen previous household service in the late 1330s and were seemingly 'redrafted' into the household for this campaign. Such stability of personnel would have provided the king with a core group of household knights each year whose qualities, reliability and skills were well known to him, and would have improved the efficiency of the knightly household as a military unit.

How does the stability of personnel in Edward III's knightly household compare to the military retinues of the English nobility at this time? As set out in the introduction to this chapter, analysis of English military retinues in the fourteenth century has been fruitful during the last two decades. These studies have typically argued that there was a considerable degree of continuity in the personnel who served in noble retinues at this time. Working on the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries David Simpkin suggested that, although 'a significant degree of mobility and fluidity' existed within the personnel of each retinue, 'only rarely do soldiers appear to have displayed no continuity in their choice of lord or retinue'.[32] In his work on the Black Prince's

[30] TNA, E101/389/8, mm. 26-7.
[31] TNA, E36/204, ff. 89r-92r.
[32] Simpkin, *English Aristocracy at War*, pp. 141-50, quotations at p. 150. See also A. Spencer, 'The Comital Military Retinue in the Reign of Edward I', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 46-59.

retinue, meanwhile, David Green argued that many of those included in the retinue roll for 1368-69 'had a long tradition of service with the prince', six having fought with him at Poitiers in 1356, many more at Nájera in 1367, and eleven of whom were in receipt of annuities from him.[33] Focussing on the earl of Northampton's retinue in 1346, Andrew Ayton likewise argued that, despite the unusually large retinues that the scale of this campaign demanded, the new men retained by the earl for the campaign joined a 'settled team of seasoned warriors', some of whom can be traced in the earl's service as far back as the mid-1330s – a conclusion that he has since reaffirmed in work on the retinues of the earl of Warwick, Hugh Despenser and Bartholomew Burghersh, as well as for the retinues of sub-comital captains such as Thomas Ughtred and Guy Brian.[34] Finally, Adrian Bell has shown that a number of knights that the earl of Arundel took to France in 1387-88 can be found campaigning with him at least a decade earlier, while a recent study of the military retinue that accompanied the earl of Lancaster to Aquitaine in 1345-46 by Nicholas Gribit, and one of Edmund of Langley's at Agincourt in 1415, have argued along similar lines.[35]

Consistency of personnel was clearly a prominent feature of noble retinues in the fourteenth century. The continuity of personnel in the knightly retinue of Edward III would, at first glance, however, appear to have been greater. Rarely can more than 50 percent of individuals serving in a noble retinue be attributed to earlier service in the same retinue. Comparatively, as has been seen, an average of 87 percent of household knights in any given year had served the king previously. That said, the records of private military retinues at this time are not as thorough as they are for the king's knightly household, meaning that tracing past service is harder, and the true level of stability in these retinues thus partly disguised. Moreover, the analyses of noble retinues in the studies outlined above have, where possible, included not only the knights and bannerets in each retinue but also the men-at-arms and archers, amongst whom repeat service was less common. Accuracy dictates, therefore, that like-for-like comparisons be made between the knightly aspects

[33] Green, 'Military Personnel', p. 137.
[34] Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', p. 206; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment'; Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred'.
[35] Bell, *War and the Solider*, pp. 171-5; Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster*, pp. 184-94; Baker, 'To Agincourt and Beyond!'.

of these retinues. When this is done, the continuity of personnel in the knightly household and noble retinues of the fourteenth century appears more comparable. Nicholas Gribit has shown that although 90 percent of the army that the earl of Lancaster took with him to Aquitaine in 1345 had not previously seen service with him, a more considerable 75 percent of bannerets and 37 percent of knights bachelor had. These levels are broadly comparable to Edward III's knightly household. Of the sixty-four household knights retained by Edward at the outset of the Crécy campaign in 1346, 89 percent of bannerets and 50 percent of simple household knights had served with the king previously. The sense of continuity within the personnel of the knightly household was, therefore, broadly comparable to, if marginally higher than, contemporary noble retinues.[36]

It is also worth noting that the consistency of household personnel under Edward III was notably higher than under Edward I or II. Overall, Edward III retained a total 284 household knights during his fifty-year reign. Subsequently, it can be calculated that at an average of five new men joined the household each year under Edward III. Comparatively, Edward I retained 282 men in just thirty-five years (average of eight new men a year), while Edward II retained an astonishing 215 men in his comparatively short reign of twenty-one years (at an average of ten new men a year).[37] Whilst differing survival rates of wardrobe account books skew these figures slightly, it is plain that there was greater continuity of personnel in Edward III's household then those of his predecessors – perhaps a reflection of Edward's ability to inspire greater loyalty amongst his followers than his predecessors, especially his father.

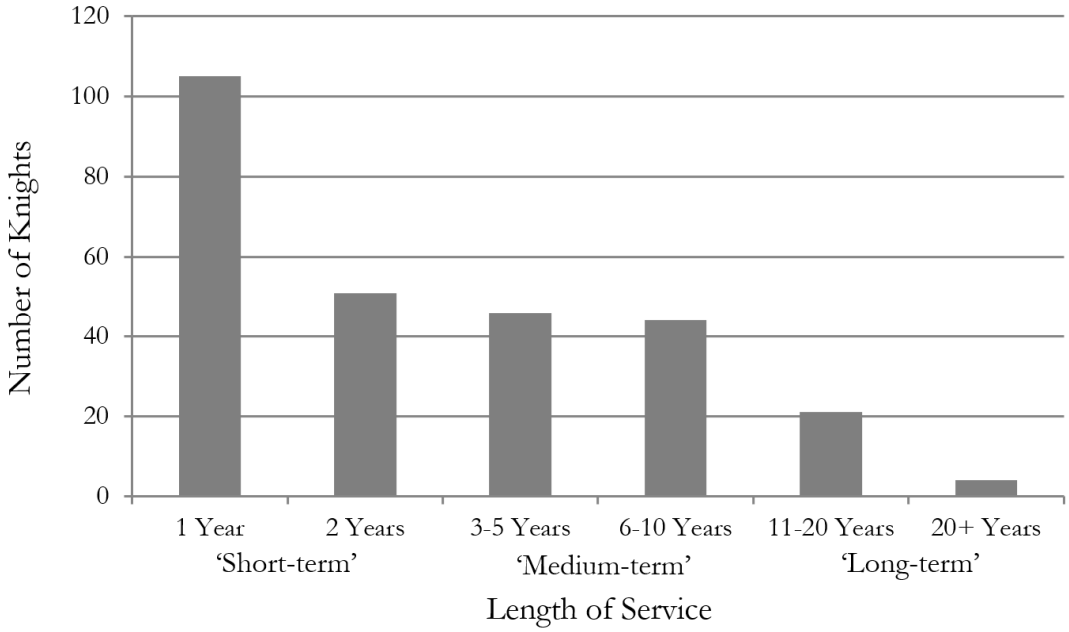
Stability within Edward's knightly household was also provided by the long service that many household knights offered. While the average time spent as a household knight under Edward III was just four years, many served for far longer than this. John Beauchamp of Warwick spent twenty-three years as a household knight, John Brocas twenty-one years, while Giles Beauchamp of Worcester, Gawain Corder and Maurice Berkeley were each retained for nineteen

[36] For a similar argument for Edward I see Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 48.
[37] Hamilton, 'Loyalty of the Household Knights', pp. 49-50.

years. The longest-serving household knight under Edward III was Peter de Breux, who spent some thirty-two years as a knight of the royal household, nine more than any other individual in the fourteenth century. In total, twenty-five of the 284 household knights to serve under Edward III (9 percent) did so for more than a decade (Table 2.3). All these men might be considered 'long-term' household knights. They would have offered a stable core of 'household careerists' who provided a familiar and reliable group throughout Edward's reign around whom the rest of the knightly household could be built. Below the 'long-serving' household knights, there were also a considerable number of men who might be called 'medium-term' household knights, who were part of the royal household for between three and ten years. In total, ninety household knights can be placed into this category (36 percent), including men such as Simon Basset, Robert Benhale, William Montagu and William Clinton, all of whom served in the 1330s and/or 1340s.

Although these men would have provided consistency to the knightly household, it cannot be overlooked that 55 percent of household knights under Edward III served for less than three years, with 37 percent spending just a single year in the household. Admittedly, because the data does not survive for all years across Edward's reign, these figures are naturally inclined towards the minimum time spent by each knight in household service. Someone who was recorded as having served only in 1346, for instance, may have served until 1352, a total of seven years. However, because they would not have appeared in the wardrobe account book for 1353, the next year for which household membership can be ascertained, their known service would be just one year. Even so, 'short-term' service was plainly most common. This suggests that, while household service was seen as a long-term career path for some household knights, for many it represented but a single step in a wider career. These men formed a periphery around the core of household knights retained year-on-year, particularly at times of great military activity. Their importance as household knights should not be overlooked: clearly the king valued their services enough to retain them, regardless of whether this was only for a brief time. Nevertheless, it was typically those who served in the household for the longest who made the greatest impact on Edward's reign. Indeed,

Table 2.3 – Length of time spent in the Knightly Household, 1327-1377:



men such as William Montagu, William Clinton, Reginald Cobham and Walter Mauny all served as household knights for at least a decade, and all had a considerable impact on English history at this time; notoriety as a household knights most often came with lengthy service.

'Short', 'medium' and 'long-term' household knights also appear to have left the household for different reasons. Some of those who served for extended spells died in service. This included Maurice Berkeley, who died during the early stage of the siege of Calais in late 1346, and John Darcy 'le pere', who died the following year, both of whom served in the household for the majority of their careers. John Beauchamp of Warwick also died in service in 1360, having been in the household since 1338. A small number of 'medium-term' household knights, meanwhile, left service upon entering the titled nobility. In 1337, four long-serving household knights – William Montagu, William Clinton, William Bohun and Robert Ufford – were raised to earldoms, and all left household service at this point: service as a household knights, though well-respected, was not for the titled nobility. Death in service or promotion to the titled nobility were not common reasons for a man to leave household service, however. More often, a household knight left when he was surplus to requirement. This was particularly true for those who served in the household for only a short time or for a specific military campaign. Such men tended to follow the action

after leaving the household. A high number of ex-household knights, for instance, went on to serve in the Black Prince's retinue in the 1350s. This included not only a number of short-term household knights, but also number of men, such as Reginald Cobham and Nicholas Langford, who had rendered many years as a household knights under Edward III.[38]

It is interesting to note that a number of knights who spent time with the Black Prince in Aquitaine in the 1350s returned to the king's household for a second spell during the Reims campaign of 1359-60. This included Miles Stapleton and Thomas Ughtred, both of whom had been retained by Edward for the Crécy campaign of 1346 but not since. As already noted, Edward had followed a similar practice in 1346, when he retained eight former household knights for the duration of the Crécy campaign. These men seemingly formed a pool of recruits into which Edward could dip in years when a great deal of military activity was planned: they were tried and tested individuals who, though not required at times of peace, could be relied on to swiftly expand the ranks of the household at times of war. All might, therefore, be considered what Andrew Ayton has termed 'military careerists': men who were beginning to make a profession from warfare in the mid to late fourteenth century, the forerunners of the professional soldiers who emerged in the fifteenth century to occupy the permanent English garrisons abroad.[39] Although the landed responsibilities these men had in England prevented them from devoting themselves wholeheartedly to a life of military professionalism, these 'dedicated soldiers of the fourteenth century' offer an interesting contrast to the ardent 'household careerists' such as John Beauchamp of Warwick, who served as a household knight from 1338 until his death in 1360, despite the lure of action in Gascony.

It is also probable that those who moved between the households of Edward and his son in the 1350s formed part of a group of flexible 'Plantagenet servants' who, rather than being tied to one specific royal household, transferred between them as part of their broader service to Edward

[38] Green, 'Household and Military Retinue', ii, pp. 38-40, 95-9, 252, 265.
[39] A. Ayton, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', *JMH*, 43 (2017), 4-23, esp. pp. 6-7. See also Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 218-44; Bell et. al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 117-29.

and his family. Indeed, throughout Edward's reign, household knights can be found moving between the households of the English royal family, or serving as part of multiple ones simultaneously. Roger Beauchamp was retained as one of the king's household knights between 1339 and 1354, and yet was described as a 'bachelor' of Queen Philippa's household in 1340 and its steward in 1350.[40] John Beauchamp of Warwick, meanwhile, almost certainly began his career as part of Philippa's household, and was the recipient of several grants from her throughout his life, including the farm of the castle of Southampton along with that of the nearby manor and park of Lyndhurst, granted in 1343.[41] Household knights also had a role to play in the households of Edward's children while they were minors. Bartholomew Burghersh the elder was influential in the household of the Black Prince in the years preceding his appointment as chamberlain of the king's household. On 6 March 1344, for example, he was granted for life 'a stannary or mine in Devon and the coinage, issues and other profits thereof, for his great service upon the custody of the [Black] prince's body and in other matters touching his estate, that he may more effective guide the prince with his counsel'.[42] Likewise, Thomas Haukeston, who served as one of Edward's household knight from at least 1346-47, was admitted to the household of the king's second son, Lionel of Antwerp, on the 8 July 1346 so that he could head a head a committee set up to make inquisitions into any abuses which may have taken place within the household or its verge.[43] The household knights who served with the Black Prince in the 1350s, then, should not be seen as having left royal service to do so. Rather, they might more accurately be seen as transferring to a different branch of the same enterprise. This fits well with the work Mark Ormrod has done on Edward III and his family. Indeed, Ormrod has argued that 'the exceptionally long period of

[40] *CPR, 1340-34*, p. 115; *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 571.
[41] *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 142, 235; J.S. Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d.1360)', *Medieval Prosopography*, 24 (2003), pp. 250-1.
[42] *CPR, 1343-35*, p. 261.
[43] *CPR, 1345-48*, pp. 178, 185, 314. Despite being married and, in theory, the head of his own independent estate, Lionel's young age in 1346 ensured that his household was still largely part of the wider royal circle at this time. It was only gradually during the 1350s that it emerged as a distinct entity. See W.M. Ormrod, 'The Royal Nursery: A Household for the Younger Children of Edward III', *EHR*, 120 (2005), p. 411; M.A.E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England* (London, 1857), iii, p. 177.

domestic peace from the 1340s to the 1370s owed itself in no small part to the unusual spirit of harmony that prevailed in the Plantagenet family.'[44] Clearly the household knights benefitted from, and were an important aspect of, this harmony.

2.3 Personnel

Having established how and why the size of the knightly household changed as it did under Edward III, and the length of time over which household knights served, in the remainder of this chapter it is important to consider who the men selected to serve as household knights were and why it was they were chosen for this role. Almost all the household knights retained by Edward were drawn from the ranks of the 'upper gentry', the topmost tier of a fluid group that has been described as comprising of 'all landowners between the baronage and yeomanry'.[45] Given-Wilson has estimated that there would have been in the region of 1,500 such families in England in the fourteenth century.[46] This meant that the majority of household knights would have enjoyed incomes of between £40 and £250 *per annum*, though some of the household bannerets, owing to their superior status, would have enjoyed incomes of between £250 and £500 *per annum*.[47] That the household knights were predominantly drawn from the ranks of the gentry should not be mistaken for assuming that Edward operated a 'gentry retaining policy'. The idea of a 'gentry retaining policy' was first put forward by Chris Given-Wilson in relation to his work on the royal affinity in the late fourteenth century, in which he argued that Richard II sought to retain enough influential members of the county gentry to enable him to have a direct impact in local affairs through them.[48] This does not appear to have been a meaningful factor in the selection of royal knights prior to 1377,

[44] W.M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and his Family', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), 398-422, quotation at p. 421.
[45] T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society*, ed. S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (Manchester, 1972), p. 97.
[46] See C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), pp. 69-73.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 217-26; C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS*, 5th series, 37 (1987), 87-102.

however. Indeed, Edward was seemingly disinclined to retain men who held the most important local political offices in each county, a principal way in which the royal affinity of Richard II was able to extend its influence, with only two household knights, for instance, serving as sheriffs prior to their entry to the king's household.[49]

A small number of Edward III's household bannerets were also members of the peerage. Though membership of the peerage in the mid fourteenth century was not fixed, it was becoming increasingly formalised, with the first recorded use of the word 'peer' coming in 1317.[50] As such, membership of this exclusive group represented an important social distinction between these bannerets and their household companions. Typically, the household bannerets who were summoned as peers under Edward III were the first generation of their family to receive the honour. This included John Beauchamp of Warwick, William Bohun, Thomas Bradeston, Guy Brian, William Clinton, Reginald Cobham, John Darcy 'le pere', Walter Mauny, William Montagu, John Stirling and Robert Ufford. All might be considered members of what James Bothwell has termed the 'new nobility'.[51] The 'new nobility', argues Bothwell, were an important aspect of Edward's reign because they provided a core of faithful and reliable royal servants who could support him both politically and in the pursuit of his foreign policy aims, particularly during the 1330s. In many cases, the men who filled the ranks of the 'new nobility' had served the king well in some capacity prior to their entry to the peerage. To find so many long-serving household knights amongst the fifty-nine men who Bothwell identifies as new men is, therefore, unsurprising. Nevertheless, it offers a useful indication of the sorts of individuals that served as household knights under Edward III: these were men moving up the social ladder, and who owed their progression to the service they rendered to the king, as well as his generosity.

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[49] See below, Table 7.1, p. 229.
[50] J.E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages: A History of the English House of Lords to 1540* (London, 1968), p. 284; J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 2-3; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp. 56-8; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973), p. 268.
[51] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 15-27.

Though Edward III's household knights emanated from broadly similar social backgrounds, covering both the upper gentry and peerage, the reasons behind the recruitment of each individual varied significantly. First, it is useful to give specific attention to the years of minority government, as it is likely Edward had only a limited say in who was retained at this time and thus it represents a unique period within the reign.[52] A core of the knightly household in the late 1320s was made up of individuals who had served in Edward's princely household – Caroline Shenton has calculated that roughly 55 percent did so.[53] This included men such as Gilbert Talbot, Edward's first chamberlain as king, William Montagu, who was one of his most intimate companions during the 1330s, and John Grey of Ruthin, all of whom feature in the records of Edward's princely household in 1325.[54] There were also a small number of men, such as Giles Beauchamp, who had served in the household of Edward II during the last years of his reign, but seemingly abandoned him in favour of his son in 1326-27.[55] In addition, others such as William Clinton and Maurice Berkeley, who were of an age with Edward and might be deemed his 'friends', were retained at this time.[56] Interestingly, the retention of these men in Edward III's household differs from what Gwilym Dodd has found for Henry V's early reign. Dodd suggests that Henry, rather than opting to bring past acquaintances into the royal household after his coronation in 1413, sought to distance himself from the 'wylde company' that he supposedly kept as prince. The infamous heretic Sir John Oldcastle, for example, though an 'old friend and trusted retainer of the king' while prince, disappeared from royal service after Henry's accession. In total, Dodd identifies fourteen men that Henry of Monmouth retained for life while prince, none of whom appear to have been taken on

[52] Membership of the household during Edward III's minority is discussed in some detail in C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1995), pp. 114-18.
[53] Ibid., p. 114.
[54] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Bodl. 751, ff. 2-5.
[55] K. Warner, 'Bought by the King Himself: Edward II, his Chamber, his Family and his Interests in 1325-26', in *Fourteenth Century England X*, ed. G. Dodd (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 22-3.
[56] Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 131-7; C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the Coup of 1330', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. Bothwell, pp. 18-26.

by Henry once he became king.[57] The reason for these two contrasting policies was almost certainly that, unlike Henry's earlier associates, Edward's early friends proved themselves to be loyal and valuable companions during the invasion of 1326 and minority years, and so deserving of a place in the household.[58]

Another influential force within the royal household during Edward's minority was a group of knights closely associated with Roger Mortimer. As discussed in Chapter 6, these 'Mortimer men' were gradually introduced into the king's household between 1327 and 1330 as a way of increasing the hold that Isabella and Mortimer had over Edward.[59] The presence of men such as Edmund and Geoffrey Mortimer, both of whom were related to Roger, and John Maltravers, Hugh Turpington, and Simon Bereford, all of whom shared associations with Mortimer extending back into the reign of Edward II, indicate a strong and increasing Mortimer influence on the personnel of the knightly household between 1327 and 1330.[60] Two of these men, John Maltravers and Hugh Turpington, even served as steward of the household between 1328 and 1330.[61] The inclusion of these men, who had clearly been imposed upon Edward, shows the limited extent to which he could control the personnel of his household before 1331. Indeed, Edward plainly distrusted them for, after seizing power for himself at Nottingham castle in October 1330, he removed many of them from his service.[62] Edward's minority, then, represented a unique period during his reign in which the knightly household consisted of men loyal to the king and those who were *de facto* Mortimer's placemen.

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[57] G. Dodd, 'Henry V's Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413', in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. G. Dodd (York, 2013), p. 51. See also W.R.M. Griffiths, 'The Military Career and Affinity of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1399–1413' (unpublished M.Litt thesis, University of Oxford, 1988), p. 205.
[58] For the influence of these men on Edward see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 131-7.
[59] See below, pp. 189-93.
[60] For more on the adherents of Roger Mortimer at this time see P. Dryburgh, 'The Career of Roger Mortimer, First Earl of March' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Bristol, 2002), pp. 153-205; I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*: *The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England, 1327-1330* (London, 2010), pp. 196-218.
[61] Tout, *Chapters*, iii p. 18.
[62] Below, p. 196.

After the Nottingham coup, there followed a purge of household personnel.[63] Of the sixty-nine household knights retained in 1330, only twenty-two continued in service, of whom at least eight can be placed at the coup. These included William Montagu, William Clinton, Walter Mauny, Maurice Berkeley and John Darcy 'le pere'. Tellingly, of these twenty-two men, sixteen remained in the household until 1337, and eight until 1346. They provided the king with an intimate core of like-minded supporters on whom he could rely for political support and advice as he navigated the early years of his personal rule. The men who entered the household at this time are also interesting, for they too indicate something of a 'changing of the guard' from the minority regime. Rhys ap Griffith, for instance, had served the crown loyally under Edward II, and was even with him at Neath Abbey in his last days of freedom in 1326. During the minority, Griffith became implicated in a plot to free Edward II from Berkeley castle in September 1327, as well as the earl of Kent's attempt to restore the now-deceased king to the throne in 1330.[64] That a man with the political past of Griffith, who first appeared in Edward's household in the early 1330s, was retained so soon after the Nottingham coup suggests a clear attempt by Edward to distance himself from the minority regime and bring conspicuous royal servants, as Griffith had been under Edward II, back into royal service.

In the decades that followed, the criteria by which Edward recruited men for household service became less politicised. Many of the household knights recruited after this date had served the king in another capacity prior to their appointment.[65] In particular, a considerable number of household knights began their royal service as household esquires. Nigel Loryng served as a household esquire from 1334-38 before becoming a household knight, a position which he held until at least 1347. Warin Trussell and Gilbert Tuberville, meanwhile, were both household esquires from 1328-38 and served as household knights from 1339-41 and 1340-47, respectively.[66]

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[63] Shenton, 'The English Court', pp. 116-7.
[64] J.R.S. Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 547-8; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 66.
[65] Dodd, 'Henry V's Establishment', pp. 44-9, makes similar points for the early reign of Henry V.
[66] Shenton, 'The English Court,' pp. 259-60.

A common characteristic amongst those who began their household careers as an esquire was the long service they went on to offer as a household knight. Guy Brian, who became a household knight on the day of the battle of Crécy in 1346, having begun the campaign as a household esquire, served as such until 1361 and became one of Edward's most influential courtiers in the process.[67] The lengthy service that these men offered was probably a result of their social backgrounds: Nigel Lorying, Warin Trussell, Gilbert Turbeville and Guy Brian all emanated from relatively humble gentry families, and as such household service represented a valuable career path for these men, beginning with service as an esquire of the household, before hopefully moving into the knightly household, and, in the case of Brian, even the rank of household banneret. It was not only service as a household esquire that recommended an individual for service in the knightly household. John Brocas served as master of the king's horse for many years before entering the knightly household, a position which placed him at the head of an important network of horse-breeders, purveyors and manufactures of equine equipment.[68] John Chandos, meanwhile, was probably drafted into the king's household for the Reims campaign of 1359-60 because of the noteworthy service he had offered in Gascony as part of the retinue of the Black Prince during the 1350s, though he had also served the king before that, having been with him at the sea battle of Winchelsea in 1350, where it is reported by the contemporary chronicler Jean Froissart that the king made him play a tune that he had learnt in Germany while waiting for battle to be joined.[69]

Edward also seems to have favoured men from families with a long history of royal service. Thomas Beauchamp of Warwick, who served in the royal household from 1360-67, was the latest of a long line of Beauchamp men to serve as such. His uncle, John Beauchamp of Warwick had been a household knight from 1338-60. Though of different branches, Giles Beauchamp of Alcester, John, his son, and Roger Beauchamp of Bletsoe had also served as household knights

[67] *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. F.S. Haydon (RS: London, 1863), p. 211; J.L. Gillespie, 'Brian, Guy, Baron Brian (c.1310–1390)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38896?docPos=1 (accessed 7/9/17).
[68] See, for instance, *CPR*, *1338-40*, p. 119.
[69] R. Barber, 'Chandos, Sir John (d. 1370)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5110?docPos=1 (accessed 12/2/16).

under Edward III prior to Thomas' appointment. Admittedly, Thomas' status as heir to the earldom of Warwick ensured that he was of notable enough stock in his own right to have attracted the king's eye as a potential household recruit. Nevertheless, that the Beauchamp family had already provided four household knights to Edward III prior to Thomas' retention, in addition to a further five family members who served in the households of Edward I and Edward II, meant that Thomas came from a family of distinct royal servants.[70] The Beauchamps were not the only family with such a record. The inclusion of John 'le fitz' and Norman Darcy in the household in the late 1330s, and Adomar and William Darcy in 1346, can almost certainly be attributed to their family's credentials. Their common relation, John Darcy 'le pere', was an influential banneret in Edward's household during the first two decades of Edward's reign, and served as steward between 1337 and 1340 and chamberlain from 1341-46. Likewise, four further members of the Darcy family had served as household knights under Edward I and II. Though all these men undoubtedly possessed additional qualities to recommend them for household service – John Darcy 'le pere' had demonstrated his administrative capabilities while serving as justiciar of Ireland from 1323-27, a post he was to hold again from 1328-31 and 1332-37 – it is clear that certain royalist families provided a relatively constant stream of knights for service in the royal household during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[71]

Plainly, 'who you knew' was as important as 'what you knew' in household recruitment in the fourteenth century. This was not confined to family connections. An influential network of household knights, for instance, emanated from the southwest of England. Maurice Berkeley, Thomas Bradeston, John Maltravers and Simon Basset, all of whom served alongside each other in the household, all held their primary lands in Gloucestershire and its neighbouring counties.[72]

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[70] Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', ii, pp. 178-83; Hamilton, 'Loyalty of the Household Knights', pp. 62-72.

[71] Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', ii, pp. 178-83; Hamilton, 'Loyalty of the Household Knights', pp. 62-72. This has also been identified as a feature of service in the military retinue of Edward the Black Prince. See Green, 'Military Personnel', pp. 142-8.

[72] Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 268-9; C. Shenton, 'Maltravers [Mautravers], John, first Lord Maltravers (c.1290–1364)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17907?docPos=2 (accessed 3/3/16).

The Holland and Dalton families, meanwhile, who were principally based in the East Midlands, and who provided five household knights for Edward between them, were intimately connected. That a close association existed between the two families is evident from the number of charters and legal dealings that took place between them during Edward III's reign, and judging by the similarities of their arms – identical but for the inclusion of five 'cross-lets' on the Daltons' in place of 'fleur-de-lis' on the Hollands' – they may also have been related.[73] It is probable that local groupings such as these, as well the family networks that can be found in Edward's knightly household, acted as a pool of potential recruits who could be brought swiftly into the household when the demands of war required its ranks to be swelled rapidly. Of the three members of the Dalton family to serve as household knights, only Robert did so for more than one campaign, with John Dalton appearing only in 1339 and Adomar 1346 (Appendix 1). Likewise, Maurice Berkeley was the only member of his family to offer service across multiple years. Such a recruitment strategy would not have been dissimilar to the way in which noble retinues were built at this time. Ayton's work on the earl of Northampton's retinue in 1346 argued that it contained a number of 'off-the-peg' companies connected through family and/or geographic bonds, who would be drafted into a retinue as a 'package'.[74] Moreover, David Green has identified a number of geographical networks within the Black Prince's retinue, of particular importance amongst which was a strong contingent of men from East Anglia.[75]

Though many of Edward's household knights could boast of a personal connection to the king or his household prior to their recruitment, a greater number could not. The majority appear instead to have been retained because they offered a specific skill set. Foremost amongst these was a track-record of military excellence. As outlined above, the military service that household knights

[73] *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms of Families in Great Britain and Ireland…*, ed. J.W. Papworth and A.W. Morant (London, 1874), p. 71; D. Richardson, *Magna Carta Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families* (2nd edn.: Utah, 2011), ii, pp. 392-9.

[74] Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', p. 208. See also A. Ayton, 'Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 215-39.

[75] Green, 'Military Personnel', pp. 140-2; D. Green, 'Edward the Black Prince and East Anglia: An Unlikely Association', in *Fourteenth Century England III*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 83-98.

offered was valuable enough to inspire Edward to retain them in greater numbers in years of heightened military activity than otherwise. That so many of the men recruited for service in these years should be proven military men is, therefore, unsurprising. It was clearly military prowess that lay behind the recruitment of Thomas Ughtred in early 1347. Ughtred's military career stretched back to the battle of Bannockburn, and he was considered one of the most distinguished military captains of the first half of Edward III's reign, receiving wide commendation for his part in the defence of Roxburgh Bridge in 1332, as well as the English victories over the Scots at Dupplin Moor in 1332 and Halidon Hill in 1333.[76] Immediately prior to his entry to the household, Ughtred also served in the vanguard of the English army on the Crécy campaign, and acted as sub-marshal of the army under the earl of Warwick, and it was undoubtedly this that caused the king to grant him a £200 annuity from the exchequer for life in March 1347 and retain him in the household.[77]

Given Edward's passion for chivalric pursuits, it is also unsurprising to find a number of distinguished tournament champions amongst his household knights. Miles Stapleton and Phillip Despenser offer an illustrative example. Both received special recognition for their participation in the three-day tournament held in 1344 that accompanied Edward's round table festivities. Both then appeared as household knights for the Crécy campaign of 1346.[78] These men may have been initiated into the royal household immediately after the tournament, though this cannot be confirmed as no record of the knightly household exists thereafter until 1346. Either way, it seems plain that the display each man put on at this event was vital in the king including them within his knightly household. Though personal links to the king and his household were responsible for the recruitment of many household knights, then, Edward also took a pragmatic approach and sought to fill the ranks of his knightly household with some of the most esteemed warrior of his generation

[76] For more on Ughtred see Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred', pp. 107-9.
[77] Ibid., p.109.
[78] A. Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), pp. 155-6, 231-2. See also R. Barber, 'The Round Table Feast of 1344', in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. J. Munby, R. Barber and R. Brown (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 38-43. On the third day of jousting the award was won by John Blount, who does not appear to have ever had any connection to the royal household.

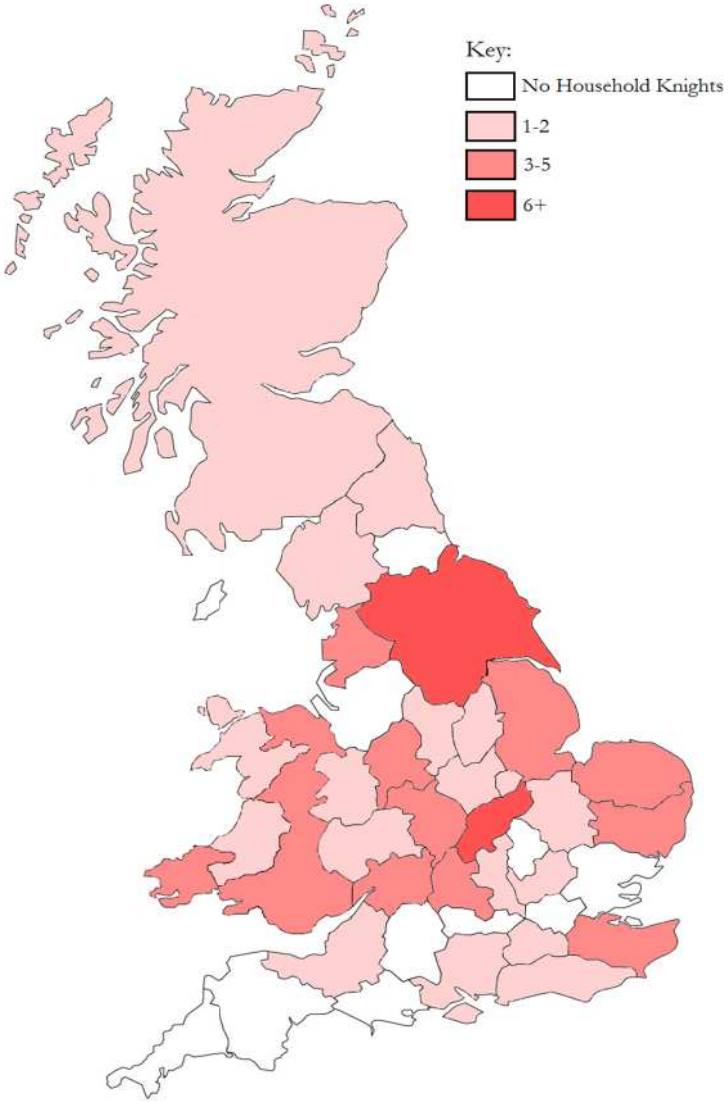
– a testament to the importance he placed in the household as a means though which to conduct his wars.

To what extent was there a geographical element at work within Edward's retaining patterns? Under Edward I and II, individuals who held their primary lands on the borders with Wales and Scotland were retained in greater numbers than those who did not in order to strengthen the crown's grasp on these contentious areas.[79] If the household knights retained by Edward III prior to and after 1337 are considered, when the king's attention moved from Scotland to France, then such a policy once more appears to have been at work here. In 1335, eleven of the thirty-four household knights in receipt of household robes (32 percent) held the majority of their lands north of the river Trent. This was true of just seven of the fifty-three household knights retained in 1340 (13 percent). Visualising the principal geographical interests of Edward's household knights before and after 1337 on two maps allows for this change to be more easily appreciated (Maps 1 and 2). Indeed, the differences between Maps 1 and 2 indicate a slight preference for northern knights before 1337 and southern knights thereafter. Naturally there were exceptions to this. Yorkshire, for instance, remained an important source of household knights throughout Edward's reign. Nevertheless, the fact that the southernmost counties of England, particularly Somerset, Hampshire and Dorset, which provided no household knights before 1337, became important recruiting grounds after 1337 does suggest a move towards a more southern household upon the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. This is complemented by the fact that many northern counties, such as Northumberland, which had been fertile recruiting ground during the Anglo-Scottish wars, failed to provide a household knight after 1337.

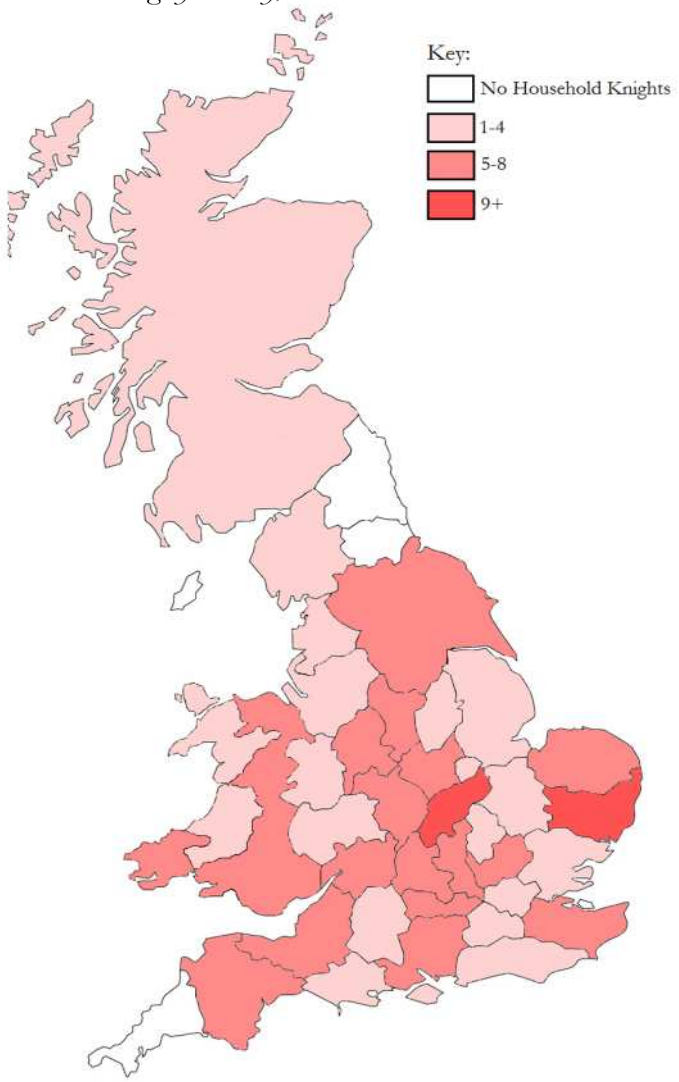
Such can also be inferred from the individuals retained. William Felton, who was an important figure in the defence of the north under Edward III, served as a household knight

[79] Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', i, p. 58; Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', pp. 51-4; Hamilton, 'Loyalty of the Household Knights', p. 51.

Map 1 – *Household Knights' Primary Areas of Land Holding by County, 1327-1337:*



Map 2 – *Household Knights' Primary Areas of Land Holding by County, 1337-1377:*



Note:
The scale used on these maps is different, with map 1 ranging from 0-6+ knights and map 2 ranging from 0-9+. This is because map 1 covers a period of just ten years, while map 2 covers a period of forty years.

between 1334 and 1337, the most active years of Edward's Scottish wars.[80] Men such as Michael and Thomas Poynings, on the other hand, who held the majority of their lands on the south coast, mainly Sussex, only entered service in the late 1330s in time for the war with France. There were once again exceptions here: the Scottish knight John Stirling, who served the English well during the Anglo-Scottish wars, only entered household service in 1340.[81] Overall, however, the broad preference for northern knights prior to 1337 and southern knights thereafter is unmistakable. Such a policy was not unwise: the northern knights retained would have been familiar with fighting the Scots and would have been excellent men to have close to the king as part of the royal household in the 1330s. After the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, however, these men were of more use to the king outside the household, left to watch over of the northern border while the king fought the French. Such an impression sits well with the broader picture of Edward's involvement in Scottish affairs. Indeed, it has typically been argued that the onus for the defence of northern England was left to the devices of the northern nobility after the commencement of Edward's French war, ensuring that the southern knighthood became far more prominent amongst the armies that fought on the continent.[82]

While Englishmen, whether from the north or south, accounted for the majority of Edward III's household knights, there were also several foreign knights who received household robes and fees. In his work on the household knights of Edward I, Michael Prestwich identified two 'classes' of foreign household knight. First, there were those who were, for all intents and purposes, full members of the knightly household, who accompanied the king on military campaign and acted on royal commissions at home. Second, there were diplomatic appointments, often the sons of

[80] TNA, E101/19/27, mm. 6-8d.; E372/196, m. 45.
[81] See, for instance, Stirling's participation at the siege of Lochleven in 1335: *The Book of Pluscarden*, pp. 205-6.
[82] J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (London, 1965), reprinted in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 212; M.H. Brown, 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship, 1332-58', *BIHR*, 70 (1997), 1-22; C.J. Neville, *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 27-41. While in broad agreement, Andy King has suggested that Edward still paid some attention to the north after this date: King, 'A Good Chance for the Scots?', pp. 119-58; A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, *c.* 1296-1408' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2001), pp. 45-64.

foreign rulers sent to learn at the court of a king held in high esteem across Europe.[83] These two 'classes' were both present in Edward III's knightly household. A number of individuals, for example, can be found amongst the household knights for 1346 who were principally symbolic appointments. This included Peter of Spain, the future Peter of Castile (also known as Pedro the Cruel), who reigned as king of Castile and León from 1350-69, and alongside whom the Black Prince fought at the battle of Nájera in 1367. His inclusion in the household while a young prince was undoubtedly the result of the need for him to learn at the court of Edward III, who was by the mid-1340s widely respected throughout Europe. It should also be noted that, in the decade prior to Peter's inclusion in the household, English and Castilian diplomats had been in negotiation over a marriage alliance between the two countries, which, while fruitless, also likely inspired Peter's inclusion.[84] Diplomatic appointments such as Peter's only accounted for a minority of the foreign knights in Edward's household, however. More often, foreign knights acted as full members of the household. The Hainaulter Walter Mauny, who first joined the household in 1328 as part of the marriage arrangements between Edward and Philippa, spent twenty years in service, and became one of the most respected English war captains of his generation in the process.[85] The Flemish knight Wulfard Gistell, meanwhile, entered the household in 1339 and spent the next three years campaigning with the king in the Low Countries and Brittany. He returned to its ranks once more in 1346 for the Crécy campaign. During this time, he also served on various judicial commissions in England, such as when he was appointed with a number of other household knights to recover money relating to the inheritance of Queen Philippa in 1345.[86] While individuals such as Peter of Spain were, therefore, principally symbolic appointments, it would be inaccurate to consider men such as Mauny and Gistell as anything other than full, active members of the knightly household.

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[83] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 46.
[84] *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 133.
[85] J. Sumption, 'Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter (c.1310–1372)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17985 (accessed 7/9/17).
[86] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 26.

After 1360, by which time the move to the chamber knight system was complete, the reasons behind who was retained became less diverse. The majority of chamber knights were men who had first entered the household as simple household knights. This included Peter de Breux, who started his household career in the early 1340s as an esquire of the household, was made a household knight on the day of the battle of Crécy in 1346, and served in that capacity until Edward's death in 1377. Richard Pembridge, meanwhile, first appeared as a household knight in 1353 and served until 1372. Of the seven men who entered the household as chamber knights during the 1360s and 1370s, few were distinguished soldiers in the same way many of the household knights had been, and even with the renewal of war in 1369 Edward appears to have shown no inclination to recruit prominent military captains. Rather, they were above all else men who shared a personal intimacy with the king, some of whom featured amongst the most notable courtiers of Edward's later reign. This included individuals such as William Windsor, Richard Stury and William Latimer, all of whom became embroiled in the fractured court politics that characterised the last decade of Edward's reign.[87] In addition, a small number of individuals from administrative backgrounds entered the household in the king's last years. This included men such as John de Ypre, who had served as sheriff of Lancashire in the 1360s and had been a valued retainer of the duke of Lancaster for many years prior to his move into Edward's household. These men typically served as chamberlains and stewards, rather than as chamber knights, and often only received robes for a year or two.[88] In terms of personnel, the household was thus different in character after 1360 than before: the periphery of practical appointments to the knightly household, such as those men with years of military experience, were stripped away to leave just a small core of the king's most intimate companions.

[87] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 142-60.
[88] C. Given-Wilson, 'The Court and Household of Edward III, 1360-1377' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of St Andrews, 1975), pp. 127-8.

Conclusion

Across Edward's reign, the size, composition and personnel of the knightly household was dictated by a multitude of factors. Of primary importance was military activity. Years of heightened activity typically saw the size of the household swell to meet the demands of war and an inflated number of new recruits enter the household as a result. This suggests that, prior to the 1360s, the knightly household was principally a military body. The new men recruited in these years, many of whom were distinguished military men, others the relations or acquaintances of serving household knights, joined a core of seasoned household veterans, whose long household service provided continuity and stability at the heart of the household. Warfare was not the sole factor in how many household knights were retained: political and financial circumstance also had an impact. The political jostling of Edward's minority caused a greater number of men to be retained in the household than would otherwise have been necessary, while Edward's new-found financial responsibility in the early 1340s may have had the opposite effect. Even so, these external factors do not appear to have dictated too powerfully the size and makeup of Edward's knightly household. Rather, for the majority of his reign, the king seems to have been free to choose how many household knights, and which individuals, he retained. This allowed the king to build a knightly household that best met the demands of the forthcoming year.

Part 2

Household Knights at War

3

Military Administration

Prior to any military campaign, a significant amount of administrative groundwork and logistical preparation had to be carried out. Men had to be recruited to fight in the king's armies, food with which to feed them and weapons with which to arm them had to be gathered, and money to pay for all of this had to be raised. This was one of the most complex and crucial aspects of warfare in the fourteenth century, and it has received plentiful attention from historians. Beginning in earnest with H.J. Hewitt's seminal work in 1966, the additions of Michael Prestwich and Andrew Ayton have, along with innumerable others, provided a strong core of research from which a detailed account of military logistics in later medieval England can be gleaned.[1] Despite this, the important role of the household knight has struggled to achieve more than passing mention.[2] This is a significant omission, for household knights feature amongst the most prominent individuals involved in financing, supplying and recruiting royal armies under Edward III. This chapter seeks to add a further layer of detail to our understanding of military preparation in the fourteenth century by considering the role of the royal household knights within it. It shall begin by examining the contributions that they made to raising money and supplies, followed by their efforts in recruiting an army, before finally assessing their involvement in shipping.

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[1] H.J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III* (Manchester, 1966); H.J. Hewitt, 'The Organisation of War', in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. K. Fowler (London, 1971), pp. 75-95; M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven and London, 1996); A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994).

[2] Only M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and State Finance under Edward III* (London, 1972), chapter 2, offers any detailed analysis of their importance, though some attention is given to them in A. Ayton, 'Edward III and the Military Aristocracy at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 184-90.

3.1 Money and Supplies

3.1.1 Finance

War in the fourteenth century was, as it has always been, expensive. In the 1330s, Edward spent roughly £30,000 a year on his military endeavours, while an eye-watering £337,104 was invested in foreign war between 1338 and 1340.[3] To place this in context, the ordinary income of the crown – taken predominantly from its land holdings – averaged little over £10,000 a year, barely enough to cover the domestic costs of the royal household.[4] In order to pursue his military interests, Edward therefore needed to exploit other sources of income. There were two routes open to him in the fourteenth century. The first and most common was direct taxation of movable goods, for which the king needed the assent of parliament. Alternatively, funds could be raised through a range of other measures, such as experimenting with taxes and monopolies on the wool trade, the realm's greatest commodity, or taking out loans from the merchant community or the famous Italian banks.[5] Direct taxation, wool revenues and loans to the crown were all integral to Edward's war finances, and household knights had an important part to play in each.

Prior to the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, direct taxation was the most important method of raising military funds. Requiring the approval of parliament, these taxes most often took the form of a tenth and fifteenth on the movable wealth of the lay population of England. In general, they yielded roughly £37,000 for each tenth and fifteenth granted, and after 1334 were

[3] Figures from S.L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 178-9.
[4] A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 62-5; G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975), esp. pp. 523-6.
[5] For more on royal finance in the reign of Edward III see Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 110-19; W.M. Ormrod, 'The Crown and the English Economy, 1290-1348' in *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. B.M.S. Campbell (Manchester, 1991), pp. 149-83; W.M. Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs, 1349-63', *EcHR*, 2nd series, 40 (1987), 27-40; W.M. Ormrod, 'The English State and the Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1360: A Fiscal Perspective' in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser (London, 2000), pp. 197-214; Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, pp. 170-90; Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England*, pp. 61-84.

fixed at £37,429 – no mean sum of money.[6] Though the English government in the fourteenth century had sufficient infrastructure to manage the collection of these taxes without the involvement of household knights, the knights and bannerets of the household did have a part to play in convincing parliament to acquiesce to the king's requests for subsidies. A potential route open to Edward III would have been to 'pack' parliament with household knights to secure easy passage of his request for taxes. However, this was not something Edward appears to have done: while some household bannerets – the upper-rank of the knightly household – received individual summons to parliament, few simple household knights were returned to the Commons as MPs.[7] Of more importance was the part they played in the propagation of royal propaganda in parliament. Edward was adept at using esteemed war veterans to plead his case for money in parliament, and many chosen for this task were household knights.[8] In 1337, when Edward was trying to convince parliament to fund war with France, he elevated four of his longest-serving household knights to earldoms in a ceremony which also saw Thomas of Lancaster created earl of Lancaster, Hugh de Audley earl of Gloucester, and the Black Prince duke of Cornwall. These were William Clinton (earl of Huntingdon), William Montagu (earl of Salisbury), William Bohun (earl of Northampton) and Robert Ufford (earl of Suffolk). These newly ennobled household knights were young and of a like-mind to Edward in his desire to go to war with France, and would have performed the invaluable task of convincing their new peers to consent to financing such a war.[9]

Though this was an exceptional case, it is representative of a wider policy in this area. In June 1340, while anchored off the Flemish coast planning his attack on the French fleet harboured in the Zwin estuary – which would result in the great naval victory at the battle of Sluys – Edward

[6] See Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 110-4; Ormrod, 'Crown and the English Economy', pp. 151-67; Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, p. 181; J.F. Hardwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', *EcHR*, 2nd series, 36 (1983), 200-17; Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*; J.F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290 to 1334* (Cambridge, MS, 1934), pp. 5-6, 54-72.
[7] See below, pp. 201-3.
[8] A.K. McHardy, 'Some Reflections on Edward III's use of Propaganda', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 171-2; Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 314-20.
[9] J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 183-4; C.J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharpe: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 125-6; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 137-8; Ayton, Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp. 187-90.

sent the earls of Gloucester and Huntingdon (William Clinton), along with the household knight William Trussell, to parliament to request additional war finances, which they were ordered to oversee the subsequent payment of.[10] Trussell clearly impressed the king on this occasion, for in 1344 he was once again appointed to secure taxes to fund Edward's wars, this time a clerical subsidy of three tenths from the convocation of York.[11] Finally, in September 1346, just a matter of days after the English victory at Crécy, John Darcy 'le pere', chamberlain of the king's household, and Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, the man who soon replaced him in this post, appeared before parliament to request additional subsidies to fund the siege of Calais.[12]

It is important to question the extent to which these men were specifically chosen on such occasions because of their attachment to the king. Using men directly connected to Edward through his household to petition parliament on the above occasions would certainly have demonstrated the king's personal desire in the matter and given these individuals greater weight when attempting to convince the peers and members of parliament to consent to taxes. Nonetheless, it should not be overlooked that the men chosen to negotiate with parliament were also all well-respected members of the political community in their own right, who could appeal to parliament on a both a personal and 'professional' level. Trussell had played a key part in the deposition of Edward II in the late 1320s. He had overseen the trial of Hugh Despenser the elder in late 1326 and acted as 'proctor of the prelates, earls and barons and of other persons', when he was chosen to renounce the fealty and allegiance of the realm to Edward II in January 1327.[13] He also clearly possessed impressive rhetorical skills: he was sent on a variety of diplomatic missions in the early part of Edward III's reign.[14] The fact that Trussell was sent so often to parliament by

[10] *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 87.
[11] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 297; *Records of Convocation XIII: York, 1313-1461*, ed. G. Bray (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 109-11; *The Register of John Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle, 1332-1352*, ed. R.L. Storey (Woodbridge, 1995), no. 756; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 255-6.
[12] *Foedera*, ii, p. 205; *PROME*, September 1346, m. 1, item 7.
[13] For Trussell's role in the deposition, see Geoffrey le Baker, p. 27. For his role as proctor for parliament, see *Select Documents of English Constitutional History, 1307-1485*, ed. S.B. Chrimes and A.L. Brown (London, 1961), p. 38; TNA, C49/83, m. 2r; *PROME*, January 1327, m. 2, fn. 1. More generally, see R.M. Haines, 'Trussell, Sir William (fl. 1307–1346/7)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27780 (accessed 13/9/17).
[14] For instance, *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 157; *CPR, 1334-38*, pp. 420-1, 428.

Edward III to negotiate subsidies was, then, probably only in part inspired by his connection to the king's household. Nevertheless, Edward's decision to retain such a highly skilled orator and respected member of the political community within the ranks of his household in itself speaks volumes of the value that Edward attached to the knightly household as an institution, and its place within his rule.

Essential though it was, direct taxation alone was insufficient as a funding source for the scale of Edward's wars, particularly against France, and after 1337 the king experimented with a variety of additional measures to help make up the deficit.[15] The greatest period of financial experimentation during Edward's reign came in the first three years of the Hundred Years War, as the king pursued the policy of a 'grand alliance' between himself and the rulers of the Low Countries and German states. To secure the loyalty of these various counts, princes and emperors, Edward needed financial incentives, and by the summer of 1337 he had made promises in excess of £124,000.[16] Edward's initial hope to cover these financial obligations lay in an agreement that he made with 250 wool merchants (the Contract Merchants) on 26 July 1337 in which it was agreed that the merchants would have the right to buy wool at a fixed rate of no less than £5 a sack in England and a monopoly selling it abroad.[17] In return, they agreed to loan Edward £200,000, interest free, and give him half the profits from the sale of the wool. Initially, the implementation of this scheme went well and by November 1337 *c.* 10,000 sacks were ready to be shipped. It was here that household knights came into play. The man responsible for shipping the wool to the

[15] Additional sources of revenue, such as loans to the crown and money from wool experimentation, had been used only sparingly during the first decade of Edward's reign. See E.B. Fryde, 'Loans to the English Crown, 1328-31', in *Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance*, ed. E.B. Fryde (London, 1983), chapter 4, pp. 198-211; E.S. Hunt, 'A New Look at the Dealings of the Bardi and Peruzzi with Edward III', *Journal of Economic History*, 50 (1990), 149-62; F.R. Barnes, 'The Taxation of Wool, 1327-1348', in *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, ed. G. Unwin (Manchester, 1918), pp. 137-44; J.F. Willard, 'The Crown and its Creditors, 1327-33', *EHR*, 42 (1927), 12-19.

[16] E.B. Fryde, 'Edward III's Wool Monopoly: A Fourteenth Century Royal Trading Venture', in *Studies in Medieval Finance and Trade*, ed. Fryde, chapter 6, p. 11.

[17] For more on what follows: Ibid., pp. 8-24; E.B Fryde, 'Parliament and the French War, 1336-40', in *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, ed. E.B. Fryde and E. Miller (Cambridge, 1970), i, pp. 242-61; Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 231-52; *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. lxviii-lxxi; W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III*: *Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 188-90; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 115-9; T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 115-18, 121, 193-4, 202-3.

Low Countries was Walter Mauny.[18] Now in his seventh year as a household knight, Mauny had been admiral of the fleet north of the Thames since August, a manifestation of the trust the king now placed in him. Similarly, while the selling of the wool was – so the agreement stipulated – the responsibility of the Contract Merchants, royal envoys were appointed to oversee the process. The envoys chosen to accompany the wool were Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, William Clinton and William Montagu, the latter two of whom had been household knights until their promotion to earldoms in March of that year. Once on the Continent, the sale of the wool did not go well, and at a meeting in Gertruidenberg in Holland on 19 December Edward's frustration at the delays which were now creeping into this scheme boiled over and his envoys – Burghersh, Montagu and Clinton – seized the wool that Mauny had brought over and sold it themselves on the king's behalf. Overall, Edward made little more than 100,000 marks from the sale of the seized wool, no more than he would have made if he had persisted with the scheme. Nevertheless, what the events of late 1337 demonstrate is that, for better or worse, Edward was inclined to place his household knights at the heart of his financial management in these years, confident that such delicate matters were in capable hands.

Following the failure of this venture, Edward spent much of 1338 devising new ways with which to tap into the wealth that wool had to offer. In February, parliament granted Edward the forced seizure of 20,000 sacks of wool from across England, which he once again placed into Mauny's hands to be taken to the duke of Brabant as partial payment of the money owed to him.[19] However, this experiment met with resistance, and Mauny was only able to take c. 2,200 sacks of wool to the Low Countries. Following this, Edward devised a more nuanced arrangement whereby wool was assessed in the same way that parliamentary taxes were, and levied based on the outcome of these assessments. There seems to have been little involvement of household knights here, however, save for a few household knights, including Hugh Tyrel and John Sturmy, who were

[18] *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, p. lxix; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 517.
[19] *CCR, 1337-39*, p. 365; E.B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward III in the Netherlands, 1337-40', in *Studies in Medieval Finance and Trade*, ed. Fryde, chapter 7, pp. 1149-52.

appointed to hasten the collection of wool, as the scheme had sufficient infrastructure itself without the regular involvement of such men.[20]

The failed invasion of France in 1339 marked the end of Edward's experimentation with direct royal interference in wool trade through the creation of monopolies. However, Edward did not altogether ignore the potentially lucrative income wool had to offer thereafter. It was customary when Edward took the throne in 1327 that he was entitled to a subsidy of 6*s* 8*d* on every sack of wool exported from the realm. From 1336, the king began to raise these customs. Initially taken to 20*s* a sack in 1336, the figure rose to 40*s* a sack in 1338, and 50*s* in 1353.[21] This proved to be a prudent policy, with these subsidies providing an average of £87,500 a year to the royal coffers between 1353 and 1363.[22] There was, however, a significant threat to these revenues: smuggling.[23] Those who held official posts on the coast or in the navy in these years, such as Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, who was warden of the Cinque Ports from 1343-55 and a household knight from 1346-55, were regularly engaged in combatting this.[24] To aid these men in the prevention of smuggling, a great number of household knights were also placed on judicial commissions tasked with investigating allegations of smuggling. Between 1340 and 1353, no fewer than fifteen such commissions were headed by household knights.[25] Writs sent to William Felton in 1347, in which he was ordered to investigate all offenses touching the smuggling of wool out of the realm from any port in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, are a typical example.[26] After 1353 a set of reforms aimed at improving the infrastructure surrounding the collection of wool customs, and better regulation of its exportation,

[20] *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 60, 274.
[21] See Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, p. 184, table 4; W.M. Ormrod, 'The Domestic Response to the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1999) pp. 88-93; Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs', 27-40.
[22] Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, p. 183; Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs'.
[23] Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs', p. 31.
[24] *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 373; *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 514.
[25] *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 213, 308; *CPR 1343-45*, p. 174; *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 112; *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 26.
[26] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 455.

meant that such commissions were no longer required. Nonetheless, for their part, the household knights had been vital in keeping royal revenue from this lucrative source as high as possible.[27]

Further to the incomes generated from wool, loans to the crown also represented an important source of income during the early stages of the Hundred Years War: by 1340 Edward had raised over £400,000 from various lenders, mainly to cover his financial obligations to his partners in the 'grand alliance'.[28] The most prolific period of borrowing came during the second half of 1338 and the first half of 1339 when, still reeling from his failed wool experiments, Edward landed in the Netherlands and dispatched various ambassadors to secure loans on his behalf. Many of the men he chose to act as his representatives in these negotiations were household knights. In May 1339, John Molyns, who had by this point been a household knight for nearly a decade, was sent to contract loans up to the value of £100,000 from the influential merchants of the Low Countries. Molyns was sent once more in August to contract loans to the value of £40,000 from various sources, this time accompanied by Henry Ferrers, the chamberlain of the household.[29] A number of household knights, including John Montgomery and John Brocas, were, meanwhile, amongst a group of eleven men ordered to 'raise loans for the king' from whatever sources they could king.[30] Household knights were also often used as sureties on these loans. John Darcy 'le pere' was bound to two merchants of Newark for the sum of £640, as well as to a Robert Winston for the sum of £120. Likewise, in 1342 Guy Brian, still only a household esquire, was named alongside Bartholomew Burghersh the younger as surety on a loan of £2,000 from three merchants of Florence.[31] Fortunately for these men they were never taken into custody for the king defaulting on these loans, as the earls of Warwick, Derby and Northampton were in late 1340, for the king's

[27] Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs', pp. 32-3.
[28] Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, p. 183.
[29] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 386, 392.
[30] Ibid., p. 430.
[31] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 191, 405-7; *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 468.

failure to repay a group of merchants from Brussels.[32] Even so, they showed a great commitment to the king in taking them on in the first instance.

In addition to negotiating loans from external sources, some household knights also lent money to the king themselves. Simon Hale and John Molyns each advanced the king in the region of £1,500 between 1338 and 1339, of which much was still owed to Hale upon his death in 1351.[33] These were considerable sums of money. Hale was the lesser-known brother of the Brabantine knight Frank Hale, who served the English well in the first part of the Hundred Years War and was made a knight of the Garter in 1359.[34] The wealth of his family, and its support for Edward III in his continental wars, explains his contributions. Molyns, on the other hand, was almost entirely a household-made man. He had first entered Edward's service in 1330 as an esquire of the household, and by the late 1330s had risen to the rank of household banneret. It seems probable that the money he loaned to the king was out of the loyalty and duty he felt from his time in service. That said, it would also have helped that Molyns received a certain amount of royal protection from the king in the courts for his profitable abuses of the law in Buckinghamshire at this time, which would have given him both the resources and inclination to loan Edward money.[35] Household knights also appear to have demonstrated their favour to the king by agreeing to write off debts owed to them by the crown. In the early 1340s, Walter Mauny was owed over £8,000 by the king, in large part due to him for his capture of Guy, the illegitimate half-brother of the count of Flanders. However, Mauny abandoned his claim to the £8,000 in October 1341, accepting instead custody of all royal lands in the county of Merioneth, worth just a third of what was owed.[36] Admittedly, this was not a bad offer for Mauny, and it was wise for him to take what payment he could secure in the present, rather than relying on what he hoped he could get in the future.

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[32] Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 230; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 360-3.
[33] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 376; *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 3-4, 7, 13-16, 64; *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 239.
[34] See Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 122-7.
[35] See below, pp. 272-6. See also N. Fryde, 'A Medieval Robber Baron: Sir John Molyns of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire', in *Medieval Legal Records*, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 198-221; G. Dodd, 'Corruption in the Fourteenth-Century English State', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), p. 723.
[36] E.B. Fryde, 'Magnate Debts to Edward I and Edward III: A Study of Common Problems and Contrasting Royal Reactions to Them', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 27 (1992), p. 279.

Nevertheless, it indicates that, even at a personal level, Edward's household knights were committed to helping the king fund his wars, particularly in the early years of the Hundred Years War when royal finances were most stretched.

3.1.2 Supplies

The requisitioning, storage and transportation of supplies was another vital part of any military campaign. Of these, none was more important than food. While it was expected in the fourteenth century that an army would make efforts to live off the land while on campaign, to sustain a force on such methods alone was not practical.[37] As such, it was necessary to procure vast quantities of food in England prior to departure, as well as during a campaign to be taken to the army as replenishments. The task of acquiring food for the army lay predominantly in the hands of the sheriff of each county, few of whom were household knights, and with the sergeants-at-arms of the king's household who, as seen in Chapter 1, were a group of gentry-level household retainers assigned to specific departments within the household who carried out the majority of the household's leg-work.[38] Significantly, the men who filled both these ranks, especially the sergeants-at-arms, were typically from further down the social ladder than those who filled the ranks of the knightly household. This suggests that the absence of household knights in this area was because the physical activity of collecting food for a campaign was below their station, and would have been a misallocation of them as a resource. This is supported by the fact that, where household knights do appear in the process of requisitioning food for a campaign, it is in a more supervisory role – what might be called a 'middle-management' capacity.

Of particular importance was their role in responding to complaints concerning the purveyance of food. Purveyance had long been a prerogative right of the crown by Edward's reign,

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[37] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 50-74; C.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c.1300-1450* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 98.
[38] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 52-3; R. Partington, 'Edward III's Enforcers: The King's Sergeants at Arms in the Localities', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. Bothwell, p. 97. See also above, pp. 27-8.

allowing the king to purchase food at a low cost for consumption in the royal household, often with the promise of payment in the future.[39] Controversially, Edward III extended this established system so that he might forcibly purchase food on a great scale for the entire royal army.[40] Naturally, such a policy drew considerable complaint.[41] A famous poem of the time, known as the *Song against the King's Taxes*, penned by a member of English clergy towards the end of the 1330s, remarked that Edward III ate off silver and paid in wood (in references to the wooden tallies used as a system of royal credit), when he should be paying in silver and eating off wood![42] All this was exacerbated by flagrant corruption amongst the officials responsible for collection. Household knights were widely used to investigate and remedy the abuses of these officials. In May 1346, a commission was given to Richard Talbot, the steward of the household, to look into abuses of the sheriffs of Gloucestershire, Hereford, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire, where it was said 'those appointed to gather supplies were forcing the most out of the poor and weak'.[43] Similarly, in October 1347, William Felton was sent into Northamptonshire to 'discover what corn and other victuals had been taken for the king's use' by purveyors there over the last two years, as the king had received information that the purveyors there had taken more than that for which they had been commissioned.[44] In addition, household knights were also sent to deal with resistance to those collecting victuals in these years. For example, Richard Damory was placed at the head of a commission tasked with arresting several men who had attacked those collecting corn for the army in Somerset.[45] The disproportionality with which household knights featured within these commissions suggests that their inclusion was not coincidental. Indeed, at least one

[39] For more on purveyance, see I. Krug, 'Purveyance and Peasants at the Beginning of the Hundred Years War: Maddicott Re-examined', in *The Hundred Years War, Part II: Different Vistas*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2008), pp. 345-65; I. Krug, 'Feeding Mars: Military Purveyance in the Long Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England X*, ed. G. Dodd (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 67-88.
[40] W.R. Jones, 'Purveyance for War and the Community of the Realm in Late Medieval England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 7 (1975), 300-16; Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 50-74; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 114-36.
[41] See Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 376-7.
[42] *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, ed. I.S.T Aspin (Anglo-Norman Text Society XI: Oxford, 1953), pp. 111, 113.
[43] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 113.
[44] Ibid., pp. 462, 471.
[45] Ibid., pp. 106.

household knight featured on every commission set up to investigate abuses of purveyance between 1346 and 1347, the period of Edward's largest military campaign, the Crécy-Calais campaign.[46] While household knights were rarely directly involved in the collection of food for a campaign, then, they were the most regularly employed group when additional oversight was needed to ensure that this was being done correctly.

As with food, provisions of weapons, armour and horses were also needed for any campaign. Naturally, it was individual craftsmen who were responsible for the manufacture of much of this military apparel. Nonetheless, household knights once more had a responsibility of oversight here. In 1333, Thomas Pabenham was placed in charge of the stone-cutters responsible for making missiles for the siege engines prior to Edward's invasion of Scotland, while in the late 1340s Thomas Ughtred was tasked with securing 120 bushels of arrows from Yorkshire in preparation for the renewal of hostilities with France following a brief truce after the Black Death.[47] Guy Brian, meanwhile, was given custody of St Briavels castle and the forest of Dean in 1335 at the height of Edward's Scottish wars, a castle which was significant in terms of arrow production as it benefitted from the wealth of iron ore which could be found in the area.[48] Finally, the Gascon household knight John Brocas served as master of the king's horse from at least 1339 to 1360. From his base at Windsor castle, Brocas oversaw a network of horse-breeders, purveyors and manufacturers of equine equipment, and was himself responsible for breeding, buying and selling horses, as well as all the various paraphernalia which went with them.[49] Brocas received some aid in this from other household knights, such as Reginald Cobham, who served for a time as marshal of the king's horse, though such a position had few responsibilities compared to that of Brocas.[50] The fact that Brocas' time as master of the king's horse predated his household service makes it likely that his equine

[46] Ibid., pp. 99, 106, 113, 185, 314, 462, 465, 471.
[47] TNA, E101/26/3; E372/178, m. 47.
[48] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 224; B.S. Smith and E. Ralph, *A History of Bristol and Gloucester* (London, 1972), p. 71.
[49] *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 519; *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 264; *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 48; TNA, E101/105/8; E101/105/11; E101/105/13.
[50] TNA, C47/2/47/2.

skills were essential in securing him the post of household knight, rather than the other way around. Even so, that Edward retained individuals with such skills in his household indicates the importance that he placed in the additional oversight that came with directly retaining a man in his household, and reveals how important his relationship was in the organisation of war during his reign.

There was also a marked correlation between household knights and appointments to the keepership of the Tower of London, the single most significant post in fourteenth-century England in terms of the production and storage of military supplies (Table 3.1).[51] With the exception of Thomas Wake, William la Zouche, Nicholas de la Beche and William Lenglis, every keeper of the Tower under Edward III also served as a household knight at some point during their career, most holding the two positions simultaneously. Moreover, every keeper of the Tower after 1341 had incurred at least two years of household service prior to their appointment, the majority far more, and each acted as household knights for at least eight years in total. This is significant for, as Christopher Candy has argued, the household knights were still proving their military significance to Edward III during the 1330s, and only succeeded in convincing him of their full military value in the opening years of the Hundred Years War. The fact that it was only after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War that Edward came to rely most heavily on them as keepers of the Tower of London sits well within this hypothesis.[52] The attraction of appointing household knights to this post is not hard to imagine: the incumbent was responsible for the production and storage of a considerable amount of military apparel. In 1353, John Beauchamp of Warwick was ordered to supervise John Byker, the 'king's artillerer', who was responsible for making bows, crossbows, and all other things which pertained to the office. In 1360, Beauchamp had 15,000 bows, 4,000 bow staves, and over 560,000 arrows in his care.[53] Similarly, between 1345

[51] For a list of keepers, see Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 266-9, 297-304. For more on the household knights and the keeping of political prisoners at the Tower see below, pp. 167-8.
[52] C. Candy, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War, Part III: Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp. 49-62.
[53] TNA, E101/392/14; E372/178 m. 47; *CPR, 1350-4*, p. 418.

Table 3.1: Keepers of the Tower of London and time spent as a Household Knight, 1327-77:

Knight	*Known time in Household*	*Tenure as Keeper*
Thomas Wake	-	Dec 1326 – Apr 1328
Maurice Berkeley	1327-1346	Apr 1328 – late 1328
William la Zouche	-	Temp late 1328
John Cromwell	1327-1330	Jan 1329 – Oct 1335
Nicholas de la Beche	-	Oct 1335 – Jun 1340
William Lenglis	-	Jun 1340 – Mar 1341
Robert Dalton	1338-1347	Mar 1341 – Mar 1346
John Darcy 'le pere'	1327-1347	Mar 1346 – Jun 1347
John Darcy 'le fitz'	1338-1347	Jun 1347 – Feb 1351
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-1360	Feb 1351 – Jan 1355; Jan 1360 – Dec 1360
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder	1346-1355	Jun 1355 – Aug 1355
Robert Mauley	1346-1353	Aug 1355 – Jan 1360
Richard la Vache	1346-1347; 1359-1369	Jan 1361 – Jan 1366
Alan Buxhull	1364-1377	Jan 1366 – Nov 1381

Source: Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 298-9.

and 1346 guns known as *ribalds* were manufactured at the Tower, together with the quarrels they fired, under the supervision of Robert Dalton at a cost of £124.[54] Finally, in 1347 John Darcy 'le fitz' was responsible for ten guns, two of them large, that he was ordered to send to the king at Calais to assist with the siege there.[55] Though only part of a wider process of procuring military equipment, then, the household knights clearly occupied a significant management role within it.

3.2 Raising Troops

The fourteenth century is typically characterised as a time of 'revolution' in English warfare.[56] In part, this was a tactical revolution. Focus shifted away from the decisive cavalry charge in open

[54] T.F. Tout, 'Firearms in England in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Collected Papers of T.F. Tout* (Manchester, 1933), ii, pp. 238-41.
[55] Tout, 'Firearms in England', pp. 238-41.
[56] See, for instance, *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J.L. Price (London, 1995); Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 334-46; M. Prestwich, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, ed. C. Richmond and I. Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 19-38; *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Boulder, 1995); C.J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241–78, reprinted with revisions in *The Military Revolution Debate*, ed. Rogers. For

battle to warfare based around the swift raiding of enemy territory with mounted troops, known as *chevauchées*, coupled with set-piece battles that increasingly relied on the use of archers working in tandem with dismounted men-at-arms to systematically overpower an opponent.[57] This tactical revolution was accompanied by an equally important change in military organisation. This aspect of the fourteenth-century military revolution has been studied in some detail by historians, with the contributions of Andrew Ayton making important strides in recent years.[58] Its chief findings have been that, during Edward III's reign, royal armies matured from a force based around retinues of heavy cavalry supported by companies of arrayed infantry, required to serve on the basis of the feudal obligations that each county owed the crown, into wholly paid, professional armies consisting of numerous 'mixed' retinues, each commanded by an individually-contracted military captain who had in turn recruited a contingent of men-at-arms and archers to serve under him. This 'revolution' was a slow one, and for most of Edward's campaigns the royal army was something of a hybrid of the two systems, consisting of men raised both forcibly and freely. In both areas household knights were an important asset for the king in raising troops, and both must be looked at in turn.

arguments against a military revolution, see S. Morillo, J. Black and P. Lococo, *War in World History: Society, Technology, and War from Ancient Times to the Present* (Columbus, OH, 2008), i, p. 15. For recent work on the part of technology and the longbow in this process, see C.J. Rogers, 'The Development of the Longbow in Late Medieval England and 'Technological Determinism', *JMH*, 37 (2001), 321-41.

[57] The precise causes and effects of this tactical revolution are still debated. The best introductory work in this area is Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 9-25; M. Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. Curry and Hughes, pp. 1-20; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*; K. DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996).

[58] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 9-25; A. Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. Curry and Hughes, pp. 21-38; A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 159-251. See also A.E. Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', in *Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacobs (Manchester, 1933), pp. 283-97; A.E. Prince, 'The Army and Navy', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, i, pp. 344-54; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 182-210; Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 35-9; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 88-96; M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 328-34. The final feudal summons was made in 1385 and received a poor response: see N.B. Lewis, 'The Last Medieval Feudal Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385', *EHR*, 73 (1958), 1-26.

3.2.1 The Array

It is logical to begin with the older of the two systems – the recruitment of men through the array. By Edward III's reign, convention dictated that a certain quota of men was expected from each of England's counties for service on a campaign.[59] Some of the responsibility for recruiting and equipping these men rested with each county's sheriff. More important in this endeavour were the commissioners of array, usually well-known members of the local gentry, appointed by the king to each county. It is perhaps unsurprising, given the importance of this position, that many medieval English monarchs placed a great number of royal knights on such commissions. Alistair Tebbit identified a number of household knights under Edward II who were commissioned to array men from the northern counties of England for service in Scotland in 1316.[60] During the first decade of Edward III's reign, household knights were similarly active as commissioners of array. In 1332, mandates were sent to William Clinton and Nicholas Langford ordering them to array 500 archers between them for the defence of the Scottish border in Cheshire and Derbyshire, respectively.[61] Similarly, the most prolific arrayers in Wales at this time were Hugh Tyrel (initially a household esquire and later a household knight), and Rhys ap Griffith, also a household knight. For the Roxburgh campaign of 1334-35, these men were ordered to array some 1,015 men for the army.[62] Household knights were also important in raising troops from Ireland during the Anglo-Scottish wars. John Darcy 'le pere', who was serving as justiciar of Ireland at the time, was tasked with raising 600 men-at-arms, 1,500 hobelars and 6,000 footmen for Edward's 'great offensive' in 1335.[63]

Though important as commissioners of array during the Anglo-Scottish wars, household knights appear infrequently as commissioners of array after the outbreak of the Hundred Years

[59] For more see Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England*, pp. 118-33.
[60] Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', p. 75. See also D. Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom: The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Minnesota, 1996), pp. 431-2.
[61] *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 359, 412.
[62] BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, f. 254; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 180. See also A. Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages, 1282-1422* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 163-4.
[63] *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 338, 340-4, 351-2, 354, 355; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 196-7.

War. With the exception of 1346, in the two decades between 1336 and 1356, the most militarily demanding of Edward's reign, no household knight served in this capacity. Why was this? Part of the answer undoubtedly lies in the changing nature of warfare. Indeed, it is revealing to find that the only occasion on which Edward's household knights were used as commissioners during the Hundred Years War was the Crécy campaign of 1346 – the only time after 1337 that arrayed men outnumbered those serving in private, 'mixed' retinues in an English army.[64] The household knights' lack of appointments to commissions of array after 1337 was, therefore, probably a reflection of the falling significance of the array itself. Additionally, Christopher Candy's suggestion that the household knights used the Anglo-Scottish wars to prove their military value to the king and that, by the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, had succeeded in establishing themselves amongst Edward's most important military captains may also have been important.[65] Indeed, such a hypothesis would explain why the involvement of household knights in commissions of array fell off so dramatically after 1337, when the significance of the array itself was falling. This is supported by the fact that, where household knights were involved with the array after 1337, it was principally in a supervisory role. The best example of this comes from the preparations prior to the Crécy campaign of 1346. On 10 March 1346, a number of knights and clerks were appointed as 'supervisors of the array'.[66] This post was not a regular one. Supervisors – usually appointed in groups of three or four, with jurisdiction over a few neighbouring counties – were only employed for especially large military campaigns. While the commissioners of array were still expected to scour their assigned county for suitable fighting men after the appointment of supervisors, the supervisors were given the greater responsibility of ensuring that the men chosen were appropriately equipped for war and mustered at their designated location by Easter.[67] Amongst

[64] For example, in September 1345, when commissioners of array for the Crécy campaign were first appointed, eight out of fifty-nine commissioners were household knights: TNA, C76/21, m. 9; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 58-60. Likewise, in March 1346, when additional commissioners were selected, John Lisle of Rougemont and Alan la Zouche were given the task of raising 100 archers in Cambridgeshire: TNA, C76/22, m. 29; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, p. 73.
[65] Candy, 'A Growing Trust'.
[66] TNA, C76/22, m. 21; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 78-9.
[67] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, p. 36; Prince, 'The Army and Navy', p. 358.

those appointed to supervise the array were John Darcy 'le pere', chamberlain of the household, Maurice Berkeley, a knight with over twenty years' experience in the royal household, and John Beauchamp of Warwick, who had been in household service since 1338 and would go on to bear the king's standard at Crécy.[68] The only English counties in which a household knight was not appointed to supervise the array were Essex and Hertfordshire, a single administrative unit, Dorset and Somerset, also combined, and Hampshire. It should be noted that no household knight was appointed to supervise the array in Wales, which provided just over half the arrayed men for the campaign.[69] Nevertheless, such a clear correlation between the two posts in England demonstrates well the value that Edward placed in his household knights in a 'middle-management' capacity when raising an army, especially after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War.

3.2.2 The Household Knights' Private Retinues

Important though arrayed men were to English armies under Edward III, the mainstay of English military strength came increasingly from the private, 'mixed' retinues of individual military captains. During the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the 1330s, the household knights' private military retinues were modest. For the winter campaign of 1334-35, the first for which records survive, the forty-five knights of the household provided roughly 300 men-at-arms between them. This was the smallest for any of Edward's major campaigns. That said, because this was a winter campaign, for which it was often hard to find willing recruits, the English army on this occasion was also relatively small. Consequently, 29 percent of the men-at-arms, and just under a quarter of the army as a whole, served in the household knights' retinues.[70] Clearly, though not yet numerically large, the reliability of service that the household knights and their retinues offered was valuable to the king. Six months later, for the main offensive of 1335, a smaller group of thirty-three household

[68] TNA, C76/22, m. 21; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 78-9.
[69] Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp. 65-7.
[70] For the army as a whole, see C. Candy, 'The Scottish Wars of Edward III, 1327-1338' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2004), p. 135.

knights contributed nearly twice as many men-at-arms as they had the previous winter, at 759. Importantly, however, the English army itself was much larger on this occasion, with private retinues having grown an average of 42 percent since the Roxburgh campaign. The household knights' retinues thus accounted for just 5 percent of the total fighting-strength of the army (Appendix 2).[71]

The household knights continued to provide broadly similar numbers of troops to royal armies following the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. The thirty-three household knights who accompanied the king to Antwerp in July 1338 brought with them 727 men, thirty-two fewer than the same number of household knights had three years previously. In 1342-43, meanwhile, the household knights once again provided in the region of 800 men.[72] Clearly, there was little change in the overall recruiting capacity of the household division in the late 1330s and early 1340s. However, though this could be taken as evidence that the king's reliance on household troops changed little during this time, this would be to misinterpret the situation. Indeed, after 1337 there was a move towards the recruitment of smaller, more specialised armies with a stronger concentration on troops raised by the royal household knights, which saw far more reliance placed on these men and their retinues. As Andrew Ayton has calculated, 'no fewer than 60 percent of the men-at-arms who embarked for Antwerp in July 1338 were connected to the royal household' – a 'massive household division by any standards'.[73] In 1340, meanwhile, over half the men-at-arms present with the king for the battle of Sluys and subsequent siege of Tournai were, by Ayton's reckoning, retained in household retinues, a figure that stood at roughly 40 percent for the Breton campaign of 1342-43.[74] A scheme devised for raising an army for service in Brittany in 1341 would have taken this to extreme new heights, with a force proposed that would have seen a staggering 67 percent of the 13,500 soldiers on the campaign, some 9,045 men, serving in household

[71] Ibid., p. 137.
[72] TNA, E36/204, ff. 89r-92r; Ayton, 'Edward III and the Military Aristocracy', p. 185.
[73] Ayton, 'Edward III and the Military Aristocracy', p. 184.
[74] Ibid., pp. 184-5.

retinues.[75] Though a last-minute extension to an existing Anglo-French truce meant that these plans never came to fruition, they provide a glimpse into the centrality of the household knights' private retinues to royal armies at this time, and just how far this had grown since the mid-1330s.

The increased reliance on the recruiting capacity of household knights after 1337 was, in part, a decision forced on Edward: as Mark Ormrod has commented, because the king struggled to mobilise the nobility for the war with France to the same extent he had been able to for his Scottish campaigns he had to do 'without the massed ranks of the English barons when assembling his arm[ies] for service on the continent'.[76] This is in itself significant for, as argued in Chapter 1, part of the reason that household knights were retained more numerably in times of war was because they could be relied upon to bring a strong retinue of men to any royal campaign, even at short notice; here, it is possible to see the value of this policy in action. It is also probable, however, that the increased reliance on the manpower of the household knights' retinues after 1337 formed part of a deliberate policy on Edward's behalf. Indeed, as Christopher Candy has argued, by the end of the Anglo-Scottish Wars the household knights had succeeded in establishing themselves as the king's most distinguished military captains.[77] It was logical, therefore, for Edward to focus his armies more heavily around these men and their retinues after the outbreak of war with France. The increased proportion of English armies being contributed by household knights in the early years of the Hundred Years War must, therefore, also be seen as a reflection of an increasing trust in, and dependence on, these men as the core of royal armies.

This trend appears to have reached its peak in 1346. Indeed, although the overall number of troops provided by Edward's household knights in the late 1330s and early 1340s remained relatively consistent, in 1346 their contributions nearly doubled to 1,559 combatants for the Crécy campaign. It must be noted that, because the pay accounts (*vadia guerra*) which record details of the

[75] TNA, C47/2/33, printed with commentary in M. Prestwich, 'English Armies in the Early Stages of the Hundred Years War: A Scheme in 1341', *BIHR*, 56 (1983), 102-13.
[76] Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, pp. 12-13, 107-8, quotation at p. 100.
[77] Candy, 'A Growing Trust'.

military retinue serving with the army on this campaign do not survive, the calculations for the strength of the household knights' retinues in this year are based instead on a number of incomplete or condensed transcriptions of a now-lost pay account compiled by Walter Wetwang.[78] These figures are, therefore, at best estimates. Likewise, because it is unclear what stage of the campaign the information in the Wetwang transcriptions represents, it has been assumed here, in keeping with the work of Andrew Ayton and Clifford Rogers, that the figures given in the transcriptions refer to the size and composition of each retinue as it was at the beginning of the campaign, when it was likely to have been at its strongest.[79] Even allowing for a reasonable margin of error, that the number of combatants provided by the household knights in 1346 was roughly twice that of any other campaign during Edward's reign highlights the importance of their private retinues to military numbers by this stage. Admittedly, given the sheer scale of this campaign, this only represented 12 percent of the army as a whole – if Ayton's estimate of *c.* 14,000 men is taken – and 26 percent of the men-at-arms present.[80] Even so, that the sixty-three household knights present for the main Crécy campaign brought with them twice as many men as in 1338-39, when sixty-three household knights were also retained in service for the Cambrai-Thiérache campaign, demonstrates how far the household knights' ability to privately recruit men had grown during the first decade of the Hundred Years War, and the emphasis that was now placed on them to do so.

What accounted for this rapid growth? It was probably inspired partially by the fact that the household knights continued to render the same exemplary military service during the early 1340s that Candy argues had been so important in encouraging the king to increase his reliance on them

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[78] The wardrobe account book for this year can be found at: TNA, E101/390/12. For more on the Wetwang accounts see Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', pp. 230-41; M. Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign of 1346', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2018); and above, pp. 32-5.

[79] Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', p. 239; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 423-6.

[80] This figure only accounts for the 63 household knights who were with the king upon landing at St-Vast-la-Hogue in July 1346, not those who joined later. The main figures for the army are from A. Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 263-5; Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', p. 189. It should be noted that Clifford Rogers' higher estimate of *c.* 15,250 for the English army in 1346 would slightly alter this, though it would only take the household knights' contributions down to 11%: Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharpe*, pp. 421-6. On the other hand, Jonathan Sumption has made the case for a lower estimate of c. 7,000-10,000 men for the English army in this year, which would see the household knights' contributions increase to a more impressive 15-20%: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 497.

during the Anglo-Scottish wars. Broader trends in military organisation were also unquestionably important. The move to wholly paid military service which took place during the first half of the fourteenth century, for example, meant that private retinues became a much more important and sizable aspect of English armies at this time, and ensured that the household knights, as with all military captains, brought with them larger retinues than they previously had.[81] It was also during Edward III's early reign that archers – especially mounted archers, whose mobility meant that they were tactically beneficial when raiding as part of a *chevauchée* in addition to their value in set-piece battles – began to be retained amongst private retinues. Few private archers were retained for service in Scotland in 1335, and as late as 1339-40 they were not a feature of all retinues.[82] However, it did not take long for the private recruitment of archers to catch on in the retinues of the household knights in the early 1340s, and by 1346 their retinues provided 759 archers, mainly mounted, compared to 745 men-at-arms.[83] The timeline for the rise of archers in the household knights' retinues correlates well with that first put forward for English armies more broadly by A.E. Prince in 1931, and singles out this short spell as the period in which the recruitment of private archers became wide-spread.[84] It also explains why the household knights' retinues – along with private military retinues more broadly – were able to grow rapidly in a short space of time, and with it the overall contribution to fighting numbers they could make to English armies. Further, it accounts for the fact that the number of troops household knights provided to Edward III's armies was so much greater than the number provided by the household knights to the armies of Edward I and II. Indeed, the greatest contributions that the household knights made to Edward

[81] For more see Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century'; A. Ayton, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. Bothwell, pp. 107-32; A. Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. Chapman, A. King and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 9-59; A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004); N. Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2016), esp. chapters 7 and 8.

[82] BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 252r-264; *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 356-7; A.E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR*, 46 (1931), p. 363.

[83] See Appendix 2. Both the knights and men-at-arms listed in the household knights' retinues for this campaign are included in these figures.

[84] Prince, 'Strength of English Armies', p. 363.

I's wars in terms of manpower came in 1297, when 527 cavalry served as part of the household knights' retinues on the Flanders expedition, and in 1298, when 800 such troops served under household knights for the Falkirk campaign. Though this represented a significant proportion of the cavalrymen on each campaign, in overall terms it meant that just 6 percent of the army in 1297, and 3 percent the following year, were serving in household retinues.[85] The mid-1340s, then, not only represented a high-point in the recruiting capacity of the household knights during Edward III's reign, but for later medieval England as a whole.

The heights of the household knights' military recruiting in the 1340s were not replicated later in Edward's reign. For the Reims campaign of 1359-60, the last to feature household knights, 1,029 of *c.* 11,900 combatants – all of whom were serving in private retinues – were retained in the retinues of household knights, just 8 percent (Appendix 2). This was a far cry from the 40-60 percent of the early 1340s. It seems unlikely that the Black Death had any significant impact on the household knights' ability to recruit men for this campaign as the English army as a whole on this occasion was comparable in size to those which had been raised earlier in Edward's reign, indicating that Edward's other military captains had little trouble finding recruits. More likely, the strength of the personal retinues of the Black Prince and the duke of Lancaster had, by this point, come to overshadow the need for such a strong showing of household knights on a royal military venture.[86] This fits well with the suggestion put forward in Chapter 2 that royal household service under Edward III was, particularly after 1350, not tied specifically to the king's household. Rather, many of Edward's household knights represented a broader group of fluid 'Plantagenet servants'

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[85] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 52; Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 152-3; N.B. Lewis, 'The English Forces in Flanders, August-November 1297', *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 310-18; D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 79-91.

[86] For more on the retinue of the Black Prince, see D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1998); D. Green, 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 133-52; D. Green, 'The Later Retinue of Edward the Black Prince', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44 (2000), 141-51; D. Green, 'Politics and Service with Edward the Black Prince', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. Bothwell, pp. 53-68. For Lancaster see, S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990); K. Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leeds, 1961).

who were able to move between the households of Edward and his family to render their service where it was most needed.[87] This reliance on the retinues of the Black Prince and Gaunt only grew further after the renewal of war in 1369, as the move to a small number of chamber knights ensured that these royal retainers offered very few troops to English armies. Likewise, as seen in Chapter 1, the king's knights and king's esquires of Richard II's reign were not as heavily relied on as the earlier household counterparts to provide men to royal armies.[88] The glory days of the 1340s thus witnessed the pinnacle of the household knights' importance in terms of contributing men to royal armies, not only during Edward's reign, but fourteenth-century England as a whole.

Having assessed the numerical strength of the household knights' retinues, it is important to consider their composition. First, it is important to note that the troops provided by household knights to Edward's military campaign were not spread evenly from within their ranks. Rather, the household bannerets provided larger retinues than their simple household knight counterparts: in 1335, the average size of a household banneret's retinue was eighty-three men, while for a simple household knight it was ten. Some simple household knights brought no retinue at all (Appendix 2). This is unsurprising given the superior social and military rank of the household bannerets. It should be noted, however, that these averages do not account for wide variation in retinue size, especially amongst the bannerets. The largest retinue brought by a household knight in 1335 was William Montagu's, at 219 men. The second largest was William Clinton's, at 105 men. Comparatively, the household banneret Roger Swinnerton brought with him just twenty-four men. Individual status was the main factor within this: Montagu and Clinton were amongst the king's closest confidents in 1335, had been awarded considerable lands and offices since 1327, and were both regularly summoned as peers of the realm. Swinnerton, by comparison, though an active and successful royal servant in these years, was never summoned to parliament, nor did he ever receive

[87] See above, pp. 71-2.
[88] See above, pp. 46-7.

royal patronage to the same extent as Clinton or Montagu with which to pay for such a large retinue. The variation in retinue size thus suggests that there were no fixed expectations placed on the size of retinue that household knights were expected to bring, and indicates that the personal service each household knight offered was as important to the king as the sheer number of men they could recruit.

What can be said of the quality of the personnel serving in the household knights' retinues? It is not possible to comment specifically on the standard of the individual soldiers retained. Even so, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the household knights' retinues generally represented experienced, close-knit and efficient fighting units. Using Michael Poynings' and Richard Talbot's Crécy retinues as case-studies, Ayton suggested that these retinues saw a large group of 'new arrivals' join a 'stable core group' of men, with no fewer than six men from Poynings forty-three-man retinue having served with him before.[89] Ayton's assertion is certainly supported by the strong family networks present within many of the household knights' retinues. Remaining with the household knights' retinues in 1346, it is possible to find both a John Darcy de la Park and a Robert Darcy of Ferriby serving in the retinue of John Darcy 'le pere'. Maurice Berkeley, meanwhile, retained both a Laurence and Benedict Berkeley for the duration of the campaign.[90] Such practice does not appear to have been novel: in 1343 Reginald Cobham retained both a John and a Stephen Cobham for the Brittany campaign.[91] An even more common binding factor than family ties were geographical ones. Of the six men serving in John Lisle of Rougemont's retinue in 1346, all those for whom primary land holdings can be identified held land in either Norfolk, Suffolk or Cambridgeshire.[92] This was not always the case. Maurice Berkeley's Crécy retinue contained men from Somerset, Hampshire and Leicestershire, while Reginald Cobham's consisted

[89] Ayton, 'The English army at Crécy', pp. 211-13. See also Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy', pp. 186-7.
[90] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 81-101.
[91] TNA, C76/17, m. 17. It is worth noting that Reginald was of the Sterborough line of Cobhams, whereas John and Stephen were most likely of the main Cobham and Randall lines respectively, making their familial connections to one another somewhat distant: N. Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 260-3.
[92] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 81-8.

of men from Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Cambridgeshire, Nottingham, Derby and York. In all likelihood, the geographical spread seen in Berkeley and Cobham's retinues was the result of their sheer size, with a wider recruiting pool required to construct a retinue of sixty-nine and 111 men respectively. The geographical and familial networks present in the military retinues of the household knights would, therefore, have ensured that the household knights retained by Edward each year came with relatively consistent and experienced retinues of men, furthering the camaraderie and efficiency of the household division as a unit, and perhaps explaining why Edward chose to rely so heavily on these men during the 1340s.

3.3 Shipping

Important though raising money, supplies and an army was to fourteenth-century warfare, this counted for little if it could not be transported to the field of combat. After 1337, this meant transferring English armies and their supplies across the Channel to France and the Low Countries. Our understanding of Edward III's maritime capabilities has come a long way in recent years, with a number of important studies emerging since 2011, most notably the work of Craig Lambert.[93] Nevertheless, it is important that the contributions of the household knights, both in formal positions within the navy and on *ad hoc* commissions, are recognised within this.

3.3.1 Household Knights and Maritime Office Holding

Throughout Edward III's reign, members of the knightly household were intimately connected with the English navy. This included frequent appointments as admirals of the fleet as well as

[93] Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*. See also A. Ayton and C. Lambert, 'A Maritime Community in Times of War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners, 1320-1400', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 134 (2014), 67-104; C. Lambert, 'The Cinque Ports and Naval Warfare, 1320-1453', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. C. Lambert, G. Baker, and D. Simpkin (forthcoming: Woodbridge, 2018); G. Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge, 2011); S. Rose, *England's Medieval Navy, 1066-1509: Ships, Men and Warfare* (Montreal, 2013).

wardens of the Cinque Ports. Let us take first the admiralty. Typically, two admirals served at any one time in the fourteenth century, one with responsibility for the fleet north of the Thames (the east coast of England north of the Thames estuary), and one for the west (the coast of Kent and southern England). Although by Edward III's reign the complexity of the administration surrounding the office had reduced the day-to-day participation of the admirals in maritime logistics, they were still important and active figureheads, vital in acquiring ships, taking charge of convoys, employing mariners and administering maritime law.[94] As such, while the position no longer required a man with distinguished naval experience, it did necessitate a dependable and competent administrator – and household knights were particularly favoured under Edward III. Serving household knights featured far more commonly as admirals of the fleet than non-household knights between 1337 and 1360, when Edward was most active in his war with France (Table 3.2). During this period, nine of seventeen admirals were serving as household knights at the time of their appointment (53 percent). Of those who were not, Bartholomew Burghersh the elder went on to serve as a household knight after his time as admiral, while William Bohun, appointed admiral of the north in 1353, William Clinton, admiral of the west from 1340-45, and Robert Ufford, admiral of the north in 1337 and from 1346-47, had all been household knights in the 1330s. Of the remaining four, three were established members of the titled nobility, and all were appointed shortly before a particularly large military campaign. It thus seems probable that the appointments were made on the basis of the status these individuals carried. The only man to serve as admiral between 1337 and 1360 who was never a household knight nor a member of the titled nobility was Thomas Drayton. Drayton served as admiral of the north from July 1338 to March 1339 and has been described as a ship-owning merchant from Great Yarmouth who had a part-time administrative career.[95] The presence of so many household knights amongst the admiralty would, therefore, suggest that this was a deliberate policy.

[94] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, p. 77; Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, pp. 29-30.
[95] A.R. Saul, 'Great Yarmouth in the Fourteenth Century: A Study in Trade, Politics and Society' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1975), p. 56.

Table 3.2: Admirals of the Fleet and time spent as a Household Knight, 1327-77:

Knight	*Time in Household*	*Tenure as Admiral*
John Perbroun	-	North: 1327; 1334 – Jan 1335
Waresius de Valognes	-	West: 1327
William Clinton	1327-37*	West: 1334 – Feb 1335; 1340 – Apr 1345
John of Norwich	-	North: Feb-Apr 1335; Apr-Nov 1336
John Howard	1346-47*	North: Apr 1335 – Feb 1336; Feb 1347-48
Roger Hegham	-	West: Feb-Jul 1335
Peter Bard	-	West: Jul 1335; Jul 1338 – Mar 1339
John Cobham	1346-53	West: Jul 1335 – Feb 1336
Thomas Ughtred	1346; 1359-60	North: Feb-Apr 1336
John Ros	1327-30	North: Nov 1336 – Aug 1337
Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk	1327-37*	North: Jan-Aug 1337; 1344 – Sep 1346
Walter Mauny	1330-47*	North: Aug 1337 – Jul 1338
William Montagu, 1st earl of Salisbury	1327-37*	West: Jan-Aug 1337
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder	1346-55	West: Aug 1337 – Jul 1338
Thomas Drayton	-	North: Jul 1338 – Mar 1339
Robert Morley	1346-47*	North: Mar 1339 – Dec 1342; 1343 (acting); Sep 1346; Jul 1350 – 1352; Mar 1355 – Jul 1361.
William Trussell	1330; 1339-47*	West: Mar 1339 – 1340; Dec 1342 - 1343
John Montgomery	1334; 1338-39; 1342-47*	West: Dec 1343 – 1344; Feb 1347 - 1348
Reginald Cobham	1334-47*	West: 1344
Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel	-	West: 1345 – Feb 1347
John Howard	1346-47*	North: Feb 1347 - 1348
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-60*	Sole Admiral: 1348 – Mar 1350; 1360. West: 1355
Phillip Whitton	-	West: Mar 1351 - 1352
William Bohun, earl of Northampton	1330-37	North: 1353 – Mar 1355
Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick	-	West: 1353-55
Guy Brian	1346-61*	West: May 1356 – Jul 1360; May 1370 – Oct 1371
Robert Herle	-	Sole Admiral: 1361-64
Ralph Spigurnell	-	Sole Admiral: 1365 – Apr 1369
Nicholas Tamworth	-	North: Jul 1369 – 1371
Robert Ashton	1366	West: Apr 1369 – May 1370; Oct 1371 – 1372
John Neville	-	North: Jan-Oct 1371
Ralph Ferrers	-	North: Oct 1371 – Mar 1372
William Neville	-	North: Mar 1372 – 1373; 1374 – Jul 1376
William Montagu, 2nd earl of Salisbury	-	Lead Admiral: 1373 North: 1376
Geoffrey Say	-	North: 1373
Phillip Courtenay	-	West: 1373 – Jul 1376
William Ufford, earl of Suffolk	-	North: July 1376 – Feb 1377
Robert Hales	-	West: Nov 1376 – 1377
Michael de la Pole	-	North: Feb 1377 - 1378

Source: Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea*, pp. 219-24.
Note: * Denotes overlap between time as household knights and as admiral.

The timing of the appointments of household knights as admirals is also revealing. The long-serving household knight Walter Mauny's appointment as admiral of the north came in August 1337, the point at which Edward was beginning to prepare an army for the coming war with France.[96] Likewise the household knights John Montgomery and John Howard were created admirals of the west and north fleets, respectively, in February 1347, mid-way through the lengthy siege of Calais. Both were thereafter important in blocking supplies from reaching the town.[97] Household knights also often served as admirals for lengthier periods than their non-household counterparts. Guy Brian was admiral of the west for a total of five years during the second half of the 1350s, a length of service only surpassed by William Clinton and Robert Morley, both of whom also spent time in the household. Finally, it should not go unremarked that the only man to serve as sole admiral of the fleet under Edward III, with jurisdiction over both the north and west, was John Beauchamp of Warwick, who held the unique post from 1348 to 1350, and again in 1360, shortly before his death. Beauchamp, who first entered the household in 1338, was undoubtedly a household 'careerist'. The responsibility given to him in these years, coupled with the overall presence of household knights amongst the admiralty suggests that the household knights were specifically preferred for this task, especially during the most intense phases of the war with France.

Such a picture also emerges from the household knights' association with the post of warden of the Cinque Ports (Table 3.3). This post, which was combined with the constableship of Dover castle, gave the incumbent jurisdiction over the five most important ports on the south coast of England: Dover, Sandwich, Hythe, New Romney and Hastings. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a high watermark in the importance of these ports. The effects of silting, combined with improvements in other ports, however, had diminished their monopoly on naval activity by Edward III's reign.[98] Nevertheless, the Cinque Ports still occupied a fundamental place at the heart of the navy, and were central to the raising of royal fleets and in the administration of

[96] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 174-8.
[97] See below, p. 141.
[98] N.A.M. Rodger, 'The Naval Service of the Cinque Ports', *EHR*, 111 (1996), 636-51.

Table 3.3: Wardens of the Cinque Ports and time spent as a Household Knight, 1327-77:

Knight	*Known time in Household*	*Tenure as Warden of Cinque Ports*
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder	1346-55	Dec 1326 – Dec 1330; Dec 1343 – Aug 1355
William Clinton	1327-37*	Dec 1330 – Dec 1343
Otto Grandison	-	5 Aug 1355 – 8 Aug 1355
Roger Mortimer, earl of March	1353	Aug 1355 – Mar 1360
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-60*	Mar 1360 – Dec 1360
Andrew Guilford	-	Dec 1360 – Jan 1361; Nov 1371 – Nov 1372
Robert Herle	-	Jan 1361 – Sep 1364
Ralph Spigurnell	-	Sep 1364 – Jun 1370
Richard Pembridge	1353-72*	Jun 1370 – Nov 1371
William Latimer	1353-61; 1368-76*	Nov 1372 – Jun 1376
Edmund Langley, earl of York	-	Jun 1376 – Feb 1381

Source: Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 267-8.
Note: * Denotes overlap between time as household knights and as admiral.

maritime activity in the fourteenth century.[99] Here, it is possible to see that six of the eleven men to serve as warden also spent time in the royal household (55 percent), of whom four did so simultaneously. Though by no means a monopoly, it does appear, therefore, that household knights were favoured for the post. Probably, this was because the king knew the household knights he appointed to these posts well, and could be confident of their suitability for such work.

Though household status was clearly an important factor in these appointments, the fact that three of the six household knights who served as wardens of the Cinque Ports also served as admirals of the fleet during their careers suggests that many of these men were appointed because they possessed naval experience. They were all part of what Craig Lambert has described as 'a small number of men with collective experience in shipping' that Edward increasingly relied on over the course of his reign to ensure the 'success of maritime mobilisation in the period 1324-50'.[100] Take, for example, the careers of the two longest serving wardens of the Cinque Ports under

[99] Rose, *England's Medieval Navy*, p. 54; Ayton and Lambert, 'A Maritime Community'; C. Lambert, 'The Cinque Ports in the Wars of Edward II and Edward III: New Methodologies and Shipping Estimates', in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*, ed. R. Gorski (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 59-78; Lambert, 'The Cinque Ports and Naval Warfare'.
[100] Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, pp. 25-30.

Edward III, Bartholomew Burghersh the elder and William Clinton, who held the post between them from 1327 to 1355. While both were active household knights for many years – each offering at least a decade's worth of service – it would be too much to suggest that Edward selected them as wardens of the Cinque Ports and admirals of the fleet solely because of this. Burghersh's association with these important naval posts began long before he entered the household in 1346, having first been appointed warden of the Cinque Ports in December 1326. Likewise Clinton, though a household knight for many years prior to either of his naval appointments, continued to serve in these posts long after becoming earl of Huntingdon and leaving the household. Consequently, while the household status of these men would have been a factor in their appointments, the fact that both were proven military administrators in their own right was as important.

3.3.2 Raising a Fleet

What role did the incumbents of the offices discussed above, and the household knights more broadly, play in raising a fleet? In the fourteenth century, English kings maintained only a small permanent fleet, keeping an average of just twenty-five ships per year for their private use.[101] This was wholly insufficient for transporting an army to the continent *en masse*:[102] the fleet which took the army to the Low Countries in 1338, far from the largest of Edward's reign, consisted of some 403 ships sailed by 13,346 mariners.[103] For each campaign it was thus necessary to commandeer a great number of private vessels, most commonly from the merchant community.[104] Arresting ships was a complicated process and over the course of Edward's reign an increasingly sophisticated administrative and logistical structure emerged to oversee it.[105] The process began when writs were

[101] Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea*, pp. 20-30; Rose, *England's Medieval Navy*, p. 47.
[102] It has been estimated that at least one ship was needed for every ten knights in the army if they were travelling with their full equipment and entourage: J. Sumption, *Edward III: A Heroic Failure* (London, 2016), pp. 37-8.
[103] See Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, p. 119.
[104] Ibid., pp. 11-16.
[105] Ibid., pp. 33-46; A.R. Saul, 'Great Yarmouth and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', *BIHR*, 52 (1979), pp. 108-11; Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea*, pp. 50-8.

sent out to individuals ordering them to raise ships and mariners for royal service and giving them the authority to requisition vessels.[106] On occasion, these writs simply stated that 'all vessels from every port in the kingdom' could be requisitioned. More often, they stipulated a select number of ports, or broad geographical 'zones', from which ships could be taken, or that only those selected by the admiralty could be taken. In the first instance, they were directed to the admirals.[107] Upon becoming admiral of the north in 1337, Walter Mauny was tasked with recruiting 1,844 sailors, 76 masters and the same number of constables and 'pilots', a hefty force.[108] Likewise, in 1347, John Howard, admiral of the north, was commissioned to assess certain towns in order to establish what support they could offer the navy that was engaged in the blockade of Calais.[109] The wardens of the Cinque Ports were equally crucial in preparing a fleet, and had the capability to raise a small fleet on their own.[110] In November 1336, William Clinton was entrusted with a significant collection of armour and other things that had been purveyed for use on the king's fleet.[111] In early 1337, meanwhile, he oversaw the construction of a barge for the king's personal use in the coming war with France.[112]

Though the two admirals of the fleet and the warden of the Cinque Ports bore much of the burden of raising ships, at times of heightened military activity *ad hoc* commissions were established to assist them. Household knights featured prominently amongst these. In 1337, the opening year of the Hundred Years War, in addition to appointing Walter Mauny admiral of the north in August of that year Edward also sent three household knights – Reginald Cobham, Thomas Poynings and Geoffrey de Say – to assemble a fleet and ready it to sail from Portsmouth with the intention of

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106 Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, p. 20. For more on mariners in the wars of Edward III, see: C. Lambert and A. Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth Century England', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 153-76.
107 TNA, C76/18, m. 21; *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normans et Francois*, ed. T. Carte (London, 1748), ii, p. 28.
108 Tout, *Chapters*, iv, p. 101.
109 TNA, E101/25/23.
110 Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, pp. 13-14; Lambert, 'The Cinque Ports in the Wars of Edward II and Edward III'.
111 *CCR, 1333-37*, p. 623.
112 TNA, E372/182, m. 39.

taking an army to Gascony, which had recently been confiscated by the king of France.[113] A number of household knights including William Frank, meanwhile, were employed to assist in converting the merchant vessels requisitioned by these men for war. This involved the construction of wooden 'forecastles' at the bow of each ship, 'aftercastles' at their sterns, and 'topcastles' at the mast head of each – raised platforms from which look-out could be kept and projectiles launched.[114]

The largest problem faced when trying to raise a fleet was opposition to naval service. Investigating and responding to the avoidance of service was thus of paramount importance, and household knights were also often deployed here. In December 1342, the household knight William Trussell was commissioned to enquire into reports that 'some of the ministers appointed in the past to arrest ships north of the Thames for passage to foreign parts' had bribed their way out of service or else extorted huge fees in order to serve which had 'delayed the whole process of speedily raising a fleet'.[115] In January 1346, meanwhile, writs were sent to various mayors and sheriffs of counties on the south coast of England ordering them to assist Gawain Corder, who had been a household knights for nearly twenty years by the time of the Crécy campaign, in arresting ships for service with the king, and on 18 March further writs were sent to Corder ordering him to arrest as many ships as he could find west of the Thames following a mutiny.[116] Though the household knights were only part of a much wider effort to raise a fleet for service in the fourteenth century, it is nevertheless clear that Edward was especially quick to turn them at times of need.

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113 TNA, C47/2/63/10.
114 TNA, E372/186, m. 45; I. Friel, 'Winds of Change? Ships and the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. Curry and Hughes, pp. 183-94.
115 *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 592.
116 TNA, C76/21, m. 2, 32; Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 63, 70.

Conclusion

The scale of Edward III's wars placed new pressures on England's military infrastructure. New sources of revenue were required to fund them, new methods of raising troops to fight them, and an expanded naval effort to transport these armies to the continent. Household knights were often central in this. They brought with them sizable retinues of men to each campaign around which an army could be built. At its height in the 1340s, this often accounted for between a quarter and a half of all men-at-arms serving in English royal armies. They were also routinely used by the king to secure money, food and military supplies for his wars, offering a skilled group of supervisors and 'middle managers' to oversee these processes. Admittedly, for many household knights, especially those who held formal office, the contributions they made to military administration were part of a wider career in which household service was but a single aspect. Nevertheless, what is clear from this chapter is that when reliable, competent men were required for permanent administrative posts or to serve on temporary commissions, the household knights were the first men the king looked to.

4

In the Field of Combat

To be a household knight under Edward III was, with few exceptions, to be a military man. Individuals such as Walter Mauny, whose military career began at Dupplin Moor in 1332 and lasted well into the 1360s, and Reginald Cobham, who distinguished himself during the opening years of the Hundred Years War, are synonymous with Edward's wars, and both were household knights for more than a decade. Establishing a link between household knights and military service is not revelatory: Michael Prestwich first cemented the prominence of household knights in late thirteenth-century warfare some forty years ago.[1] Nevertheless, there remains a great deal as yet unknown about the military role of household knights in the fourteenth century. Indeed, the 'revolution' which took place in military tactics during the first half of the fourteenth century renders many of Prestwich's conclusions incompatible with this later period. The decline of the mass cavalry charge on the battlefield – an area in which Prestwich saw Edward I's household knights as dominant – forced household knights, and the knighthood more broadly, to reinvent themselves to remain relevant to military campaigning.[2] In particular, this saw their involvement

[1] M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp. 41-66. Prestwich added to his initial exploration in this area in idem., *Edward I* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 147-54.

[2] See, for instance, *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J.L. Price (London, 1995); M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 334-46; M. Prestwich, 'Was there a Military Revolution in Medieval England?', in *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde*, ed. C. Richmond and I. Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 19-38; *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Boulder, 1995); C.J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241–78, reprinted with revisions in *The Military Revolution Debate*, ed. Rogers; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 9-25; M. Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 1-20; K. DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996).

in the increasingly frequent *chevauchées* of Edward III's reign – swift raids designed to cause localised destruction and incite an opposing army into pitched battle – grow markedly. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine what impact these developments had on the place of the household knights in fourteenth-century warfare, assessing in turn the role that the household knights played in leading troops as part of royal campaigns, in set-piece battles, and the reputation that their actions in these areas won them.

4.1 On Campaign

Service on military campaign was expected of all Edward's household knights. For the Roxburgh campaign of 1334-35, only William Clinton, who was serving on an embassy to France, Thomas Lucy and William Frank were not present with the army, out of a total of forty-five household knights.[3] For the 'great offensive' of 1335, meanwhile, only two household knights were missing: Giles Beauchamp and Thomas Rous.[4] Such a high turnout can be seen right across Edward's reign: prior to the emergence of the chamber knights in the 1360s, roughly 95 percent of Edward's household knights accompanied him on any given campaign.[5] This is not to say there were not instances in which household knights were prevented from campaigning with the king. In 1346, Walter Mauny and Ralph Stafford were unable to take part in the Crécy expedition in northern France as both were under siege at Aiguillon in Gascony.[6] It is interesting, however, that both Mauny and Stafford were serving on royal business elsewhere at this time, as was also the case for

[3] BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 233-47. A useful table of this data can be found in C. Candy, 'The Scottish Wars of Edward III, 1327-1338' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2004), pp. 268-9.
[4] BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 233-47. See also Appendix 2.
[5] A particularly useful table for military service records amongst household knights during the 1330s can be found in J.M. Parker, 'Patronage and Service: The Careers of William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk and William Bohun, Earl of Northampton' (unpublished MA thesis: University of Durham, 1985), p. 92. Such a high turnout of household knights on campaign was one area in which Edward III's reign was consistent with Edward I's: Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', i, p. 113.
[6] C.J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 423-6. N. Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred years War* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 39-40, 113-51.

William Clinton in 1334-35. This suggests that household knights only missed a campaign with good reason.

At its most basic level, then, service as a household knight came with the obligation to serve the king in war. For many of those retained as simple household knights – the lower of the two ranks of the knightly household – this meant acting as a member of the king's personal retinue. This gave them a comparable, if superior, role to the esquires and archers of the household, and required them to be in the near-constant presence of the king. This is reflected in the fact that a number of household knights received a reduced rate of war wages on any given campaign (down from 2*s* a day to 18*d* a day) in return for receiving their meals at the king's table.[7] The proximity of the simple household knights to the king also typically meant that they saw action on occasions when Edward was personally engaged in combat. A good example of this comes from late 1349, when Edward was forced to ride hastily to Calais to prevent a French force from reconquering the town just two years after it had fallen to the English, accompanied mainly by his household knights.[8] Beyond this, the simple household knights' broader social and military status as 'knights bachelor', the lowest formal rank of knighthood, precluded them from more conspicuous responsibilities, such as leading other knights into battle.[9] Consequently, their precise duties on campaign rarely attracted the attention of contemporary chroniclers, whose work forms the principal source base for investigations of this nature, and thus remain largely hidden.

While a place in the personal military retinue of the king was, for many household knights, the pinnacle of their household career, for others it brought far greater military responsibilities. Indeed, though command of three main divisions of an army on any campaign – the vanguard,

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[7] See, for instance, *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 325-60, which records that eleven of the thirty-two household knights for the Cambrai campaign of 1338-39 received a reduced daily wage.

[8] R. Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), pp. 408-10; Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 89-93; Froissart (*Luce*), iv, pp. 73-80; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999), pp. 60-2.

[9] For more on social status and military leadership, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, chapter 7, pp. 159-84; A. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 54-5. Though for an earlier period, A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England: The Earls of Edward I, 1272-1307* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 76-86, and D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 32-67, are useful.

centre and rear-guard – was typically entrusted to members of the titled nobility,[10] the tactical emphasis on the *chevauchée* under Edward III meant that there were numerous towns to be sacked, rivers crossed, villages raided and skirmishes fought when pockets of resistance were met on each campaign. Such activities did not require the participation of the whole army. A competent force led by a reliable captain was, however, necessary, and it is here that emphasis was placed on household men. This was particularly true of the household bannerets – the superior rank within the household – whose status as 'knights banneret' permitted them to lead much greater contingents of men than the 'knights bachelor', including other knights.

References to household knights leading individual military missions as part of wider campaigns are frequent amongst chronicles of Edward III's reign. The long-serving household knights William Montagu and Walter Mauny feature heavily in accounts of Edward's Scottish wars. In 1333, as Jean le Bel reports, who was himself present on the campaign, Mauny and Montagu were ordered to guard the flanks of the English army which was being harassed by Scottish forces as it marched northwards towards Berwick.[11] In 1335, meanwhile, Montagu was once again singled out for leadership, this time sent to lead a raid in the area surrounding Caerlaverock.[12] Important though the contributions of Montagu and Mauny were to the Anglo-Scottish wars of the 1330s, it was as part of Edward's French wars in the late 1330s and 1340s that the household knights became indispensable to English military leadership. In 1339, when Edward was leading an army into French territory for the first time, Mauny, accompanied on this occasion by his household companion Wulfard Gistell, led a daring night-time raid on a small contingent of French troops camped at a place called Buironfosse in which they routed them before they could offer any real

[10] For more on the command structures of medieval armies, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 159-84; Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 23-53; A. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 83-96; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 166-81.
[11] Jean le Bel, p. 62.
[12] Parker, 'Patronage and Service', p. 104; R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965), p. 205. For more on the household knights' participation in the Scottish wars of the 1330s, see C. Candy, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War III: Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (London, 2013), pp. 49-62.

resistance.[13] Interestingly, both Mauny and Gistell originated from Hainault, only a short distance from Buironfosse, and so presumably had a reasonable level of local knowledge to rely on when devising their attack. This, coupled with the fact that they were also established members of Edward's household, made them logical choices for command.

The best examples of household knights leading missions come from the largest and most comprehensively chronicled campaign of Edward's reign, the Crécy campaign of 1346, when Edward and an army of *c.* 14,000 combatants spent the best part of two months conducting a great *chevauchée* across northern France.[14] According to a letter written by Bartholomew Burghersh the elder just a few days into the campaign, John Beauchamp of Warwick led a number of crucial raids into the area surrounding St-Vaast-la-Hogue, where the English had made landfall, to ensure that there were 'no hindrances' (*nul areste*) while they unloaded cargo from the ships.[15] Roughly a week later, as the English marched towards Caen, they came upon a bridge near the town of St-Come-du-Mont, just twenty-five miles south of St-Vaast, which had been broken by local French resistance as part of a wider policy to damage, destroy or heavily garrison any river crossing which the English army might potentially use in a bid to slow their progress. In response, the household knights Reginald Cobham and John Stirling, along with Roger Mortimer, Hugh Despenser and Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, were charged with overseeing the repair of the bridge and protecting the carpenters working on it. On this occasion, the bridge was quickly fixed and the army soon on its way again.[16] River crossings, such as that at St-Come-du-Mont, were a constant thorn in Edward's side during this campaign, and household knights were repeatedly called in to manage them. When attempting to cross the Seine at Rouen, the second of the major rivers

[13] Froissart (*Oeuvres*), xviii, p. 90; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 169.
[14] There is a great deal of secondary literature surrounding this campaign. See, for example: A.H. Burne, *The Crécy War: A Military History of the Hundred Years War from 1337 to the Peace of Brétigny, 1360* (London, 1955); E. Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1965), pp. 118-24; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 489-534; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 238-72; *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005); M. Livingstone and M. Witzel, *The Road to Crécy: The English Invasion of France, 1346* (London, 2005).
[15] *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 1979), p. 14. The letter is also contained in A. Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), pp. 200-1.
[16] *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 30.

encountered on this campaign, for example, Thomas Holland led an assault on the bridge there, supposedly crying 'St. George for Edward!' as he charged.[17]

As with crossing rivers, sacking towns was an important aspect of Edward's *chevauchée* in 1346. Doing so was invaluable in procuring supplies and causing further damage to the French countryside and the reputation of its king. Once again household knights had a crucial part to play. On 9 August, as Edward and his army were marching south in search of a point at which to cross the Seine, the English decided to attack the castle of Gaillon, once an important stronghold of the Knights Templar. Though details of the assault are scarce, the *Acta Bellicosa*, one of the most detailed records of this campaign, reports that the men chosen to lead it were Richard Talbot, steward of the household, and Thomas Holland, now in his ninth year as a household knight, both of whom sustained minor injuries in the action.[18] The following day, as the English continued to march towards Paris, the decision was taken to attack the town of La Roche Guyon, which according to local folklore, if captured, would 'cause the *fluer-de-lys* to wither'.[19] This time, Robert Ferrers, who had first entered the household as a simple household knight in 1328 and was now serving as a household banneret, was chosen to lead. Ferrers faced a daunting task. The town nestled safely on a steep hill in a bend of the Seine and consisted of two main fortifications: one on the shore of the river and another at the top of the hill.[20] According to the *Acta Bellicosa*, Ferrers and his men met with fierce resistance upon reaching the first of the town's fortifications. Nevertheless, the English 'by violent assault' were able to take the fortification by the river, and the remaining garrison, 'so terrified by the assault, grew faint-hearted and surrendered the castle and themselves… to the said Sir Robert'.[21]

It is important to ask whether the knights chosen to lead these military missions were selected specifically because they were household retainers, or whether their household status was

[17] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 514.
[18] *Acta Bellicosa*, pp. 34-5; Livingstone and Witzel, *The Road to Crécy*, pp. 201-4.
[19] Livingstone and Witzel, *The Road to Crécy*, p. 206.
[20] Ibid., p. 206.
[21] *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 35.

coincidental. One factor that suggests the former is that, in almost all the examples given above, the household knights chosen to lead were long-serving men. Indeed, Walter Mauny, William Montagu, Reginald Cobham and Thomas Holland all spent at least a decade in the household, and might be considered 'core' members of it. The disproportionality with which household knights feature in accounts of Edward's military campaigns also indicates that they were chosen as part of a specific policy. Take, for example, the *Acta Bellicosa*'s account of the Crécy campaign. One of the most comprehensive accounts of the campaign, the *Acta Bellicosa* makes reference to five specific military missions/encounters in which the mission's leaders are also named. Of these five occasions, two saw sole leadership given to long-serving household knights. Only one, a skirmish near the beginning of the campaign when the earl of Warwick was ambushed, makes no mention of them at all.[22] By comparison, men such as the earls of Warwick and Northampton, Bartholomew Burghersh the younger and Roger Mortimer, all of whom were leading considerable retinues in the vanguard – and so would most naturally have come into contact with the enemy most often – are each named only once. The disproportional frequency with which household knights feature as leaders of specific military missions in the *Acta Bellicosa* is replicated amongst almost all major chronicles of this campaign; Hugh Despenser and Roger Mortimer are the only other individuals not of the titled nobility to feature as often, and both were the sons of fathers who had forfeited earldoms.[23] Further, although the Crécy campaign is better served in terms of contemporary accounts than many of Edward III's military campaigns, the emphasis placed on household men to lead individual military missions does not appear to have been novel. The only non-comital

[22] *Acta Bellicosa*, pp. 26-40.

[23] The principal accounts consulted here are: *Acta Bellicosa*, pp. 26-40; Froissart (*Luce*), iii; Jean le Bel; Geoffrey le Baker; Chandos Herald, 'The Life of the Black Prince', in *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. Barber, pp. 84-139; *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard (Paris, 1920-53), 10 vols.; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*; Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*; *Knighton's Chronicle*; T. Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1874); *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1330-1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927); *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, ed. and trans. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913); R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby (London, 1865-82), 9 vols.; T. Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Surtees Society, CCIX: Woodbridge, 2005). The campaign letters contained within *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. Barber, pp. 13-25 have also been consulted, as have the numerous accounts contained in *The Battle of Crécy*, *1346*, ed. and trans. M. Livingston and K. DeVries (Liverpool, 2015).

English captains recorded in the so-called '1339 campaign diary' as having led a military mission as part of the Cambrai-Thiérache campaign, when the English marched across northeast France 'burning and ravaging the land around the city of Cambria', were, for instance, Edward Montagu, Thomas Poynings and Walter Mauny. The latter two of these men – Poynings and Mauny – were serving household knights in 1339, while the former, Montagu, was later retained for the Crécy campaign.[24] The compelling correlation between military leadership and household status on Edward III's military campaigns must, then, lead us to partially alter our understanding of military leadership at this time: household status was clearly a factor in who the king chose for command.

This point is reinforced if the household knights are considered in terms of a collective fighting group, rather than as individual military leaders. As Richard Barber has shown in the context of the military leadership provided by the knights of the Order of the Garter in the second half of Edward's reign, the bonds that existed between military commanders, which were often cultivated over many years of service alongside one another, drastically improved their efficiency as a fighting force. Barber goes as far as to argue that the English victory at Poitiers in 1356 owed something to the 'spirit of teamwork' that existed between the Garter knights present.[25] Though, as shall be seen below, household knights had only a relatively minor impact on the outcomes of the major pitched battles of Edward's reign, it is reasonable to argue that because, as was seen in Chapter 1, they represented a reasonably cohesive group, they too enjoyed an additional degree of efficiency and camaraderie as a military unit. This would have had a positive impact on the outcomes of Edward's military ventures, not least the *chevauchée* of 1346. Indeed, the household knights clearly represented a particularly efficient pool of military leaders whose experience fighting alongside one another ensured that the leadership they offered was, in some respects,

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[24] '*Chevauchée* d'Edouard III en France', printed in *Froissart* (Oeuvres), xviii, pp. 84-94. The original manuscript can be found at BL, Cotton Caligula D III, f. 25. The term '1339 Campaign Diary' is borrowed from Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharpe*, pp. 157-73. Quotation concerning the conduct of the campaign from Jean le Bel, p. 79.

[25] R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013), pp. 415-63, quotation at p. 440. See also, R. Barber, 'The Military Role of the Order of the Garter', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 7 (2009), 1-11.

greater than the sum of its parts. That is to say that, while each household knight was a skilled commander is his own right, it was the 'spirit of team work' – to use Barber's wording – that existed between them that made them a particularly well-oiled fighting machine. This would certainly explain why household knights were not only routinely chosen for command, but were so regularly chosen to lead alongside other household knights.

In addition to commanding contingents as part of campaigns led by the king, household knights were also often selected to lead expeditionary forces in his absence. A number of household knights were included amongst the army of 'disinherited' nobles who accompanied Edward Balliol into Scotland in 1332, including Richard Talbot and Walter Mauny, the latter of whom, according to Ranald Nicholson, would 'scarcely have engaged in the enterprise without the king's consent'.[26] The inclusion of these men suggests that while Edward was not officially a supporter of this campaign, because he was technically still allied to the Scots by the terms of the Treaty of Northampton (1328), he was not personally averse to it. Similarly, shortly before a meeting between English, French, Scottish and papal delegates in 1336, the intention of which was to bring to an end Edward's war with Scotland and prevent one with France, Edward sent a small force under the leadership of Edward Balliol into Scotland in an attempt to take possession of a few additional towns in the country to secure a more favourable negotiating position. Accompanying Balliol was the earl of Warwick, along with three household knights, Ralph Neville, Robert Ufford and William Clinton.[27] From very early on in his personal rule, the king was willing to place household knights on expeditions that he could not personally attend, perhaps to some extent as proxies for his own presence.[28]

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[26] Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 80; Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, p. 296; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 33. See also I.A. MacInnes, *Scotland's Second War of Independence, 1332-1357* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 151-6.
[27] Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 104-5.
[28] Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, p. 296; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 66; Gray, *Scalacronica*, pp. 107, 209; *'Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II',* in *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*, ed. A. Myers (London, 1969), p. 54.

The growing necessity after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War for Edward to fight wars simultaneously on multiple fronts, including in Brittany, Gascony and Normandy, led to an increased use of household knights in this area.[29] The career of Walter Mauny offers an excellent example. The first occasion during the Hundred Years War on which Mauny led a military expedition in the king's absence was in 1337, when, having recently been appointed admiral of the north, he led a vicious assault on the island of Cadsands, just off the Flemish coast.[30] Two years later he took charge of the first expeditionary force to enter France as part of the Cambria-Thiérache campaign, sacking the towns of Mortagne and Thun-l'Eveque with a small force of men-at-arms while Edward moved out of Hainault with the main army.[31] Mauny's service in Brittany in the early 1340s, when the outbreak of a succession war over the duchy offered fresh ground on which England and France could do battle, was also impressive. In response to the French-backed claimant to the vacant duchy, Charles de Blois, leading an occupying force into the region, Mauny was placed at the head of a preliminary English force tasked with keeping the cause of the English-backed candidate, John de Montfort, alive until greater reinforcements could arrive under the earl of Northampton. [32] Four years after his time in Brittany, meanwhile, Mauny led a force of roughly 160 men in Gascony as part of the duke of Lancaster's campaigns in the region – one of the five main military captains with the army on this occasion.[33]

It would be going too far to argue that Mauny was chosen for leadership on the above occasions solely because he was a household knight: he was, after all, a proven military commander

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[29] For more on this development see K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1361* (London, 1969); J.W. Sherborne, 'John of Gaunt, Edward III's Retinue and the French Campaign of 1369', in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross*, ed. R. A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 41-61; Bell, *War and the Soldier*, pp. 83-96; Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 23-53.
[30] Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 80; Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 7; Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 125.
[31] *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 14-15; Jean le Bel, p. 84; Froissart (*Oeuvres*), xviii, pp. 84-5.
[32] For more see M. Jones, 'The Breton Civil War', in *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State*, ed. M. Jones (London, 1980), chapter 8, pp. 197-219; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 370-410; Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, pp. 114-7. See also Jean le Bel, pp. 134-42; Froissart (*Luce*), ii, pp. 150-73; *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 38-41; J. Sumption, 'Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter (c.1310–1372)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17985 (accessed 14/11/16).
[33] Geoffrey le Baker, p. 68; Jean le Bel, pp. 157-61; Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, p. 356; Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant*, pp. 53-74; Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 113-50.

in his own right. Yet, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that Mauny's household career was a principal factor in his selection. Mauny, who first came to England in 1328 as part of the marriage arrangements between Edward and Philippa of Hainault, was one of Edward's longest-serving household knights, spending over two decades in the royal household. During this time he became a close companion of the king, and it seems probable that this close bond with the king, when added to his natural talent for martial affairs, singled him out for military leadership. This is strongly supported by the fact that others knights who served in the household over comparable lengths of time to Mauny were similarly favoured for military leadership. Reginald Cobham was sent to Brittany in September 1342 with a force of eighty-five men, in light of the failure of the king's personal campaign in the region to materialise, to lend his support to the English forces already there under the command of Mauny and the earl of Northampton.[34] John Beauchamp of Warwick, meanwhile, commanded a daring sortie into the area surrounding Calais in 1351 – his fourteenth year in the household – where he was acting as the town's captain, with a force of roughly 600 men.[35] Mauny's career after 1351, the approximate time he left household service, is also revealing. Indeed, Mauny led no contingent in the king's absence after this date. While Johnathan Sumption contends that this was because Mauny achieved very little during his time in Brittany, badly discrediting his reputation as a military leader,[36] Mauny's prominent role in Gascony in 1345-46 suggests that his reputation remained high throughout the 1340s. It thus seems more likely that it was his exit from the household that lay, in part, behind his lack of military leadership thereafter – though the fact that he married the king's cousin, Margaret Brotherton, duchess of Norfolk, without licence in 1353 also put a strain on their once harmonious relationship.[37]

The household knights' importance in leading troops, both as part of campaigns led by the king and in his absence, underwent a marked decline during the 1350s. As noted in Chapter 2,

[34] TNA, E36/204, ff. 87r, 106v, 108v.
[35] Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 99-100; *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 110-11.
[36] Sumption, 'Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter'.
[37] Ibid.

many of those who had served the king so ably to date, including Reginald Cobham, Thomas Holland and Bartholomew Burghersh the younger, left the king's household and turned their attention instead to serving with the Black Prince in Gascony, where the bulk of military action now lay.[38] This significantly reduced the number of able military captains retained within the king's household and, consequently, the contributions of the household knights to the Reims campaign of 1359-60, the final campaign which Edward led in person, were not comparable to those of the 1340s. There are details of just two stories concerning household knights from this campaign. The first reports that Edward Despenser was dispatched from the main army mid-way through the campaign with a handful of men to guard some nearby millers while they ground fresh grain for the army; the second that John Chandos, along with the notable English and Gascon knights James Audley and Richard Ponchardon, advanced on a place called Chalons in Champagne and sacked the nearby castle of Chargny-en-Dormois.[39] The comparative lack of examples from this campaign suggests that the household knights were no longer as central to military leadership as they had previously been. Admittedly, the lack of military success achieved by this campaign compared to earlier ones such as the Crécy campaign likely resulted in a degree of disinterest amongst contemporary writers, leaving many of the household knights' exploits on this occasion unrecorded. Nevertheless, it cannot help but be supposed that this trend is also indicative of a decline in their responsibilities by this stage in Edward's reign – one that continued after the move to a more domestically focused chamber knights system after 1360. The late 1330s and 1340s were, therefore, the peak period for the household knights' responsibilities as military leaders under Edward III.

[38] For details of those who served with the Black Prince in these years, see D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1998), ii, pp. 243-81. See also above, pp. 70-2.
[39] Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 185; Froissart (*Luce*), v, pp. 213-15; *Knighton's Chronicle,* pp. 170-1.

4.2 In Battle

4.2.1 Pitched Battles

Though few and far between, pitched battles hold a special place in the military history of Edward's reign, particularly given his recurring success in them.[40] Gauging the household knights' contributions to these battles is greatly restricted by the sources. Contemporary chronicles, the most detailed sources for studying medieval battles, rarely reveal much beyond the overall progress of each encounter and the most noteworthy deeds of the greatest men present at them. Nevertheless, there are three battles which, when examined together, do allow a tentative picture of the household knights' contributions to pitched battle to be put forward – Halidon Hill (1333), Morlaix (1342) and Crécy (1346).

The leadership that household knights offered at pitched battle varied considerably based on how many members of the wider English nobility were present. At the battle of Halidon Hill, which occurred shortly after the English had taken the town of Berwick and saw them overcome a significantly larger Scottish force on a slope outside the town, the household knight Edward Bohun, who had been a members of Edward's household since the very start of his reign, occupied a pre-eminent position amongst the English military leadership. Bohun commanded the vanguard at the battle, and would, therefore, have had a foremost role in the action.[41] It is unlikely, however, that Bohun owed this appointment to his status as a household knight; more probably it was a result of the fact that he was deputising as Constable of England on the behalf of his infirm brother, John, at the time. The Constable of England was the highest recognised military officer in fourteenth-century England and made Bohun an established and important individual within the royal army.[42] Consequently, while Bohun had a key part to play in this battle, this was largely

[40] For more, see M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards* (London, 1980), p. 165.
[41] Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 132-3; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 125; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 120-8.
[42] A brief treatise was published between 1385 and 1395 on the office of Constable of England by Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, entitled *The Ordenaunce and Fourme of Fightyng within Listes*, which stipulated some of the duties of

because of his military status outside the household and cannot, therefore, be taken of broader evidence for the involvement of household men.

Household knights had a more prominent part to play at the battle of Morlaix, fought in Brittany in 1343. This was largely because the king and greater part of the English nobility were not present. On this occasion, an English force operating in the region moved to block Charles de Blois' advance on the English-held town of Morlaix. Though there are few contemporary accounts of this battle, it is possible to identify a number of household knights present in leading roles.[43] The two primary captains in the English army were the earl of Northampton, William Bohun, who had been a household knight for much of the 1330s, and Walter Mauny. Henry Knighton also reports that a number of other prominent household knights, including Ralph Stafford (steward of the household) and John Darcy 'le pere' (chamberlain) were with the army.[44] Three of the four English captains at this battle were, therefore, household knights, while the other was a former retainer of the king. Clearly, household knights provided an important source of leadership at battles at which the king and wider English nobility were not present, an extension of their duties leading troops in the king's absence.

Compared to Morlaix, the household knights had only a minor role to play in the military leadership of the battle of Crécy.[45] The scale of this campaign meant that almost all of England's senior aristocracy was present, including the earls of Warwick, Oxford and Northampton, whose status marked them out as the principle leaders of the army on this occasion. Nevertheless, household knights still had some part to play in the victory. Indeed, an essential element in the

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the office, particularly in relation to judicial duelling. The treatise can be found in *Monumenta juridica: The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (RS: London, 1871), i, pp. 300-29.

[43] Neither le Bel, Froissart nor *Les Grandes Chronique de France* pay it any mention. There are accounts of varying length, however, in Geoffrey le Baker, p. 67; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 125; and *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 42-3. The best modern account is DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 137-44. See also, Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 402.

[44] *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 40-3.

[45] The best modern accounts are: Burne, *The Crécy War*, pp. 169-203; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 525-32; M. Prestwich, 'The Battle of Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Ayton and Preston, pp. 139-58; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 155-75; Livingston and Witzel, *The Road to Crécy*, pp. 274-312, 324-33; *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. and trans. Livingston and DeVries. See also M. Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign of 1346', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2018).

successful outcome of this battle was the choice of battlefield. While recent work has thrown the exact location of the battle into doubt,[46] contemporary accounts are broadly in agreement that it had some part to play in the English victory, with modern accounts citing in particular the role of a bank on the eastern side of the battle which funnelled the French knights towards the English archers.[47] Andrew Ayton has highlighted a number of men that he believes possessed sufficient knowledge of the local landscape to identify an advantageous site for the battle – Reginald Cobham, Richard Talbot, Gawain Corder and Bartholomew Burghersh the elder – all of whom served as household knights in 1346, though Burghersh only entered the household as chamberlain in December.[48] Cobham and Talbot had passed through Crécy with the king seventeen years previously, while *en route* to Amiens to perform homage to the king of France for the English lands in Gascony, and this would explain why Cobham was chosen to scout out the enemy forces and assess the suitability of the local area for fighting on the morning of the battle.[49] Seventeen years is, however, a long time over which to remember the precise topography of an area having only been briefly passed through, limiting the confidence that can be placed in the ability of these men to recommend a battle site. Moreover, Cobham had been chosen to perform a similar task prior to the naval battle of Sluys in 1340, where he was sent ashore prior to the engagement to assess the number and state of enemy ships, suggesting that it was perhaps his widely-accepted military

[46] The battle had long been thought to have taken place to the northeast of Crécy-en-Ponthieu, along a ridge which runs between Crécy and the nearby village of Wadicourt. Michael Livingstone has, however, challenged this, suggesting instead that it took place 3.5 miles southwest of this position, just south of Crécy forest: M. Livingston, 'The Location of the Battle of Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. and trans. Livingston and DeVries, pp. 415-4. It remains to be seen whether Livingston's revision of the battle site holds up to scrutiny, though recent reviews by Michael Prestwich and Andrew Ayton have already begun to seriously question many of his arguments: M. Prestwich, 'Review of *The Battle of Crécy: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and Kelly DeVries', *British Journal for Military History*, 3:3 (2017), 158-60; A. Ayton, 'Review of *The Battle of Crécy: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and Kelly DeVries', *War in History*, 24 (2017), 386-9. For the previously accepted position, see P. Preston, 'The Traditional Battlefield of Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Ayton and Preston, pp. 109-38. For more on the importance of the site to the outcome of the battle, see A. Ayton and P. Preston, 'Topography and Archery: Further Reflections on the Battle of Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Ayton and Preston, pp. 362-8.

[47] See Ayton and Preston, 'Topography and Archery', pp. 362-8. Regardless of the exact site, the existence and significance of the bank does not seem in doubt: Livingston, 'Location of the Battle of Crécy'.

[48] A. Ayton, 'The Crécy Campaign', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Ayton and Preston, pp. 82-4.

[49] Froissart (*Luce*), iii, p. 166; 'Chronicle of Saint-Omer', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. and trans. Livingston and DeVries, p. 103.

knowledge which lay behind this responsibility.[50] Of greater plausibility is Ayton's identification of Corder and Burghersh as the men in possession of the all-important knowledge of the local terrain. Corder, through originally from Kent, was granted the manor of Gard prés de Rue in 1327, which lay about ten miles west of Crécy, and would have been resident there on numerous occasions.[51] Burghersh, meanwhile, would have spent a great deal of time in the vicinity between 1331 and 1334, while serving as seneschal of Ponthieu. Ayton is perhaps right, then, to single out Corder and Burghersh as the men who could have recommended this battle site to the king. That these two men were closely associated with the royal household in 1346, and thus in an ideal position to share their local intelligence with the king, owed much to good fortune. As both Clifford Rogers and Ayton have convincingly argued, however, Edward's broader strategy in 1346 almost certainly involved trying to bring Phillip of France to open conflict, and so a potential battle site may have been identified even before the launch of the campaign.[52] If so, then the knowledge of the area surrounding Crécy that these household knights possessed would have been valuable.

What of the household knights' part in the fighting itself at these battles? Though little is known of the fighting at Morlaix, it is probable that the household knights who occupied important leadership positions within the army would have seen some action, not least because this battle revolved around fierce fighting between the men-at-arms in each army as a result of the fact that the English archers had to be deployed to fight within the ranks of the infantry, who were lacking in numbers.[53] On the whole, however, household knights do not appear to have offered anything extra to the king in the fighting of pitched battles compared to the knighthood more broadly. Indeed, household knights would have been reasonably active at Halidon Hill, but only because this was a battle at which almost all present took an active role in the ferocious hand-to-hand

[50] *Knighton's Chronicle,* pp. 28-9.
[51] Ayton, 'The Crécy Campaign', pp. 83-4.
[52] C.J. Rogers, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy', *TRHS*, 6th series, 4 (1994), 83-102; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 217-37; Ayton, 'The Crécy campaign', pp. 77-85.
[53] DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 143-4.

combat.[54] Likewise at Crécy, because the king's division saw relatively little action, with Edward happy instead for the Black Prince to 'win his spurs',[55] their fighting contributions would have been limited. Only Jean Froissart mentions any household knight by name, reporting that Reginald Cobham distinguished himself bravely fighting as part of the vanguard.[56] Overall, it is thus possible to conclude that, while fighting pitched battles was part of the household knights' numerous military responsibilities, this was no more so than their non-household counterparts. This offers an interesting comparison to the situation under Edward I. Indeed, Prestwich's study of Edward I's household knights presents them as the elite cavalry troops of the time, the most significant figures on the thirteenth-century battlefield.[57] That Edward III's household knights played such a comparatively limited part in pitched battles, but were far more conspicuous part in wider military campaigns, demonstrates the extent to which the function of household knights changed during the first half of the fourteenth century. In all probability, this evolved in line with broader military trends at this time: the knightly class as a whole was searching for a new role in Edwardian warfare in the mid-1340s as a result of the declining value of the mounted knight on the battlefield. Even so, Edward might be credited with recognising how the traditional role of the household knight could be altered to meet the new demands of warfare, ensuring that he deployed his household knights as leaders of specific military missions during his great *chevauchées*, where their military skills were now of most use.

[54] *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 274.
[55] This quotation refers to an incident which supposedly occurred towards the end of the battle when, under considerable pressure from the French assault, representatives from the English vanguard under the command of the Black Prince came to Edward to ask for reinforcements. In response, the king gave his now-famous response, declining to send aid and saying instead that they 'should let the boy [the Black Prince] win his spurs'. See *Froissart* (Luce), iii, pp. 182-3; Prestwich, 'The Battle of Crécy', p. 149.
[56] Froissart (*Luce*), iii, p. 182. See also the Online Froissart Project for Keira Borrill's English translation of Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, MS. 864, f. 139v. (https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart).
[57] Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 41-2; Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', i, pp. 86-97.

4.2.2 Sieges and Naval Warfare

Not all military encounters during Edward's reign took place on the open field; sieges and naval warfare were far more common in the fourteenth century.[58] Over the course of his reign, Edward laid siege to Berwick, Cambrai, Tournai, Caen, Calais and Reims, to name the most noteworthy, and there are plentiful examples to suggest that household knights were important individuals on these occasions. At the siege of Berwick in 1333, William Montagu bore chief responsibility for leading many of the English assaults on the town.[59] Moreover, when a Scottish relief army was spotted approaching, Montagu was ordered to organise the English defence and see off the threat.[60] The siege of Dunbar in 1338, meanwhile, was almost entirely a household affair with the household knights Reginald Cobham and Thomas Poynings leading a small force consisting almost entirely of household men and their retinues.[61] Finally, in 1340, when Edward and his forces were encamped outside Tournai, Reginald Cobham, fighting at the head of a small number of men-at-arms, drove an enemy sally back towards the town with such ferocity that the garrison were forced to bring down the portcullis on their own men lest Cobham and his companions make it into the town with them.[62]

Clearly, household knights offered valuable service in siege warfare. Importantly, a number of examples from the siege of Calais suggest that this was not simply because a few outstanding men who served in the royal household distinguished themselves on such occasions, but rather that the household knights were employed more systematically. Unlike many fourteenth-century sieges, the siege of Calais, which lasted for twelve months from September 1346, witnessed few

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[58] For more on siege warfare in the fourteenth century, see Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 281-304; P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 193-200; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 123-87; M. Wolfe, 'Siege Warfare and the *Bonnes Villes* of France during the Hundred Years War', in *The Medieval City under Siege*, ed. I.A. Corfis and M. Wolfe (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 49-68.

[59] *Froissart* (Luce), i, pt. 2, p. 112; Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, pp. 297-8.

[60] 'The Bridlington Chronicle', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and II*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS: London, 1882-83), pp. 112-13.

[61] A.E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *EHR*, 46 (1931), p. 360. See also the account take by the household knight John Lisle of Rougemont for his wages, and those of his retinue, during the siege: TNA, E101/20/24; and a useful contemporary account of the siege: *The Book of Pluscarden*, ed. and trans. F.J.H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 215-16.

[62] C.J. Rogers, 'An Unknown News Bulletin from the Siege of Tournai in 1340, *War in History*, 5 (1998), pp. 362-3.

attempts by the English to take the town by force. Likewise, the garrison inside the town lacked the necessary manpower to conduct any meaningful sally. Consequently, the most important element of this siege was the supply of victuals to both sides. Household knights were heavily relied upon to ensure that these supplies reached the English army and were prevented from getting to the French garrison. Only a matter of days after the town was first invested in early September 1346, a small contingent of men under the leadership of the earls of Warwick, Arundel and Suffolk led a raid south from Calais in order to secure the surrounding area and gather supplies. With these three earls, according to a contemporary diary of the campaign, were the 'good knights of the king's household'.[63] The importance of this reference should not be understated. Indeed, that the household knights were identified as a group on this raid suggests that they were not merely included as individuals of known talent, but specifically because they were household knights. The two household knights appointed as admirals of the fleet on 23 February 1347, John Howard and John Montgomery, were also important in the competition for supplies which surrounded the siege of Calais.[64] Indeed, as a port town, the easiest way in which to get supplies to either the English army or the French garrison was from the sea. Significant though Howard and Montgomery were in this, what is more revealing is that the only men recorded in any contemporary account as having played some part in blockading Calais from the sea, with the exception of the titled nobility, were household knights. Contained with the chronicle of Robert de Avesbury is a transcription of letter which was reportedly sent to the king of France from the French captain of Calais at the time of the siege.[65] The letter describes how a supply convoy destined for the French garrison was intercepted by an English fleet led by the two English admirals, Howard and Montgomery, along with the earls of Morley and Pembroke. In addition, the letter also names Richard Talbot, the steward of the household, and Thomas Bradeston, who

[63] BL, Cleopatra MS. D VII, f. 179r, printed as 'Cleopatra Itinerary', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Livingston and DeVries, p. 27.
[64] G. Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 221.
[65] Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, pp. 385-7.

had been a household knight for fifteen years by this stage, amongst the leaders. In a similar incident, Henry Knighton records that Ralph Stafford and Walter Mauny, both of whom had seen many years of household service, fought off another French supply fleet *en route* to Calais.[66] The household knights thus seem to have played a particularly important part in blockading the port of Calais in 1347, a reflection of their broader significance to siege warfare under Edward III.

The household knights' role in blockading Calais was only one of the ways in which they contributed to the fight for supremacy over the Channel during Edward's reign, an important aspect of the Hundred Years War. Over the course of Edward's reign there were numerous skirmishes fought at sea, many of which were led by household knights in their capacity as admirals.[67] There were two naval battles during Edward's reign in particular, however, which stand above the rest in terms of both scale and significance. The first of these took place in 1340 near the town of Sluys, which stands at the mouth of the river Zwin, as Edward sought to invade France from the northwest for a second time in two years. The second occurred ten years later, when a large Castilian fleet heavily laden with goods was ambushed by Edward as it passed by the coast of England, near Winchelsea.[68] On both these occasions the English emerged victorious, and in both instances the household knights can be found offering conspicuous service.

Fourteenth-century naval battles were not dissimilar to those fought on land. The aim was to create a floating platform on which hand-to-hand combat could take place by manoeuvring one's own ship alongside an enemy vessel and grappling it to draw it close.[69] Subsequently, as with land battles, the English archers often receive praise for their role in these encounters. Nevertheless, recent interpretations of the battle of Sluys have also tended to stressed the ferocity

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[66] *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 78-9.
[67] For more on the links between household knights and the admiralty, see above, Table 3.2, p. 107.
[68] There are useful accounts of both these battles in Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea*, pp. 90-100, 136-45; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 319-29; and idem. *Trial by Fire*, pp. 66-7.
[69] Naval encounters in the fourteenth century have received a great deal of historical attention in recent years. Of particular note are: Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea*; K. DeVries, 'God, Leadership, Flemings, and Archery: Contemporary Perceptions of Victory and Defeat at the Battle of Sluys, 1340', *American Neptune*, 55 (1995), 223-42; S. Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (London, 2002). See also, C.F. Richmond, 'The War at Sea', in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. K. Fowler (London, 1971), pp. 96-121; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 263-80.

of the English men-at-arms' fighting as a contributing factor to the English victory.[70] Because the king is commended for his personal involvement on this occasion, it is likely that many household knights took an active role in this.[71] Two household knights even received mention by name for their part in the conflict. The first was Walter Mauny who, along with the earl of Derby, is said to have 'fought so magnificently that the French were killed, drowned and utterly defeated'.[72] The second, Reginald Cobham, was sent with John Chandos and Stephen Lambkin to spy on the French fleet the day before the battle. This intelligence, as Colin Richmond argued, was a significant element of the English victory on this occasion, allowing the English to catch the French off guard.[73] Accounts of the battle of Winchelsea in 1350 paint a similar picture. John Beauchamp of Warwick, now in his twelfth year of household service, was acting as the sole admiral of the navy at this time, and would have had a prominent part. Likewise, a number of household knights including Reginald Cobham and Thomas Holland were recorded by Froissart as having played leading roles.[74] We are also told that the king was, as at Sluys, an active participant in the fighting. The ship he was commanding rammed a Castillian vessel so powerfully that both were damaged beyond all repair another nearby Castillain ship had to be commandeered for the king's use, and presumably some of his household knights were with him through this.[75] Likewise, towards the end of the battle, the ship containing the royal household – again, presumably including household knights – was grappled by a large Spanish vessel and dragged away from the main action. The English on board, however, buoyed by the actions of a few brave crew members, 'leap eagerly on board the Spanish [ship] with their swords drawn… and attacked its crew so heartily that they killed them all and threw them overboard, and captured the ship.'[76] The evidence

[70] Burne, *The Crécy War*, p. 55; R. Neillands, *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1990), p. 83; *Geoffrey le Baker*, pp. 95-6; DeVries, 'God, Leadership, Flemings and Archery'.
[71] Jean le Bel, p. 86.
[72] Ibid., p. 86.
[73] Richmond, 'The War at Sea', p. 97.
[74] Froissart (*Luce*), iv, pp. 89-90.
[75] Ibid., pp. 92-3.
[76] Ibid., pp. 95-7.

from the battles of Winchelsea and Sluys thus suggest that household knights were active and important participants in naval warfare under Edward III.

4.3 Reputation and Representation

4.3.1 Late-Medieval Ideals of Chivalry

Thus far, this chapter has focussed on the household knights' physical involvement in Edward's wars. In this final section, it is important to look instead at how the household knights fit into fourteenth-century *ideas* of warfare; in particular, how the household knights and their actions in war were portrayed by their contemporaries in relation to fourteenth-century notions of chivalry.[77] A long shadow was cast over the place of chivalry in later medieval England by Johan Huizinga in the early twentieth century. Huizinga argued that the knighthood's ability to wage war in a 'traditionally chivalric' way, whereby mounted knights would engage one another in a manner befitting their status, became untenable in the later Middle Ages given the increasing prominence that was placed on the *chevauchée* and the newfound reliance on archery in battle.[78] Such a view is, however, outdated. The work of Maurice Keen and Malcolm Vale in the 1970s and 1980s convincingly argued that 'chivalry' is best understood not as a specific set of rules which dictated the aristocracy's battlefield conduct, but as a broad social and cultural phenomenon which influenced their behaviour in a much more general way.[79] By separating the idea of chivalry from the practical conduct of warfare, Keen and Vale were able to argue that the concept of 'chivalric behaviour' persisted well into the later Middle Ages. Since the contributions of Keen and Vale, the

[77] The household knights' place in court culture is discussed below, pp. 207-14.
[78] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), pp. 56-65. Huizinga's ideas were subsequently taken up in R.L. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry* (Cambridge, MS, 1937); and A.B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (Durham, NC, 1960).
[79] M.G.A. Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981); M. Keen, 'Chivalry, Nobility, and the Man-at-arms', in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C.T. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 32-45; M. Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour and the Decline of Chivalry', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series, 8 (1977), 1-20; M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984); M. Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996). See also Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 208-37, 250-9.

existence of a strong chivalric ethos amongst the aristocracy of later medieval England has been reaffirmed by a number of additional studies, most notably those of Craig Taylor, who has argued that, on the whole, chroniclers were adept at integrating Edward's new, pragmatic approach to warfare into their interpretations of what constituted 'chivalric conduct' and were just as likely as their earlier counterparts to depict the aristocracy's actions in such terms.[80]

Examples of this pragmatic view of chivalry are not hard to find. As Andy King has shown, the fourteenth-century English soldier-turned-chronicler Sir Thomas Gray – who offers us a rare knightly perspective – took a very pragmatic approach to chivalry. 'For Gray', suggests King, the collateral damage suffered by civilians as a result of war 'was simply an inevitable and unremarkable product of the conduct of warfare, something to be endured by its victims with "honour, profit and joy"'.[81] Gray was by no means alone in these views. Working on the writings of Thomas Hoccleve in the early fifteenth century, Taylor argued that the reading material Hoccleve recommended to the Lollard rebel Sir John Oldcastle in 1415 as suitable for a 'manly knight' offers a useful indication of 'the quintessential guides to chivalry and warfare' available to a late-medieval English knight.[82] Hoccleve's suggested reading included Old Testament tales of famous warriors such as Joshua and Judas Maccabeus, alongside the 'chivalric tales' of the Greeks, Trojans and the court of King Arthur. These stories offered a broad indication of chivalric culture and conduct,

[80] C. Taylor, 'English Writings on Chivalry and Warfare in the Hundred Years War', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P.R. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 64-84; idem., *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013). Similar conclusions emerge from Andy King's work on Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*: A. King, 'War and Peace: A Knight's Tale. The Ethics of War in Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 148-62. See also J. Gillingham, 'War and History in the History of William the Marshal', in *Thirteenth Century England: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1987*, ed. P. Coss (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 1-13; Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, pp. 188-213; Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 219-44; R. Kaueper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999); Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London, 2011); A. Beam, 'At the Apex of Chivalry: Sir Ingram de Umfraville and the Anglo-Scottish Wars, 1296-1321', in *England and Scotland at War, c.1296-1513*, ed. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2012), pp. 53-76; D. Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 2007), pp. 73-106; D. Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 23-42; Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*; MacInnes, *Scotland's Second War of Independence*, pp. 198-238.

[81] King, 'War and Peace', pp. 148-62, quotation at p. 161.

[82] Taylor, 'English Writings on Chivalry', esp. pp. 65-6; T. Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, ed. F.J. Furnival and I. Gollancz (London, 1892).

and important advice on the place of violence, manliness and virtue in contemporary society.[83] In relation to warfare, this included the notion that a level of decency and restraint should be exercised in one's actions towards enemy combatants, especially members of the nobility, as well as in the treatment of prisoners of war and civilians. Though not mentioned by Hoccleve – probably because of his 'anxiety over engaging with recent history in light of the Lancastrian usurpation'[84] – authors of contemporary chronicles, such as Jean Froissart, the Chandos Herald and Jean le Bel promoted similar virtues.[85] So too did works such as the *Book of Chivalry*, composed by the French knight Geoffrey de Charny in *c.* 1350.[86] Finally, Hoccleve recommended reading more specific to military conduct: the *Epitoma rei militaris*, composed by the Roman official Flavius Vegetius Renatus in the fourth century. Such a recommendation is unsurprising for Vegetius' work was the foremost military manual in the Middle Ages and its teachings familiar to many English knights.[87] This text, like that of Gray's *Scalacronica,* concentrated on the 'science of warfare'. It stressed the virtues of courage, military prowess and victory above all else. Though such values were seemingly at odds with those promoted in wider chivalric literature, they were not too difficult to integrate in practice: there was, after all, virtue in 'protecting the weak' through military victory.[88] The idea of chivalry in the later Middle Ages, then, involved a delicate balance between demonstrations of military prowess and victory on the one hand, and a code of conduct that made clear that, where possible, one should conduct oneself 'honourably' on the other.[89] With this as a working definition of what

[83] Taylor, 'English Writings on Chivalry', p. 66.
[84] Ibid., p. 65.
[85] See Nigel Bryant's introduction in Jean le Bel, pp. 4-11, and the introduction to Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans. G. Brereton, pp. 18-20.
[86] G. de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry*, ed. and trans. R.W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, PA, 1996).
[87] For more see C.T. Allmand, 'The *De re militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. C. Saunders, F. Le Saux and N. Thomas (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 15-28; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 208-37.
[88] Taylor, 'English Writings on Chivalry', p. 75; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 250-9.
[89] For broadly comparable definitions of chivalry in the later Middle Ages, see Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 2; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 176-85; R. Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance: Northwester Europe', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. R.L. Krueger (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 99-100; Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*; J. Gillingham, 'From *Civilitas* to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *TRHS*, 6th series, 12 (2002), 267-89; Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 208-37, 250-9; MacInnes, *Scotland's Second War of Independence*, pp. 198-238.

constituted chivalric conduct, let us now look at how the actions of Edward's household knights fit within it.

4.3.2 Household Knights, Military Prowess and Chivalric Conduct

Many of Edward III's household knights received liberal praise for their deeds in arms. Jean le Bel's chronicle opens with a passage in which five knights are singled out for having 'displayed such valour' over the course of Edward's reign that they might 'be deemed worthy men indeed'.[90] These were the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, both sons of Edward III, Frank Hale, a knight from Brabant who found fame and fortune in Edward's armies, Reginald Cobham and Walter Mauny, both of whom served as household knights for the majority of their career. Le Bel's praise for Cobham and Mauny continues throughout his chronicle. Concerning Cobham, le Bel asserts that on account of his actions in the Low Countries in 1339 he 'should rightly be considered the worthiest knight in the land at that time'.[91] Of Mauny, meanwhile, he writes that he achieved 'countless feats of prowess in many places, and [undertook] so many bold missions… that he was deemed the worthies knight known'.[92] Le Bel was not alone in his identification of Mauny as a man worthy of a great chivalric reputation. The satirical Flemish poem *The Vows of the Heron* also singles him out as one of five men who bravely vowed to invade France via the Low Countries at the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, along with the earls of Salisbury, Derby and Suffolk, and John Beaumont.[93] Le Bel's identification of Cobham and Mauny as two of the most noteworthy of their generation provides a clear indication of the sort of reputation that household men could earn though their participation in Edward's wars.

What feats of arms did household knights perform to earn such praise? Though le Bel does not comment further on Cobham's actions in the Low Countries, details of similar escapades he

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[90] Jean le Bel, pp. 21-2.
[91] Ibid., p. 78.
[92] Ibid., pp. 51-2.
[93] *Political Poems and Songs Related to English History Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1859-61), i, pp. 1-25.

performed the following year at the siege of Tournai indicate the type of activities that probably won him the earlier praise. On this occasion, Cobham was singled out for his valiant performance in the 'jousts of war' which took place outside the town's walls.[94] What is particularly interesting in this instance is that it is not one of the better-known chroniclers of the age offering their interpretation of events, but rather a fellow soldier. Indeed, the words of admiration aimed at Cobham on this occasion are contained within an anonymous dispatch sent by an English man-at-arms present at the siege. The fact that this dispatch was written by, or at least on behalf of, a fellow combatant suggests household knights such as Cobham also commanded an impressive reputation amongst their comrades in arms.

Mauny appears to have won especial admiration from le Bel for his actions in Brittany in 1342. Le Bel offers a vibrant, praise-filled narrative of Mauny's actions in that year.[95] Upon landing in the duchy, Mauny is said to have made straight for Hennenbont, where the English-backed duchess of Brittany was under siege from French forces. Mauny reportedly fell on the besieging French while they were still sleeping, routing many in the process. After the initial surprise of the assault had passed, however, a small French force regrouped and led a counter-offensive against Mauny and his men. At this point, many of the Mauny's companions made for the safety of the town, which had opened its gates to let them in. Mauny, on the other hand, chose to remain in the field, bravely declaring that he would not 'return to the castle before [he had] unhorsed or grounded… the attackers', or had himself been 'toppled'.[96] And so, in le Bel's words, 'the worthy knight turned back, lance in hand, to face the enemy', and he, along with those who stayed by his side 'sent many of the first arrivals [of French horsemen] tumbling with their legs in the air'. The true unfolding of events was probably not as flamboyant as it is in le Bel's telling, who is often guilty of embellishing his account for love of chivalric deeds.[97] It is nevertheless important that

[94] The dispatch is preserved in the *Historia Roffensis* and can be found in translation in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 93-4.
[95] Jean le Bel, pp. 134-6. For a similar account, see Froissart (*Luce*), ii, pp. 150-3.
[96] Jean le Bel, p. 135.
[97] See Nigel Bryant's introduction in Jean le Bel, pp. 4-11.

Mauny's actions were remembered in such terms. After all, constructing a chivalric reputation relied as much on how one's deeds were portrayed as it did on how they were actually carried out.

Le Bel's account of Mauny's time in Brittany is filled with many additional examples of chivalrous feats. Shortly after his heroics at Hennenbont, we are told that Mauny received news that two English knights, Sir John Bottiler and Sir Hubert Fresnay, who were being held captive by Charles de Blois, had been transferred to the custody of Louis of Spain. Louis, who had been fighting alongside Blois during the Breton war of succession, had become embittered following a series of damning defeats at the hands of the English, and had asked for these prisoners to be handed over to him as a favour to do with as he pleased. Despite warnings from Charles that it would be remiss to do these prisoners harm, Louis informed them that he was going to execute them in retribution for his own losses.[98] According to le Bel, the knights were shocked to hear that anyone would do harm to two noble knights (such as themselves) who had been 'fairly captured in warfare between lords'.[99] Mauny too was shocked, and immediately vowed to rescue them. He devised a scheme in which Aimaury de Clisson, a Gascon knight fighting with the English army, led a diversionary force to offer a personal challenge to Louis while Mauny took a second, smaller force to overthrow the guards protecting the knights and whisk them away to safety. All went exactly as hoped, and the two men were soon out of harm's way.

The story of Mauny and the rescue of these two knights provided further fuel for the fire of his chivalric reputation. It also reveals a point of great interest about the way in which prisoners of war were to be treated at this time. Indeed, the shock with which these two knights met the news that they were to be executed is unsurprising given that strict conventions dictated the proper treatment of prisoners in the later Middle Ages.[100] It is telling, then, to find household knights recorded as having treated their captives more favourably by comparison. When Thomas Holland

[98] Jean le Bel, pp. 143-6.
[99] Ibid., p. 143-4.
[100] For more, see R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 19-28; Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 177-207. See also N. Murphy, *The Captivity of John II: The Royal Image in Later Medieval England and France* (New York, 2016), pp. 11-28.

captured the count of Eu at the sack of Caen in 1346, Froissart tells us that he was not only happy that he would receive a considerable ransom, but also that he was saving 'the count's life and those of his companions'.[101] Nor was Holland's honourable treatment of his enemies on this occasion reserved for members of the aristocracy: he is also said to have 'mounted his horse and rode into the streets [of the town] and saved many lives of ladies, damsels and cloisters from defiling, for the soldiers were without mercy'.[102] Likewise, the *Acta Bellicosa* praises Robert Ferrers' restraint during the sacking of the town of La Roche Guyon later in the same campaign, in which he is said to have 'released the many noble ladies of the town without shame or injury, to his great credit'.[103] Finally, at the fall of Calais in 1347, Walter Mauny is said to have begged the king not to throw away his own chivalric reputation by executing the town's surrendered garrison, and eventually with the help of Queen Philippa persuaded Edward to show mercy.[104] Together, these examples suggest that household knights treated their enemies in a manner viewed favourably by a chivalricly-minded audience.

Clearly both Mauny and Cobham commanded particularly impressive reputations. Significantly, as seen in the above examples concerning Holland and Ferrers, they were not alone in this. Indeed, examples of household knights performing individual deeds of prowess are abundant for Edward's reign. In the moments before the battle of Halidon Hill, a soldier referred to only as 'the Turnbull', who Geoffrey le Baker likens to Goliath in his account, emerged from the ranks of the Scottish army accompanied by a large black dog to challenge any English knight willing to meet him to individual combat. In response Robert Benhale, a Norfolk-based knight who had been in receipt of household robes since 1330, took up the challenge. The match was short-lived, with Benhale, the 'David' character in this tale, overcoming the dog in one stoke and

[101] Froissart (*Luce*), iii, pp. 143-5. For more on Holland's reputation at this time, see A. Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent: A Fourteenth-Century Princess and her World* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 31-5.
[102] Froissart (*Oeuvres*), iv, pp. 412-3.
[103] *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 35.
[104] This story is variously reported. For one of the fullest accounts, see Jean le Bel, pp. 200-4.

'the Turnbull' in two (the first taking off his arm, the second his head).[105] Likewise, in 1351 John Beauchamp of Warwick, by then one of Edward's longest-serving household knights, led a raid from Calais into the surrounding area which won him great praise. Though the raid was reportedly very successful in its early stages, this good fortune did not last as Beauchamp and his force of 600 men were ambushed on their return to Calais by some 2,000 Frenchmen.[106] The French had positioned themselves in three separate locations along the road that the English were taking. While Beauchamp and his men were able to overpower the enemy at the first two of the ambush sites, this fighting took its toll on the English forces and by the time they reached the third ambush site they were weary to the point of collapse. Beauchamp was, however, 'a very vigorous knight and a man of amazing spirit', and so he chose to face this fresh foe in the open field. Noble though Beauchamp's intentions were, they were also tactical folly. Indeed, while we are told that the English conducted themselves bravely in the fighting that followed, and that Beauchamp in particular distinguished himself in single combat with the lord of Beuverquem, just twenty Englishmen escaped with their lives and Beauchamp was taken prisoner.

While the above examples clearly show that the military prowess of some of Edward's household knights was highly regarded, it is important to ask how their deeds were portrayed in comparison to non-household men, and what impact this had on Edward's reputation. Certainly, those who served as household knights were amongst the most widely praised by contemporaries. A passage contained within the *Life of the Black Prince*, written by the herald of John Chandos, concerning the Crécy campaign singles out nine men as being worthy of particular mention for their role in the campaign, all of whom, with the exception of the Black Prince, the earl of Warwick and Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, were household knights.[107] Moreover, the six household knights praised on this occasion (John Beauchamp of Warwick, Reginald Cobham, Guy Brian, Richard la Vache, Richard Talbot and Thomas Holland) all had long histories of household service

[105] Geoffrey le Baker, p. 46.
[106] Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 99-100; *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 110-11.
[107] Chandos Herald, 'The Life of the Black Prince', p. 86.

behind them, or went on to render many years' service thereafter. The selection of these men may, in part, have been influenced by the fact the Herald's patron, John Chandos, served as a household knight himself in 1359-60, at which point the Herald would undoubtedly have come to know many of these men personally. Nevertheless, that household men should feature so regularly in comparison to non-household men demonstrates the impressive chivalric reputation that serving as part of the royal household could lead to.

This is supported by the fact that nine of Edward's serving household knights featured amongst the original twenty-four companions of the Order of Garter, established in 1348 to commemorate the victories of the Crécy-Calais campaign.[108] These were John Lisle of Rougemont, John Beauchamp of Warwick, Ralph Stafford, Thomas and Otho Holland, John Grey of Rotherfield, Miles Stapleton and Nigel Lorying. Moreover, five of the eight knights to enter the Order between 1348 and 1360 as replacements for founding members who had died had strong histories of household service. Such a correlation between service as a household knight and membership of the Garter, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, seems too strong to be prescribed to mere chance. Rather, the former appears to have served as an excellent route into membership of the latter. Membership of the Order would have enhanced the chivalric reputations of these household knights immeasurably, and has a considerable impact on how we understand the reputations of these household knights. Indeed, the Order was the pinnacle of chivalric honours under Edward and its other founding members included the Black Prince and earls of Lancaster, Warwick, March and Salisbury. For so many household knights to be included amongst such esteemed ranks speaks volumes of the powerful reputations that could come with service in the knightly household of Edward III.

[108] The link between the household knights and the Order of the Garter is discussed more fully below in chapter 6, pp. 212-14. For more on the Order itself, see Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*; Barber, 'The Military Role of the Order of the Garter', 1-11; H.E.L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 1-33; D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (2nd edn.: Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 96-166.

It must be conceded that contemporaries were not always inclined to paint the deeds of Edward's household knights in the best light. Walter Mauny's raid on the isle of Cadsands in 1337, in which most of the civilian population was massacred, was not viewed favourably by all commentators.[109] Even so, on the weight of the evidence it does appear that household knights were favoured more frequently that all others for praise for their deeds during Edward's wars. It is improbable that this was specifically because they were household knights. More likely, a combination of Edward's inclination towards retaining men with chivalric reputations,[110] and the fact that household men were most often selected to lead military missions, led to them appearing so frequently. The association of such men to the royal household would nonetheless have been important for Edward. As Maurice Keen, Juliet Vale and Timothy Guard have argued, contemporary ideas of kingship required monarchs to present themselves as 'chivalrous warriors', something which came easily to Edward given his deep, personal commitment to the chivalric ideal.[111] Attaching himself to men of such high esteem would certainly have done no harm here. Indeed, household knights such as Reginald Cobham, Walter Mauny and John Beauchamp of Warwick, all of whom served together as household knights for many years, commanded powerful chivalric reputations across Europe, and their association to Edward – which would have been widely known – would have gone a long way in reinforcing the king's profile as one of Europe's premier chivalric monarchs.

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[109] See, for instance, Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 80. Even on occasions such as this, however, attempts were made to justify Mauny's actions, with Thomas Walsingham choosing to blame the residents of the island for this massacre, who he says attacked two English sailors without provocation, and the soldier-turned-chronicler Thomas Gray portraying it as a 'fine venture of arms' on Mauny's part: Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 7; Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 125.

[110] See above, pp. 80-1.

[111] M. Keen, 'Chivalry and Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in *War, Government and Aristocracy*, ed. Given-Wilson, Kettle and Scales, pp. 265-6; J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 93; Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 101; T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 164-8, 193-9.

Conclusion

It is clear that warfare was an integral part of service as a household knight under Edward III, and household knights an integral part of warfare. While the natural hierarchy of medieval armies required primary leadership to go to members of the titled nobility, household knights were amongst the primary leaders of specific military missions, such as sacking towns or crossing rivers, both when the king was with the army and when he was not. This did not always extend onto the battlefield. But it did see these men occupy an important place in siege warfare and fighting at sea. Such service was not without its dangers: Edward Bohun, Thomas Poynings, and Maurice Berkeley all died while campaigning as a household knight.[112] These risks were seemingly worth taking, however: indeed, many of Edward's most prominent household knights came to build reputations as great, chivalric knights, capable of impressive deeds as a result. Though all this changed after the move to the chamber knight system in the 1360s, who occupied a far less prominent position in royal warfare, for the first three decades of Edward's reign the household knights were thus amongst the king's most valuable military captains and were an essential element in how English warfare was conducted.

[112] Bohun: Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 50-1; Poynings: *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 322; Berkeley: D. Richardson, *Magna Carta Ancestry* (Utah, 2011), ii, pp. 34-5.

5

Diplomacy and Defensive Warfare

The two preceding chapters have focused principally on the military contributions of Edward III's household knights in relation to large-scale military campaigning. Important though service on these campaigns was for a household knight, it formed only part of the duties expected of them. Their involvement on international diplomatic embassies and in defending England and English lands abroad from foreign invasion was also marked. Unlike other forms of household service, diplomacy and defensive warfare were on-going processes, often requiring individuals to be away from the king, his household, as well as their own private estates for extended periods of time. The household knights' obligation to serve the king as and when required thus made them natural candidates for such service. So too did their direct link to the king as one of his personal retainers. This not only afforded the king an additional level of confidence in their ability to carry out these strategically vital tasks, but also, especially in the case of diplomacy, lent an additional air of royal authority to proceedings. In this chapter, the extent to which household knights were utilised in both these areas will be examined to complete the picture of the household knights' part in Edward III's foreign ambitions and shed new light on how English diplomatic practice and defensive warfare operated at this time.

5.1 International Diplomacy

Our current understanding of international diplomatic practice in the fourteenth century owes a great deal to Pierre Chaplais. Chaplais' work, focussed principally on the mechanics of medieval diplomacy, elucidated the minutiae of how embassies, diplomatic correspondence and the negotiation of treaties worked in practice from the Anglo-Saxon age to the fifteenth century.[1] Given the comprehensiveness of Chaplais' work, subsequent research in this field has been relatively limited. The only other scholar to have considered medieval diplomacy in any depth was George Cuttino, a contemporary of Chaplais. Like Chaplais, Cuttino took the whole of the Middle Ages as his focus, limiting the attention he gave to the fourteenth century, but unlike his cotemporary chose to study a select number of specific treaties from the later medieval period, assessing their military-political context and ramifications, rather than the means by which they were reached.[2] Outside of the work of Chaplais and Cuttino, some focussed work on diplomacy during the Hundred Years War has also been undertaken, with a number of notable contributions to the diplomatic history of Edward III's reign emerging in relation to the Treaty of Brétigny (1360).[3] These studies have highlighted the complexity of international diplomacy in this period, and the degree to which it was reliant on the personalities of the individuals involved. There were no permanent embassies or resident ambassadors acting as full-time 'professional' diplomats.[4] Instead, diplomatic engagements relied on *ad hoc* embassies dispatched to foreign courts with letters

[1] See P. Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981); idem., *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London, 2003).
[2] G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Indiana, 1985). See also G.P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259-1339* (Oxford, 1971). Though focussed on the central Middle Ages, the recent addition in this area by J. Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: Principles and Practice* (Manchester, 2011), is also useful.
[3] J. Palmer, 'The War Aims of the Protagonists and the Negotiations for Peace', and K. Fowler, 'Truces', both in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. K. Fowler (London, 1971), pp. 28-50, 184-215; M. Jones, 'Relations with France, 1337-1399', in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (London, 1989), pp. 239-58. For the Treaty of Brétigny, see J. Le Patourel, 'The Treaty of Brétigny, 1360', *TRHS*, 4th series, 10 (1960), 19-39; K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310-1361* (London, 1969), p. 129; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999), pp. 440-43, 445-54; C.J. Rogers, 'The Anglo-French Peace Negotiations of 1354-60 Reconsidered', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 193-213.
[4] This remained the case until the sixteenth century: G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1973), pp. 55-70.

of accreditation and protection setting out the negotiating position of the ruler they represented and stating the authority on which they could carry out further dialogue.[5] These embassies could be tasked with anything from brokering an alliance with a foreign power to the settlement of peace treaties following periods of conflict, both of which often included proposals of marriage between heirs and heiresses on each side.

Embassies required men with specific abilities and experience to serve on them. Ambassadors had to be of sufficient social and/or military rank, possess an intimate knowledge of the political and dynastic make-up of Europe, concerning both secular powers and the papacy, and have a sure grasp of foreign languages.[6] Ambassadors were also required to travel great distances, often through hostile territory. In this respect, acting as a royal diplomat was something of an imposition. That said, to be appointed a delegate on a royal embassy was a high honour and a clear mark of royal favour. It was usual on larger embassies for high-ranking clerical representatives to be included, who derived authority not only from the letters provided by their secular rulers but also their membership of the clergy.[7] It was also customary to send at least one representative from the titled nobility on larger embassies, their status an important factor in their appropriateness to act as royal representatives and a sign of respect to the corresponding delegation. On occasion, this included foreign nobles allied to the English crown who were already personally acquainted with members of the corresponding delegation and so in an enhanced position to influence them during the informal, 'behind closed doors' conversations that

[5] For this and what follows, see Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, pp. 152-246; Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration*, pp. 127-86. See also M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 312-14; Fowler, 'Truces', pp. 186-8.

[6] For more on the selection of diplomats in the later Middle Ages, see Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, pp. 164-75; M. Vale, 'Courts', in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c. 1300-1500*, ed. C. Fletcher, J-P. Genet and J. Watts (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 28-30; Fowler, 'Truces', pp. 186-7; C.T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 116-8; Benham, *Peacemaking*, pp. 117-41.

[7] J. Rosenthal, 'Edward III's Bishops as his Diplomats', in *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453: Proceedings of the 2014 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. P. Crooks, D. Green and W.M. Ormrod (Stamford, 2016), pp. 290-309. See also W.M. Ormrod, 'The King's Secrets: Richard de Bury and the Monarchy of Edward III', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 175-7.

accompanied formal negotiations.[8] Finally, it was common to have representation from at least one or two knights below comital rank, often well-respected soldiers who were well known to the leading members of the continental knighthood as a result of time spent on the battlefield and at the tournament ground. Such men were also often placed at the head of smaller delegations. Significantly, the non-comital knights chosen to serve on embassies under Edward III were more often than not household knights. Indeed, while simple household knights – the lower rank of the household – did not possess the requisite social standing to be included on such embassies, a number of Edward's household bannerets, including William Clinton, Reginald Cobham, John Beauchamp of Warwick and Guy Brian, received frequent appointments. The contributions these men offered to English embassies in the fourteenth century have not gone unacknowledged; all are already understood to have featured amongst leading diplomats of their generation.[9] Nevertheless, what is important to establish here is the extent to which the household status of these men impacted on their function in this regard, and what this tells us of the nature of diplomatic practice under Edward III.[10]

Edward's reign did not begin well in terms of diplomatic history. The Treaty of Northampton, agreed with Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, in 1328, proved instantly unpopular amongst English magnates as a result of the concessions it made to Robert. Edward himself, who was excluded from the negotiations, was unimpressed by it and refused to attend the wedding of his young sister, Joan, to Bruce's heir, Prince David, which had been set out as part of the agreement.[11] It was perhaps this early experience of exclusion from the diplomatic process that encouraged Edward to include a substantial number of household knights amongst the English

[8] Vale, 'Courts', pp. 29-30.
[9] Some limited attention wsa given to the household knights' role in diplomacy during the 1330s in J.M. Parker, 'Patronage and Service: The Careers of William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk and William Bohun, Earl of Northampton' (unpublished MA thesis: University of Durham, 1985), pp. 140-85. See also their respective biographies in *ODNB*.
[10] For more on the use of household knights as diplomats under King John, see S. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 63-7. See also, Benham, *Peacemaking*, pp. 131-7.
[11] R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 42-56; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 71-3.

embassies dispatched during the course of the Anglo-Scottish wars. When Edward left Scotland for England in 1333 following the English victory at the battle of Halidon Hill Ralph Neville, an influential northern baron serving as steward of the household, remained there to conduct the king's affairs north of the border on his behalf. This included acting as Edward's personal envoy to the first two parliaments of Edward Balliol's reign as king of Scotland, whom Edward had placed on the throne in place of Bruce following the successes of the 1333 campaign.[12] William Montagu, one of Edward's leading household knights, was appointed to act as the principal intermediary for discussions between Edward and Balliol in the months which followed, as the two kings sought to establish a new balance of power in Scotland.[13] A similar course of events followed Edward's march into the Scottish highlands in the summer of 1335. On this occasion, a brief truce was requested by Andrew Murray, leader of the anti-Balliol Scottish resistance and newly-appointed Guardian of Scotland, to allow a meeting to be held at Bathgate, near Edinburgh, to discuss a more permanent peace. Though this truce and the subsequent negotiations were principally a stalling tactic, designed to allow Murray the chance to attack Balliol's supporters in the country without English intervention, Edward took them seriously, sending a delegation headed by three household bannerets: William Montagu, Ralph Neville and Robert Ufford.[14] It was a further two years before English and Scottish representatives met to discuss a final peace, by which time David Bruce, son and heir of the now-deceased Robert Bruce, had been returned to his father's throne at Balliol's expense. Once more household knights featured amongst the English ambassadors, with John Darcy 'le pere' and John Montgomery placed on the English delegation alongside Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, William Bohun and Robert Ufford, the latter two of whom had been household knights until their creation as earls of Northampton and Suffolk, respectively.[15]

[12] *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 259; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 149-50.
[13] Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 155-56.
[14] J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990), pp. 148-9.
[15] *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 508.

The household connections of Montagu, Neville, Ufford, Darcy and Montgomery, all of whom featured as English diplomats during the Anglo-Scottish wars, were not the only reason why they were good candidates for this responsibility. Neville was also a well-respected northern baron with a long history of service in Scotland. Ufford, though from Suffolk, was also a respected veteran of the Scottish wars. Finally, Montagu was one of the king's closest confidents in these years and took a leading role in most aspects of the war in Scotland.[16] As such, all possessed the necessary reputation and experience for inclusion on diplomatic embassies. It would nevertheless be remiss to discount entirely the importance of the household connection in their appointments.[17] Indeed, the fact that Montagu, Ufford, Darcy and Montgomery were the only southern knights to act as envoys to Scotland during the 1330s should not go unremarked. Typically it was northern barons, such as members of the Neville and Percy families, who were chosen to lead English relations with Scotland.[18] The selection of diplomats who did not have a family tradition of leading the English cause in Scotland thus suggests that their membership of the royal household was important in them being chosen.

There were three potential benefits to including household knights on diplomatic embassies. First, as members of Edward's household, the competence and dependability of these men was well known to the king. Indeed, as Chaplais argued, the fifteenth-century knights and esquires of the 'king's body' – a later variation of the household knight – were 'particularly suited' for 'missions which called for discretion and devotion to the king', such as diplomatic work.[19] Second, the additional honour that including a household knight on these embassies displayed to the corresponding delegation may also have been important. Honouring an opposition party by placing individuals held in high esteem has been identified as an important element in the choice

[16] Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 134-6.
[17] *Foedera* (Record Edition), ii, pt. 2, p. 925; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 228-30.
[18] For example, Henry Percy was made chief ambassador to Scotland in April 1327, shortly after Edward's coronation: J.M.W. Bean, 'Percy, Henry, second Lord Percy (1301–1352)' in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21929?docPos=2 (accessed 11/10/16).
[19] Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, pp. 173-5.

of ambassadors at this time.[20] The inclusion of household men, who were both intimate with and directly connected to the king may well, therefore, have been intended as a sign of respect to opposing delegations. Finally, the direct link that existed between the household knights and the king through their membership of his household may also have imbued them with an additional authority to act on his behalf. Such is suggested in a writ from 1375, in which William Latimer, who had first entered service as a household knight in 1353 and was now one of just four chamber knights, was sent to the Congress of Bruges to discuss a potential peace treaty with delegates from across Europe, not as an official negotiator, but as the king's 'personal representative'.[21] The implication of this is that Latimer's inclusion on this embassy, unlike the rest of the delegates, was designed specifically to represent the king's wishes in proceedings. Clearly Edward recognised the strong incentives in placing household men on diplomatic embassies.

A revealing testament to this lies in the fact that, while Chaplais has argued that household officials such as the steward and chamberlain 'could not normally be spared for foreign missions' owing to their 'onerous duties in England',[22] they appear with regularity as envoys under Edward III. Stewards of the household were sent to act as royal envoys on two occasions in Scotland, both of which coincided with important moments in the Anglo-Scottish war. The first was when Ralph Neville was sent to oversee the establishment of the new regime of Edward's puppet king Balliol in 1333; the second when John Darcy 'le pere' was included on the English delegation tasked with negotiating a lasting peace with Scotland on the eve of England's increasingly inevitable war with France. The additional benefits that came with placing household knights on royal embassies were thus substantial enough that, it times of particular need, the inclusion of household officials such

[20] Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, pp. 156-7; Benham, *Peacemaking*, pp. 132-6; D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), p. 7.
[21] TNA, E101/316/18; E. Perroy, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges, 1374- 1377', in *Camden Miscellany, vol. 19: Camden Third Series, vol. 80* (London, 1952), pp. 9-18; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses* (London, 2009), pp. 224-25.
[22] Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, p. 166.

as the steward, whose reliability, prestige and intimacy with the king was yet greater than the regular household knights, was deemed necessary.

The war with France placed even greater emphasis on the role of international diplomacy in Edward's foreign ambitions than had been the case in Scotland. Even before war formally broke out, negotiations took place between English and French envoys in an effort to prevent conflict. Household knights were heavily involved. In August 1333, William Clinton was placed alongside the prominent judge and household knight Geoffrey le Scrope on an embassy to the French court, tasked with discussing a proposed crusade to be led by the king of France as well as matters regarding the duchy of Aquitaine, the nature of Edward's custody of which was a principal source of tension between the two crowns.[23] In March the following year, a second delegation was empowered to treat with the king of France 'concerning matters pertaining to the duchy of Aquitaine', included within which once again were Clinton and le Scrope, this time accompanied by William Montagu, John Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Shoreditch, an experienced royal administrator.[24] This delegation was also empowered to receive the homage due to Edward from the duke of Brittany, who held lands in England, as well as treat for marriages between the earl of Cornwall and Mary, daughter of Charles de Blois, and the young earl of Kent and 'a daughter of some French noble'.[25] Finally, in January 1335, writs were issued to Clinton ordering him to meet with French envoys at Dover to establish a truce with the king of France while Edward was still heavily involved in Scottish affairs.[26]

Despite the best efforts of the household knight-diplomats during the 1330s, war with France erupted in 1337. This led to a wealth of English diplomatic embassies being dispatched in the decade that followed. Between 1337 and 1340, these were directed towards building an alliance against the king of France with the various rulers of the Low Countries and the German states.

[23] *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 466-7.
[24] Ibid., pp. 532, 534.
[25] Ibid., p. 534.
[26] TNA, E372/182, m. 39; *Foedera* (Record Edition), ii, pt. 2, p. 900.

Former household knights William Montagu, William Bohun and Robert Ufford, who had been made the earls of Salisbury, Northampton and Suffolk respectively in 1337, took a leading role in this.[27] Several new household knights also entered the diplomatic fray in these years and can be found serving frequently on English embassies. In 1339, there were four embassies sent out to negotiate alliances, two to Louis, count of Flanders, and two to Louis of Bavaria, emperor of the Romans, each of which included at least two household knights. The initial embassies sent to each man were dispatched in January. The first saw the household knights Henry Ferrers (chamberlain) and Geoffrey le Scrope, alongside William Montagu, treat for an alliance with the count of Flanders and 'the good men of the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and other places in Flanders'.[28] The second, led by the household knights Reginald Cobham and William Fitzwarin, was ordered to do the same with the emperor of the Romans.[29] Though headway was made by these preliminary embassies, further delegations were dispatched later in the year, this time with a greater noble presence. Initially, the earls of Northampton, Salisbury and Suffolk, all of whom had been household knights prior to 1337, were appointed alongside the household knights Henry Ferrers, Geoffrey le Scrope and Maurice Berkeley to treat again with the count of Flanders, now with the additional authority to arrange a marriage between the count's first-born son and Edward's daughter, Isabella.[30] Two weeks later, Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, the earl of Derby, and the household knights John Darcy 'le pere' (steward), Reginald Cobham, John Molyns and Thomas Bradeston were added to this embassy and ordered to enter into negotiations with William, marquis of Juliers, acting on behalf of the emperor of the Romans.[31]

Household knights continued to feature regularly on diplomatic engagements throught the decade that followed. An account rendered by William Bacon of Dartmouth in 1341 for the passage of Gawain Corder to Brittany indicates that Corder was sent to treat with John de

[27] See, for instance, *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 196.
[28] Ibid., pp. 377-8.
[29] Ibid., p. 388.
[30] Ibid., p. 397.
[31] Ibid., p. 374.

Montfort, who was seeking assistance in his bid to claim the vacant duchy of Brittany in place of the French-backed candidate, Charles de Blois, regarding a potential deal.[32] A number of household knights were also included on the first English delegation that treated with French diplomats regarding a lasting peace following the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. This came after a failed attempt by French forces to relieve the English siege of Calais in July 1347. Though the English delegation on this occasion was headed by the earls of Lancaster and Northampton, whose titles and prominence as military commanders justified the distinction, the other three knights selected to represent the English were Walter Mauny, Reginald Cobham and the newly-appointed chamberlain Bartholomew Burghersh the elder.[33] While this first round of talks was abandoned after four days of fruitless discussion, and a temporary truce agreed until September, when negotiations reopened under papal supervision a number of long-serving household bannerets were once again chosen amongst the English representatives, including Ralph Stafford, Reginald Cobham and John Darcy 'le pere'.[34]

As with the household knights who served as royal ambassadors in Scotland, the choice of these men as diplomats in the early years of the Hundred Years War was partly inspired by the broader reputations they commanded. According to Jean le Bel, Reginald Cobham, who was included on both delegations sent to the emperor of the Romans in 1339 and again in the negotiations at Calais in 1347, was 'rightly… considered the worthiest knight in the land' at this time.[35] This strong military reputation made Cobham an individual with whom other rulers of Europe were inclined to do business, irrespective of his household connection. Nonetheless, that all diplomatic embassies dispatched by Edward to the Low Counties in 1339 involved household knights strongly indicates a preference for their specific involvement. Indeed, eight different household knights served across the four English embassies dispatched to the Low Counties in

[32] TNA, E101/23/5.
[33] R. Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), pp. 392, 394; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 579-80.
[34] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 562.
[35] Jean le Bel, p. 78.

that year, compared to five earls and one bishop. Likewise, three of the five men trusted with negotiating a peace following the great English victories at Crécy and Calais were household knights. In keeping with English diplomatic practice during the Anglo-Scottish wars of the 1330s, the inclusion of household knights on diplomatic embassies thus appears to have been an important aspect of English diplomacy during the first decade of the Hundred Years War, the additional dependability, authority and honour these men brought to proceedings significant enough to warrant their continued inclusion.

Though the inclusion of household knights on diplomatic embassies was routine during the first half of Edward's reign, it was far less prominent after 1350. Of the fifty-nine English embassies appointed during the 1350s, only five are known to have included household knights – a marked decline.[36] Household knights were not explicitly excluded from the diplomatic process: individuals such as Guy Brian continued to serve regularly in this capacity. During the course of 1353, Brian, who had by now been a member of Edward's household for nearly two decades, served as an envoy to the count of Flanders, an ambassador to the French court tasked with negotiating a peace treaty, and Edward's representative to the pope.[37] The following year, he was appointed with Bartholomew Burghersh the elder to a delegation headed by the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Norwich, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the royal administrator Michael Northburgh to conduct negotiations over the proposed Treaty of Guines – a forerunner of the later treaty of Brétigny in 1360.[38] In 1358, Brian was again chosen, this time with the earl of Arundel and William Thorpe, to act as the king's 'plenipotentiary' in negotiations for an alliance between Edward and Wenceslas, duke of Luxembourg, Lorraine, Brabant and marquees of the Holy Roman Empire in view of Edward's forthcoming campaign in France.[39] The

[36] Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, p. 88.
[37] R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby (RS: London, 1882), viii, p. 347; J.L. Gillespie, 'Brian, Guy, Baron Brian (c.1310-1390)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38896?docPos=1 (accessed 01/09/2016).
[38] *Foedera*, iii, pp. 101-2; *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 122-3; Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, p. 88-90.
[39] *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 47.

household knight John Beauchamp of Warwick also travelled to Flanders at this time, perhaps on similar work.[40] Finally, Brian, along with four other household knights – John Beauchamp of Warwick, John Chandos, Richard la Vache and Miles Stapleton – were included amongst the twenty-two man English delegation sent negotiate the treaty of Brétigny in May 1360, though they probably played only a limited role in proceedings as the duke of Lancaster and the earls of Northampton, Warwick and Suffolk were the principal English negotiators on this occasion.[41]

Though household knights such as Brian were clearly still relied upon by the king to act as key negotiators, it no longer appears that the king was so concerned to have household representation on all diplomatic embassies. Admittedly, the fact that the names of so few household knights who served in the 1350s are known compared to the two preceding decades – a result of the poor survival of wardrobe account books – perhaps skews this a little. Even so, there was an undoubtable shift from Edward's earlier policy. Probably, this was because so many of his most esteemed household knights, such as Reginald Cobham, who had been a principal negotiator in the 1330s and 1340s, left Edward's household to focus on service with the Black Prince in Gascony and were not replaced by men of such lofty reputation.[42] Indeed, where household knights still commanded wide-spread reputations, such as Brian and John Beauchamp of Warwick, they were still used routinely as diplomats, suggesting that it was the calibre of household knight, rather than the result of a deliberate policy, which led to a scaling back of their activity in this area. It is also important to note that many of those who left household service at this time, such as Cobham and Walter Mauny, continued their diplomatic work throughout the decade: both featured on the English delegation sent to negotiate the treaty of Brétigny.[43] Clearly, the favourable reputations that these men enjoyed compensated for the fact that they were no

[40] TNA, E101/312/11.
[41] *Foedera*, iii, pt. 1, pp. 202-9. A slightly different list of names is given in the *Chronicon Anonyni Cantuariensis*, but the names of the household knights is unchanged: *Chronicon Anonyni Cantuariensis: The Chronicle of Anonymous of Canterbury, 1346-1365*, ed. C. Scott-Stokes and C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 2008), pp. 102-3.
[42] See above, pp. 70-2.
[43] *Foedera*, iii, pt. 1, pp. 202-9.

longer household knights. Moreover, it should not be assumed that the association that these men built up with the king during their time as household knights ceased when they left formal service. Indeed, it is likely that these knights were still understood to possess a distinct bond with the king as *alumni* of his household. Bartholomew Burghersh the younger was, for instance, described by Jean Froissart as a knight of the king's chamber in 1364, despite the fact that the latest he can be recorded as having received household robes was 1344.[44] Consequently, it may have been the case that these men held some residual authority from their previous connection to the king, which made up for the fact that serving household knights were included on so few embassies at this time.

Though no longer as present on diplomatic embassies in the 1350s, household knights retained an important part in English diplomatic effort in these years as a result of the frequency with which they served as keepers of the Tower of London. As seen in Chapter 3, every keeper of the Tower after 1341 had at least two years of household service prior to their appointment, the majority far more.[45] This position was diplomatically important in that it was inextricably linked to the custody of the important political prisoners who were held at the Tower, the foremost prison in England.[46] From 1346 this included the Scottish king David Bruce who, following his capture of the Battle of Neville's Cross, was handed into the care of the keeper of the Tower, the long-serving household knight John Darcy 'le pere', who swore 'by virtue of the king's writ to keep him safely'.[47] The rest of Bruce's eleven year captivity was spent under the watchful eyes of a further five household knights, including John Darcy 'le fitz', John Beauchamp of Warwick and

[44] Froissart (*Oeuvres*), vi, p. 392.
[45] Above, Table 3.1, p. 102. For a list of keepers, see Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 298-99.
[46] Prisoners of war during the Hundred Years War formed the focus of a recent study, which outlines many of the practicalities and political implications involved in ransoming: R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. pp. 56-7, 185-7. See also J. Beriac-Laine and C. Given-Wilson, 'Edward III's Prisoners of War: The Battle of Poitiers and its Context', *EHR*, 116 (2001), 802-34; D.M. Broome, 'The Ransom of John II, King of France, 1360-1370', in *Camden Miscellany, vol. 14: Camden Third Series, vol. 37* (London, 1926), pp. i-xxvi.
[47] *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 178.

Bartholomew Burghersh the elder.[48] The custody of King John of France was similarly the responsibility of household knights in their capacity of keepers of the Tower. Having been captured at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, John spent the early part of his four-year captivity in the care of John Beauchamp of Warwick, one of Edward's longest-serving household knights, before taking up a more comfortable residence in the Savoy Palace.[49]

A number of other valuable captives not kept at the Tower were also given into the care of household knights, suggesting that the selection of household knights for this task – and perhaps by extension their choice as keeper of the Tower – was part of a specific policy. John de Blois, heir to Charles de Blois, the French claimant to the duchy of Brittany, and his brother, Guy, were, for instance, entrusted to Roger Beauchamp between 1364 and 1376, who had served as a household knight from the late 1330s to the mid-1350s.[50] Why were household knights used for this work? As with service on diplomatic embassies, the fact that these men were capable and dependable was probably important. John Darcy 'le pere' had been justiciar of Ireland on three occasions between 1329 and 1337, as well as successively steward and then chamberlain of the king's household from 1337-46, during which time he gained invaluable experience to recommend him for the keepership of the Tower and custody of its important prisoners. In addition, there was probably an element of honour involved. Remy Ambühl has argued that a person's captor and gaoler was central to the dignity prisoners of war in the later Middle Ages.[51] As discussed above, the formal link that existed between the king and his household knights embedded in them an additional quality of royal honour and authority. Entrusting important valuable prisoners to these men may, therefore, have been an important, and perhaps even expected, sign of respect to the captive, especially in the case

[48] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 299. For the accounts kept by these men, see: TNA, E101/25/26; E101/25/27; E372/191, m. 49; E101/25/29; E372/192, m. 42; E372/202, m. 33. See also J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley (London, 1965), reprinted in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. C.J. Rogers (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 215-22; Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 56-7.
[49] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 299; TNA, E101/27/3. For more on John's captivity, see N. Murphy, *The Captivity of John II, 1356-60: The Royal Image in Later Medieval England and France* (Basingstoke, 2017).
[50] TNA, E101/29/15; E101/29/16; E364/6; E364/7; E364/11.
[51] Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 31-9.

of royal prisoners. Both on diplomatic embassies and in the holding of royal prisoners, household knights were thus amongst Edward's most favoured servants: their proven competence and the additional authority and prestige that accompanied their royal connection offered benefits that members of the wider nobility did not possess.

5.2 Defensive Warfare

The additional benefits that came with including household knights on diplomatic embassies and in the keeping of important political prisoners also translated into positions of defensive importance in England and, to a lesser extent, English-held lands abroad. Though Edward was for the most part the aggressor in his wars with Scotland and France, leading frequent campaigns into enemy territory, English lands were not immune from attack. There were three regions in particular that were regularly called upon to defend themselves from enemy incursions. These were: England's northern border with Scotland, the scene of many short, violent raids during the later medieval period; the southern coast of England, subject to frequent 'hit-and-run' attacks from French and, later in Edward's reign, Castilian fleets; and English-held lands abroad, especially Aquitaine and the Calais Pale, which played host to a significant deal of military activity during the Hundred Years War. Each of these regions was, to some extent, responsible for its own defence. During phases of heightened military activity and threat of invasion, however, the crown was required to offer additional support to these regions, and household knights were an important part of this.

Take first the border between England and Scotland. The Anglo-Scottish border was particularly hostile during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, during which time the English and Scottish crowns were at odds over the issue of whether Scotland should submit to

English kings.[52] The defence of northern England during this period was typically manned and coordinated by an influential group of northern barons, led by the Percy and Neville families, who had considerable experience of combatting Scottish raids.[53] Henry Percy, for instance, was granted custody of the Scottish Marches on 16 February 1327, only a matter of weeks into Edward reign, a post he and his heirs continued to occupy for much of the rest of the century.[54] Nevertheless, the heightened Scottish raiding activity which accompanied the Anglo-Scottish wars of the 1330s saw Edward become increasingly involved in the defence of the north through his knightly household. As seen in Chapter 2, one consequence of this was that the king retained more knights from the northern counties of England in the 1330s than later in his reign. In 1335, eleven of thirty-four household knights (32 percent) held the majority of their lands north of the river Trent, a far higher proportion than in 1340, when just seven of fifty-three did (13 percent).[55] Such a policy had also been practiced under Edward II,[56] and it is not hard to see why Edward III followed similar lines. These knights were experienced in Scottish warfare and were custodians of some of the most important castles in the region, and keeping them as direct royal retainers would have granted Edward a further connection to, and perhaps control of, these men and their actions.

The increased involvement of the knightly household in the defence of northern England during the 1330s also saw Edward appoint a considerable number of household knights as

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[52] C.J. Neville, *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 27-41.

[53] See, in particular, Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War', pp. 210-13; J.A. Tuck, 'Northumbrian Society in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History*, 6 (1971), 22-39; J.A. Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250-1400', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), 1-17; M.H. Brown, 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship, 1332-58', *BIHR*, 70 (1997), 1-22; A.J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland, England and France at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 1-44; A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-1408' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2001); A. King, 'A Good Chance for the Scots? The Recruitment of English Armies for Scotland and the Marches, 1337-1347', in *England and Scotland at War, c.1296-1513*, ed. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2012), pp. 119-58; J. Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296-1568* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 183-242; M. Aravangian, 'A County Community or the Politics of the Nation? Border Service and Baronial Influence in the Palatinate of Durham, 1377-1413', *Historical Research* (2009), 41-61; M. Aravangian, 'The Durham Gentry and the Scottish March, 1370-1400: County Service in Late Medieval England', *Northern History*, 42 (2005), 259-75.

[54] *Foedera* (Record Edition), ii, pt. 2, p.715; J.M.W. Bean, 'Percy, Henry, second Lord Percy (1301–1352)' in *ODNB*, available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21929?docPos=2 (accessed 11/10/16).

[55] See above, pp. 81-3.

[56] Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', pp. 51-4; J.S Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 51.

constables of royal castles in the region. Bamburgh castle, the greatest royal fortress in the north of England prior to the capture of Berwick in 1333, was given to John Kingston in 1332, who had been a household knight in the late 1320s, and then to Ralph Neville in 1335, the steward of the household.[57] The castle of Wark-on-Tweed, meanwhile, a short distance from Berwick, was placed in the custody of William Montagu in 1329, who, despite having few other landed interests in the north, spent a great deal of money fortifying it.[58] In addition to garrisoning royal castles in the region, those of Edward's household who held private castles in northern England seem to have been particularly active in bolstering the defences of their private castles at this time. William Felton made a number of additions to the fortifications at his castle at Edlingham, Northumbria, which occupied an important position on the western approach to the larger town of Alnwick, including a curtain wall and projecting gatehouse built to enclose the hall and courtyard.[59] English territorial gains in southern Scotland during the 1330s also saw an influx of castles into royal hands, each of which required a reliable constable.[60] The first great town to fall to the English was Berwick in 1333. Berwick was strategically crucial to Anglo-Scottish warfare as it commanded a prominent position on the border between the two countries. Following its capture it was placed in the hands of Henry Percy, the foremost man in the defence of northern England, and remained in either his custody, or that of Richard Talbot, another prominent northern baron, until the 1340s.[61] Interestingly, however, while Percy and Talbot were in formal control of the town, Edward became increasingly keen to supplement its garrison with a defensive force under the direction of his household knights. Following the ineffective Roxburgh campaign, the household knights Henry Ferrers and Hugh Frene were installed at Berwick with a force of sixty men-at-arms in an effort

[57] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 349.
[58] *CPR 1330-34*, p. 462.
[59] G. Fairclough, 'Edlingham Castle, Northumberland', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, new series, 28 (1984), p. 49.
[60] For more the English occupation of southern Scotland, see I.A. MacInnes, 'To be Annexed Forever to the English Crown: The English Occupation of Southern Scotland, c.1334-1337', and M.H Brown, 'The Scottish March Wardenships (c.1340-c.1480)', both in *England and Scotland at War*, ed. King and Simpkin, pp. 183-201, 203-29.
[61] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 352-53.

to protect the castle and its surrounding area from Scottish retaliation.[62] It is worth noting that neither Ferrers nor Frene were northern knights – they were from Leicester and Wales, respectively – and so their selection to bolster the garrison at Berwick seems a probable result of their household connection, rather than them featuring as part of the traditional northern defensive block.

Ferrers and Frene's appointment to the garrison at Berwick was characteristic of widening trend towards a reliance on household participation in Scottish affairs following the Roxburgh campaign of 1334-35. Ranald Nicholson went as far as to suggest that, following the campaign, the defence of the north was left almost entirely in the hands of Edward's household knights under the leadership of the prominent household banneret Maurice Berkeley.[63] Though this is a slight exaggeration, the use of household knights in consolidating English gains in southern Scotland in the mid-1330s was substantial. Two contemporary Scottish chronicles, *The Book of Pluscarden* and the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, report that following the large English offensive of 1335 'the king of England ordered the castles of Leuchars and St Andrews to be quickly rebuilt by Henry Beaumont and his brother; Stirling castle by William Montagu; Edinburgh castle by John Stirling; and Roxburgh Castle by William Felton'.[64] Felton was particularly active in this appointment, employing eighteen masons, twenty-three labourers and two carpenters until January 1336 to repair the castle's walls.[65] Montagu and Felton were both household knights in 1335, while John Stirling was by 1340. Though Edward was by no means relying exclusively on household knights in consolidating his Scottish acquisitions in these years, their regular appointments to garrisoning castles suggest that they were an increasingly important part of the process. Why was this? As Allen Brown argued, the most important concern for a king when deciding who to place as constable of

[62] BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 248r.-248v.
[63] Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 188-91.
[64] *The Book of Pluscarden*, ed. and trans. F.J.H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1890), ii, pp. 213-4; J. Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 353.
[65] TNA, E101/19/27, mm. 6-8d; E372/196, m. 45.

a royal castle was loyalty and obedience.[66] Clearly, in the king's mind, household knights fit the bill perfectly. Indeed, these were men whose careers were predominantly built on military service to the crown and the household. Thus, they were a familiar entity, who could be relied upon to provide excellence service.

The increased reliance on household knights in the defence of the north after the Roxburgh campaign did not persist past the end of the Anglo-Scottish war. No household knight was, for example, present at the English victory at Neville's Cross in 1346, when an army led by the Archbishop of York overcame a larger Scottish raiding force, the majority instead engaged with Edward at the siege of Calais.[67] This is not to say they were entirely absent from the defence of the north thereafter. In February 1338, John Molyns, a Buckinghamshire-based household knight, was sent north to aid in the investigation of localised raiding which had taken place on the border.[68] In February 1342, meanwhile, Edward sent John Faucomberge, Thomas Ughtred and John Sherborn north to survey the castle of Scarborough in Yorkshire to assess the state of the castle, decide on what repairs were necessary, and calculate how much they would cost in preparation for a fresh wave of anticipated Scottish raids.[69] Even so, it was only on *ad hoc* commissions that household knights were sent to aid in the defence of northern England after 1337, rather than as constables of castles or to head permanent garrisons. The reduction in the use of household knights in the defence of northern England suggests, therefore, that Edward wanted his household knights focussed on the war with France, the primary field of operation after this date, rather than distracted in the north of England by the secondary threat of the Scots.[70]

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[66] R.A. Brown, 'The Place of English Castles in the Administrative and Military Organisation, 1154-1216' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1953), p. 273. See also S. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 45-50.

[67] M. Prestwich, 'The English at the Battle of Neville's Cross', in *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, ed. D. Rollaston and M. Prestwich (Stamford, 1998), pp. 1-14.

[68] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 70-71.

[69] Ibid., p. 441.

[70] This corroborates well with the findings of James Campbell who argued that, 'after 1338, Edward left England north of the Trent to look after itself': Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War', p. 212. Similar ideas have been conveyed in Brown, 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship'; and G.L. Harris, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 348-55. Andy King has argued that Edward still paid

For much of Edward's reign, this meant that household knights' defensive service was focussed on the southern coast of England.[71] Given the ever-present threat of raids from across the Channel, a well-established system existed in the fourteenth century whereby keepers and commissioners of maritime lands were appointed in each county along the coast to oversee the raising and leading of troops for its defence.[72] For the most part, this ensured that the defence of the south coast was, as in the north of England, run (locally) by local men. Once more, however, the crown sought to bolster these defences with external support during times of heightened threat. In particular, this involved placing experienced administrative and military men in positions of organisational responsibility, and it was here that Edward made use of his household knights.

Even before war broke out with France in 1337, fears over the safety of the southern coast of England were heightened for fear that the French would launch an attack in retaliation for Edward's conflict with their old ally, the Scots. Within a matter of weeks of entering his political majority, Edward began to demonstrate a reliance on household knights to man the southern defences of England that persisted throughout his reign. In December 1330, he appointed William Clinton constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, William Montagu constable of Corfe and Sherbourne castles in Dorset, Roger Wodelok constable of Odiham castle in Hampshire and Thomas West constable of Southampton castle, also in Hampshire, all of whom were household knights.[73] The other main castle on the south coast, Portchester, was granted to William Weston, styled 'king's yeoman', a similar position to a household esquire.[74] The reasons for this

some attention to the north after this date. King, 'A Good Chance for the Scots?; A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland', pp. 45-64.

[71] For more, see M. Hughes, 'The Fourteenth-Century Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 121-43; S. Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare* (London, 2002), pp. 68-74; S. Drake, '"The Gallaunts of Fawey": A Case Study of Fowey during the Hundred Years' War, c.1337-1399', *Historical Research* (e-publication ahead of print, 2017). Though not on the south coast, see also A.R. Saul, 'Great Yarmouth and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', *BIHR*, 52 (1979), 105-15.

[72] A good introduction to coastal defences during the Hundred Years War can be found in H.J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War* (Manchester, 1966), pp. 1-27; and H.J. Hewitt, 'The Organisation of War', in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. Fowler, pp. 75-95. For a more detailed account see J.R. Alban, 'English Coastal Defences: Some Fourteenth-Century Modifications within the System', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces*, ed. R.A Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 57-78.

[73] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 181, 185, 231, 234, 267.

[74] Ibid., p. 232.

policy are not hard to grasp: these men had all proven themselves capable and dependable royal servants during the minority and the recent coup in Nottingham. Edward's reliance on these men continued to grow over the next decade. In January 1332, as the 'Disinherited' were preparing their invasion of Scotland, Clinton oversaw repairs to Dover castle. The following year, meanwhile, as Edward prepared to march north for the first time in person, writs were sent to Clinton ordering him to further strengthen the southern defences.[75] The peak of the French invasion threat during the Anglo-Scottish wars came in 1335-36, when rumours began to circulate that 6,000 Frenchmen were ready to mount an invasion of England under the leadership of the count of Eu, and that the king of France had already amassed 700 ships with which to ferry them across the Channel.[76] On this occasion, William Montagu and Henry Ferrers (Edward's chamberlain) were appointed keepers of the Channel Islands, and ordered to array men to make the islands and its castles defensible against a possible attack from the count of Eu. Orders were also sent to Clinton instructing him to arrest all vessels over forty tuns to create a fleet with which to repulse the enemy.[77] Although the invasion never came, the fact that Clinton's ships were at sea within a month demonstrates the proficiency he had by now developed for organising defensive forces.[78]

Edward's reliance on household knights in the defence of the south coast during the 1330s sits in contrast to the situation in northern England after 1337. Indeed, while the household knights' involvement in Scottish border warfare decreased markedly as Edward's attention turned to France, this does not appear to have been the case on the south coast of England. Rather, household knights were widely utilised here during the first decade of his reign, despite the king being principally engaged in the north. This was probably because, unlike the northern marches, the south coast did not have such a rich history of self-defence, and no great families such as the

[75] *CCR, 1330-33*, p. 429; TNA, C81/200/6464.
[76] *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, ed. and trans. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p. 293; Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War', p. 210; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 192, 207-11; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 146-48.
[77] *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 364-65; TNA, E101/19/22; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp. 207-8.
[78] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 181, 185; *CCR, 1333-37*, p. 525; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 337.

Percys or Nevilles were able to take on a comparable position to warden of the marches for the whole of the south coast. Further, the threat that France posed in the 1330s was considerably greater than that of the Scots later in Edward's reign and so demanded greater input from the crown. Admittedly, it should not be overlooked that, as seen in Chapter 2, Edward recruited fewer men from the southernmost counties of England before 1337 than after. Even so, it is clear from the involvement of a select few household knights in the defence of the southern coast in the 1330s that while Edward was sometimes reluctant to place his household knights in positions that kept them away from the primary military action, he was not averse to it when necessary.

The opening of war with France in 1337 intensified both the fear of invasion and the scale of raiding on the south coast, with Portsmouth, Southampton and the Isle of Wight all falling victim to attacks between 1337 and 1340.[79] Clinton and Montagu retained their pre-eminence in the defence of the south coast during the first decade of the Hundred Years War, despite leaving the household upon becoming earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury respectively. The time these men had spent as household knights had clearly been crucial in seeing them raised to the important positions they came to hold on the south coast, but was not essential to their continued execution of them. When and where it was necessary to appoint new men to aid in the defence of the south in these years, however, priority seems to have once more been given to household men. As seen in Chapter 3, the link between household knights and the constableship of Dover castle remained strong throughout Edward's reign, with six of the eleven men to serve in the post after 1337 also serving time as a household knight.[80] Appointments to other royally-held castles similarly continued to favour household knights. In addition to Thomas West's appointment as constable of Southampton castle in December 1330, for example, two of the three other men known to have acted in this post were household knights. These were John Beauchamp of Warwick, appointed in 1346, shortly after the castle had undergone extensive improvements to its defences, and John

[79] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 1-27; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 225-27, 247-51; Hughes, 'Fourteenth-Century Raids', pp. 123-26.
[80] See above, Table 3.3, p. 118.

Foxley, appointed following the renewal of war with France in the early 1370s.[81] Similarly, Odiham castle spent much of Edward III's reign in the hands of household knights. Like Southampton, it was given to a household knight, Roger Wodelok, shortly after the Nottingham coup, and between 1339 and 1362 it was in the hands of William Trussell, who served as a household knight from 1339 to 1347.[82]

In addition to appointing household knights to constableships of important castles on the south coast, household knights also served on specific commissions set up to oversee the defence of the south in these years. In 1347, despite the great victory at Crécy, a series of severe French raids were unleashed on the southern coast. In response, William Trussell was given the considerable task of arresting and imprisoning all French spies found in England.[83] In the spring of 1360, meanwhile, the threat to the south coast became a priority once more when a small French force crossed the Channel and occupied the town of Winchelsea while negotiations over the proposed Treaty of Brétigny were ongoing.[84] On this occasion, John Pecche, a household knight with nearly a decade of experience behind him, was ordered to take as many mariners as he could muster from the ports of London to Winchelsea to 'resist the French malice'.[85] When added to the examples seen from Scotland, a pattern begins to emerge in which household knights can be identified as the most likely individuals to be sent by the crown to offer royal assistance to local defensive networks in England under Edward III.

The northern and southern frontiers of England were not the only English lands in need of defence in the fourteenth century. In addition to becoming king of England at his coronation in 1327, Edward III also entered into his inheritances as lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine. Ireland had formally been a lordship of the English monarchy since it was granted by the papacy

[81] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 234; *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 142; Hughes, 'Fourteenth-Century Raids', pp. 133-37.
[82] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 231.
[83] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 309.
[84] Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, p. 19; Sumption, *Trial by Fire,* pp. 435-38.
[85] *CPR, 1358-60*, p. 411.

to Henry II in 1155,[86] and by 1300 had become partially anglicised, with its own replica of Westminster government in Dublin and a system of local shires established throughout much of the rest of the country.[87] Though the lordship was relatively peaceful under Edward III, and the king never visited it in person, there were spells of unrest, and household knights were often used to combat this.

The principal royal agent in Ireland, and the head of the Dublin administration, was the justiciar. Work on the reign of Edward I by Beth Hartland has revealed that no fewer than five household knights acted as justiciars of Ireland between 1272 and 1307, a considerable proportion of the nine men to hold the office.[88] The fact that so many household knights held the office under Edward I was, according to Hartland, part of a deliberate policy to create a strong personal link between the king and one of his principal lordships. Of the eighteen men who served as justiciar of Ireland under Edward III, seven were household knights. Two of these men – John Charlton and Robert Ashton – should be removed from these figures as they men served as justiciars before becoming household knights, and so cannot be thought of as specific household appointments. So too should eight native Anglo-Irish lords who temporarily filled the post during Edward's reign. When this is done, half of the remaining ten 'English' justiciars of Ireland under Edward III are found to be household knights: John Darcy 'le pere', Ralph Ufford, Almaric de St Amand, William Windsor and Robert Ashton. This was a comparably considerable figure to that of Edward I's reign, suggesting that Edward III was likewise concerned with fostering a personal link to the lordship.[89]

To fully understand the implications of these appointments, however, it is also necessary to view them in relation to the broader narrative of Anglo-Irish history at this time. Indeed, the

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[86] Although Henry made no effort to make his claim to the lordship a reality until 1169.
[87] For a detailed history of Ireland under Edward III, see R. Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982); idem., 'Ireland', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History VI*, ed. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 375-87; J.A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish Colony under Strain, 1327-99', in *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove (Oxford, 1987), pp. 352-96.
[88] B. Hartland, 'The Household Knights of Edward I in Ireland', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), 161-77.
[89] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. M. Powicke (2nd edn.: London, 1961), pp. 150-2; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayels, *The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377* (Irish MSS Commission: Dublin, 1963), pp. 73-191.

appointment of household knights to this post typically coincided with unstable moments in Irish politics. John Darcy 'le pere', the first justiciar appointed by Edward during his majority, was sent to Ireland at a time when disorder was rife in the country, so much so that the king even planned to campaign in Ireland himself before Scottish matters diverted his attention.[90] The appointment of Darcy's successor, Ralph Ufford, in the early 1340s came at an equally unsteady time.[91] The English political crisis of 1340-41 had led to wide-spread disruption and, in some cases, rebellion in Ireland, particularly amongst the Gaelic population.[92] Even after 1360 Edward's chamber knights, despite being few in numbers, were used strategically as the king's personal representatives in the lordship. William Windsor, a chamber knight in the mid-1360s, was, for example, made guardian of Ireland between 1369 and 1373, shortly after the Statute of Kilkenny had been issued in an attempt to reassert the primacy of English culture over the Anglo-Irish population who were becoming increasingly Gaelic in their outlook.[93] This was, all the more tellingly, in spite of the fact that the king's second son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, had been made lieutenant of Ireland in 1361.[94] When Anglo-Irish relations were at their most harmonious, on the other hand, household knights do not seem to have been deemed appropriate for service as justiciars. Between 1346 and 1355, the most peaceful period of Irish history under Edward III, Thomas Rokeby, a conspicuously able administrator, acted as justiciar, rather than a household knight. Though Edward's royal knights were the ideal men through whom Edward could foster a personal link between the crown and the lordship, then, of greater importance was the fact that these men could also be relied upon to restore order at times of discord.

While a small group of household knights were relatively active in Ireland, the same cannot be said for the duchy of Aquitaine. The duchy had been attached to the English ruling house since

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[90] Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland*, pp. 196-202, 218-261.
[91] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 197.
[92] For more on Ufford and his time in Ireland, see Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland*, pp. 263-78; R. Frame, 'The Justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: Warfare and Politics in Fourteenth-Century Ireland', *Studia Hiberinca*, 13 (1973), 7-47.
[93] For the statue: *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922: A Sourcebook*, ed. T. Crowley (London, 2000), pp. 14-16.
[94] Lionel's appointment was part of a wider bid by Edward to create a Plantagenet empire under the control of his family at this time. See, W.M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and his Family', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), 398-422; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 414-45.

1154 when Henry II, who had recently married the duchy's heiress, Eleanor of Aquitaine, ascended to the throne. A perennial tension existed between Edward's supreme authority as king of England and his theoretical subjugation as a vassal of the king of France, a tension that was in no small part responsible for the outbreak of the Hundred Years War.[95] Consequently, Aquitaine played host to a considerable amount of military action throughout the Hundred Years War. Though the long-standing connection between Aquitaine and the kings of England meant that the defence of the region, under ordinary conditions, required little more than some limited administrative support from the English government, the scale of the threat posed by the kings of France after 1337 meant that external input was necessary at certain points.[96] Edward even appointed his eldest son, the Black Prince, as lieutenant of Gascony in the mid-1350s and prince of Aquitaine in 1362 in a bid to bring stability to the region.[97] Even so, the involvement of household knights in Gascony was limited. The only household knight to receive a permanent post in Aquitaine was Ralph Stafford, who became seneschal of Gascony in the mid-1340s.[98] Stafford had distinguished himself during the early years of the Hundred Years War as a household knight, not least as part of Henry of Lancaster's campaign in the region in 1345-46, and so his suitability to the post was clear. What is interesting about Stafford's appointment, however, is that he resigned the stewardship of the household in order to take up this post, and perhaps left the household altogether, though this is not possible to establish with certainty.[99] The implication of this is that service in the royal household and in a permanent a post in Aquitaine were incompatible. This provides an interesting

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[95] For more, see M.W. Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453* (London, 1980); M. Vale, 'England, France and the Origins of the Hundred Years War', in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453*, ed. Jones and Vale, pp. 199-216; Sumption, *Trial by battle*, pp. 168-84.

[96] Labarge, *Gascony*, pp. 121-24; P. Capra, 'Les bases sociales du pouvoir Anglo-Gascon au milieu du XIVe siècle', *Le Moyen* Age, 81 (1975), 273-99; 447-73; N. Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 13-15.

[97] R. Barber, 'Edward [Edward of Woodstock; known as the Black Prince], prince of Wales and of Aquitaine', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8523?rskey=Uw9sqF&result=1 (accessed 30/04/18).

[98] Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus*, p. 356.

[99] C. Rawcliffe, 'Stafford, Ralph, first earl of Stafford (1301–1372)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26211?docPos=1 (accessed 11/10/16). The absence of surviving wardrobe account books between 1344 and 1353 makes it hard to know exactly when Stafford left service. He is included in the Wetwang accounts as a household knight in 1346-47, though there is no way of knowing whether he was still formally serving as such.

parallel to the case in Ireland, where household knights were active. This may have been a result of the sheer distance of Aquitaine from England. More probably it was because, unlike in Ireland, Edward was often forced to try and play down his 'lordship' of Aquitaine – in favour of his outright sovereignty of it – because the nature of the homage due from him to the kings of France for it was a perpetual source of tension. Whatever the reason, the holding of permanent office in the region was clearly not something for which household knights were suited.

Though household knights were largely excluded from the defence of Aquitaine, they were utilised more regularly in the defence of lands and castles captured by the English in northern France during the Hundred Years War. As David Green has shown, Edward was careful to appoint members of the native nobility to many of the most significant military offices in each area in an effort to avoid imposing an entirely alien administration.[100] Nevertheless, the strategic placement of household knights at important English-held fortresses on the continent appears to have been used to supplement this. Take, for instance, Edward's policy concerning the town of Calais. Calais fell to the English in late August 1347 and remained an English outpost on the continent until 1558. Unlike other English continental possessions, Edward chose to populate it with Englishmen.[101] While the day-to-day governance of the town thus lay with a council of native aldermen, responsibility for its defence, victualling, garrison and judicial system lay with an English captain.[102] The link between the household knights and the captaincy of Calais is striking (Table 5.1). Following the capture of the town, it was entrusted to the distinguished household knight John Beauchamp of Warwick, who had been a household knight since 1338 and went on to serve as keeper of the Tower of London, sole admiral of the English fleet, and warden of the Cinque Ports later in his career.[103] Shortly after Beauchamp's initial appointment, the captaincy was

[100] D. Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven and London 2014), p. 167.
[101] For more see D. Greaves, 'Calais under Edward III', in *Finance and Trade Under Edward III the London Lay Subsidy of 1332*, ed. G. Unwin (Manchester, 1918), pp. 312-48; S. Rose, *Calais: An English Town in France, 1347-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 23-25; D. Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 9.
[102] Rose, *Calais*, p. 30; S.J. Burley, 'The Victualling of Calais, 1347-65', *BIHR*, 31 (1958), 49-57.
[103] J.S. Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d.1360)', *Medieval Prosopography*, 24 (2003), pp. 260-63.

Table 5.1 – Household Knights as Captains of Calais:

Knight	*Known time in Household*	*Tenure as Captain of Calais*
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-60	Sep 1347; Dec 1348-1351
John Montgomery	1334-47	Sep-Dec 1347
Thomas Holland	1338-47	1352
Reginald Cobham	1334-47	1353
Roger Beauchamp	1339-54	1372
John Burley	1359-64	1373
Bernard Brocas	1364	1377-79

Sources: *Foedera,* iii, pp. 138, 181; *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 172; Geoffrey le Baker, p. 99; *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 562; G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (2nd edn.: London, 1912), ii, pp. 44-5; *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normans et Francois*, ed. T. Carte (London, 1743), ii, p. 107; TNA C76/56; *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1330-1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), p.162; and the *ODNB* entries for Thomas Holland, Reginald Cobham and Bernard Brocas.

reallocated to John Montgomery, who had first entered household service in 1334 and had recently been raised to the rank of household banneret.[104] Montgomery's tenure only lasted a matter of months, however, cut short by his premature death, and Beauchamp took over the post once more, this time holding it until 1351.[105] James Bothwell has rightly argued that Beauchamp must have been a man of conspicuous talent to secure such an array of appointments throughout his career.[106] It is equally probable, however, that his status as a household knight had some part to play in this. Indeed, Beauchamp's second tenure as captain of Calais was followed by those of no fewer than five other household knights. The appointments of these men also typically coincided with the years of greatest military activity in northern France. In the last days of 1349, an attempt was made to recapture the town by a French force under the leadership of Geoffrey de Charny, and it is perhaps no coincidence that two long-serving household knights, Thomas Holland and Reginald Cobham, were appointed captains over the next three years.[107] Likewise, as can be seen from Table 5.1, the renewal of war with France in 1369 also coincided with a further spate of household appointments as captains. As with the castles in southern Scotland, therefore, it appears that the reliability and dependency of the household knights as constables of royal castles was

[104] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 562.
[105] *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 172; Geoffrey le Baker, p. 99.
[106] Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas', pp. 260-63.
[107] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, pp. 61-2.

utilised in the English custody of Calais under Edward III, particularly at times of heightened threat.

Conclusion

It is clear from the forgoing discussion that to characterise the household knights' military responsibilities as limited to large-scale royal campaigning would be inaccurate. Rather, being a household knight meant year-round military service. For the upper rank of household bannerets, this mean acting as royal diplomats on foreign embassies sent to negotiate truces, treaties and alliances with various rulers around Europe; the additional dignitary and authority these men derived from their formal connection to the king was important enough to convince Edward to include them on the majority of diplomatic embassies during his reign, especially in the 1330s and 1340s. It also meant regular employment garrisoning the most strategically important castles in England, Scotland and France. Indeed, castles such as Bamburgh, Dover and Southampton were entrusted to household knights far more regularly than they were to knights not retained by the king. The degree to which Edward appears to have been willing to involve his household knights in this respect was not limitless. Permanent positions such as seneschal of Aquitaine were not, for instance, compatible with household service. This suggests that the military duties that Edward III's household knights were asked to fulfil outside of large-scale military campaigns were, for the most part, directed specifically towards whatever the king's principal military focus was at that time. Nevertheless, what can be concluded from this chapter is that when Edward required reliable men to carry out diplomatic engagements or oversee defensive military organisation, the household knights were the first men to whom he turned.

Part 3

Household Knights and Politics

6

At the Centre: National Politics and Central Government

Historians have been generally dismissive of the involvement of household knights in national politics and central government in the fourteenth century. Michael Prestwich argued that 'their main duties were military' and that 'their main activity was, of course, fighting', while Chris Given-Wilson described the body of knights and bannerets attached to the royal households of Edward I, II and III as 'basically fighting men'.[1] This is not to say that the household knights' contributions to domestic affairs have been entirely overlooked: both Given-Wilson and Prestwich accepted that the household knights 'were occasionally used by the king as commissioners, or as diplomats, and a small number of them were royal councillors'.[2] Nevertheless, for both these scholars, the household knights' limited and inconsistent participation in English politics paled in comparison to their military exploits, and it was not until the emergence of the 'royal affinity' under Richard II that they became a political force.

For many of Edward III's household knights, the conclusions offered by Prestwich and Given-Wilson are accurate: Miles Stapleton, Thomas Ughtred and John Potenhale were all retained for the Crécy campaign in 1346 and for the Reims campaign in 1359-60, but in no other years,

[1] M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and State Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), pp. 41-66; idem., *Edward I* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 134-69; Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 206.
[2] Quotation from Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 206. See also the role of Edward II's household knights in the civil wars of the early 1320s: M. Prestwich, 'The Unreliability of Royal Household Knights in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 1-12; A. Tebbit, 'Royal Patronage and Political Allegiance: The Household Knights of Edward II, 1314-1321', in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003*, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 197-208; J.S. Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 47-72.

suggesting that they were first and foremost military retainers. For others, however, it is clear that domestic and political service to the crown as one of the king's household knights was as important as military service. Men such as Gilbert Talbot and John Darcy 'le pere', both of whom had been key political players in the latter years of Edward II's reign and who occupied key positions within the household administration for many years under Edward III, or William Montagu, an influential political ally of the king during the early part of his reign, served the king equally as well at home as abroad. To devalue the political contributions made by these men is to misrepresent the time they spent as household knights as one-dimensional. While it is not, therefore, the purpose of this chapter to fundamentally revise the conclusions offered by Prestwich and Given-Wilson, what the following discussion does seek to do is substantially narrow the extent to which the military service offered by Edward III's household knights is understood to have superseded that which they offered in domestic affairs, and in turn provide a more rounded view of what service as a household knight meant in fourteenth-century England.

There is an important distinction to be made within this. An important difference between militarily-focussed household knights such as Stapleton and Potenhale and household knights such as Talbot, Darcy and Montagu who offered service in national politics alongside this is that the former were both simple household knights, the lower of the two ranks of the knightly household, while the latter were household bannerets, the upper rank. This is significant for it was almost exclusively the household bannerets who were involved in national politics under Edward III. The reason for this is not hard to ascertain: simple household knights were 'knights bachelor', the lowest rank of knighthood, and thus were excluded from the most conspicuous positions in central government and on the national political stage, such as membership of the Lords. It was principally the household bannerets, then, who provided the political element of the knightly household at this time and on whom this chapter is focussed.

6.1 Minority Government, 1327-1330

Edward III's passage to the crown was not a peaceful one. His father's twenty-year reign came to an end in the autumn of 1326 when his wife, Queen Isabella, supported by her lover Roger Mortimer, invaded England. Whether it was their intention to remove Edward II from the throne, or simply to remove his two principal counsellors, Hugh Despenser the elder and his son, also named Hugh, is unclear. Regardless of their initial intentions, by January 1327 Edward II had abdicated the throne in favour of his fourteen-year-old son, Edward III.[3] In light of such a turbulent accession, establishing a new, stable regime was of the utmost importance. Douglas Biggs has shown that Henry IV, the only other English king to take the throne by force in the fourteenth century, was heavily reliant on his royal knights in the early years of his rule, placing many of his personal retainers in key political and administrative positions.[4] Comparatively, however, Edward III's household knights appear to have played a relatively reserved role in the earliest years of his rule.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Edward III's early household consisted of three main cliques.[5] First, there were men such as Gilbert Talbot and William Montagu who had been members of the king's princely household and continued in royal service after the coronation. Second, and often overlapping with the first, there were a number of individuals including William Clinton and Maurice Berkeley who were of an age with Edward and might be deemed his 'friends'. Finally, there was an increasing presence within the household of men whose loyalties can be tied to Roger

[3] The narrative background for this chapter has primarily been drawn from Ormrod, *Edward III*, and I. Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III, Father of the English Nation* (London, 2006). For more on Edward's seizure of power in 1326, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 32-54; Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, pp. 47-56; I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England, 1327-1330* (London, 2010), pp. 150-64; and J.R.S. Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 520-76. For more on Edward III's minority, see J.S. Bothwell, 'The More Things Change: Isabella and Mortimer, Edward III, and the Painful Delay of a Royal Majority (1327–1330)', in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. C. Beem (New York, 2008), pp. 67-102; D.A. Harding, 'The Regime of Isabella and Mortimer, 1326-30' (unpublished M.Phil thesis: University of Durham, 1985).

[4] D. Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom: The Royal Affinity of Henry IV, 1399-1413' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Minnesota, 1996), pp. 132-9.

[5] Above, pp. 74-5.

Mortimer, seemingly planted in the household as a way of increasing the control the minority regime held over the king. Indeed, from as early as Edward's coronation signs were emerging that household knights loyal to the king were going to have to compete with individuals who owed their allegiance to Isabella and Mortimer within the household. Edward's household knights were conspicuously absent from the coronation proceedings, which were closely stage-managed by Mortimer.[6] The only mention of them comes in a list of esquires who were knighted alongside Edward prior to his crowning, amongst whom Ralph Stafford, John Neville, Edward Chandos, John Melton, Edward Bohun and Hugh Frene, were named, all of whom went on to spend time as a household knight.[7] Even here, however, they were forced to share the limelight with men loyal to Mortimer, such as his son who was also knighted at the ceremony. This sits in stark contrast to other English coronations in the later Middle Ages, such as that of Henry V in 1413, where a number of 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires' were provided with special scarlet liveries for the occasion.[8]

None of the three household cliques were thrust immediately into the political limelight after Edward's coronation. Soon after the king's crowning, a governing council under the direction of Henry of Lancaster, the most influential magnate in the realm, which contained a broad cross-section of the political community, was established. Included within this was John Ros, the steward of the household, but no other household knight.[9] Moreover, there appears to have been little change in the main administrative personnel of the chancery and exchequer during Edward's minority.[10] In all probability, the household knights loyal to the king – his friends and those who had served in his princely household – were absent from the new government because Edward was only fourteen years old at the time and was thus unable to place members of his own, close-

[6] Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, p. 55.
[7] TNA, E101/382/8, m. 2; E101/383/4; *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 39; A. Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1889), p. 51.
[8] See G. Dodd, 'Henry V's Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413', in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. G. Dodd (York, 2013), pp. 53-7.
[9] Bothwell, 'The More Things Change', pp. 68-9; J.F. Baldwin, 'The King's Council', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, i, pp. 129-39.
[10] Tout, *Chapters,* iii, pp. 5-8.

knit network of associates at the heart of government. As for those loyal to Mortimer, it has been suggested in relation to the continual council that was set up in 1327 that Mortimer chose to 'remain outside it, or perhaps more accurately above it, occupying a quasi-regal position', in order to preserve the credibility of the new regime.[11] This would certainly explain the absence of Mortimer's household 'place-men' in these early days of Edward III's government, though May McKisack argued that Simon Bereford probably acted as Mortimer's eyes and ears on the regency council.[12]

Despite his initial moderation, as the minority progressed Mortimer's influence in government grew markedly. The council set up to oversee Edward's reign following his coronation barely survived until the end of 1327, and Mortimer's increasing control of the king and his court ensured that, as recorded in the accusation against him in the November parliament of 1330, none were able to 'talk to or counsel their liege lord [the king]' without Mortimer's permission.[13] A crucial part of this was Mortimer's control of Edward's knightly household. The original steward of the household John Ros, a Lancastrian retainer who had been with Edward during the invasion of 1326, was replaced by a series of Mortimer men: John Maltravers, who had been knighted alongside Mortimer in 1306; and Hugh Turpington, who had first served in Mortimer's company in Ireland in 1310.[14] Other knights, such as Edmund Haclut, one of Mortimer's own retainers, were also brought into the household in 1328-29.[15] The influence that these 'Mortimer men' enjoyed in the wider political landscape also grew steadily. This is well demonstrated by the names of those witnessing royal charters at this time (Table 6.1). As Chris Given-Wilson cautioned, those named as witnesses to these charters should not be used as 'a simple barometer' of who was

[11] A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility, 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England* (London, 1985), p. 78. See also P. Dryburgh 'The Career of Roger Mortimer, First Earl of March' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Bristol, 2002), pp. 111-2; Baldwin, 'The King's Council', pp. 135-6; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 62-3.
[12] M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), p. 96.
[13] TNA, C65/2 as printed in: *PROME*, November, 1330, m. 1, item 1. See also Baldwin, 'The King's Council', pp. 133-4.
[14] Tout, *Chapters*, iii, p. 18; Dryburgh 'The Career of Roger Mortimer', p. 20; TNA, E101/369/11, ff. 148v-149r; *CPR, 1307-13*, p. 522; Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, p. 44.
[15] Haclut seized a remarkable £1,568 for Mortimer from Clun castle, which belonged to the earl of Arundel, during the invasion: TNA, E101/383/8.

Table 6.1 - Household Knights Witnessing Royal Charters, 1327-1330:

Year :	**1327**	**1328**	**1329**	**1330** (to Oct.)
Total Charters:	78	101	58	110
Witnesses (figs given as % of total)				
Hugh d'Audley			3.4	
Simon Bereford			1.7	
Maurice Berkeley	2.5			
John Cromwell	19.2	5.0		0.9
John Darcy 'le pere'		6.9	5.2	
Robert Darden			3.4	
Richard Grey	19.2	1.0		
John Maltravers (s.1328-29)		24.8	72.2	50.9
William Montagu			20.7	42.7
Geoffrey Mortimer				4.5
Henry Percy	3.8	44.6	51.7	30.0
John Ros (s.1327)	97.4	20.8		
Roger Swinnerton			6.9	1.8
Gilbert Talbot (ch.1327-28)	26.9	29.7	32.8	14.5
Hugh Turpington (s.1330)				16.4
John Wysham (s.1329)		54.4	17.2	

Sources: The original charter rolls can be found at TNA, C53/114, 115, 116, and 117. The table here has been produced from D.A. Harding, 'The Regime of Isabella and Mortimer, 1326-1330' (unpublished M.Phil thesis: University of Durham, 1895), appendix 1, pp. 378-86; and Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', pp. 61-2. These lists have been supplemented where necessary by a handwritten guide of all those witnessing royal charters from 1327-60, kept with the Calendar of Charter Rolls in the Map and Large Document Reading Room at TNA.

Note: Shaded areas represent the years in which an individual was *not* retained as a household knight; s. denotes steward, ch. the chamberlain.

influential'. Those who were often away on military campaign, for instance, such as the Black Prince, rarely feature, despite their obvious political standing.[16] Nevertheless, these lists do provide a useful indication of who surrounded the king during the daily grind of royal business. This is particularly true for the minority, when there was relatively little military action to keep men from Westminster. Tellingly, the presence of household knights whose loyalties can be attributed to Edward, such as John Ros, John Cromwell, Maurice Berkeley and Richard Grey, all of whom had been members of Edward's princely household, reduced dramatically during the first two years of the reign. Berkeley, for instance, witnessed two charters in 1327 (2.5 percent), but none in 1328, 1329 or 1330. Likewise, John Cromwell witnessed sixteen in 1327 (19.2 percent), five in 1328 (5 percent), none in 1329 and just one in 1330 (0.9 percent). In their place, men such as John

[16] C. Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 12 (1991), p. 58.

Maltravers and Hugh Turpington emerged, both of whom were closely associated with Mortimer.[17] Maltravers, for instance, witnessed no charters in 1327, twenty-five in 1328 (24.8 percent), forty-two in 1329 (72.2 percent) and fifty-six in 1330 (50.9 percent).

The slow manoeuvring of Isabella and Mortimer to the centre of power won them little support and resulted in open rebellion first from the earl of Lancaster and then the earl of Kent.[18] The earl of Lancaster's rebellion began in late 1328, when Lancaster refused to attend a Great Council convening at York, instead sending a list of grievances concerning the minority regime that he demanded be rectified. Isabella and Mortimer were not inclined to acquiesce to Lancaster's demands, however, and William Clinton was sent to Lancaster with a letter which entirely ignored Lancaster's concerns and reminded him that his presence was expected at parliament.[19] Lancaster was not to be so easily brushed aside and once again refused to attend. As the intensity of the standoff increased, Isabella and Mortimer sent letters to a number of the king's household knights ordering them to assemble forces to resist Lancaster should he make a move against the government. These letters were sent to John Cromwell, John Darcy 'le pere', John Grey of Ruthin, Maurice Berkeley, William Montagu, John Maltravers, John de St John, Robert Clifford and Henry Percy.[20] Ultimately, the disinclination of the wider political community to enter into another disruptive civil war ensured that the whole episode simply petered out. Nevertheless, that these letters were sent exclusively to household knights demonstrates the degree to which the minority regime relied on them for physical support at this point. While this might, on the one hand, be taken as evidence of the important position household knights held in the exercise of kingship at this time, the fact that it was *only* to household knights that these letters were sent may also be indicative of the slender foundations on which the minority regime was built, and the lack of faith

[17] For the adherents of Roger Mortimer at this time see Dryburgh, 'The Career of Roger Mortimer' pp. 153-205; Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, pp. 196-218.
[18] Bothwell, 'The More Things Change', pp. 80-1; Harding, 'The Regime of Isabella and Mortimer', pp. 160-80.
[19] London Metropolitan Archives: CLA/024/01/02/002, m. 31, printed in V.B. Redstone, 'Some Mercenaries of Henry of Lancaster, 1327-1330', *TRHS*, 3rd series, 7 (1913), p. 162. See also G.A. Holmes, 'The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-1329, *BIHR*, 28 (1955), 84-9; E. Hartrich, 'Urban Identity and Political Rebellion: London and Henry of Lancaster's Revolt, 1328-29', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. Ormrod, pp. 89-106.
[20] Harding, 'The Regime of Isabella and Mortimer', p. 164.

that they placed in the support of the wider community of England to come to their aid. Indeed, it was typically at times when the crown's position at its weakest that kings of later medieval England were forced to rely so heavily on their own retainers. This was certainly the case in the early 1320s, when Edward II's household knights were vital in the king's war against the earl of Lancaster, and again in 1403, when the defection of the Percy family to the Welsh rebellion robbed Henry IV of some of his most influential northern supporters and left him in a precarious position.[21]

This conclusion is supported by the fact that household knights were once again relied on almost exclusively to counter the second significant challenge to the minority regime of Isabella and Mortimer, which followed soon after Lancaster's rebellion. This occurred when the earl of Kent, brother of Edward II, was introduced to rumours that Edward II, who had been murdered at Berkeley castle in November 1327, was still alive.[22] Following the earl's surprise arrest at parliament in March 1330, an unnamed household knight is reported to have carried out his execution.[23] Likewise, numerous household knights were dispatched to arrest the earl's adherents, such as Maltravers, who was sent with Roger Wodelok to Hampshire to arrest known associates of the earl there.[24] Nicholas Langford, meanwhile, was made responsible for the custody of Kent's wife and their possessions.[25] The fact that household knights were swiftly mobilised to combat the rebellions of the earls of Lancaster and Kent thus offers important evidence of both the importance of these men to the stability of the minority regime, as well as its fragility.

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[21] For Edward II, see Prestwich, 'Unreliability of Royal Household Knights'; Tebbit, 'Royal Patronage and Political Allegiance'; Hamilton, 'Reassessment of the Loyalty'. For Henry IV, see Biggs, 'Then You Perceive the Body of Our Kingdom', pp. 234-40, 244, 247, 411.

[22] For more, see K. Warner, 'The Adherents of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, in March 1330', *EHR*, 126 (2011), 779-805. Ian Mortimer has made the case that Edward II may well have been alive at this time: Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, appendix 2; I. Mortimer, 'The Death of Edward II Berkeley Castle', *EHR*, 120 (2005), 1175-214. This has, however, been convincingly disputed by Seymour Philips and Andy King: Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 577-99; A. King, 'The Death of Edward II Revisited', in *Fourteenth Century England IX*, ed. J.S. Bothwell and G. Dodd (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 1-22.

[23] Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 253-7; Geoffrey le Baker, p. 44; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 87. Ian Mortimer suggests that the earl's execution was carried out by a 'latrine cleaner', but it is unclear where this information is taken from: Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor*, p. 232.

[24] *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 556.

[25] *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 499, 556.

As Mortimer's grip on Edward, his household and his government tightened, the king himself, seemingly frustrated with the lack of influence he had over his own household and government, began to move against Isabella and Mortimer. As Mark Ormrod has shown, by 1330 Edward had passed through several important rites of passage, having married, had his first child, and fought on his first military campaign, and was thus ready to take full control of the reins of government.[26] Edward appears to have begun by increasing the degree to which those members of his household whose loyalties lay unquestionably with him – his 'friends' and the former members of his princely household – were involved in government. William Montagu was chosen alongside Richard Bury to carry a letter to Pope John XXII at Avignon containing instructions as to a secret code whereby the words *pater sancte* would be included in any correspondence directly conveying the king's thoughts or wishes, whilst the absence of the code would mark a letter out as Mortimer or Isabella's words.[27] Edward also entered into additional contracts with some of his household knights, such as Montagu, Edward Bohun, Robert Waterville and Maurice Berkeley, which stated they would stay with the king on a more permanent basis.[28] While similar contracts were also entered into with many of Mortimer's adherents, that an additional link was deemed necessary between Edward and his household knights in these years says a great deal about the damage that Mortimer's infiltration of the royal household had done to the strength of the bond between the king and his knights. Finally, it is interesting to note the increased presence of William Montagu and Roger Swinnerton amongst the charter witnesses in 1329 and 1330 (Table 6.1). Indeed, Montagu first appeared as a witness in 1329, when he was recorded as being present on twelve occasions (20.7 percent), a figure which rose to thirty-three the following year (42.7

[26] W.M. Ormrod, 'Coming to Kingship: Boy Kings and the Passage to Power in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N.F. McDonald and W.M. Ormrod (York, 2004), pp. 48-9.
[27] The original letter survives in the papal archives: Archivio Secterum Vaticanum, A.A., Arm. C, fasc. 79 and can be found in print in C.G. Crump, 'The Arrest of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabel', *EHR*, 26 (1911), 331-2; and Bothwell, 'The More Things Change', p. 84. For more on the letter, see W.M. Ormrod, 'The King's Secrets: Richard de Bury and the Monarchy of Edward III', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L.E. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 166-7.
[28] For Montagu and Waterville, see TNA, E101/384/1, f. 11r. For Bohun and Berkeley, see *CPR 1327-30*, pp. 517, 530.

percent). Swinnerton, meanwhile, having witnessed no charters in 1327 or 1328, featured on four in 1329 (6.9 percent) and three in 1330 (1.8 percent). These men, both of whom survived the cull of household personnel that followed the Nottingham coup in 1330, were close confidents of Edward and, though they only witnessed a minority of charters in these years, indicate a move towards the increasing inclusion of household knights loyal to Edward in the government of the realm in the final year of Edward's minority.

The fracture between Edward and Isabella and Mortimer reached its climax in October 1330 when, prior to the opening of parliament at Nottingham castle, Edward and an intimate band of knights entered a secret passage which runs below the castle and arrested Mortimer. Caroline Shenton's thorough study of the coup names twenty-four men as present with the king, eleven of whom were household knights.[29] They included William Montagu, Edward Bohun, William Clinton, Maurice Berkeley and John Neville, to name but the most prominent. These were all men who had been close supporters of Edward since the invasion of 1326, and who continued to be so thereafter. It is also interesting to note that a number of men who were formally being retained as household knights in 1330 are recorded as having attempted to defend Mortimer during the arrest. Hugh Turpington, for instance, the man Mortimer had appointed as steward of the household, was killed in the fracas, the fatal blow delivered by John Neville of Honby if Geoffrey le Baker is to be believed.[30] Simon Bereford, meanwhile, who McKisack believed acted as Mortimer's representative on the initial regency council, was more fortunate in that he was taken alive, though he did later share Mortimer's fate in execution.[31] The Nottingham coup of 1330 thus pitched household knight against household knight – the culmination of three years of household division in which men loyalty to Edward were forced to compete within the household against

[29] C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the Coup of 1330', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 13-34.
[30] Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 41-3. Several other household knights also received pardons for Turpington's killing: *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 53, 82.
[31] McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 96.

men whose principal loyalties lay with Mortimer. What remained to be seen in 1330 was what Edward would do with a united household and personal rule.

6.2 Personal Rule and Parliamentary Crisis, 1330-1341

Following the coup of 1330, Edward was quick to establish household knights as a central part of his regime. Within a week of the events at Nottingham, William Clinton was appointed justice of Chester and Flint, an important and potentially lucrative judicial post.[32] Similarly, in the parliament of November 1330, the first to be held since the arrest of Isabella and Mortimer, a jury of twelve knights was appointed to determine what part, if any, Thomas Berkeley had played in the murder of Edward II in 1327. Included on this jury were John Darcy 'le pere', Roger Swinnerton, John Wysham and William Trussell, all established household knights.[33] Undoubtedly, household status alone did not qualify these men to try a peer of the realm; they were all men of recognised standing and well-connected members of the political community in their own right. Nevertheless, it is perhaps significant that none of these men in 1330 had yet received a summons to parliament, and were not, therefore, peers themselves. Though not enshrined in law until the early 1340s, to have men not of the peerage trying a peer went against convention and suggests that the king placed great stock in the opinions of his household knights in the early days of his personal rule.[34]

The household knights' political influence continued to grow as the 1330s progressed, with Edward 'most readily drawn to the comradeship of the principal lay members of the household, the bannerets and knights,' in these years.[35] On a basic level, these were men who spent a great amount of time with the king and offered a useful sounding board for Edward's policies. In particular, the special influence of men such as William Montagu and William Clinton in these

[32] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 13.
[33] *PROME*, November 1330, m. 6, item 16; TNA, C65/2, m. 6; Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 573.
[34] C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p. 65.
[35] Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 133.

years is well established.[36] A grant of several knights' fees to Montagu in 1333 asserted that the grant was being made on 'account of the great place which he [Montagu] holds in the direction of the affairs of the realm'.[37] Such language was, admittedly, not uncommon in grants of this nature, acting in part as their justification. Nevertheless, Montagu clearly occupied a special place in Edward's court at this time. In his Scalacronica, Thomas Gray wrote that 'for a long time after the [Nottingham] coup, the king was advised by William Montagu' above all others.[38] Likewise, in 1333 Edward and Montagu appeared at court together wearing identical red taffeta surcoats, each embroidered with birds, a clear manifestation of their connection.[39]

It is possible to chart the influence of Edward's household knights in these years in a number of more tangible ways. The first is their presence on the royal council. The royal council, though still lacking a formal constitution in the fourteenth century, typically consisted of a small number of men, rarely exceeding a dozen, drawn from the ranks of the upper clergy, nobility, and increasingly supplemented by men of law. These men met regularly to discuss and carry out various matters of state.[40] Following the coup, Edward was said to have taken on the 'wisest and best beloved of his people to act as his councillors'.[41] During the parliament of September 1331, Bishop Gravesend of London, John Stratford the chancellor, John Melton the treasurer, and other men of a similar stature were appointed to act as the king's principal advisors.[42] Significantly, however, by 1332 it is possible to detect the presence of Edward's household knights. At a parliament in York that year, William Clinton was appointed to a council of six men ordered to remain with the king to advise him, along with the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Norwich, Henry Percy, who

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[36] For a useful and recent account, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 134-5.
[37] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 462. For similar, see ibid., p. 520.
[38] T. Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Surtees Society, CCIX: Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106-7. See also Tuck, *Crown and Nobility*, pp. 105-6.
[39] TNA, E101/388/8, m. 6; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 134; C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis: University of Oxford, 1995), p. 195.
[40] For more, see Baldwin, 'The King's Council', pp. 141-7; G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 50-60, 91-108, 133-4; G. Dodd, 'Henry IV's Council, 1399-1405', in *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406*, ed. G. Dodd and D. Biggs (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 95-115; A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 30-42.
[41] J. Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, ed. T. Johnes (London, 1855), i, p. 31.
[42] *PROME*, September 1331, m. 4, item 16; Baldwin, 'The King's Council', p. 140.

had also been retained as a household knights in the late 1320s, and two royal justices.[43] James Baldwin argued that the inclusion of men such as Clinton on this council was a consequence of the fact that, unlike the great lords of the realm, they were able to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the work of government. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that Clinton was as this time serving as warden of the Cinque Ports, and so responsible to a large extent for the defence of the south coast of England from the increasingly present threat of French raiding parties, particularly as Edward edged closer to war with France's ally, Scotland. Likewise, Percy was warden of the northern marches, and so responsible for the defence of northern England. The inclusion of these two men on Edward's council at a time when an English army of 'Disinherited' nobles was being recruited for service in Scotland under the leadership of Edward Balliol, a claimant to the Scottish throne, suggests that they were, in part, included for their advice in these matters. Even so, that Clinton was selected as one of just two representatives on this council from the ranks of the knighthood is a testament to the influence he had come to possess by this stage in Edward's reign. In addition, it should also be noted that several household knights were styled 'councillors of the king', regardless of whether they were formally appointed as such during these years. A pardon issued to William Montagu on 10 April 1336, for instance, referred to him as 'one of the king's council', despite their being no formal record of such an appointment.[44] This was clearly a result of the fluid definition of the 'royal council' in the fourteenth century. What is suggests, however, is that household knights were coming to occupy an important and recognised place as advisers to the king in these years.

This is reinforced by the lists of witnesses to royal charters during the 1330s (Table 6.2). First, it is important to note that far fewer household knights witnessed charters during the 1330s than had done during the three-year minority. This was because an abnormally high number of men below the ranks of the baronage had been allowed to act as witnesses to royal charters during

[43] Baldwin, 'The King's Council', pp. 140-1.
[44] *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 264.

Table 6.2 - Household Knights Witnessing Royal Charters, 1330-1340:

Year:	**1331**	**1332**	**1333**	**1334**	**1335**	**1336**	**1337**	**1338**	**1339**	**1340**
Total Charters:	89	55	45	50	80	64	82	47	14	49
Witnesses (figs given as % of total)										
Edward Bohun		1.8								
William Clinton	6.7	3.6	8.9	18.0	6.3	18.8	9.8	36.2	28.6	49.0
John Darcy 'le pere' (s.1336-40)						1.6	62.2	57.4	7.1	69.4
Henry Ferrers (ch.1336-40)							39.0	72.3		38.8
William Montagu	38.2	70.9	66.7	76.0	62.5	68.8	37.8	12.8		14.3
Ralph Neville (s.1331-36)	98.9	96.4	100	96.0	100	21.9				
Ralph Stafford								4.3	7.1	12.2
Gilbert Talbot (ch. 1327-35)	5.6	3.6	2.2		8.8					
John Ufford	2.2									
Robert Ufford (s.1336)	4.5			4.0	11.3	73.4	39.0			2.0

Sources: The original charter rolls can be found at TNA, C53/118-128. The table here has been produced from Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', pp. 63-7, supplemented by a handwritten guide of all those witnessing royal charters from 1327-60, kept with the Calendar of Charter Rolls in the Map and Large Document Reading Room at TNA.

Note: Shaded areas represent the years in which an individual was *not* retained as a household knight; s. denotes steward, ch. the chamberlain.

Edward's minority, with nine such men doing so in these three years, compared to just three others for the whole of the fourteenth century. This, suggests Given-Wilson, was most likely a result of the influence of Roger Mortimer, to whom the majority witnesses below the baronage between 1327 and 1330 had connections.[45] Nevertheless, a small number of household knights did have a strong presence as witnesses in these years. Of particular importance were the stewards and chamberlains of the household.[46] Those who served in either capacity featured with great regularity as charter witnesses in these years, and it was common for these individuals to witness a far greater number of charters during their time in office than they did before or after. Robert Ufford witnessed just sixteen out of a total 319 charters (5 percent) in the five years preceding his appointment, compared to ninety-nine of 146 (69 percent) in his two-year spell as steward. Not all of the household knights who witnessed charters during this time held formal household office. In 1335, in addition to the steward Ralph Neville and the chamberlain Gilbert Talbot, three other household knights, William Clinton, William Montagu and Robert Ufford were all recorded as

[45] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', pp. 51-2.
[46] Ibid., pp. 45-9.

charter witnesses. This meant that only three of the eight men retained at the level of household banneret in that year did not witness the sealing of a royal charter, figures typical for this decade.

In addition to their presence at the sealing of royal charters, parliamentary attendance amongst household knights also increased over the 1330s. By the fourteenth century, parliament had become England's principal political forum, in which discussion amongst the nobility and gentry could take place, thanks largely to its control of taxation.[47] As such, filling its ranks with men who were sympathetic to the royal cause represented a potential way in which kings could reconcile the will of parliament to their own agendas. As Gwilym Dodd has shown, there was an awareness by both Richard II and Henry IV that 'it was possible to "mould" the lower house to make life for the crown as comfortable as possible' by manipulating elections to get their retainers returned. Thus, by September 1397 there were 'no fewer than twenty-six fee'd royal retainers [i.e. king's knights and king's esquires] in parliament', though this was, in part, a result of Richard's extensive recruitment into his affinity at this time, rather than a deliberate policy to pack parliament.[48] By comparison, very few of Edward's royal knights were returned as MPs, suggesting that such a policy was not one he followed. Between 1331 and 1341, only Norman Darcy (Lincolnshire, 1335 and 1336) and Thomas Saunford (Middlesex, 1340) were returned to parliament as knights of the shire.[49] Moreover, this figure stands at just fourteen knights for the reign as a whole. Edward's reason for not following such a policy is not hard to guess: to do so would have exposed him to the unnecessary risk of offending the gentry in each locality, something which was not worth the effort given that, compared to the final years of Richard II's reign and

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[47] For more on parliament in the fourteenth century, see H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (London, 1981); J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England* (London, 1981-83), 3 vols.; *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.G. Davies and J.H. Denton (Manchester, 1981); R. Butt, *A History of Parliament: The Middle Ages* (London, 1989), pp. 231-354; G. Dodd, 'Crown, Magnates and Gentry: The English Parliament, 1369-1421' (unpublished D.Phil. Thesis: University of York, 1998); Dodd, *Justice and Grace*; G. Dodd, 'Historians of the Late Medieval English Parliament', *History Compass*, 12 (2014), 473-88; C. Fletcher, 'Political Representation', in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500*, ed. C. Fletcher, J-P. Genet and J. Watts (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 217-39.

[48] G. Dodd, 'Richard II and the Transformation of Parliament', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. G. Dodd (Stroud, 2000), pp. 77-8; Dodd, 'Crown, Magnates and Gentry', pp. 108-19, quotation p. 114. See also ibid., appendix 1, pp. 272-318.

[49] *Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of Parliament… 1213-1874* (Parliamentary Papers: London, 1878), i, pp. 109, 112, 131.

the early years of Henry IV's, he was relatively secure in his position. Indeed, the contemporary response to Richard's meddling in parliamentary elections was severe: item nineteen of the 'Record and Process', which detailed the reasons for Richard's deposition, accused Richard of having sent orders to his sheriffs 'ordering them to send to parliament as knights of the shire men nominated by the king himself'.[50] In addition, the fact that the system of household knights was not yet as overtly politicalised as the later king's knights and esquires would be, for whom experience as an MP was in itself a useful qualification to possess prior to being retained, may also have had the effect of limiting the household retainers returned to parliament.

Edward showed a much greater willingness to populate the upper house of parliament, the Lords, with household knights. While the names of those receiving a personal summons to parliament was becoming increasingly standardised by the second quarter of the fourteenth century, it was nevertheless far easier for Edward to affect the composition of this house given that its attendees were still, in theory, summoned at his discretion.[51] There was certainly a precedent for this: Ruth Ingamells argued that 'there is considerable evidence to suggest that the loyalty of his household forces during the crisis of 1297 led Edward I to mobilize his household as a political force in 1300', summoning a great number of household knights to the tense parliament of March 1300 in order to provide a favourable voice amongst the peerage who were generally frustrated by the poor return for the high financial cost of the English war effort in these years.[52] While Edward I sought to create a powerful block at a single parliament, Edward III appears to have viewed membership of the Lords as a more routine part of political service for his household knights. Forty-six of the eighty-one men retained as a household banneret by Edward (57 percent) were summoned to parliament at some point during their service, a statistic which does not account for

[50] *Chronicles of the Revolution: The Reign of Richard II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Manchester, 1993), p. 178.
[51] J.E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages: A History of the English House of Lords to 1540* (London, 1968), pp. 303-362.
[52] R.L. Ingamells, 'The Political Role of the Household Knights of Edward I', *Thirteenth Century England V: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1993*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 29-35, quotation at p. 35.

Table 6.3 - Household Knights Summoned to Parliament and Great Councils, 1330-1341:

Year	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341
Total Parliaments (and Councils)	1	4	0	2	1 (1)	2	2 (2)	1 (2)	2	3 (1)	1 (1)
Household Knights Summoned:											
William Clinton	1	4		2	1 (1)	2	1 (0)				
John Darcy 'le pere' (s.1336-40)				2			2 (2)				
John Faucomberge									1		
Henry Ferrers (ch.1336-40)								1 (0)	1		
William Montagu	1	4		2	1 (1)	2	1 (0)				
Ralph Neville (s.1331-36)	1	4		2							
Thomas Poynings							1 (0)				
Ralph Stafford (s.1341-45)										2 (0)	1 (0)
Gilbert Talbot (ch.1327-35)		4		2	1 (0)						
Robert Ufford (s.1336)		3		2	1 (1)	2	1 (0)				

Source: W. Dugdale, *A Perfect Copy of All Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this Realm etc.* (London, 1685).

Note: Shaded areas represent the years in which an individual was *not* retained as a household knight;
s. denotes steward, ch. the chamberlain; a great council differed from a parliament in that it did not

the fact that of these eighty-one bannerets seven were foreign knights – holding no lands in England – and thus ineligible. Excluding these men takes the total of eligible household knights to 62 percent. Summons amongst household bannerets were particularly high during the 1330s (Table 6.3). In 1330, eight men were summoned to parliament for the first time, of whom five were bannerets of the household.[53] In 1334, meanwhile, seven of the ten serving household bannerets (70 percent) were summoned, a typical percentage for this time. Admittedly, in terms of the overall size of the Lords, the household bannerets would have only accounted for a small minority, and so cannot be thought of as a numerically powerful block within parliament.[54] Even so, the favourable voice these men lent the king in Parliament would have been valuable.

That said, it would be wrong to assume that the household knights were simply 'yes men', summoned to acquiesce without hesitation to the king's demands. Despite his decade of household service between 1327 and 1337, William Clinton was one of the king's chief political opponents at the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41.[55] Nevertheless, there are a number of factors which suggest

[53] Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp. 312-4.
[54] For a similar argument, see W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 156-7.
[55] Below, pp. 206-7.

that these men would have been favourable to the king in parliament, and that their presence was, at least in part, a direct result of their household membership. First, while many household knights were probably summoned as a reward for the service they had offered the crown, it would have been illogical for Edward to have continued to summon these men if they could not be relied upon to repay this with a semblance of allegiance to the king. This point is substantiated by the personal backgrounds of these household knights. Of the forty-six household knights summoned, nineteen (41 percent) were members of what James Bothwell has termed the 'new nobility', that is, a group of fifty-nine men who were the first members of their family to receive a parliamentary summons. This is important, for the degree to which these men were reliant on the king for their careers prior to their summons, as well as for possible future progression, may well have influenced the way in which they acted in parliament – certainly Bothwell has argued that a key aspect of Edward's patronage of these 'new men' was to create a block of reliable political allies at the centre of government.[56] Moreover, of the nineteen 'new men' to serve in both the household and the Lords, all were retained as household knights prior to receiving their first summons, suggesting that, rather than retaining established peers of the realm, Edward was instead promoting men whose careers were largely made in household service to the peerage. Finally, it is also important to note that the vast majority of household knights summoned to parliament for the first time under Edward III were not members of the baronage. Although there was no formal qualification for membership of the peerage in the fourteenth century, holding a barony has often been taken as the minimum requirement – only about thirty bannerets were summoned to parliament under Edward III.[57] Chris Given-Wilson has rightly argued that these 'bannerets of parliament' were 'regarded as slightly inferior to the barons' and were often summoned as a result of the distinguished military

[56] J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004); J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth–Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), pp. 1124-7.

[57] Powell and Wallis, *The House of Lords*, pp. 349-51; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 268-9; Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, pp. 55-62; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 16-22.

service.[58] That nineteen of these men (roughly two-thirds) saw household service before their entry to the peerage, however, also suggests that a special privilege was afforded to the bannerets of the king's household to sit in the lords.

The presence of household knights in parliament fell dramatically between 1337 and 1339. Principally, this was because in March that year four of Edward's household bannerets were raised to earldoms and consequently left the household. William Montagu became earl of Salisbury, William Clinton earl of Huntingdon, William Bohun earl of Northampton and Robert Ufford earl of Suffolk. This left only two bannerets in the household: Henry Ferrers, the chamberlain, and John Darcy 'le pere', the steward. Between 1339 and 1341, however, as a result of the intensifying war effort with France, eleven new household bannerets were recruited, many of whom were promoted from within the ranks of the household. These men largely came to replace Montagu, Clinton, Bohun and Ufford as the king's most intimate household confidants. Indeed, between the summer of 1338 and early 1340, Edward spent eighteen months based in the Low Counties, primarily Flanders and the Netherlands, as he attempted to rally support for his war against France. During this time, it was the household knights who were his most intimate companions, advising him on a daily basis and providing valuable military counsel.[59] The policies that these men pursued in the Low Countries at this time, however, did not sit well with the home government, set up to govern England in the king's absence, and the household knights had an interesting role to play in the ensuing parliamentary crisis.

The political landscape was particularly tense in 1340, by which time Edward had accumulated debts of over £300,000 in the pursuit of an alliance against the king of France.[60] These tensions came to a head in February 1340 when Edward and a few close companions left Bruges for England with the intention of securing better funding for the war effort.[61] Though the king

[58] Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility*, p. 61.
[59] For more, see Tout, *Chapters*, iii, pp. 89-90, 121.
[60] G.L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 231-52.
[61] Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 218-9, 228-9; Tout, *Chapters*, iii, p. 112.

was able to secure promise of further grants, he was forced to return to England once more at the end at the year. On this occasion, he had to slip away from his debtors on the continent under the cover of darkness accompanied by just a handful of his closest advisors, including the household knights John Darcy 'le fitz' (the son of John Darcy 'le pere', the steward), Reginald Cobham, Walter Mauny, and John and Giles Beauchamp.[62] Once back in England, the king ordered a far-reaching purge of the government, with numerous officials removed from the chancery and the exchequer.[63] In addition, on 10 December, commissions of oyer and terminer, consisting of roughly four to five men, were sent into each county to enquire into alleged abuses by the king's agents there. The importance of these commissions is attested to by the inclusion of five earls within them, who rarely served in such a capacity. Interestingly, these commissions were also heavily populated with household knights. Of the twenty-seven counties of England, fifteen saw household knights included.[64] Of those that did not, the majority – Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland – were north of the Trent. The only counties south of the Trent not to be served by a household knight were Kent, Sussex, Hampshire and Wiltshire, a single administrative unit whose commission was led by the earl of Oxford, as well as Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Given that the reason for these commissions was that Edward perceived the home administration as guilty of incompetence in the eradication of local corruption, it is telling that he chose to rely largely on his household knights to rectify it. Clearly by 1340 Edward saw his household knights as an especially competent group of men who could be relied upon to take a central role in the governance of England when the normal structures of government failed him.

The importance that Edward placed on the household knights' ability to help him rule manifested itself further during the months which followed as the king entered into a bitter

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[62] Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 116-17; *Foedera* (Record Edition), ii, pt. 2, p. 1141; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 231.
[63] N. Fryde, 'Edward III's Removal of his Minister's and Judges', *BIHR*, 48 (1975), 149-61.
[64] *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 111-13.

standoff with John Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had established himself as the focal point for those discontented with Edward's recent policies.[65] Ralph Stafford, who had entered household service the year before, was sent on numerous occasions to harass Stratford at Canterbury, demanding he come to London to answer directly to the king. When Stratford did eventually agree to come to London to attend parliament in April 1341, he found his entry to the Painted Chamber of Westminster Palace blocked by Stafford, who was now the steward of the household, and John Darcy 'le pere', who had recently been made chamberlain.[66] Edward's use of Stafford and Darcy to prevent Stratford from entering parliament was a grave political miscalculation. While the offices these men held in the household gave them a presence on the national stage, neither held any hereditary right to sit in the upper house of parliament, and thus their prevention of an established peer entering parliament was a major affront to the dignity of Stratford and indeed the peerage as a whole. Incited by this act, and the presence of a number of additional household bannerets who were already seated in the Painted Chamber, the earl of Surrey is reported to have exclaimed that there were those 'not worthy to sit in parliament' amongst them.[67] In the end, the 'household servants' whose presence was the subject of complaint agreed to leave the Painted Chamber, and the intervention of the earl of Surrey convinced Edward to admit Stratford to parliament and on 3 May 1341 Stratford formally submitted to Edward.[68] While there were, therefore, few long-term political ramifications to result from this ordeal, the episode revealed a great deal about the acceptable place of the household knights in national politics. Though household bannerets were clearly permitted to sit in parliament despite not being members of the baronage, this could become a sore point at times of political crisis.

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[65] For more, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 234-5. See also Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance*, pp. 270-312; R.M. Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the Church, c.1275/80-1348* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 283-93; E.B Fryde, 'Parliament and the French War, 1336-40', in *Historical Studies of the English Parliament*, ed. E.B. Fryde and E Miller (Cambridge, 1970), i, pp. 242-61.

[66] *Chroniques de London*, ed. G.J. Aunguer (Camden Society, Original Series, XXVIII: London, 1844), p. 90. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 176.

[67] *Chroniques de London*, p. 90; Tout, *Chapters*, iii, p. 131; B. Wilkinson, 'The Protests of the Earls of Arundel and Surrey in the Crisis of 1341', *EHR*, 46 (1931), 177-93.

[68] *Chroniques de London*, p. 90.

6.3 Political Stability and Court Culture, c.1341-1360

Fortunately for the political community of England, Edward heeded the warnings of 1340-41. While household knights were by no means removed from the national political stage altogether after this date, the emphasis Edward placed on their counsel was far more reserved than it had been in the late 1330s. Aside from the stewards and chamberlains, very few household knights were recorded as witnesses to royal charters after 1341 (Table 6.4). Similarly, although the great council of April 1342 saw fourteen household knights summoned, the highest of any great council or parliament during Edward's reign, these figures – most likely a show of strength in the wake of the previous year's crisis – were never again repeated. It was not until 1348 that the household knights were summoned to parliament as peers in any great numbers, and all those who were summoned thereafter had distinguished themselves in the military successes of the mid-1340s and so their presence caused no stir (Table 6.5). This highlights well Edward's political astuteness.

One area in which the household knights remained central, however, was at court. The importance of court culture during the reign of Edward III, and the household knights' place within it, is already well recognised. Malcolm Vale recently remarked that by Edward III's reign household knights had become 'increasingly essential to the stability of English political society', and that, for better or worse, the prominence these men enjoyed at court meant that they were able to exert a powerful influence over policies.[69] Of particular importance within the wider remit of courtly culture was the tournament – 'the public manifestation of the chivalry of Edward III and his court.'[70] The precise form of the fourteenth-century tournament is difficult to establish. In

[69] M. Vale, 'Courts', in *Government and Political Life*, ed. Fletcher, Genet and Watts, quotation at p. 34. See also, J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 42-92; M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 15-33; J.W. Sherborne, 'Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 1-28; R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013), pp. 77-89; N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London, 2011), pp. 103-14; M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 47-54.
[70] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 57.

Table 6.4 - Household Knights Witnessing Royal Charters, 1341-1359:

Year:	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360
Total Charters	24	16	28	28	10	24	28	47	10	13	10	9	19	21	12	17	8	8	11	12
Witnesses (figs given as % of total)																				
Guy Brian (s.1359-61)														4.8	8.3	52.9	37.5	75.0	63.6	100
John Beauchamp of Warwick													5.3	4.8				12.5	18.2	
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder (ch.1347-55)			7.1			4.2	3.6	19.1	50.0	23.0	10.0	66.7	57.9	47.4						
John Charlton (ch.1355-60)																23.5		12.5	36.4	8.3
John Darcy 'le pere' (ch.1340-46)	4.2	12.5	3.6	3.6		8.3														
John Grey of Rotherfield (s.1349-59)									20.0	92.3	100	100	100	95.2	100	100	100	100	63.6	
William Latimer																			9.1	
Roger Mortimer											10.0		5.3	38.1	91.7	88.2	62.5	25.0	81.8	
Geoffrey de Say									10.0						8.3	35.3				
Ralph Stafford (s.1341-45)	95.9	93.8	100	96.4	30.0															
Richard Talbot (s.1345-49)					60.0	70.8	57.1	100				22.2								

Sources: The original charter rolls can be found at TNA, C53/129-144. The table here has been produced from Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', pp. 65-70 supplemented where necessary by a handwritten guide of all those witnessing royal charters from 1327-60, kept with the Calendar of Charter Rolls in the Map and Large Document Reading Room at TNA.

Note: Shaded areas represent the years in which an individual was *not* retained as a household knight; s. denotes steward, ch. the chamberlain.

Table 6.5 - Household Knights Summoned to Parliament and Great Councils, 1342-1360:

Year:	1342	1343	1344	1346	1347	1348	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1357	1358	1359	1360
Total Parliaments (and Councils)	0 (3)	1	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (1)	2	1	1 (1)	0 (1)	1	1	1	1 (1)	0 (1)	0 (1)
Household Knights Summoned:															
John Beauchamp of Warwick							1				1	1	1 (1)		
Thomas Bradeston	0 (1)				0 (1)	2									
Guy Brian							1	1 (1)	0 (1)	1	1	1	1 (1)		
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder (ch.1346-51)	0 (1)		1 (0)			2	1	1 (1)	0 (1)	1					
John Cobham							1	1 (1)	0 (1)	1	1	1	1 (1)		
Reginald Cobham	0 (1)					2									
John Darcy 'le pere' (ch.1341-46)	0 (1)														
John Grey of Rotherfield (s.1349-59)							1	1 (1)	0 (1)	1	1	1	1 (1)		
Walter Mauny						2									
Geoffrey de Say									0 (1)	1					
Ralph Stafford (s.1341-45)	0 (1)	1	1 (0)			2	1								
John Stirling	0 (1)														
Richard Talbot (s.1345-48)						2									
William la Zouche								0 (1)	0 (1)	1	1	1	1 (1)		

Source: Dugdale, *A Perfect Copy of All Summons.*

Note: Shaded areas represent the years in which an individual was *not* retained as a household knight; s. denotes steward, ch. the chamberlain.

essence, it appears to have involved a general melee between two 'teams' in a small enclosure, a mid-way point in the transition from the vast mock-battles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which men such as William Marshal made their names, to the increasingly formal jousts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[71] If the precise form of these occasions is debatable, their political utility is clear. Juliet Barker, has offered a particularly useful discussion in this area, demonstrating that while under Edward II tournaments were often repressed as they were thought to provide meeting points for disaffected nobles, under Edward III they were actively encouraged as occasions on which an *esprit de corps* could be fostered amongst the nobility.[72] Edward's contemporaries certainly recognised the significance of such occasions, with the author of the St Albans Chronicle suggesting that Philip IV of France was forced to found the Order of the Star in 1351 in a bid to discourage Europe's most prominent knights seeking out Edward's court and tournaments in order to win renown, thought it was likely that an idea for such an order had been

[71] For more on this, see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 57-75; J. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), esp. pp. 1-16; M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 200-18.
[72] Barker, *The Tournament in Medieval England*, pp. 45-69. For similar positions, see Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 67-96; Sherborne, 'Aspects of English Court Culture', pp. 6-8, 15-16; and M. Keen, 'Chivalry and Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles*, ed. Given-Wilson, Kettle and Scales, pp. 250-66.

fermenting since the mid-1340s following the French defeats at Crécy and Calais.[73] Moreover, it has been argued that the display of chivalric credentials on such occasions was an important element of 'good kingship' at this time, and allowed Edward to promote himself as the foremost chivalric ruler in Europe.[74]

That household knights occupied a special place in tournaments during the medieval period is beyond doubt: Juliet Vale has contended that it was the household knights who regularly constituted the king's team at tournaments, while Juliet Barker portrayed them as a distinct and close-knit tournament community.[75] The evidence to support this is plentiful. Thomas Gray reported in his *Scalacronica* that William Montagu and the king led a 'jolly life' together in the 1330s, regularly engaging in 'jousts and tournaments, and feasting [with] ladies'.[76] At the Dunstable tournament in January 1334, meanwhile, eighty-nine of the 134 competitors had household connections.[77] Likewise, at a tournament in Northampton in 1342, eight of Edward's 'chamber knights' were recorded in attendance.[78] A list of robes provided for a tournament at Lichfield in April 1348 also records that robes of blue and white were provided for many of Edward's household knights, while Thomas Bradeston was afforded a further honour as Edward chose to fight displaying Bradeston's arms, a sign of their close association.[79] On a lesser, if still revealing, scale, Thomas Wake of Blisworth, a long-serving if otherwise relatively unknown household knight, was appointed the king's chief falconer on 15 May 1343 and tasked with caring for the king's much beloved hunting birds, a responsibility that passed to a similarly long-serving

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[73] *Chronicon a Monarcho Sancti Albani*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1874), p. 17. Similar praise can be found in Geoffrey le Baker, p. 88.
[74] M. Keen, 'Chivalry and Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in *War, Government and Aristocracy*, ed. Given-Wilson, Kettle and Scales, pp. 265-6; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 93; Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, p. 101; T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 164-8, 193-9.
[75] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 2; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, pp. 25-6, 135-6. See also Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, p. 73.
[76] Gray, *Scalacronica*, pp. 106-7.
[77] For a tentative list of tournaments in the reign of Edward III, see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, appendix 12, pp. 172-4. For the Woodstock tournament, see TNA, E361/2, m. 13r; BL Cotton MS. Galba E. III, f. 183r. For the Dunstable tournament see 'Roll of Arms of the Knights at the Tournament at Dunstable in 7 Edward III', *Collectanea, Topographica et Genealogica*, 4 (London, 1837), pp. 389-95; TNA, E361/2, mm. 11v, 13r; and Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, p. 73.
[78] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 173; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 124; TNA, E101/389/14.
[79] TNA, E101/391/15, mm. 6-7; Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 86.

household knight Giles Beauchamp in 1346.[80] Finally, in 1344 Edward endeavoured to establish a so-called 'Round Table' at Windsor in a bid emulate the mythical round table of King Arthur, an occasion on which three hundred knights from all around Europe were gathered for four days of feasting and tournaments and for which robes were distributed to over two-hundred members of the king's household, including his household knights.[81]

The household knights' centrality to court culture under Edward III, and in particular the tournament, was thus plain. This took on a new significance in the late 1340s, when the Order of the Garter was established at Windsor castle, primarily intended to commemorate the victories which had been achieved in the war with France since 1346.[82]A great deal of scholarly attention has been given to the identities of the Order's founding members.[83] Of particular significance appears to have been participation in the battle of Crécy in 1346. Indeed, all but two of the initial twenty-four Garter knights are known to have been present at the battle, the vast majority of whom served in the king's own division.[84] Similarly, many of the founding members could also boast much broader military careers, extending back to the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, if not earlier. There also appears to have been some political consideration in the choice of founding members. A number of England's most notable magnates were, for instance, included, while a number of Edward's former political opponents, such as the earls of Huntingdon (William

[80] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 29; *CPR 1345-48*, p. 60. For the importance of hunting to the royal image, and in particular hunting with falcons, see N. Murphy, *The Captivity of John II, 1356-1360: The Royal Image in Later Medieval England and France* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 30-1.

[81] Edward's Round Table is discussed in Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 133-6, 231-2; Jean le Bel, pp. 153-4; and J. Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. G. Brereton (London, 1978), pp. 66-8, though Froissart wrongly believes the occasion to mark the founding of the Order of the Garter. For more on the occasion, see *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. J. Munby, R. Barber and R. Brown (Woodbridge, 2007). See also TNA, E101/390/5.

[82] There is some confusion over the precise date of the Order's founding, stemming primarily from the fact that Jean Froissart attributes it to the round table of 1344. For more on this, see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 77-86. For more on the foundation of the Order, see ibid., pp. 76-91; H.E.L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 1-33; D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (2nd edn.: Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 96-124; Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 293-339; and Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, pp. 102-10; McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, pp. 251-2; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 304-5.

[83] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 86-94; Collins, *The Order of the Garter*, pp. 34-85; Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 301-9; Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 126-38.

[84] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, appendix 14, pp. 176-7.

Table 6.6 – Founder Knights of the Order of the Garter and time spent in the Royal Household:

Founder Knight	*Known time in Household*
Henry Grosmont, earl of Lancaster	
Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick	
Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch	
William Montagu, earl of Salisbury	
Roger Mortimer	1353
Ralph Stafford	c.1341-47*
John Lisle of Rougemont	1338-47*
Bartholomew Burghersh the younger	c.1341-45*
John Beauchamp of Warwick	1338-60*
John de Mohun	
Hugh Courtenay	1346-47*
Thomas Holland	1338-47*
John Grey of Rotherfield	1349-59
Richard Fitzsimon	
Miles Stapleton	1346-47; 1359-60*
Thomas Wale	
Hugh Wrottesley	1359-60
Nigel Loryng	1340-47*
John Chandos	1359-60
James Audley	
Otho Holland	1342-47*
Henry Eam	
Sanchet d'Abrichecourt	
Walter Paveley	

Source: Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, appendix 14, pp. 176-7; Collins, *The Order of the Garter*, pp. 288-95.
Note: * denotes that this individual served as a household knights before entering the Order.

Clinton) and Arundel, were not.[85] One qualification that has received little emphasis thus far, however, is household status.[86] Indeed, of the initial twenty-four members, no fewer than nine were household knights at the time of its founding, or had been within the last few years, while a further four went on to enter household service within ten years of its establishment (Table 6.6). This is made all the more impressive given that these men, many of whom came from humble backgrounds, were in the company the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Salisbury and March. The preference for honouring members of the royal household with membership of the Garter continued throughout the 1350s, as replacement members were needed upon the deaths of

[85] Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 89-90; Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 304-6.
[86] Such a link has not been entirely overlook, but only minor significance has yet been placed in it. See Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 88; Collins, *The Order of the Garter*, pp. 48-9; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 304.

founding ones. The first replacement appointment to the Order was William Fitzwarin, a long-serving household knight.[87] Similarly, Reginald Cobham was inducted in 1352, Richard la Vache in 1356, Thomas Ughtred in 1358, Walter Mauny in 1359 and Guy Brian in 1370. Overall, five of the eight knights to enter the Order between 1348 and 1360 had strong histories of household service, suggesting that household knights were specifically favoured by Edward for membership of the Garter.

It must be conceded that all the household knights chosen for membership of the Order of the Garter, with their long history of military service and political support, met many of the other criteria traditionally given in established historiography. Moreover, a number of household knights also met many of the criteria for membership but never received the honour. Both Thomas Bradeston and Robert Ferrers were, for instance, household knights from at least 1330-47, and both were present at Crécy, yet neither ever became Garter knights. Nevertheless, that the majority of household knights who did enter the Order had long household careers to boast of, and had built their careers and reputations off the back of this, is important. Nigel Lorying, for instance, was of an unremarkable Bedfordshire family, but had attracted Edward's eye at the age of twenty-five during the battle of Sluys, in the immediate aftermath of which he was knighted and recruited into the royal household.[88] John Beauchamp of Warwick, meanwhile, was the third son of Guy Beauchamp, a younger brother of Thomas Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick. He first entered the household in 1338, after which he accompanied Edward on the majority of his military expeditions, and was elevated to the rank of knight banneret on the day of the battle of Crécy, at which he also bore the king's standard.[89] The inclusion of these men, who had risen to prominence almost exclusively as a result of the military service they offered during their time in the royal household, offers further evidence to suggest that household status played a crucial part in the selection of

[87] Collins, *The Order of the Garter*, pp. 289-90.
[88] G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter from its Foundation to the Present Time* (London, 1841), pp. 65-7.
[89] Ibid., pp. 47-8; J.S. Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d.1360)', *Medieval Prosopography*, 24 (2003), 247-66.

these men as knights of the Garter, the culmination of the impressive place they occupied in the courtly chivalry of Edward's reign.

6.4 Chamber Knights and Politics, c.1360-1377

The final two decades of Edward III's reign witnessed a marked departure from the political consensus, military glory and courtly opulence which had characterised English history since the early 1340s. The treaty of Brétigny (1360) ushered in an uneventful decade during which Edward was primarily focussed on cementing his dynastic legacy. Renewal of the war with France in 1369, meanwhile, marked entry into a more turbulent period in which the English suffered devastating military losses in Normandy, Brittany and Gascony, and in which Edward, who turned sixty in 1372, became increasingly introverted. Ascertaining the place of the chamber knights within the political narrative of these two decades is not straightforward. Primarily, this stems from the fact that the men who were retained as chamber knights were only of the lowest rank of knighthood, 'knights bachelor', and were thus only able to play a restricted part on the national stage compared to the earlier household bannerets. No chamber knight other than those serving as steward and chamberlain, for example, witnessed a royal charter after 1362. Similarly, no chamber knight outside those holding formal household office was summoned to parliament in these years and only two were returned as MPs, although five men who had served as household knights in 1359-60 were returned to the Commons during this time.[90]

In this respect, the move to a chamber knight system appears to have been a degrading the importance of the royal knight. Nevertheless, as the significance of the royal chamber grew during the 1370s in line with Edward's increasing domesticity and personal seclusion, the knights associated with the chamber enjoyed a corresponding growth in stature, leading to their

[90] Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists', pp. 71-3; Dugdale, *A Perfect Copy of All Summons*.

establishment as the single most important group at court.[91] This was particularly true of men such as Peter de Breux, who had first entered the household in 1346 and was thus nearing thirty years in service by 1370, and whose company would have been greatly valued by the king. One sign of the prominence of the chamber knights as a political grouping at court is afforded by the funeral of Queen Philippa in January 1370, for which robes were distributed to some 635 men and women of the king's household, and those of the other members of the royal family. Edward's chamber knights, identified as a specific group within the robes list, were issued matching outfits for the occasion only surpassed in grandeur by those given to members of the royalty or titled nobility.[92]

The powerful block that built up around the king in these years, led by the king's mistress Alice Perrers, along with household officials such as William Latimer and Richard Neville, a small number of wealthy merchants, and the chamber knights, led to political unease. This was only exacerbated by the increasingly poor fortunes the English enjoyed in the war with France at this time.[93] Tensions came to a head at the so-called 'Good Parliament', which met at Westminster on 28 April 1376, to which no serving or past royal knights were returned as MPs. It opened with a request on the king's behalf for a grant of taxation to help finance the war with France, after which the upper and lower houses separated to discuss matters amongst themselves. After nearly a month of deliberation, during which the chamber knights, most notably Richard Stury, acted as messengers between the Lords, Commons and king, the newly-appoint Speaker of the Commons, Peter de la Mare, asserted that he and the other Commons were unwilling to proceed any further with parliamentary business until the 'evil councillors' surrounding the king who 'always scoff and mock and work for their own profit' had been removed.[94] Formal proceedings were then initiated against Richard Lyons, William Latimer, William Ellis, John Pecce, John Neville, Alice Perrers and

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[91] For more on chamber knights at court, see Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 118-94, esp. pp. 154, 160-67; Tout, *Chapters*, iii, pp. 288-90; and G.L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005), p. 433.
[92] TNA, E101/395/2, no. 236. See also Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 448.
[93] For more, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 524-44; G. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 7-90. For more on Alice Perrers, see L. Tompkins, 'The Uncrowned Queen: Alice Perrers, Edward III and Political Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England, 1360-1377' (unpublished PhD Thesis: University of St Andrews, 2013).
[94] Quotations from *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1330-1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), pp. 79-80, 90. See also *PROME*, April 1376, m. 1, items 1-8; Holmes, *The Good Parliament*, pp. 100-1.

Adam Bury.[95] Each was accused of various offences, including deliberately misleading the king, abusing their position at court for personal profit and, in the case of Latimer, for acting treasonably in the war with France.[96] All were banished from court, and those holding government offices were removed from their posts.

What is of interest here, however, is that Edward's five serving chamber knights – Peter de Breux, Alan Buxhull, John Staunton, Richard Stury and Philip la Vache – were not the subject of great complaint for their place in the court factionalism that had plagued the preceding years. This is not to say that household men were entirely absent; some of the main targets of the Good Parliament had a prolonged history with the household. William Latimer was, for instance, a household knight from at least 1353-60, and by 1376 had been steward and subsequently chamberlain of the household for nearly a decade. John Neville, meanwhile, served as steward from 1371-76 and John Pecche as a household knight from 1353-60. Likewise, Richard Stury, a long-time courtier and chamber knight, fell foul of the Commons for allegedly passing false information between them and the king during the weeks of deliberation.[97] The late fifteenth century Fabyan chronicle, meanwhile, named Stury as one of the principal targets of the Good Parliament, asserting that it was by his 'councils and sinister means the king was misguided and the rule of the land misordered', though this is not repeated by any fourteenth-century sources.[98] Even so, that nothing explicit was said of the household status of these men suggests it was probably of little consequence. Further, no contemporary chronicle makes any reference to either Peter de Breux, Alan Buxhull, John Staunton or Philip la Vache for their part in proceedings. What this suggests is that, despite the proximity of the chamber knights to the courtly circle so relentlessly attacked by the Good Parliament, the chamber knights were not, in themselves, a source of discontent. Indeed, all five of the chamber knights retained in 1376, including Stury,

[95] *PROME*, April 1376, mm. 3-8.
[96] For the charges against these individuals, see ibid. See also T. Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS: London, 1874), pp. 76-86.
[97] *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 87; *Anonimalle Chronicle*, pp. 92, 182.
[98] R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), p. 486.

received household robes the following year, and Stury was even rewarded with the grant of the manor of Boldesore in Derbyshire in recompense of a 100 mark annuity he had recently given up.[99] The existence of an intimate group of chamber knights around the king at this time should not, therefore, be viewed as fundamentally incompatible with satisfactory royal government, as it has so often to be portrayed under Richard II, who saw twelve of his twenty-three chamber knights attacked by the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1387-88.[100] Instead, it was only those who abused their positions in the household or chamber who incurred the wrath of the wider political community at this time.

Conclusion

What emerges from this chapter is the consistency with which royal knights, in particular the bannerets of Edward's household, offered a source of political and governmental support to the king. During the divided household of the minority they supported the king's bid for majority rule. During the 1330s, meanwhile, they formed the core of the influential block of new men who entered the ranks of the peerage. Likewise, throughout Edward's reign they were the king's most active tournament companions, helping him cultivate an image of one of Europe's premier chivalric monarchs. It is admirable, however, just how well Edward used his household knights to complement the popular, informal, and consensual style of government he expertly cultivated.[101] Indeed, while there were inevitable miscalculations of the degree of reliance he could place on the influence of his royal knights at certain times, such as during the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41, on the whole Edward was able to integrate these men ably into the ideals of good kingship in the fourteenth century, and used them to strengthen his image as the ideal chivalric monarch of his

[99] *CPR, 1374-77*, p. 372.
[100] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 163.
[101] For the most recent assessments of Edward's kingship as a whole, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 577-603; Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, pp. 392-402.

age. As Mark Ormrod has commented, 'William Montagu never became a new Piers Gaveston or Hugh Despenser', whose tyrannical hold over Edward II caused such political strife.[102] While royal knights had the potential to be a disruptive political force, therefore, as Richard II's reign was to later show, it is clear from the reign of Edward III that when used with sensitivity to the opinion of the wider political community they offered an important source of political support for a king of later medieval England.

[102] Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 136-7.

7

In the Localities

How were Edward III's household knights used to govern England's localities? And to what extent did they represent a valuable means of extending royal influence into local political society? These are important questions to ask for, since the seminal work of K.B. McFarlane in the 1940s and 1950s called for a localised approach to the political history of later medieval England, a wealth of county-by-county case studies have established the centrality of local political society to our understanding of English history.[1] Previous attempts to gauge the place of royal knights within this have, however, been heavily polarised. As discussed in the Introduction, Chris Given-Wilson first suggested that the royal affinity was a useful mechanism through which royal influence could be extended into the far reaches of England under Richard II and Henry IV.[2] This has, however, been heavily criticised by Helen Castor and Alison Gundy, who instead contend that the king's knights and king's esquires of Richard II, Henry IV, V and VI destabilised local political society by riding roughshod over the dominance that each magnate expected to enjoy in their home county.[3] More recently, Given-Wilson has responded to this criticism, arguing that, though a 'doubled-edged sword', so long as the maintenance of a royal affinity was not extended so far as to encourage criticism of factionalism against the king, it was essential in providing 'the arteries by

[1] K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973).
[2] Above, pp. 8-11. Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 212-26. Given-Wilson ideas also found support in N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 265-9.
[3] H. Castor, 'The Duchy of Lancaster and the Rule of East Anglia, 1399-1440: Prologue to the Paston Letters', in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R.E. Archer (Stroud, 1995), pp. 53-79; idem., *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000); A.K. Gundy, 'The Earl of Warwick and the Royal Affinity in the Politics of the West Midlands', in *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 57-70; idem., *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge, 2013).

which governmental authority was explained, distributed and enforced', a position that has found support from Gwilym Dodd.[4]

This chapter will examine the place of Edward III's household knights in local politics in the mid-fourteenth century – an earlier period than has yet received attention – to establish the extent to which they were involved in local affairs at this time, the impact this had on Edward's ability to govern England's shires, and what this reveals for the wider historiographical debate in this area. First, the nature of local political society under Edward III will be considered to establish whether or not the involvement of royal knights in England's localities was, as Castor and Gundy contend, fundamentally incompatible with the wider dynamics of local power at this time, or whether, as Given-Wilson argues, it represented a potentially valuable mechanism for the extension of royal authority. Following this, patterns of local office holding amongst the household knights will be investigated, before an assessment is made of the 'informal influence' that these men offered the king across the country. What will become clear is that, although local political society under Edward III was broadly receptive of royal intervention through members of the knightly household, Edward was far less inclined than his successors to closely control local affairs via such means.

7.1 Local Political Society in the Reign of Edward III

Since McFarlane's work in the mid-twentieth century, a patchwork understanding of local political society in later medieval England has emerged from numerous case studies of individual counties or regions.[5] A great deal of interpretational diversity has emerged from these studies, a natural

[4] C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 424-38, quotation at p. 438; G. Dodd, 'Tyranny, Affinity and Locality: The Public and Private Authority of Richard II and Richard III' (forthcoming).
[5] See, for instance, C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); N. Saul, *Scenes from a Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986); E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicester in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992); M. Cherry, 'The Crown and Political Community in Devonshire, 1377-1461' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Wales, 1981); M. Cherry, 'The Struggle for Power in Mid-Fifteenth-century Devonshire', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester,

consequence of the fact that no individual county or region can be taken as fully representative of England as a whole. Opinion has predominantly fallen into two camps.[6] The first argues that 'vertical' ties of lordship between the nobility and gentry provided the fundamental binding agent of local society. Of particular influence here has been the work of Christine Carpenter. Most notably, her comprehensive study of landed society in fifteenth-century Warwickshire presented the Beauchamp earls of Warwick as the definitive focal point of county politics at the time, stressing in particular the importance of their personal affinities in the county's political makeup.[7] These conclusions have since been widely echoed for a number of other counties.[8] It is also important to note that it is predominantly this model that has been used to challenge the place of the royal affinity within local political society. Indeed, both Castor and Gundy adopted Carpenter's interpretational framework as the backdrop to their studies, arguing that the expectation that each lord had that he would dominate his primary areas of landed interests through his own, private affinity meant that the intervention of members of the royal affinity within this was most unwelcome.

The key to establishing the applicability of this model to political society to the reign of Edward III lies with the development of bastard feudalism. The term 'bastard feudalism', first coined by Charles Plummer in 1885,[9] essentially refers to the 'symbiotic arrangement' by which members of the nobility privately retained important members of the local gentry in their service, as part of their 'affinities', to convert their extensive landholdings and incomes in each county into tangible political influence.[10] Although the state of bastard feudalism in the fourteenth century has

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1981), pp. 123-44; M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983); P.R. Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and their World 1270-1370* (Oxford, 2010).

[6] For a useful overview of this debate, see G.L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 187-95.

[7] Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*. See also idem., 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study in Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR*, 140 (1980), 514-32.

[8] For example, Acheson, *A Gentry Community*; Cherry, 'The Crown and Political Community in Devonshire'.

[9] J. Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), pp. 15-16.

[10] Quotation from C. Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in England in the Fourteenth Century', in *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald*, ed. S. Boardman and J. Goodare (Edinburgh, 2014), p. 61. See also K.B. McFarlane, 'Parliament and Bastard Feudalism' and 'Bastard Feudalism', both in *England in the*

not yet been examined in any great detail, some useful work has been offered on its origins, which has tended to suggest that the phenomenon first appeared in the early fourteenth century.[11] Marc Morris, Alison Marshall and Caroline Burt have all identified the reigns of Edward I and, in particular, Edward II as the key years in which bastard feudalism began to take form, and noble affinities started to emerge in embryonic form.[12] Peter Coss, meanwhile, suggested that bastard-feudal style retaining arose even earlier than this, as part of the baronial response to Henry III's policies of government centralisation in the mid-thirteenth century, though few concur with this.[13]

While these historians are undoubtedly correct to see elements of bastard feudalism at work at this early stage, as Andrew Spencer has argued, the personal affinities that members of the nobility were retaining at the end of Edward I's reign were not yet extensive enough to have had a tangible influence on the dynamics of local political society.[14] Indeed, evidence would suggest that it was not until the final quarter of the fourteenth century at the earliest that bastard feudalism began to fundamentally shape local political society. Simon Walker, in his work on John of Gaunt's retinue, argued that it was not until Richard II's reign that Gaunt was able to retain widely enough to impose his own will in the localities.[15] A recent article on fourteenth-century bastard feudalism by Christine Carpenter, meanwhile, convincingly made the case that the 'social, political and governmental system for which bastard feudalism is shorthand… emerged in its full form only much later in the [fourteenth] century.'[16] In particular, Carpenter highlights the implementation of

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Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays, ed. G.L. Harriss (London, 1981), pp. 1-22, 23-44, as well as Harriss' introduction to the volume, pp. ix-xxvii; M. Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995).

[11] The only specific study is Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in the Fourteenth Century'. See also McFarlane, 'Parliament and Bastard Feudalism'; idem., 'Bastard Feudalism'.

[12] M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 68-72, 141-53; A. Marshall, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century Affinity: The Earl of Norfolk and his Followers', in *Fourteenth Century England V*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 1-12; C. Burt, 'A Bastard Feudal Affinity in the Making? The Followings of William and Guy Beauchamp, Earls of Warwick, 1268-1315', *Midland History*, 34 (2009), 156-80; C. Burt, 'Local Government in Warwickshire and Worcestershire under Edward II', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England: A Festschrift for Christine Carpenter*, ed. B. Thompson and J. Watts (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 55-73.

[13] P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 125 (1989), 27-64. For critical responses to Coss, see D. Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 131 (1991), 177-89; and D. Crouch, ibid., pp. 165-77.

[14] A. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England: The Earls and Edward I, 1272-1307* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 99-173, quotation at p. 135. Similar ideas have been offered in R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 14-32.

[15] S.K. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).

[16] Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in the Fourteenth Century', p. 75.

a permanent system of local law enforcement in each county during the 1360s and 1370s, headed by the newly empowered justices of the peace, as the point at which bastard feudalism was able to flourish.[17] It thus seems unlikely that bastard feudalism was, during Edward III's reign, sufficiently developed to produce a local political society informed primarily through mechanisms of 'vertical' lordship. Consequently, the concerns that Castor and Gundy have raised through this model regarding the place of royal knights in local political society would not appear to apply to Edward's reign.

If 'vertical' ties were not yet the prevailing force, how did local political society function under Edward III? A strong alternative to the 'vertical' model focussed on the 'horizontal' ties which existed between members of the county gentry has found much support. This theory suggests that it was ties of kinship, marriage, local office holding and mutual support in the protection of land rights that led to something of a gentry 'oligarchy' in each county or region. Helen Cam, one of the earliest to write on this, talked of an organism 'held together by proximity, local feeling, and above all common living traditions and responsibilities.'[18] Since Cam, support for a 'horizontal' approach to local politics at this time has emerged from studies of Gloucestershire, Sussex, the North West, Leicestershire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, and Essex, to name but a few, all of which present the personal and legal relationships which existed between members of the gentry as the crucial element in local political society at this time.[19]

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[17] For more on JPs, see B.H. Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace, 1327-1380', *TRHS*, 4th series, 12 (1929), 19-48; A. Verduyn, 'The Selection and Appointment of Justices of the Peace in 1338', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995); A. Verduyn, 'The Commons and the Early Justices of the Peace under Edward III', in *Regionalism and Revision: The Crown and its Provinces in England, 1200-1500*, ed. P. Fleming, A. Gross and J.R. Lander (London, 1998).

[18] H.M. Cam, 'The Community of the Shire and its Representatives in Parliament', in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, ed. H.M. Cam (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 245-7. See also S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford, 1997).

[19] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*; Saul, *Scenes from a Provincial Life*; Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism;* Acheson, *A Gentry Community*; S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: The Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991); A. King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-1408' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2001); P. Russell, 'Politics and Society in South Nottinghamshire, c.1327-1360' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 2008); J. Ward, 'The Essex Gentry and the County Community in the Fourteenth Century', *Studies in Essex History*, 2 (1991).

Important though these bonds were, powerful, if not uncontested, limits have been placed on their unifying strength. In particular Carpenter, by applying the theory of 'social network analysis' to England in the later Middle Ages, argued that many of the bonds often thought to have held local political society together should, in fact, be classed as weak under this sociological model.[20] Carpenter applied further pressure to the 'horizontal' model by suggesting that the idea of a 'county community', which many proponents of the 'horizontal' model argue acted as a binding force between members of the local gentry, was non-existent at this time.[21] In particular, Carpenter criticised Peter Coss for relying too heavily on the language of parliamentary petitions, which though make use of the term 'community' (*communalte*), did so only as a rhetorical device to lend the force of collective consent to these petitions.[22] Some response has been offered in this area which has significantly rebuilt the credentials of this approach. Simon Walker suggested that while a physical 'county community' fostered through regular face-to-face interactions may not have existed, a 'community of the mind' almost certainly developed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, based first on administrative ties, then local social networks, and finally came to constitute a self-aware political grouping by the 1430s.[23] Working specifically in relation to parliamentary petitions, meanwhile, Gwilym Dodd has accepted that while it is plausible that the wording of petitions simply emulated contemporary rhetoric, it does not deny the possibility that county sentiment was at work within them. Indeed, 'in many cases', contends Dodd, 'it is quite plausible to argue that county petitions were the result of local men thinking and acting precisely in these terms.'[24] To this, it is worth adding that a number of recent studies, mostly PhDs, have

[20] C. Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 340-80.
[21] Ibid., pp. 367-8. The idea of a 'county community' was first put forward in J.R. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS*, 5th series, 28 (1978), 27-43. See also R. Virgoe, 'Aspects of the County Community in the Fifteenth Century', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (London, 1990), pp. 1-13; P.R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 209-15.
[22] Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 367-8; Coss, *Origins of the English Gentry*, pp. 209-15.
[23] S. Walker, 'Communities of the County in Later Medieval England', in S. Walker, *Political Culture in Later Medieval England*, ed. M.J. Braddick (Manchester, 2006), pp. 68-80.
[24] G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 254-66.

continued to stress the primacy of 'horizontal' bonds in fourteenth-century local political society, despite Carpenter's arguments to the contrary.[25] Though by no means conclusive, then, it seems likely that 'horizontal' bonds were a prominent presence in local political society in fourteenth-century England.

What did the existence of these 'horizontal', gentry-led networks mean for the place of royal retaining in the localities of fourteenth-century England? The argument could be made that an entirely closed-off, gentry-led society would have deplored direct royal intervention in local affairs through the king's household knights in the same way the leaders of the influential fifteenth-century noble affinities apparently did (according to Castor and Gundy). Some of the early constitutional historians of Edward's reign certainly portrayed the devolution of administrative and judicial responsibility to the gentry during the central years of the fourteenth century as a sign that they were attempting to establish their independence from the crown.[26] However, great deal of work undertaken during the 1990s persuasively argued that central government still played a fundamental role in local administration in the mid-fourteenth century,[27] which might, by extension, lead us to conclude that royal intervention in the localities through household knights was not unpalatable to gentry communities at this time. The influential contributions of Mark Ormrod offered a compelling model which suggested that, while some jurisdictional responsibility moved to the localities under Edward III, this did not lead to autonomous county administrations because the king retained ultimate control over this devolved system.[28] Indeed, the picture Ormrod

[25] M. Arvanigian, 'The Nevilles and the Political Establishment in North-Eastern England, 1377-1413 (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 1998); M. Arvanigian, 'A County Community or the Politics of the Nation? Border Service and Baronial Influence in the Palatinate of Durham, 1377-1413', *Historical Research* (2009), 41-61; King, 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland'; Russell, 'Politics and Society in South Nottinghamshire'.
[26] W. Warburton, *Edward III* (London, 1875); W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (4th edn.: Oxford, 1906), 3 vols; A.R. Myers, *England in the Late Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1952).
[27] This was something Nigel Saul himself raised in his article, 'Conflict and Consensus in English Local Society', in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, ed. J. Taylor and W. Childs (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 50-3. See also A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (London, 1989), pp. 141-55; J. Gillingham, 'Crisis or Continuity? The Structure of Royal Authority in England, 1369-1422', in *Das Spätmittelalterliche Königtum im Europäischen Vergleich*, ed. R. Schneider (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 59-80.
[28] W.M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority in England, 1340-60', *History*, 72 (1987), 4-19; W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 159-69.

paints is one of 'self-government at the king's command', where county officials did not become some 'local mafia', but were the 'king's judges, upholding the king's law in the king's courts.'[29] In collaboration with Anthony Musson, Ormrod extended these ideas to propose a broader and more complex model of local government which blurred the lines between 'central' and 'local' administration, arguing instead that local officials such as the justices of the peace were not an 'isolated agency of royal government operating a semi-autonomous regime', but rather individual cogs in a wider, more co-ordinated system which, for the first time, provided the crown with 'a permanent judicial presence in the localities.'[30] Under such a model, household knights represented nothing more sinister than another way in which the king could better manage his kingdom.

Clearly, neither 'vertical' nor 'horizontal' bonds were the exclusive characteristic of local political society under Edward III. Rather, it seems likely that while 'horizontal' ties, and to a lesser extent 'vertical' ones, were present in local political society under Edward III, they existed as part of a multifaceted system in which the monarchy remained an active and accepted part of the running of England's shires. As such, we might conclude that there was no inherent characteristic of local political society under Edward III that would have precluded the successful implementation of household knights within it. In other words, local society at this time was not so dominated by powerful 'bastard feudal' affinities, nor by gentry-led oligarchies, that the intervention in local affairs of the king's own retainers – his household knights – was fundamentally disruptive. With this in mind, let us turn to look at how Edward III used his household knights in practice.

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[29] Ibid., p. 160. See also G.L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *P&P*, 138 (1993), pp. 46-56.

[30] A. Musson and W.M. Ormrod, *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics, and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1999), pp. 42-74, quotation at p. 74. The model presented by Musson and Ormrod has since been convincingly extended into both the shrievalty and the lesser ranks of local officialdom. See, A. Musson, 'Sub-Keepers and Constables: The Role of Local Officials in Keeping the Peace in Fourteenth Century England', *EHR*, 117 (2002), 1-24; Gorski, *The Fourteenth Century Sheriff*, pp. 158-60. See also M.L. Holford, 'Under-Sheriffs, the State and Local Society c.1300-1340: A Preliminary Survey', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 55-68; M. Bubenicek and R. Partington, 'Justice, Law and Lawyers', in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-1500*, ed. C. Fletcher, J-P. Genet, and J. Watts (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 150-82.

7.2 Household Knights in Local Government

7.2.1 Local Office Holding

In theory, all local government officials were directly accountable to the king, and so placing direct royal retainers amongst the local officialdom as a means of ensuring loyal service to the crown should have been unnecessary. Nevertheless, there was potentially a great deal to be gained by doing so. First and foremost, these were men with whom the king was familiar, and thus their competence, abilities and trustworthiness would have been known to him. Likewise, members of the king's household serving within local officialdom would have been ideally placed to act as the king's eyes and ears across the realm, as well as potentially favourable advocates of royal policy. Such benefits were, argued Given-Wilson, well recognised by Richard II, who actively ensured that he was retaining many of the most important members of county administration within his affinity.[31] As Bertram Wolffe demonstrated, meanwhile, members of the household of Henry VI were routinely chosen to serve in local administration, such as in 1448, when 'fourteen of thirty-six counties in England had household men as sheriffs', or the following year, when 'one in six of the JPs [justices of the peace] in the shires were… receiving the royal livery', as a way of managing England's localities through the household.[32]

In contrast, Edward III was relatively disinclined to place his household knights within the formal structures of local government. Take first the shrievalty, the most significant local official in fourteenth-century England. Though the sheriff did not by Edward III's reign enjoy the same

[31] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 217-26. See also Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England*, p. 151; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 265-9; R.L. Storey, 'Liveries and Commissions of the Peace, 1388-90', in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay and C.M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 313-53; S. Mitchell, 'The Knightly Household of Richard II in the Peace Commissions', in *Revolution and Consumption*, ed. Hicks, pp. 45-56; J.R. Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century England', *P&P Supplement*, 4 (1978), 1-88.

[32] B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 98-9. See also R. Jeffs, 'The Later Medieval Sheriff and the Royal Household, 1437-1547' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1960), pp. 55-7, from which Wolffe took some of his statistics.

Table 7.1 – Household Knights as Sheriffs:

Knight	*County*	*Tenure as Sheriff*	*Household Service*
Henry de Cheshunt	Beds & Bucks	1343-44	1339
Adam la Zouche*	Cambs & Hunts	1328-30	1328-30
John Lisle of Rougemont	Cambs & Hunts	1351-52	1338-47
Henry Ferrers*	Cheshire	1336-37	1330, 1337-40
Thomas Lucy	Cumberland	1345-50	1334-39; 1342-44
William Faucomberge*	Devon	1329-30	1329
John Daubernon*	Surrey & Sussex	1330-31, 1334-35	1330
Simon Basset*	Glos	1341-50	1340-46, 1359-60
John Ros	Heref	1332-34	1328-1330
Edmund Haclut*	Merionethshire	1328-30	1328-1330
John of Ypres	Lancs	1361-70	1376
William Frank*	Lincs	1341-42	1334-46
John Howard	Norf & Suff	1344-45	1346
Thomas Wake*	Northants	1329-30, 1335-41	1329-44
Thomas Pabenham*	Northants	1341-42	1339-44
William Felton	Northumbs	1341-43	1334-37, 1346
Nicholas Langford*	Notts & Derbs	1341-44	1329-46
Thomas Swinnerton*	Salop & Staffs	1341-43	1338-60
Hugh Tyrell*	Somerset & Dorset	1341-43	1339-43
John Hale	Somerset & Dorset	1362-64	1328, 1341
William Latimer*	Somerset & Dorset	1374-75	1353-60; 1369; 1371-76
John Pecche	Warks & Leics	1369-70	1353-60
Ralph Neville	Westmoreland	1345	1329-35
John Mauduyt*	Wilts	1329-30; 1332-33; 1338-44	1342-44
John Darcy 'le pere'*	Yorks	1327-28	1327-46
John Faucomberge	Yorks	1341-42	1339
William Trussell*	Anglesey	1334-43; 1346-50	1339-1341, 1346
Walter Mauny*	Merionethshire	1332-51 (1351-60 not acting)	1330-46

Source: *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (Lists and Indexes, IX: New York, 1963).
Note: * Denotes that time as sheriff and household knight overlapped.

unrivalled local prominence as his twelfth and thirteenth-century counterparts, they were, as Richard Gorski has recently shown, still the principal royal agents in each county, carrying out a great deal of important administrative work and occupying an influential position in local political society.[33] The correlation between household knights and the shrievalty under Edward III was limited: in total, just twenty-eight of Edward's 284 household knights (10 percent) served as sheriff between 1327 and 1377 (Table 7.1).[34] Of these, two – John Howard and John of Ypres – served as a sheriff prior to becoming household knights, nine others served only after they had left

[33] Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff*; Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England*, pp. 142-5; W.A. Morris, 'The Sheriff' in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ii, pp. 41-108; H.M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 182-99; Holford, 'Under-Sheriffs, the State and Local Society'.
[34] This figure does rise slightly if other household retainers are included. Caroline Shenton has, for instance, identified thirty-five men with other household connections, such as 'Yeoman of the household', who acted as sheriffs between 1327 and 1345: C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1995), pp. 81-5.

household service, while the remaining seventeen served in both positions simultaneously. This indicates that placing men who had proven their abilities to the king through household service in the running of the localities was more important than retaining individuals who were already locally influential. Even so, as a percentage of the overall number of men who served as a sheriff during Edward III's reign, which almost certainly exceeded a thousand, these figures were negligible and do not suggest a deliberate policy.[35] This is not to say there were not some important appointments in which household men appear to have been specifically favoured. The shrievalty of Merionethshire in north Wales was, for instance, granted to Walter Mauny in 1339, and made life-long in 1341, largely as a reward for his military service in the household.[36] Likewise, it is interesting that of the twenty-eight household knights to serve as sheriff, eight were appointed in 1341, shortly after the parliamentary crisis in which the king had accused the home government of administrative incompetence and corruption while he was in the Low Countries. The implication of this is that the king sought to combat this perceived corruption by appointing a greater number of household knights as sheriffs that he was ordinarily inclined to. Such a picture certainly sits well with the fact that fourteen household bannerets were summoned to a great council which sat in April 1342, the first since the previous year's parliamentary showdown, and by far the greatest number of household retainers summoned to such an assembly under Edward III.[37]

Such a picture is corroborated by appointments made to the office of escheator under Edward.[38] The principal task of the escheator was to take into their hands, inspect the value of, and manage on the king's behalf, all lands that defaulted (or, more accurately, escheated) to the king on the death or forfeiture of a tenant-in-chief. This could have been because no heir could

[35] This figure has been worked out on the basis that, as William Morris calculated, there were roughly twenty-one new sheriffs each year over the course of Edward's fifty-year reign, which would point to a very rough estimate of 1,050 different sheriffs: Morris, 'The Sheriff', p. 47.
[36] *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 260; *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 304; *CFR, 1327-37*, p. 340.
[37] See above, pp. 208-9.
[38] For a more detailed history of the office of escheator see E.R. Stevenson, 'The Escheator', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ii, pp. 109-67; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 135-41; Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England*, pp. 145-6. See also S. Waugh, 'The Escheator's General Inquest: The Enforcement of Royal Lordship in the Late Fourteenth Century' in *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records Edited in Honour of David Crook*, ed. S. Cunningham and P. Brand (York, 2008), pp. 11-24.

be found, the known heir was still underage, or else the land had been abandoned.[39] The incomes provided by escheated lands were not inconsiderable: accounting for all escheated land south of the Trent in 1330 the household knight William Trussell paid some £366 19s 3d into the exchequer.[40] Household knights such as Trussell, who served as escheator for all lands south of the Trent for much of the 1330s, were appointed on various occasions throughout Edward III's reign. Nevertheless, there was only one year in which this appears to have been the result of a distinct policy: 1342, the year after Edward's confrontation with parliament. This year saw an influx of new appointments to the office of escheator as a result of the fact that twenty-seven new, county-based esheatories had been established in 1341 to mimic the boundaries of the English shrievalties. Though for the first twelve months of this experiment the incumbent sheriffs of each county were ordered to act as temporary escheators, included within the 1342 appointments were eight household knights, most long-serving members of the household, who made up roughly one third of the appointments. This included Simon Basset (Glos.), Robert Fitzelys (Oxon. and Berks.), Thomas Pabenham (Northants.), Nicholas Langford (Notts. and Derbs.), Thomas Swinnerton (Salop. and Staffs.), Hugh Tyrell (Somerset and Dorset), William Frank (Yorks.) and William Trussell (given overall jurisdiction of all escheated land south of Trent).[41] Interestingly, half of these men – Basset, Pabenham, Swinnerton and Tyrell – were also serving as sheriffs in their respective counties at this time, suggesting that they were probably part of Edward's wider policy of bringing household knights into government at this time. The counties to which these men were appointed are also interesting. Langford was appointed in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, worth about £20 a year. William Frank, meanwhile, was responsible for Yorkshire, routinely worth over £40 per year, while Robert Fitzelys was given authority in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, which could bring in as much as £90 per year.[42] Comparatively, somewhere like Westmorland, rarely

[39] Stevenson, 'The Escheator', pp. 109-121.
[40] Ibid., pp. 149-52.
[41] *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 353, 368-9, 376, 393, 433, 438, 468, 473, 476, 481, 488, 499, 502, 513-14, 529, 535, 546, 561, 567-8, 579, 583.
[42] For figures, see Stevenson, 'The Escheator', pp. 150-1.

worth more than £1 a year, did not warrant a household appointment. Once more, then, it appears that the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41 led the king to rely more explicitly on the political support of his household knights in the running of England's localities than he did in ordinary circumstances.

Given the additional influence and control that appointing royal retainers as sheriffs and escheators could bring, it is important to ask why Edward III did not seek to exploit this avenue other than in the early 1340s. A writ issued to the household knight Simon Basset in January 1347, when he was serving as sheriff of Gloucestershire, offers an indication. The writ granted Basset permission to leave the ongoing siege of Calais to return to Gloucestershire to carry out his duties as sheriff there, but on the strict understanding that he would return as soon as these were complete.[43] The implication of this is that Basset's shrieval duties, while important enough for him to have to travel back to England, were considered a distraction from the primary function of Edward's household knights: military service. A number of similar examples support this. The household knight Thomas Pabenham was excused from certain shrieval duties in 1342 as they conflicted with his military obligations oversees.[44] Both Thomas Wake and Robert Hastings, meanwhile, were forced to give up their positions as sheriffs in 1330 as they were too often absent with the king on household business to effectively carry out their duties.[45] Clearly, the primary duties of the household knights and offices such as the shrievalty were, to some extent, incompatible under Edward III. Indeed, though at certain times Edward clearly saw sufficient need for greater management of the localities through his household, for the most part, he seems content to have left the governing of the localities to members of the local gentry, allowing his household knights to give their attention to Edward's wars. Moreover, it is interesting that in each of the above cases, the individual chose to retain his place in the household, rather than as sheriff, suggesting that the former was the more worthwhile position to keep to these men.

[43] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, p. 109.
[44] *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 554.
[45] *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 554; Tout, *Chapters*, iii, p. 95.

Though household knights were not routinely included in county administration, there were a number of other, more focussed local offices for which the household knights *do* seem to have been preferred. Take, for example, constables of royal castles. As was seen in Chapter 5, household knights were frequently preferred as constables of royal castles on the south coast and northern borders of England at times of heightened threat of invasion. Household knights were also routinely favoured in appointments to constables of the Tower of London and Dover castle.[46] Though castles were important military strongholds, they also acted as useful focal points for local administration, providing secure gaols, space for law courts and a treasury in each locality, and while it was common for the main county castle of each shire to be entrusted to the incumbent sheriff to aid them in their administrative duties, outside the county castles household knights were the king's favoured constables.[47] Take, for example, Leeds Castle in Kent which, though formally a possession of Queen Isabella, was successively granted to the care of household knights Gawain Corder and Reginald Cobham from 1331-41.[48] Maurice Berkeley, meanwhile, was responsible for the royal castles of Brimpsfield, Bristol and Gloucester in Gloucestershire, as well as the Tower of London, during his household career.[49] Overall, no fewer than eighty-one of Edward's 284 household knights (30 percent) were appointed as a constable of a royal castle during their household careers. This figure is all the more impressive given that there were only seventy-four long-term royal castles at this time (that is, castles that were held by the crown for the entirety of the fourteenth century), although a further two-hundred did pass through royal hands at some point during the later middle ages.[50] Unlike the office of sheriff or escheator, then, acting as constables of royal castles was clearly something that household knights were expect to do – more so than their non-household counterparts.

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[46] Above, Table 3.1, p. 102; Table 3.3, p. 118.
[47] For more, see R.A. Brown, *English Castles* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 158-9; Rickard, *The Castle Community*, pp. 1-51; J. Goodall, *The English Castle, 1066-1650* (New Haven and London, 2011).
[48] Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 272.
[49] Ibid., pp. 217, 219, 221, 298.
[50] Ibid., pp. 7, 73.

A similar link existed between household knights and the administration of royal forests. Royal forests formed an extensive and important part of the crown's interests in the localities of medieval England, with their own, semi-automatous legal systems providing potentially lucrative sources of income.[51] Managed in a similar way to the escheatories, two 'justices' were appointed with overall jurisdiction for the forests north and south of the Trent, while a series of individual 'keepers', 'wardens' or similarly titled officials were given specific care of individual forests.[52] These officials, appointed at the discretion of the king, were responsible for protecting the king's rights in each forest, overseeing their general maintenance, upholding their laws, and managing their incomes, which could regularly exceed £100 per forest per year.[53] Household knights once again had a clear presence here. During the early years of Edward's reign, the forests north of the Trent were overseen by John Cromwell and his successor Ralph Neville, both household knights, while the corresponding office in the south was held successively by the household retainers John Maltravers and Robert Ufford.[54] Individual forests such as Clarendon, the forest of Dean and Kingswood, which were entrusted to Giles Beauchamp, Guy Brian and Thomas Bradeston, respectively, were also often placed in the hands of household knights.[55] Admittedly, the number of household knights who acted as keepers of individual forests represented only a small proportion of the total number of keepers during Edward's reign – there simply were not enough household knights to place one as keeper of each forest.[56] Nevertheless, that a number of Edward's longest serving household knights should be given charge of individual forests suggests that this link was an important one.

Why were household knights used so extensively as keepers of royal castles and forests but not in the wider county administration? The answer probably lies in the fact that, in the cases of

[51] N. Neilson, 'The Forests', in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, i, pp. 402-88; C.R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Pennsylvania, 1979), esp. chapter 8 and the map on p. 152; *Select Pleas of the Forest*, ed. G.J. Turner (London, 1901), pp. ix-cxxxiv.
[52] Neilson, 'The Forests', pp. 402-24.
[53] For figures of incomes, see ibid., p. 424.
[54] Ibid., p. 404.
[55] Ibid., pp. 448-67.
[56] For a full list, see ibid., pp. 448-67.

royal castles and forests, household knights were being deployed to manage the king 'private' interests, rather than the 'public' interests of the county administration. Such a division between the 'private power' and 'public authority' of the late-medieval monarchy is important. Indeed, as discussed in the Introduction, the idea that medieval kings possessed 'two bodies', one their private person, the other their public persona, was first established over half a century, and received renewed emphasises in the 1990s as a means of understanding contemporary ideals of kingship.[57] This had a considerable impact on how the place of the royal knight in local political society in later medieval England is understood. Writing in 2000, Castor argued that Henry IV, V and VI struggled to reconcile the Lancastrian affinity with their position as kings of England, and that it was not until Edward IV took the throne in 1461, and the duchy and its affinity integrated into the 'body politic' of the crown, that this tension was resolved.[58] That Edward III used his household knights principally as the custodians of private royal interests in England's localities, rather than in public office, is, therefore, significant, for it served to protect the king from criticism of too great an interference in local affairs through his own retainers. How aware Edward was of this, and the extent to which this was the result of a deliberate policy, is difficult to ascertain. It seems improbable that he explicitly kept household knights away from local administration because he wanted to explicitly separate his public and private personas. More likely, these position were seen as a distraction from the main purposes of the household knights, warfare and royal service. Put another way, the king understood his household knights to be his personal servants, and so used them for his personal business, content to leave the running of the shires to the members of the local gentry who were both able and keen to do so.

[57] E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
[58] Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 312.

7.2.2 Maintaining Law and Order

If the appointments of household knights to local political office in England suggest that they were principally employed to protect the king's personal and private interests, much the same can be said of their place in the maintenance of law and order. Problems with criminal activity were characteristic of fourteenth-century England, and this was at no time truer than in the first half of Edward III's reign. Indeed, it has been commented that 'at no period in the fourteenth century were greater efforts made by the executive to improve the state of peace than during the years 1327-40'.[59] Upholding the law was important to medieval governments for two reasons: first, it was a fundamental part of the public expectations placed on the crown; and second, the proceeds of justice, coming from the fines and other punishments imposed on the guilty, were an important source of revenue for the crown.[60] Yet Edward seems to have for the most part been content to leave the implementation of this to legal specialists. The presence of household knights on itinerant judicial commissions which travelled the country bringing law to the populace was, for instance, limited.[61] The only significant involvement of a household knight in this respect was that of Geoffrey le Scrope, a renowned legal expert, who in 1329 was brought into the household and placed at the head of a general eyre which was to begin a tour of the midlands in Northampton with a mandate to 'restore law and order to England' by passing 'stricter laws against highway robbers, and gangs'.[62] Likewise, no household knight ever served as a justice of the peace under Edward III.[63]

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[59] D. Hughes, *A Study of Social and Constitutional Tendencies in the Early Years of Edward III*, (London, 1915), p. 212. See also A. Verduyn, 'The Politics of Law and Order during the Early Years of Edward III', *EHR*, 108 (1993), 842-67.
[60] Jewell, *English Local Administration*, pp. 123-4; A. Verduyn, 'The Attitude of the Parliamentary Commons to Law and Order under Edward III' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1991).
[61] For more on this and what follows, see Jewell, *English Local Administration*, pp. 123-45; Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England*, pp. 116-28; Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III*, pp. 153-70; R. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 134-43, 170-83; Bubenicek and Partington, 'Justice, Law and Lawyers', pp. 151-7; Ormrod and Musson, *The Evolution of English Justice*, pp. 42-74.
[62] For more on Scrope's career, see E.L.G. Stones, 'Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, (c.1285-1340)' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, 1950); and idem., 'Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, Chief Justice of the King's Bench', *EHR*, 69 (1954), 1-17. For the quotation, taken from a speech made by Scrope at the opening of the eyre, see H. Cam, 'The General Eyres of 1329-30', *EHR*, 39 (1924), 245-7.
[63] For more on the appointment of JPs under Edward III see Verduyn, 'The Selection and Appointment of Justices of the Peace'; B.H. Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into the Justices of the Peace, 1327-1380', *TRHS*, 4th series, 12 (1929), 19-48.

The household knights' involvement on *ad hoc* judicial commissions, such as oyer and terminer and peace commissions, was greater, but not to such an extent to suggest household knights were favoured for this work. Richard Grey was appointed as a keeper of the peace in Nottinghamshire on several occasions during the first decade of Edward's reign. In 1332, meanwhile, William Clinton (Kent), John Darcy 'le pere' (Notts.), and Nicholas Langford (Derbs.) all received commissions of the peace.[64] But even in the wake of the Black Death, when the government was forced to pass the Ordinance (1349) and Statute (1351) of Labourers to limit the extent to which the peasantry could demand higher rates of pay for their work or relocate in search of better wages, only Guy Brian was appointed from the ranks of the household to enforce this legislation.[65] Though their time as household knights clearly did not prevent these men from being involved in such commissions, then, there is little to suggest that they would not have been similarly appointed had they not been members of Edward's household. Moreover, it is interesting to note that several household knights, such as John Lisle of Rougemont in 1338 and Reginald Cobham in 1341, were granted life exemptions from serving on any commission, assize or jury, or in any permanent local office against their will.[66]

Clearly it would be inaccurate to attribute any special significance to the inclusion of household knights in local peace keeping. Nonetheless, there does appear to have been one specific area of law and order in which household knights were used almost exclusively by the king: cases that directly touched the king's lands, possessions and personal interests. It is perhaps no

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[64] *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 88-9, 351; *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 285-8.

[65] Brian was appointed to oversee the implementation of the Ordinance and Statue of Labourers in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Worcestershire and Somerset at various points during the 1350s and 1360s: *CPR, 1350-54*, pp. 394, 509; *CPR, 1354-58*, pp. 58-61, 296-392; *CPR, 1361-64*, pp. 291-3, 528-30. For more on the Black Death, its resultant lawlessness, and corresponding legislation see O.J. Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge, 2004); C. Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (London, 1997); Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 357-62; W.M. Ormrod, 'The English Government and the Black Death of 1348-49', in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 175-9; R.C. Palmer, *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1481: A Transformation of Governance and Law* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993); A. Musson, 'New Labour Laws, New Remedies? Legal Reaction to the Black Death "Crisis"', in *Fourteenth Century England I*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 73-88; B.H. Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers during the First Decade after the Black Death* (New York, 1908).

[66] *CPR 1338-40*, p. 13; *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 163.

coincidence, for example, that household knights feature regularly in the judicial running of the crown's personal lordships, such as the earldom of Chester, where William Clinton was but the most notable of a number of household knights to serve as justice there.[67] Such preference for household knights also applied to judicial commissions touching the king's personal interests. In October 1343, William Trussell, Thomas Bourn of York, William Sturmy, John Deyncourt and William Catesby, all of whom were household men, were ordered to investigate the death of the king's sergeant at arms, William Myners, who was reportedly killed at Baldok in Hertfordshire.[68] All cases that fell within the jurisdiction of the court of the verge, which covered the fifty mile radius around the royal household, and was headed by the steward of the household, were also investigated by household knights. These cases could be wide-ranging in their scope, such as in 1351 when John Grey of Rotherfield was tasked with investigating any homicides, felonies, trespasses and oppressions in counties through which the king's household had passed, and which may have been committed by members of the household.[69]

Outside of the offences committed within the boundaries of the court of the verge, crimes which were committed against royal demesne lands, manors and palaces were also pursued almost exclusively by household knights.[70] This was in no small part because the king's manors were regularly placed in the care of individual household knights. The manor of Woodstock in Oxfordshire was held successively by William Montagu and Robert Ferrers, while Clipstone in Nottinghamshire was managed by Robert Mauley II while he was a household knight.[71] Though these appointments were financially rewarding, they do not appear to have been solely honorific. This is illustrated by Giles Beauchamp's time as steward of the king's manor at Clarendon between 1327 and the late 1340s. Though for the most part Beauchamp appears to have managed the manor

[67] *CPR, 1330-43*, p. 13. For an example of the work Clinton undertook in this post, see TNA KB27/286, m. 152, printed in *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Edward III*, ed. G.O. Sayles (London, 1957), v, pp. 66-9.
[68] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 175.
[69] *CPR, 1350-54*, pp. 155, 513.
[70] For more on the royal demesne in the fourteenth century, see B. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London, 1971), pp. 52-75.
[71] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 196. For more on Clipstone, see J. Wright, *A Palace for Our Kings: The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Royal Palace in the Heart of Sherwood Forest* (Nottingham, 2016), pp. 74-118.

satisfactorily, he was plagued during the 1330s and 1340s by the repeated theft of the king's swans.[72] The first record of this comes from August 1331, when a writ was sent to Hildebrand of London and John de Mire ordering them to assist Beauchamp in finding the king's swans, which had recently been stolen, and catching the persons responsible for their theft.[73] It is unclear whether the swans were found on this occasion, but either way Beauchamp's troubles were repeated in 1344 and 1345, when he was once more commissioned to look into the theft of swans from Clarendon.[74] Though this case does not appear to have had any adverse effect on Beauchamp's relationship with the king, nor his position as steward of the manor, his plight does highlight the important place that household knights had in looking after the king's personal interests in the localities. Indeed, this case was not as trivial as it might first seem: the missing swans were valued at over £100, and such a direct crime against the king was undoubtedly unacceptable. As such, finding the swans and those responsible for their disappearance would have been a real concern for all those involved. That it was the long-serving household knight Giles Beauchamp responsible for this thus suggests that, as with appointments to local administrative office, the way in which household knights were used to manage law and order in the localities under Edward III was principally geared towards protecting the king 'private' interests.

7.3 Informal Influence

Thus far this chapter has been concerned with how the household knights were used to protect the crown's interest in the localities of England as part of the formal apparatus of government. It is important also to consider the extent to which Edward's household knights offered a mechanism through which royal authority could be 'informally' transferred into the localities. By 'informally' what is meant here are the ways in which the household knights may have been used to gauge, and

[72] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 537.
[73] Ibid., p. 200.
[74] *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 413, 507.

possibly even shape, public opinion and perception of royal policy within local networks.[75] Such networks were certainly exploited by many of Edward III's successors. Much of Given-Wilson' work on Richard II's royal affinity, for instance, stresses the benefits that came with having such favourable voices in local communities, and portrays this as one of the principal motivations behind Richard's sporadic recruitment drives.[76] Rosemary Horrox, meanwhile, argued that during Richard III's short reign many of his personal retainers were planted in southern England to 'spearhead the king's attempts to restore his authority in these rebel counties'.[77] Fortunately for historians of this later period, these efforts found expression in a variety of physical forms, which leave a tangible trail to be followed. The white hart badges of Richard II and the boar badges of Richard III would have served as frequent, visual reminders of the king's pervasive authority.[78] Similarly, the livery collars so in vogue during the Wars of the Roses acted as powerful symbols of royal authority throughout the kingdom.[79] Perhaps due to the relative stability of Edward's position on the throne, no such physical manifestations of royal authority appear to have been distributed to his household knights, at least not as a way of outwardly promoting the royal image. Indeed, although Edward is known to have used the 'sunburst' badge as a means of distinguishing his companions at royal tournaments, these badges do not appear to have been intended to act as emblems of royal authority in the localities.[80] This in itself offers an early indication that the household knights retained by Edward were not yet used explicitly as a means of projecting authority through the country in the same way they were under later kings.

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[75] For more on 'public opinion' in the later Middle Ages, see C. Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion during the Wars of the Roses', in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 15-16. See also A. Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 35.

[76] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 216-26.

[77] R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study in Service* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 197.

[78] Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 238-46; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 243-4, 317-18, and plate 8 and 9; Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 249.

[79] M. Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge, 2016).

[80] J. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 183-6; M.P. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales: 2.1, Royal Badges* (Woodbridge, 2009).

Let us begin by attempting to quantify the influence that the household knights may have had. If Given-Wilson's estimate that there were *c.* 1,500 gentry families across the thirty-eight counties of England in the fourteenth century is taken, we are left with an average of roughly forty gentry families per county. Usefully, this correlates roughly with Nigel Saul's identification of forty-seven gentry families in Gloucestershire at this time.[81] Of these roughly forty gentry families, an average of just two (5 percent) provided knights for the royal household at any one time. In purely numerical terms, it thus seems unlikely that Edward was ever retaining in significant enough numbers to drastically influence the outlook of England's shires. Even so, the quality of knights in household service perhaps made up for this. Indeed, a significant number of influential landholders feature amongst the lists of household knights under Edward III. A useful example of this comes from January 1344, when writs were issued demanding that the largest landholders in each county supply troops for the defence of the realm, within which were included several of Edward's longest-serving household knights: John Darcy 'le pere' (Notts. and Lincs.), Ralph Stafford (Staffs.), Walter Mauny (Herts.), John Maundyt (Wilts.) and Thomas Bradeston (Glos.).[82]

It is also important to note that most of Edward's household knights were prominent members of close-knit political and personal networks. It has already been seen, for example, that a minority of household knights served in local political office, which would have made men such as Simon Basset, long-serving sheriff of Gloucester, leaders within their communities. Likewise, many of Edward's household knights offered important sources of lordship in their neighbourhoods. As seen in Chapter 3, Edward's household knights, particularly the bannerets, retained vast retinues of men for royal military campaigns, and many of the men serving in these retinues hailed from just a small number of counties and served together on multiple occasions. The six men identifiable in John Lisle of Rougemont's retinue for the Crécy campaign of 1346, for example, were all based in Norfolk, Suffolk and/or Cambridgeshire.[83] Edward's household knights

[81] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 268-9.
[82] *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 427-8.
[83] Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 81-101.

thus provided important focal points within their local 'military communities', the significance of which are being increasingly recognised by historians.[84]

A particularly useful example of the informal influence that Edward's household knights offered can be found in Gloucestershire. Gloucestershire provided a considerable number of household knights over the course of Edward's reign, many of whom were influential members of the local political elite. Maurice, John and Thomas Berkeley were all members of the most influential family in the county. Also noteworthy were Thomas Bradeston, another significant landowner in the county, and Simon Basset, who was sheriff (and later escheator) of Gloucestershire from 1340-46.[85] Of these men, Maurice Berkeley, Thomas Bradeston and Simon Basset served concurrently as household knights for at least six years, and so would have built up a great deal of familiarity with each other and the king during this time. It is also worth noting that these men often served together on local commissions, such as in November 1344, when Berkeley and Bradeston were both appointed to a commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the mass breakout of prisoners in Herefordshire.[86] It seems only logical to suggest, therefore, that these men, who mingled so frequently as part of the royal household as well as during their time in their native county, formed an influential block of knights capable of positively influencing the perception that their neighbours had of the king and his policies.

Admittedly, Gloucestershire provided more than the average number of household knights under Edward III, meaning the influence the offered the king would have been particularly strong, though the numbers seen in Gloucestershire were far from unmatched elsewhere. Though clear evidence is frustratingly elusive we can, therefore, be reasonably confident that Edward's household knights were in a position to act as favourable advocates for royal policy in their

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[84] A. Ayton, 'Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 215-39; P. Caudrey, 'War, Chivalry and Regional Society: East Anglia's Warrior Gentry before the Court of Chivalry', in *Fourteenth Century England VIII*, ed. J.S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 119-46.

[85] Saul, *Knights and Esquires*. See also, B. Wells-Furby, *The Berkeley Estate, 1281-1417: Its Economy and Development* (Bristol, 2012).

[86] *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 419-20.

respective localities, or at the very least 'trouble-shooters' for it. Limits should certainly be applied to this. It would be naïve to assume that all of Edward's household knights would have acted simply as his cronies. These were men with their own lands, thoughts and political networks who might only serve with the king for a few years, and consequently their royal connection might not always have been their prevailing one. Indeed, many of Edward's household knights were also retainers of other important local magnates, who may have had a more direct impact on their activity in the shires. Bassett, for instance, appears on several occasions as one of the retainers of the Berkeley family in Gloucestershire, in addition to his place in Edward's household.[87] Though Bassett's connection to Maurice Berkeley, who had been a household knight for thirteen years upon Bassett's entry to the household in 1340, was probably one of the principal reasons behind his selection, had the interests of Berkeley and the king ever diverged Bassett would have been faced with an unenviable decision to make. Notwithstanding these limitations, however, it does not seem farfetched to suggest that Edward III's household knights, who occupied a unique meeting point between centre and locality, would have worked favourably in the king's interests in their home counties.

To what extent did Edward's household knights use their local influence to dominate (and, in some cases, intimidate) their neighbourhoods, and in the process damage the king's reputation? Item five of the 'Record and Process', brought against Richard II at his deposition, made clear the widespread anger at members of Richard's household and affinity who were permitted to 'cruelly kill some of the king's subjects, beating and wounding others… and although serious complaints were made to the king about the excesses committed by them, [the king] made no attempt to stop them, but rather supported these men in their crimes, trusting in them and their protection against all others of his kingdom'.[88] That such abuses occurred under Edward III can be seen in a number of complaints made to the king and his council regarding the actions of certain household knights.

[87] Saul, *Knights and esquires*, pp. 74-5.
[88] *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Manchester, 1993), p. 174.

In 1341, John, William and Robert Sturmy were accused of breaking into the free warren at Marteleye in Worcestershire, hunting therein, and carrying away goods not belonging to them, in addition to assaulting those who attempted to stop them.[89] In 1347, meanwhile, William and Warin Trussell were named amongst a gang accused of breaking into the park of Eyston in Essex, felling trees, stealing fish and hunting.[90] While such transgressions were relatively small in scale, there are instances of more systematic oppression and criminality amongst the household knights. The case of John Molyns is illustrative. Molyns, a household knight for most of the 1330s, spent much of this time leading a life of 'respected and loyal royal service' one the one hand, and one of 'banditry, murder and disinheritance' on the other.[91] In later proceedings against him, Molyns was accused of numerous offences, including the murders of John Pikerel, Peter Poges and John Poges, as well as various thefts, such as the £10 of goods and chattels he forcibly took from a Christian la Daye. Molyns was also accused of ordering his band of followers to steal and commit violent acts at 'his command and maintenance'.[92] Similar accusations were also made against Thomas Bradeston in Gloucestershire. In a petition datable to the 1330s, the people of King's Barton asserted that Bradeston was ruthlessly exploiting his royal connection to further his interests, accusing him of acting as a 'little saint' at court but a 'rampant lion' in Gloucestershire.[93] It was also claimed that 'if Bradeston were not so close to the king, a thousand petitions would be brought against him'. Such a claim is significant for it provides clear evidence that there was a well-known relationship at the time between the royal association of men such as Bradeston and their ability to exert influence over local affairs.[94]

Clearly, some of Edward's household knights abused their influential positions in each county, and their connection to the king, for their own ends. Even so, what is interesting is that

[89] *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 216.
[90] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 393.
[91] N. Fryde, 'A Medieval Robber Baron: Sir John Molyns of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire', in *Medieval Legal Records*, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 198-221.
[92] For the accusations against Molyns, see TNA, JUST1/74, mm. 4-17; JUST1/75, m. 8; KB27/388, m. 22, printed in Fryde, 'A Medieval Robber Baron', pp. 211-21.
[93] TNA, SC8/97/4826, printed in Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 266-7.
[94] For more on the legal protection these men received from the king, see below, pp. 274-5.

such complaints were brought against only a minority of household knights, and that this did not seem to have a significant impact on the reputation of the king or his household. Indeed, only in the case of Bradeston was reference made to his connection to the king, suggesting that the household knights as a broader entity were not a source of complaint. It is possible that other abuses were committed but went unreported, but given that even Molyns' intimidation tactics did not prevent people from speaking against him suggests this is unlikely to have been widespread. It might be concluded, therefore, that Given-Wilson and Dodd are correct to suggest that the use of royal knights as a mechanism for extending royal authority into the shires only became a source of tension when widely abused by those being retained.[95] Indeed, as is made clear by the involvement of Edward III's household knights in local affairs, so long as only a small minority of royal knights took advantage of their position then complaints against them were correspondingly few.

Conclusion

While local communities in the mid-fourteenth century would probably have been receptive to the direct intervention of household knights in local affairs, as long as such intervention was not abused by unscrupulous individuals, Edward was less inclined to exploit this than his successors. Household knights did serve in local political office and on itinerant judicial commissions, but never, other than in the years following the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41, in sufficient numbers to indicate that such work featured amongst their primary responsibilities. Likewise, while it is probable that the household knights offered a favourable voice for royal policy throughout England, the lack of clear physical manifestations of this, such as badges and livery collars, suggests that this was not pushed as firmly as a means of propagating royal authority as it was later. Rather, there appears to have been one principal area in which the household knights were specifically

[95] Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 424-38; Dodd, 'Tyranny, Affinity and Locality'.

used in local politics and administration: protecting the king's personal rights, property and incomes. This was certainly true of appointments to local office, with household knights appointed as constables of royal castles and keepers of royal forests more regularly than as sheriffs and escheators, and was equally important in the management of Edward's own estates. Overall, it thus seems clear that Edward was for the most part happy to rely on the established channels of royal authority in England's localities, reserving his household knights for more personal royal service.

Part 4

The Rewards of Service

8

The Rewards of Service

Much of this thesis is focussed on what the household knights offered Edward III. However, the relationship between the king and his knights was a symbiotic one: such service in the fourteenth century generally demanded some form of remuneration.[1] In this final chapter, it is necessary to consider the rewards that accompanied service as a household knight under Edward III. Doing so is significant for there is a great deal of debate at present concerning the place of royal patronage – that is, the dispersal of reward or advantage by the king in return for past, present or future service – within the late-medieval polity. The origins of this debate lie in the work of K.B. McFarlane. McFarlane's own views in this area were relatively straightforward. In his Ford lectures of 1953 he asserted that 'the king's service was profitable; his favour the only sure road to success; men went to court and to the royal camp, not to express unacceptable views, but for what they could get. Under a ruler who knew his job they were amply rewarded.'[2] Since McFarlane's work, a number of influential historians have adopted a similar stance, arguing that 'patronage was the essential lubricant of political society'.[3] Most recently, James Bothwell's intricate analysis of royal patronage under Edward III contended that 'simply being a comrade in arms in wars abroad,

[1] For more on contemporary thought in this area, see *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Treatises by Walter of Milemete, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham*, ed. C.J. Nederman (Tempe, AZ, 2002), pp. 33-8.
[2] K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973), p. 120.
[3] Quotation from M. Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', in *Thirteenth Century England I: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1985*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 41. See also R. Horrox, *Richard III: A Study in Service* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 1; W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 59-60; W.M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority in England, 1340-60', *History*, 72 (1987), pp. 6-8; N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 129-30; C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth and Politics, 1388-99* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 45-59.

companionable at home, generous to his friends and family and forgiving to his enemies… was not a way to keep powerful, ambitious families in line.' Rather, the king was expected to distribute largesse to his subjects, and by doing so effectively Edward built up a group of loyal men, who owed their careers to Edward's grace and remained dependant on him for further advancement.[4]

This position has not gone unchallenged. Also taking their lead from McFarlane's Ford lectures, a number of scholars, led by Christine Carpenter, have argued that to place too great an emphasis on the crown's need to 'buy' the support of the nobility through the use of open-handed rewards is to misrepresent the generally allegiant relationship that existed between the crown and nobility.[5] Though accepting that this is, to some extent, contrary to McFarlane's own views on the matter, they argue that by claiming 'the root-trouble about most late-medieval constitutional history is its assumption that the interests of the king and nobility were opposed', McFarlane offered an important caveat regarding the role of patronage in late-medieval political society.[6] Taking this as a starting point, proponents of this idea have constructed a model of late-medieval kingship in which patronage played only a minimal role because it was not a necessary part of the system. Working recently on the reign of Edward III, for example, Richard Partington has suggested that Edward's patronage was designed simply to 'create and sustain a cadre of capable men to facilitate the delivery of his rule', rather than as a result of any overtly political motives.[7]

What both sides of this debate can agree on, however, is the fact that direct royal service, such as that rendered by the household knights to Edward III, could not go unrewarded. This has been confirmed in a number of studies focussed on the household knights of other late-medieval English kings and the ramifications of their inability to properly reward their retainers. Stephen

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[4] J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), quotation at p. 2. See also J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth–Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), pp. 1124-7.

[5] C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 43-4. Also of note are E. Powell, 'After "After McFarlane": The Poverty of Patronage and the Case for Constitutional History', in *Trade, Devotion and Governance*, ed. D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies and P. McNiven (Gloucester, 1994), pp. 1-16; A.K. Gundy, *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 1-31, esp. pp. 5-9, 13-14.

[6] McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p. 120.

[7] R. Partington, 'The Nature of Noble Service to Edward III', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England: A Festschrift for Christine Carpenter*, ed. B. Thompson and J. Watts (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 74-92.

Church revealed that nearly one-third of all of King John's household knights defected to the rebel cause during the civil wars of 1214-15 because he no longer possessed the means by which to reward them for good service.[8] Michael Prestwich, meanwhile, drew attention to the fact that the defection of Simon Fraser, a knight in Edward I's household, to the Scottish cause in the 1290s was the result of Edward's inability to pay him what he was owed in a timely fashion.[9] Finally, Alistair Tebbit argued that as many as twenty-five of Edward II's household knights from the 1310s abandoned him during the civil war of 1321-22, siding instead with the earl of Lancaster because the rewards that they had become accustomed to were being increasingly directed towards Edward's new favourites, the Despensers.[10] While the absence of civil war during Edward III's reign limited the available outlets for any discontented household knight, diminishing the need for Edward to 'buy' their support, the precedents outlined above suggest that remuneration for service was a critical factor in the relationship between the king and his household knights. With this in mind, let us turn to look at how the household knights were rewarded under Edward III.

8.1 Formal Rewards

8.1.1 Grants of Land and other Feudal Rights

The minimum that any household knight could expect to receive for their time in service was the biannual allocation of household robes worth 8 marks and household fees worth 10 marks, to

[8] S. Church, 'The Rewards of Royal Service in the Household of King John: A Dissenting Opinion', *EHR*, 110 (1995), p. 296.

[9] Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', p. 51, quoting, *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. T. Wright (RS: London, 1868), ii, p. 344. For more on Edward I's patronage to his household knights, see A. King, *Edward I: A New King Arthur?* (London, 2016), pp. 82-3.

[10] A. Tebbit, 'Royal Patronage and Political Allegiance: The Household Knights of Edward II, 1314-1321', in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003*, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 197-208. It should be noted that Michael Prestwich has identified a number of additional reasons for this desertion, such as the fact that many of Edward's household knights in the 1310s held their primary lands in the north of England, and were dissatisfied with the disastrous course that the war with Scotland took at this time: M. Prestwich, 'The Unreliability of Royal Household Knights in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 1-12. See also J.S. Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 47-72.

which all household knights since the reign of Edward I had been entitled, sums paid at twice these rates to bannerets of the household. Though these amounts were only small compared to the incomes of some of Edward's wealthiest and most distinguished household knights, for less prominent knights whose incomes were sometimes little over £40 a year, they would have been a welcome source of additional revenue. These payments were only the beginning of what a household knight could hope to attain under Edward III, however. Additional rewards were also generously granted to household knights. The most desirable of these was land.[11] As with all forms of royal patronage, grants of land were made at the king's pleasure: what and how much was granted to whom was a matter of royal grace.[12] That said, individuals often attempted to influence the king's decision by petitioning him either formally or informally, and household knights were well placed for such petitioning, particularly in informal settings.[13] Indeed, Mark Ormrod has even suggested that many lay members of Edward's household were 'sycophants who exploited their intimacy with the king for the pursuit of unscrupulous ambition'.[14] The king's ability to such make grants was also largely dependent on the resources available to him. While the king held private, royal demesne lands, these were rarely used as a reserve from which to patronise individuals.[15] Rather, 'feudal incidents', such as births, marriages, deaths and forfeitures, provided vital occasions on which lands entered the crown's hands to support the granting of lands to royal followers.[16]

Feudal incidents, particularly forfeitures, were prevalent during the first four years of Edward's reign. The overthrow of Edward II's regime, the rebellion of the earl of Kent and the downfall of Isabella and Mortimer's minority government led to a significant influx of lands into

[11] For more on this and what follows see, Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 28-77.
[12] Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, pp. 56-8; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 30.
[13] G. Dodd and S. Petit-Renaud, 'Grace and Favour: The Petition and its Mechanisms', in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-1500*, ed. C. Fletcher, J-P. Genet, and J. Watts (Cambridge, 2015), p. 252; Church, 'The Rewards of Royal Service'.
[14] Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 133-4.
[15] B. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London, 1971), pp. 59-64.
[16] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 47-60.

royal possession.[17] Household knights, many of whom had been with the king during the invasion of 1326, fared well from this. Take first the lands which came with the overthrow of Edward II. While few of those implicated in the latter days of Edward II's regime were reprimanded after Edward III's accession, the Despensers, Hugh the elder and Hugh the younger, were not afforded such conciliatory treatment.[18] Both were executed and the extensive estates that they had accumulated during the 1320s reverted to the king's possession. While some of this land was used to enhance Isabella and Mortimer's private estates, the majority sat in a state of 'limbo' between 1327 and 1330.[19] After Edward took the reins of government for himself in 1330, however, some of it found its way into the hands of household knights, particularly those who had recently aided the king in the coup at Nottingham. The manor of Marston Maisey (Wilts.) was granted to John Darcy 'le pere' during the king's pleasure in May 1331, and was upgraded to a life-possession on 25 March 1332 in a grant that also saw him acquire the manor of Wyke-Valors from the same source.[20] A series of grants were also made to Roger Swinnerton from forfeited Despenser lands, including all knight's fees and advowsons belonging to the Despenser estate in Staffordshire and Cheshire, as well as the manor of Little Barrow in the same county.[21]

The second source of land which became available to the king during the early years of his reign was the estate of the earl of Kent, which forfeited to the crown in March 1330 following the earl's failed attempt to restore his recently-deceased cousin, Edward II, to the throne, whom he still believed to be alive.[22] Though much of the Kent estate was claimed by Isabella and Mortimer, between 6 April and 4 May 1330 no fewer than seven grants of land, all for life, were made to

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[17] For more, see J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III, the English Peerage and the 1337 Earls: Estate Redistribution in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J.S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 36-42.
[18] A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility, 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England* (London, 1985), pp. 103-4.
[19] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 54; N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 208.
[20] *CCR, 1327-30*, pp. 495-6; *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 165, 268. For more on this case, see Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage,* pp. 54-5, 119-20.
[21] TNA, C81/178/4290; *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 56; *CFR, 1327-37*, p. 381; TNA, E142/33/9; *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 569.
[22] Kent's lands in the late 1320s were considerable, having received lands to the value of nearly £6,000 in the weeks that followed Edward III's coronation. See *CCharR, 1327-41*, pp. 2-5. For more on the attempted coup see K. Warner, 'The Adherents of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, in March 1330', *EHR*, 126 (2011), 779-805; I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, Ruler of England 1327-1330* (London, 2003), pp. 229-34.

Edward's household knights.[23] These included the manors of Aulton and Chestecombe (Devon) worth £98 a year to Hugh Turpington, the manors of Musarder (Glos.), Bedhampton (Hants.), Pirybright (Surrey) and Kenton and Liston (Devon) to John Maltravers, as well as various smaller grants made to Edward Bohun, John Darcy 'le pere' and Robert Ufford.[24] Comparatively, just two grants were made to non-household knights from this estate: Bartholomew Burghersh the elder and John Warrene, earl of Surrey.[25] Such a statistic suggest a clear favouritism for household knights, perhaps a reflection of the fact that they had played such an important role in putting down Kent's rebellion, which included one unnamed household knight performing the earl's execution.[26]

The third influx of lands came in October 1330, following the Nottingham coup, when the estates of Isabella and Mortimer, along with their adherents such as John Maltravers, were seized by the crown.[27] Though no longer shackled by the minority regime, Edward's use of this land to patronise his household knights, who had recently proven their value and loyalty to him in winning him his majority, was relatively restrained. Indeed, much of this land was returned to those with a hereditary claim to it.[28] Some notable grants were, though, made to household knights, particularly those who had played a conspicuous part in the recent coup. In 1331, William Montagu was granted £1,000 worth of land including the significant lordship of Denbigh, along with the Cantrefs of Rhos, Rhufoniog and Carmarthen, and the commote of Dinmael, all formerly possessions of Mortimer.[29] Hugh Frene, meanwhile, was given the manors of Marden, Brewardine and Winforton in Herefordshire, and John Darcy 'le pere' the manors of Rathwire and Kildare in Ireland.[30] Many of Isabella's forfeited lands similarly went to household knights, with Robert

[23] *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 510, 517, 525, 538; *CChar*R, *1327-41*, pp. 176-8.
[24] *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 510, 517, 525, 538, 544; *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 3, 31, 113-5; *CChar*R, *1327-41*, pp. 176-8.
[25] *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 517, 520.
[26] See above, p. 194.
[27] See Bothwell, 'Edward III… and the 1337 Earls', pp. 42-5.
[28] Tuck, *Crown and Nobility*, p. 103; G.A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 14-18.
[29] *CChar*R, *1327-41*, pp. 199, 210, 344; *CCR, 1330-34*, p. 115.
[30] TNA, E142/65/1-6; *CFR, 1327-37*, p. 237; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 94.

Ufford receiving the manors of Gravesend (Kent), and Burgh, Cawston and Fakenham (Norf.) in early 1331.[31] All the castles, manors and lands in England and Wales which John Maltravers had inherited from Giffard of Brymesfeld, meanwhile, were granted to Maurice Berkeley in November 1334.[32]

The early years of Edward's reign thus provided the king with the opportunity to bestow a significant amount of land on his household knights, with over half the grants from these three windfalls going to household men. Though before the Nottingham coup the majority of this went to household knights such as Maltravers, who, as seen above, were Mortimer's placemen in Edward's household, after Edward entered his majority far more was direct to men such as Montagu, Ufford and Berkeley, who were amongst the king's closest confidents and, in the case of Montagu, had been a member of Edward's household from at least 1325. While the glut of lands available to the king during the first four years of his reign was a unique occurrence, this did not prevent Edward from lavishly rewarding the loyal service of his household knight over the next decade. This can most clearly be seen from the four household knights who were to be created earls in 1337 – William Montagu, Robert Ufford, William Bohun and William Clinton – the pinnacle of the patronage package each man received in these years.[33] It has already been seen that Montagu received grants worth £1,000 from the forfeited estates of Roger Mortimer. Yet this was only the beginning of the favour bestowed upon him. He also received numerous manors from the estate of Queen Isabella, including Christchurch, Westover and Ringwood (Hants.), Crookham (Berks.), and Catford (Kent).[34] He received a further eight grants over the next seven years. These included the manors of Bisham (Berks.), Dalchette (Bucks.), Wooton Fitzpaine, Frome Whitfield,

[31] *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 211; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 3, p. 176.
[32] *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 42.
[33] For more on the promotion of these men to the titled nobility see below, pp. 270-1. Some useful secondary work on the grants made to these individuals at this time can be found in Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 95-6, 132-7; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 22-5; D.P. Franke, 'Prowess and Privilege: Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and the Limits of Chivalry in Edward III's England', in *Prowess, Piety and Public Order in Medieval Society: Studies in Honour of Richard Kaeuper*, ed. C.M. Nakashian and D.P. Franke (Leiden, 2017), pp. 69-72; C. Shenton, 'The English Court and the Restoration of Royal Prestige, 1327-1345' (unpublished D.Phil thesis: University of Oxford, 1995), pp. 38-56.
[34] *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 210; TNA, C81/178/4285; *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 54.

Marshwood, Worth Maltravers (all Dorset) and Poole Keynes (Wilts.), along with the forest of Selkirk and Ettrick, and the town and county of Selkirk and Peebles (Scotland), all of which were granted in 1335 alone.[35] There is also some evidence that Montagu expanded his property portfolio by buying land in these years. In 1332, he secured a pardon for acquiring the manors of Penmayn and Lessemayn in Shropshire without a licence, while in early 1337 he purchased an acre of land in Kingsclere (Hants) and the advowson of the church there for 500 marks.[36] The generous patronage bestowed on Montagu thus enabled him to become a significant landholder across much of south-west England.

Robert Ufford, William Bohun and William Clinton were similarly, if not quite as extensively, rewarded for their household service in the 1330s. On 24 January 1331, 'with the assent of parliament, in consideration of service rendered, especially the danger incurred by him at the castle of Nottingham in arresting certain persons at the king's command', Ufford was granted £200 of land in tail male – meaning it would revert to any male heirs of his body after his death. This included the manors of Gravesend (Kent) worth £20 a year, Burgh (Norf.) worth £30 a year, and two-thirds of the manor of Gestingthorpe (Kent) worth £10 a year.[37] Ufford was also granted the reversion of the manor of Costessey (Norf.) on the death of John Clavering, worth some £150 a year, and a house called 'le Bas Court' by Cripplegate in London.[38] William Bohun's most notable property dealings in these years were with Thomas Brotherton, the earl of Norfolk, who, having entered into a number of land transactions that did not work to his advantage, surrendered to the king almost all of the manors which he had received from the forfeited Despenser estate in 1327. These lands were then re-granted by Edward to Brotherton for life on the condition that on his death they would pass to Bohun.[39] Finally, William Clinton's fortunes, at first glance, appear less

[35] *CPR, 1334-38*, pp. 178, 349; *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 328; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 3, p. 178.
[36] *CFR, 1327-37*, p. 330; *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 387.
[37] *CCharR, 1327-41*, pp. 210-11.
[38] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 3, pp. 177-8.
[39] For more see S. Waugh, 'Thomas [Thomas of Brotherton], first earl of Norfolk (1300–1338)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27196?docPos=2 (accessed 28/6/17).

profitable. Indeed, other than a licence to enfeoff some of the land that he had received from the earl of Kent's estates, Clinton received little in the early 1330s.[40] The simple explanation for this is that he had been so amply rewarded during the minority that it was not necessary to continue doing so thereafter. Indeed, his marriage to Julianna Leybourne in 1328 – who was not only the sole heiress of the considerable Leybourne inheritance but was also twice widowed, by Hugh Hastings and Thomas Blount, and so came with two sizeable dowers – provided Clinton with a formidable estate in Kent.[41]

Clinton was not the only household knight to receive a favourable marriage arrangement while serving as a household knight. William Bohun also did well in this respect, marrying Elizabeth Mortimer, the widow of Edmund Mortimer (d.1332) and co-heiress of the valuable Baldesmere inheritance, in 1335.[42] Likewise, Guy Brian married the widow of Hugh Despenser in c.1349, while Peter de Breux married Joan Howard, a Plantagenet and relation of the king.[43] A perk of being a household knight was clearly the prospect it gave of a favourable marriage arrangement. Even so, not all household knights were content for marriages to be arranged for them. Some seemingly used their connection to the king and his household to secure favourable marriages of their own. In 1339 or 1340, Thomas Holland secretly married the wealthy countess of Kent without the king's permission. Joan was the daughter of the earl of Kent and had been raised in the royal household following her father's execution in 1330. Though legal, the nature of the marriage angered the king and Joan was forced into a second, bigamous marriage shortly afterwards, this time to the son and heir of William Montagu, also named William. Holland consequently spent much of the rest of his life serving the king at court and on campaign in France to 'enhance his repute and standing' to a level worthy of a wife who was of a considerably higher

[40] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 171.
[41] For more see W.M. Ormrod, 'Leybourne, Juliana, countess of Huntingdon (1303/4–1367)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54433/?back=,53080 (accessed 06/06/17).
[42] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 66-7.
[43] For a useful table of noble marriages under Edward III, see Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 4, pp. 190-1.

station, and was only permitted to live openly as Joan's husband after 1349, when a papal bull dissolved her marriage to Montagu.[44] In a similar case, Walter Mauny married the daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, and widow of Lord Seagrave, in or around 1353 without the king's consent – an act that also brought the king's disfavour.[45] Finally, Hugh Frene abducted and married the countess of Lincoln, a twice-dowered widow, in 1335, shortly after becoming a household knight and was subsequently arrested and imprisoned. By spring 1336, however, Frene had been pardoned, released and entered into to his new lands.[46]

Overall, the first decade of Edward's reign was, then, a profitable time to be a household knight. As Edward's reign wore on, however, the king's ability, and perhaps even desire, to reward his household knights with grants of land diminished.[47] Formal grants of lands were still made. Thomas Bradeston received various manors in Gloucestershire in part fulfilment of an earlier grant in 1345.[48] John Beauchamp of Warwick, meanwhile, was granted the manor of Oddingley in 1346 when its owner, Thomas Haukeston, died.[49] Nevertheless, these grants were less common and generally made on a smaller scale. Of those household knights who were also peers of the realm, for instance, fifty-one grants were made for a minimum life-term between 1330 and 1337, compared to just twenty-four such grants across the rest of Edward's reign.[50] This represented a fall from an average of 7.2 grants a year during the first decade of Edward's reign, to just 0.6 a year thereafter.

In place of land-based grants, limited-term feudal grants such as wardships and marriage rights became far more common.[51] Though only offering a temporary financial boost, wardships

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[44] A. Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent: A Fourteenth-Century Princess and her World* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 22-64.
[45] J. Sumption, 'Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter (c.1310–1372)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17985 (accessed 29/6/17).
[46] *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 282; *CFR, 1327-37*, pp. 473, 491; *CCR, 1333-37*, pp. 353, 554, 561, 564. See also *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Edward III*, ed. G.O. Sayles (London, 1958), v, pp. 90-1. See also Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 64.
[47] Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, pp. 58-9.
[48] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 517.
[49] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 123.
[50] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 3.
[51] For more on wardships and marriage rights, see ibid., pp. 61-3, 67-70; J.S. Bothwell, '"Escheat with Heir": Guardianship, Upward Mobility and Political Reconciliation in the Reign of Edward III', *Canadian Journal of History*, 35

and marriage rights were welcomed by household knights because they offered the potential to increase an individual's standing in their native region by marrying an important heir, heiress or widow into their own families, and provided them with the possibility of a future generation of political allegiance in the case of young wards. During the 1340s, no fewer than twelve grants of marriage rights to an heir or widow were made to household knights, an impressive 35 percent of the total for the decade – figures broadly representative of Edward's reign as a whole.[52] No fewer than forty-seven wardships, meanwhile, were granted to twenty-eight separate household knights under Edward III, a considerable proportion of the 205 granted in total (23 percent).[53] These figures are in a similar order of magnitude as those found by Scott Waugh for royal household knights between 1217 and 1327, who received 184 grants of wardship during this 110-year period, compared to 206 granted to the rest of the nobility.[54] As Waugh suggested for thirteenth-century household knights, then, it is evident that fourteenth-century household knights were also the favoured recipients of such grants.

It is also worth noting that the household knights' receipt of wardships increased in almost every decade of Edward's reign (Table 8.1). The notable exception is the 1350s; however, the data for this decade is heavily affected by the fact that the wardrobe account books in these years do not survive as well as for other decades of Edward's reign, and so the names of many household knights are unrecoverable. If the lot of Guy Brian in the 1350s is anything to go by, it would certainly appear that the figures for 1350-60 given on Table 8.1 are misrepresentative. Brian received four separate grants of wardship between 1350 and 1360, including land from the estates of the earls of Pembroke and March, and Hugh Despenser, grandson of Hugh Despenser the Younger. Consequently, it is probably the lack of known household knights in the 1350s that

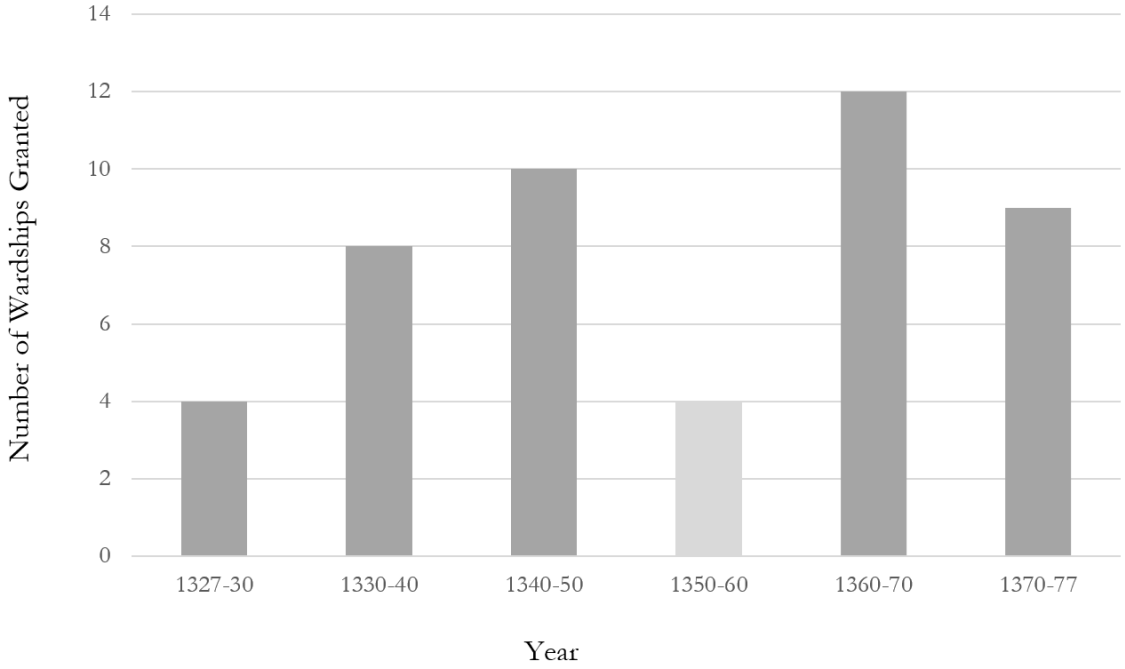
(2000), 241–273; S. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 144-56, 207-21.

[52] See, *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 40, 61, 81. See also Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 4, pp. 184-91.

[53] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 150.

[54] Waugh, *The Lordship of England*, pp. 182-5. For more detail on the granting of wardships to household knights under Henry III see K. Lightfoot, 'The Household Knights of Henry III, 1216-1258' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Wales, 2006), pp. 417-26.

Table 8.1 – Wardships Granted to Household Knights:



Note: The figures for the decade 1350-60 are artificially small because the survival rate of wardrobe account books for this period is particularly poor and the names of household knights thus largely unknown.

accounts for this anomaly, rather than royal policy.[55] The figures for the 1360s and 1370s, which continued to rise despite the finalisation of the move to a chamber knight system, are also worth remarking on. Indeed, twenty-one grants of wardship were made to the twenty-one chamber knights who served between 1360 and 1377 (an average of one per person), compared to just twenty-six grants of wardship made to the 270 household knights who served during the thirty-three years prior to this (roughly 0.1 per person). This ensured that certain individuals did especially well in this regard after 1360, with Richard Pembridge receiving six separate wardship between 1361 and 1364, and Peter de Breux the custody of four estates between 1363 and 1369. Such figures go a long way in reinforcing how important wardships became in Edward's household patronage programme later in his reign.[56]

[55] See Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 5, pp. 198-9. *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 298, 308, 578-9.
[56] *CPR, 1361-64*, pp. 42, 124, 259, 304, 326, 348, 441, 505; *CPR, 1364-67*, p. 409; *CPR, 1367-70*, p. 333.

The increasing use of temporary feudal rights such as wardships and marriage rights as a means for rewarding household knights under Edward III is a point worth dwelling on. Indeed, although external factors such as the number of wardships available to the king partially dictated the regularity with which these grant types could be used to patronise household knights, that all were used more regularly during the second half of Edward reign than the first sits perfectly within the broader picture of royal patronage under Edward III. In particular, it correlates well with the argument put forward by Mark Ormrod and James Bothwell that Edward became increasingly disinclined to reward his supporters with permanent land grants as his reign progressed, preferring instead to use limited-term grants as a means of keeping the nobility – or, in this case, his household knights – reliant on the crown for future favour and reducing the impact such grants had on royal revenues.[57] When viewed in this light, the grants of feudal rights Edward made to his household knights over the course of his reign do not only appear as a simple reward for past service, but also an incentive for future service. This had the secondary effect of ensuring that the sons of favoured household knights rendered service to the king to continue receiving such favour. Indeed, as Bothwell has argued 'when an individual died and a less favoured son took his place', the family 'lost a considerable amount of the gains that the [father]… had made'.[58] This even applied to men such as William Montagu who, though so favoured in the 1330s, left his son with few properties that were not reclaimed by the crown or another party upon his death. Consequently, though generous, Edward's grants to his household knights should be seen as part of a well-conceived programme of royal patronage aimed at fostering a sense of the perpetual profitability of royal service.

This is supported by the extent to which the custody of so-called 'alien priories' was used to reward household knights later in Edward's reign. These 'alien priories' first came into Edward's

[57] Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, pp. 58-9; Ormrod, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority', pp. 6-7; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 162-3; Bothwell, '"Escheat with Heir"', pp. 1132-1133; J.S. Bothwell, '"Until He Receive the Equivalent in Land and Rent": The Use of Annuities as Endowment Patronage in the Reign of Edward III', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), pp. 162-3.
[58] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 122-4.

hands in 1337 when all 'priories, houses, benefices, lands, places, goods and chattels' belonging to any French religious order were confiscated owing to the outbreak of Hundred Years War.[59] This left the king with a mass (and to some extent a mess) of lands and buildings to grant out for the duration of the war with France, much of which went to his household knights. Richard Stury was granted custody of the alien priory of Thurleigh (Kent) in 1373.[60] John Darcy 'le fitz', meanwhile, though originally only granted a £40 annuity from the farm of Minster Lovell, was in 1353 granted custody of the priory itself as he was finding it difficult to secure the money.[61] Once more these grants were made only for a limited duration, and thus contribute to the notion that Edward was less willing to permanently reward his household knights after 1340 than he was before.

Although the extent of the land-based patronage granted to household knights is unmistakable, it is important to ask to what extent the generous grants made to these men was a direct result of their household status. There were, after all, many additional factors that affected what was granted to each individual. Existing family and geographic considerations were significant, as each grant had the potential to alter the make-up of the political community of an area. Likewise, as Daniel Franke has recently argued, the reason Robert Ufford was so favoured throughout his career may have been because he possessed two important qualities – prowess and loyalty – traits that were common amongst, but not exclusive to, household knights.[62] Finally, it is important to note that the household knights who received the lion's share of patronage under Edward III can all be affixed the label 'new men' – that is, as Bothwell has argued, men who did not come from long-established noble families, but were rather the first-generation of their family to become peers of the realm.[63] As a group these men were more generously rewarded than the established nobility because that they had only limited resources to begin with, and so required

[59] *CFR, 1337-47*, pp. 36-7. For more see, A.K. McHardy, 'The Effects of War on the Church: The Case of the Alien Priories in the Fourteenth Century', in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (London, 1989), pp. 277-96; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 56-7.
[60] *CPR, 1370-74*, p. 366.
[61] *CFR, 1347-56*, pp. 329, 364; McHardy, 'The Effects of War', p. 282; A.J. Taylor, 'The Alien Priory of Minster Lovell', *Oxoniensia*, 2 (1937), 103-17, esp. p. 112.
[62] Franke, 'Prowess and Privilege', pp. 62-84.
[63] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 15-27.

greater support from the king in order to serve him well.[64] It would be expected that those household knights who were also 'new men' would, therefore, be well provided for.

Notwithstanding these limitations, there is a great deal to suggest that the household knights were specifically favoured as recipients of royal patronage under Edward III. First, as noted above, the rate at which grants were made to household knights was almost always higher than it was for those not of the household. Of the ten grants made from the earl of Kent's forfeited estate, for instance, eight went to household knights. Moreover, Bothwell has identified thirteen individuals who received four or more grants under Edward III, all of whom, with the exception of Henry of Grosmont, were household knights.[65] Nor were these twelve knights only passing members of the household. Rather, they were William Montagu, Robert Ufford, John Darcy 'le pere', William Bohun, Roger Swinnerton, John Beauchamp of Warwick, Thomas Bradeston, Walter Mauny, John Stirling, Guy Brian, Reginald Cobham and William Clinton, all individuals who founded their careers in long household service. Further still, the duration of the grants made to Edward's household knights is worth drawing attention to. Take the grants made to Montagu in the 1330s. Montagu received seventeen individual grants of lands in the 1330s, of which four were made for life, seven with entail, and six in fee, with one of the life grants later upgraded to fee. Of the five forms of grant used by Edward III, grants made in fee were the most desirable to the recipient as they permitted them to be passed on to their heirs. Next were tail male and entail, which permitted them to be passed to any male heir, or a named heir, respectively. Finally, grants for life, or those for a set duration, such as alien priories, were the least desirable, for they offered no prospect of building a familial inheritance.[66] Importantly, the rate at which lands were granted in fee to Montagu in the 1330s was considerably higher than for the other members of the nobility, suggesting that he was being singled out for special favour. The only individuals who received a comparable proportion of their grants in fee were other household knights, such as Roger

[64] Ibid., pp. 149-50.
[65] Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 150.
[66] For types of grant tenure under Edward III, see ibid., pp. 32-7.

Swinnerton, who received three of his five grants in fee, the other two for life terms.[67] It can with some confidence be suggested, therefore, that the exemplary service offered as part of the royal household was a key factor in why so many of these men were so extensively rewarded.

8.1.2 Annuities, Pardons and Gifts

Given that land was not always readily available to the king, other sources of patronage were also regularly used to reward household knights. In particular, annuities were a routine method of showing favour.[68] It is important to note that the annuities granted to household knights under Edward III were not, as they were occasionally under Richard II, used as a means of retaining a man in royal service. That was what household fees and robes were for – different entities altogether. As such, not all men who received royal annuities under Edward III were household knights, nor did all household knights receive annuities. Rather, they were an additional marker of royal favour that could be granted to household knights to reward them for their time in service, support them if promoted to a new rank, or sustain them until land to the equivalent value could be found. Though generally a secondary indicator of favour compared to land, they were thus an important way in which the incomes of individual knights could be bolstered through the king's grace and were used to reward a much wider cross-section of the knightly household than land grants were, which were often only on offer to the household bannerets.

The use of annuities to patronise household knights in the fourteenth century was extensive. A total of ninety-five royal annuities were granted to sixty-four household knights over the course of Edward's reign (roughly 1.2 a year, see Appendix 3). Early in Edward's reign, the king was fortunate that the influx of lands which came into royal hands provided ample opportunity to grant annuities to his household knights, with four annuities (totalling £225) granted from sources late of the earl of Kent. Interestingly, such grants were made not only from the king's possessions, but

[67] Ibid., appendix 3, pp. 177-8; *CFR, 1327-37*, pp. 7-8; *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 33; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 21.
[68] For more on this and what follows, see Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 78-9; Bothwell, "'Until He Receive the Equivalent'", pp. 146-69.

also from Queen Philippa's, who appears to have been a dedicated patron of Edward's household knights. In 1343, for instance, Philippa made several grants to John Beauchamp of Warwick, including the farm of the castle of Southampton along with that of the nearby manor and park of Lyndhurst.[69] As such revenue streams dried up later in Edward's reign, however, there was a gradual move towards exchequer-based annuities, typically granted 'until he receive the equivalent in land or rent', a trend that continued through the rest of the reign.[70] The use of farms from alien priories also became a common way of sustaining grants made to household knights in the second half of Edward's reign, with Guy Brian receiving a £200 annuity from various alien priories in 1355 to support his promotion to the rank of household banneret.[71] Though the source of these annuity payments was almost certainly dictated by the resources available to the king, it is interesting to note that source-based annuities, such as those granted from the earl of Kent's estates at the beginning of Edward's reign, were generally favoured by the recipient because they provided a more stable form of income and were easier to collect than exchequer annuities, which required an individual to travel to London and navigate the complex exchequer payment system.[72] Consequently, the move to exchequer annuities in the 1340s, and limited term grants from alien priories in the 1350s, might be taken as an indication that Edward, as with land grants, sought to manage more closely the payment of these annuities as his reign progressed and thus keep the recipients focussed firmly on the crown for their rewards.

As with the sources used to finance them, the range in size of annuities granted to household knights was also considerable. If fortunate enough to obtain an annuity, the minimum a simple household knight – the lower of the two household ranks – could expect to receive was £20. This sum was granted to fourteen household knights over Edward's reign. It is unclear when or why

[69] *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 142, 235; J.S. Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d.1360)', *Medieval Prosopography*, 24 (2003), pp. 250-1.
[70] Bothwell, '"Until He Receive the Equivalent"', pp. 146-69.
[71] *CPR, 1354-58*, pp. 273, 287.
[72] Bothwell, '"Until He Receive the Equivalent"', pp. 155-8. See also G.L. Harriss, 'Preference at the Medieval Exchequer', *BIHR*, 30 (1975), 17-40.

such a figure was set, but it appears to have been used throughout Edward's reign to maintain household knights of modest means. It was first use in February 1327 when Walter Shobdon received an annuity to this value from a variety of sources and was last used in October 1365 when the chamber knight John Foxley was granted the same from the exchequer.[73] At the other end of the spectrum, some household bannerets – the upper rank of the knightly household – received more generous sums, such as Thomas Bradeston, who was granted a £500 annuity in 1339 following his promotion to the rank of banneret.[74]

The social status of each individual was clearly a factor in who got what. Indeed, household bannerets were generally awarded far greater sums than simple household knights. Similarly, length of service was important. Men such as Walter Mauny, who served as a household knight for roughly two decades, or John Beauchamp of Warwick, who served for twenty-two years, did very well, with Mauny receiving a total of £233 worth of annuities during his household career and Beauchamp over £280. That said, it was not a certainty that long household service was accompanied by large annuities. Thomas Holland, though a household knight for nearly a decade between 1338 and 1347, received no annuities at all. Perhaps the reason for this was that Holland, unlike Mauny and Beauchamp, was an established member of the nobility prior to his entry into the household and thus was less in need of financial support, though the strain that his secret marriage to the countess of Kent in 1339 put on his relationship with the king, and the wealth that the marriage brought him, was probably also a factor.[75] There was also a clear link between annuities and military service. Indeed, it is no coincidence that men such as Walter Mauny, John Beauchamp of Warwick and Reginald Cobham, all of whom were amongst Edward's most valued military captains, received the greatest amount of money through annuities. Finally, many of the annuities granted to household knights appear to have been made with a specific purpose in mind. For example, nineteen of the ninety-four annuities granted to household knights during Edward's

[73] *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 18; *CPR, 1364-67*, p. 186.
[74] *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 395.
[75] Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent*, pp. 22-64.

reign were done so as a way of supporting an individual following their promotion to a higher rank. The 400 marks granted to Reginald Cobham in 1338 was done so as to support him in his newly acquired status as a banneret.[76] On 26 August 1346, meanwhile, the day of the battle of Crécy, six household esquires were knighted and became household knights, while the simple household knight Thomas Lancaster was made a banneret. All seven of these men were provided with annuities to support their new rank, ranging from £20 to 100 marks (£66).[77]

While the granting of annuities to household knights was extensive, it should be noted that household knights do not appear to have been more successful than their non-household counterparts in actually securing what was owed to them. Indeed, while Guy Brian saw 94 percent of his exchequer annuities paid out, Thomas Bradeston 100 percent, and Reginald Cobham an overpayment of 137 percent, likely including other expenses owed to him, Michael Poynings received only 47 percent of what was owed.[78] Though clearly important as a method of rewarding household knights, the annuities these men received were still influenced by the wide conditions of royal patronage under Edward III. That is to say that, the discrepancy between what was promised and what was paid applied equally to these men as everyone else.

Annuities were not the only source of financial reward for Edward's household knights. Reliefs on rent payments, such as the £60 relief granted to Guy Brian on the £80 due of him for St Briavels castle and the forest of Dean following the Black Death, were also regularly granted.[79] So too were pardons from debts.[80] A pardon issued to William Montagu in 1334 released him from 'all debts due to the crown, the exchequer or in any courts'.[81] In 1339, meanwhile, Giles Beauchamp was pardoned from all debts, accounts and arrears accumulated since becoming constable of Scarborough castle, and in 1346 William Trussell was cleared of all debts that he had incurred while

[76] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 105-6, 152.
[77] *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 474.
[78] See Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, appendix 6b, pp. 203-4, also available in Bothwell, "'Until He Receive the Equivalent'", pp. 167-9. See also Harriss, 'Preference at the Medieval Exchequer'.
[79] *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 4.
[80] This has already been noted by E.B. Fryde in 'Magnate Debts to Edward I and Edward III: A Study of Common Problems and Contrasting Royal Reactions to Them', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 27 (1992), pp. 275-6.
[81] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 548.

acting as receiver of the chamber.[82] Similarly useful were royal licences. Licences to import or export goods were especially common. In 1338, during the height of Edward's experimentation with the wool customs, Henry Ferrers was granted a licence allowing him to export wool without paying any tariffs.[83] Likewise, in 1352 Guy Brian was granted a licence to bring one thousand quarters of oats to England from Ireland for his own use and profit, despite there being an embargo on such imports at the time.[84] The appeal of pardons and licences to the king as a form of reward is not hard to ascertain: they enabled Edward to show favour to his household knights by offering them some financial relief, but required little, if any, immediate financial outlay.

Royal favour could also be demonstrated through more symbolic gestures, such as gift giving.[85] Gifts were particularly common at New Years. In 1331, Queen Philippa, who was, as seen above, a generous patron to Edward's household knights, gave gifts to the value of £218 5*s* 8*d* to 148 members of the household, mainly belts and surcoats.[86] A year later, gold ornaments and brooches valued at £177 3*s* 10*d* were handed out to members of the court, with William Trussell, William Montagu, Edward Bohun, Gilbert Talbot, Ralph Neville and Thomas Bradeston all receiving jewels worth 5 marks apiece.[87] The distribution of goblets and bowls was also typical: in 1335 Gilbert Talbot, Edward Bohun, Robert Ufford and Roger Swinnerton all received a variety of engraved silver bowls and cups.[88] Though these gifts carried only relatively modest monetary value, their symbolic importance would have been considerable, and greatly appreciated by the household knights. This was perhaps at no point truer that in July 1335, when a gift 'for good service rendered, and out of special affection' was made to William Montagu of the right to bear

[82] *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 403; *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 476.
[83] *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 127.
[84] *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 196.
[85] For more on the context of gift giving at this time, see Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 94, 105-8; Church, 'The Rewards of Royal Service', pp. 286-7; Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', pp. 44-5; Shenton, 'The English Court', pp. 59-63. See also J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972).
[86] TNA, E101/384/18, mm. 1-3; Shenton, 'The English Court', p. 62. See also above, pp. 70-2.
[87] TNA, E101/385/16, mm. 3-4; Shenton, 'The English Court', p. 62.
[88] BL, MS Add. 46350, m. 2; Shenton, 'The English Court', p. 63.

the king's crest of an eagle.[89] The eagle was one of Edward III's best-known symbols and permitting Montagu to display it was a true sign of favour.[90] When combined with annuities, pardons and licences, such symbolic gestures would have added a further, crucial layer to the favourable patronage package that Edward's household knights had access to.

8.1.3 Appointments and Promotions

Another way of demonstrating preference for household knights was by appointing them to important political office or promoting them to a higher rank of the nobility. As has been seen above, household knights were routinely appointed to important military, administrative and political office.[91] Such appointments were beneficial to the king because they provided him with a dependable, accountable cadre of administrative officials whom he was directly retaining. It should not be overlooked, however, that these appointments also benefitted the appointee.[92] When John Darcy 'le pere' was appointed justiciar of Ireland in 1329, for instance, he was provided with an annual wage of £500.[93] The position of constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, meanwhile, could be equally as lucrative: Bartholomew Burghersh the elder enjoyed a wage of £800 a year while in the post, though more commonly the wage for this post was set at £300.[94] Acting as a constable of a royal castle was likewise often accompanied by financial incentives. John Foxley, for example, was awarded £20 a year while constable of the king's castle on the Isle of Sheppey.[95] It would also have been possible for men serving in political office to make additional money on the side – often by unscrupulous means. Indeed, while the accounts of royal agents were closely scrutinised, this did not stop some working these positions to their advantage.[96]

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[89] *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 348.
[90] I would like to thank Matthew Ward for his thoughts on this point.
[91] See, for instance, Table 3.1, p. 94; Table 3.3, p. 110.
[92] See, for instance, R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2003), esp. pp. 102-25; Rickard, *The Castle Community*, p. 32.
[93] *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 316. See also *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 340.
[94] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 152; *CPR, 1367-70*, p. 434.
[95] *CPR, 1364-67*, p. 186.
[96] G. Dodd, 'Corruption in the Fourteenth-Century English State', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), p. 723; Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century English Sheriff*, pp. 102-25.

Of greater benefit than the temporary offices to which household knights were appointed were the promotions that many enjoyed to the higher ranks of the nobility. It has been commented that, outside of the Church, the royal household was one of best forums for career progression in the fourteenth century, and this certainly seems true of Edward III's household knights.[97] It was not uncommon for simple household knights to work their way up to becoming household bannerets: eighteen men did so under Edward III. Admittedly, some individuals, such as Thomas Swinnerton, who was a household knight for over two decades but never secured a promotion to household banneret, were not so fortunate. Nevertheless, when the careers of men such as Guy Brian, who began as a household esquire in the 1330s, and had become one of Edward's most notable household bannerets by the 1350s, or Walter Mauny, a Hainaulter who became one of England's most respected war captains through his household service, are considered, there can be no doubt that household service was an excellent way to climb the career ladder in the fourteenth century.[98]

Movement within the ranks of the household was not the limit of social mobility on offer. Entry into the peerage was also a realistic goal. As discussed in Chapter 6, many of Edward's household knights went on to become the first generation of their families to receive individual summons to parliament: men such as John Darcy 'le pere', William Clinton, Reginald Cobham and John Beauchamp of Warwick were not of families that would ordinarily have guaranteed them parliamentary summons, yet all became regular peers under Edward III.[99] Such a substantial show of favour was unique to Edward's household men: the household knights of Edward I and II were rarely so honoured, and under Richard II just one chamber knight was ever raised to the peerage.[100]

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[97] T.F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1913), p. 66, Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 133-7. It should be noted that Chris Given-Wilson's work on Richard II has shown that these opportunities were far more limited in the later fourteenth century: Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, p. 57.

[98] For more on the careers of Brian and Mauny, see J.L. Gillespie, 'Brian, Guy, Baron Brian (c.1310–1390)', in *ODNB*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38896?docPos=1 (accessed 29/6/17); Sumption, 'Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter (c.1310–1372)'.

[99] See above, pp. 202-4. See also Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, pp. 15-27.

[100] Ingamells, 'Household Knights of Edward I', ii, pp. 123-68; Tebbit, 'Household Knights of Edward II', pp. 155-92; Given-Wilson, *Household and Affinity*, pp. 167-8.

Yet promotion to the peerage was still not the pinnacle of political promotion for household knights under Edward III. Nine of the twenty-four founding members of the Order of the Garter were household knights, while many of the replacement members were likewise linked.[101] Moreover, in 1337 four long-serving household knights – William Montagu, William Clinton, William Bohun and Robert Ufford – were raised to earldoms.[102] Admittedly, the creation of the earls in 1337 was, to some extent, a result of the fact that the ranks of the upper nobility were in desperate need of replenishment after decades of failing family lines and forfeited earldoms through civil war.[103] Nevertheless, that four of the six men who entered the titled nobility on this occasion were household knights cannot be ignored. Indeed, the exemplary service that these men had offered during the first decade of Edward's rule, all having been with him at the Nottingham coup of 1330 and all having rendered regular military service in Scotland, coupled with the intimate relationship they would have built with the king during their time in the royal household, meant that when the opportunity arose they were the ideal candidates for these appointments.

8.2 Informal Benefits

8.2.1 Prestige and Legal Maintenance

Thus far this chapter has focussed on the formal rewards that the household knights received – land, money and titles. A number of less tangible benefits also came from royal service in the later Middle Ages. The most basic of these was the prestige that each knight derived from their attachment to the crown. In his work on royal livery collars in the fifteen century, Matthew Ward argued that wearing royal livery allowed an individual to take on 'a degree of authority and worship from a more prestigious individual or dynasty', suggesting that 'it was as if the dignity of the king

[101] See above, Table 6.6, p. 213.
[102] For the creations see *CCharR, 13217-41*, pp. 400-2; *Reports from the Lord's Committee touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm* (London, 1820-9), v, pp. 29-32.
[103] For background to these appointments, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 137-38; Bothwell, 'Edward III… and the 1337 Earls'.

had to some extent rubbed off on the wearer of his livery'.[104] The right to wear household robes would have enhanced the prestige of Edward's household knights in a similar, if not greater, way. Indeed, unlike later livery collars, which were distributed to a wide range of informal retainers and political supporters often numbering in the hundreds, household robes were reserved for the staff of the household, a small and prestigious group.[105] Such prestige does not always appear to have been as highly regarded amongst Edward III's household knights as one might expect: in 1338 John Sapy was granted the right to 'draw such wages and robes in the household as other of the king's knights receive', only for him to trade this privilege in for three tuns of wine from the port of Bristol each year.[106] Aside from this solitary example, however, it seems probable that the majority of household knights bore the robes which they were gifted proudly.

The prestige that came with being a household knight also had an impact on the activities of these men in their respective localities. This is illustrated by the regularity with which household knights secured favours for their personal associates. In June 1344, for example, Richard Apperleigh was granted 'the first church that becomes available of the patronage of the priory of Durhurst, as he is a kinsman of Thomas Bradeston, who has served the king well'.[107] In 1352, meanwhile, various privileges and liberties were granted to the burgesses of the town of St Briavels at the request of Guy Brian, who was constable of the town's castle at the time.[108] In 1335, William Clinton used his influence with the king to secure a pardon for the outlawed Henry Leyburn, a relation of his wife, for various robberies worth 40*s* 10*d* along with a myriad of addition felonies and trespasses.[109] Finally, in 1342 John Croxton was pardoned for various felonies committed in Bordeaux, including murder, at the request of the household knight Robert Dalton.[110] In addition to using their influence to secure favours for their associates, a minority of Edward's household

[104] M. Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 87.
[105] Ibid., pp. 2, 43-6.
[106] *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 55; *CPR 1340-43*, p. 292.
[107] *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 265.
[108] *CCharR, 1327-41*, p. 125.
[109] *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 180.
[110] *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 435, 468.

knights also used their royal association to dominate their neighbourhoods. As seen in the previous chapter, John Molyns spent much of the 1330s terrorising the people of Buckinghamshire, where he was accused of various murders, thefts and systematic intimidation.[111] Accusations were also made against Thomas Bradeston for his actions in Gloucestershire, where it was claimed he acted as a 'rampant lion', unlike at court where he was 'a little saint'.[112] It was also asserted that 'if Bradeston were not so close to the king, a thousand petitions would be brought against him' for his action.

To what extent was this claim true, and the king guilty of offering his household knights some protection from the law? Though often unpopular, it was a fact of medieval legal practice that a lord would often intervene on the part of his retainer – a phenomenon known as maintenance.[113] The degree to which the king was expected to support his household knights' interests in this way – and the extent to which this was deemed acceptable to the wider political community – is difficult to establish. Rosemary Horrox claimed that a royal knight was 'not expected to devote himself single-mindedly to the king's interests… on the contrary, part of the attraction of royal service was the chance it gave for private interests to be pursued with more muscle.'[114] This, argued Horrox, is made clear from a letter written by John Paston III, who was engaged in a local dispute when contemplating entry into the king's service, in which he stressed that he wanted the king to take his 'service and quarrel together'. However, a king had to be careful not to take this support too far. Tony Moore has shown that under Henry III the king was the subject of numerous complaints regarding his protection of royal courtiers in the central law courts.[115] More radical were the accusations made against Richard II concerning his maintenance

[111] See N. Fryde, 'A Medieval Robber Baron: Sir John Molyns of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire', in *Medieval Legal Records*, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 198-221. For the accusations against Molyns, see TNA, JUST1/74, mm. 4-17; JUST1/75, m. 8; KB27/388, m. 22, printed in Fryde, 'A Medieval Robber Baron', pp. 211-21.
[112] TNA, SC8/97/4826, printed in N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 266-7.
[113] J. Rose, *Maintenance in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2017).
[114] Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 17.
[115] T. Moore, '"If I do you Wrong, Who Will do you Right?" Justice and Politics during the Personal Rule of Henry III', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England*, ed. Thompson and Watts, pp. 15-37.

of members of his affinity. Amongst the accusations levelled against Richard following his deposition was the claim that certain members of the royal household had 'cruelly kill[ed] some of the king's subjects, beating and wounding others, plundering the goods of the people, refusing to pay for their provisions, and raping and ravishing both married and unmarried women. And although serious complaints were made to the king about the excesses committed by them, he made no attempt to stop them'.[116] Clearly, there was a fine line to walk. On the one hand, there was some expectation that a king would support his retainers in their legal disputes. On the other, such support could have disastrous consequences if taken too far.

As with many aspects of his reign, Edward walked this line well. He appears to have been moderate in his support of his household knights in legal cases, aware of the boundaries of acceptability, though occasionally straying beyond what was palatable to wider political society. Such can be inferred from a memoranda included on the King's Bench roll from the Michaelmas session of 1344. The memoranda reports that a letter had been sent to the household knight Robert Ferrers asserting that neither the chief justice of the bench, William Scot, nor any of his fellow justices, 'would do anything more in that court to meet the demands of the king or of Philippa, the queen of England, than of anyone else in the kingdom'.[117] Such a claim indicates a concern at the very highest level of the judiciary that the king was attempting to influence the outcome of the courts in his favour. Edward's response to the cases concerning Molyns and Bradeston seen above would seem to confirm this. There is little to suggest, for instance, that the petition against Bradeston made any headway. While there the outcome of the case is not recorded, Bradeston continued to rise in the king's esteem thereafter, becoming a banneret in 1339 and serving on several commissions of oyer and terminer in the 1340s.[118] Moreover, it is interesting to note, if

[116] *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II*, ed. and trans. C. Given-Wilson, (Manchester, 1993), p. 174. For more on Richard's protection of members of his affinity, see G. Dodd, 'Getting Away with Murder: Sir John Haukeston and Richard II's Cheshire Archers', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 46 (2001), 102-17.
[117] TNA, KB27/338, m. 162d, printed in *Select Cases of the Court of the King's Bench under Edward III*, ed. Sayles, vi, p. 36. For a more general discussion on corruption amongst royal justices in the fourteenth century, see Dodd, 'Corruption in the Fourteenth-Century English State', pp. 725-8.
[118] *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 28, 112, 443, 514.

speculatively, that the endorsement on the petition brought against Bradeston claims that the original complaint had been lost – something that would have been most convenient for Bradeston and the king.[119] The king's support of John Molyns was more explicit. Molyns received three royal pardons during the 1330s for a variety of felonies, suggesting that he received some element of royal protection in these years. What is particularly interesting, however, is that Molyns' actions did not go unpunished indefinitely. Rather, after Molyns fell out with the king for siding with the home council in their opposition of the king's reckless financial policies in the Low Countries in November 1340 – a decision in no small part inspired by the fact that the king owed Molyns the substantial sum of £698 3*s* 5*d* by this point – strenuous efforts were taken to ensure that Molyns was made accountable for his past transgressions. Proceedings were initiated in December 1340, less than a month after Molyns had taken his stand against the king, and in addition to a range of accusations concerning his conduct in Buckinghamshire it was alleged that Molyns had stolen money from the king himself.[120] The fact that it was only after his split from the king that nearly a decade's worth of grievances were pursued against Molyns clearly indicates that the king had been protecting him to some extent prior to this, though it should be noted that his close friendship with John Inge, a justice of the King's Bench, was also an important factor in his immunity in these years.[121] In the event, Molyns returned to the household in 1345 and was elevated to the peerage in 1347, suggesting that the value of the service he offered in the 1330s was not entirely eroded by his quarrel with the king in 1340. Even this was not enough, however, to protect him from his ultimate downfall in the 1350s when a sting of new complaints were brought against.

If the cases of Bradeston and Molyns are anything to go by, it seems clear that service as a household knight offered some protection from legal proceedings. This is not to say that household knights were above the law. William Clinton was made to return goods he had illegally

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[119] TNA, SC8/97/4826.
[120] *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 379; *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 97, 405; *Chronique de Londres*, ed. G.J. Aungier (Camden Society: London, 1844), p. 84.
[121] See Dodd, 'Corruption in the Fourteenth-Century English State', p. 725.

stolen from the Portuguese merchant Gunsalvo Gile while warden of the Cinque Ports.[122] Robert Dalton, meanwhile, having been constable of the Tower of London in the early 1340s, found himself a prisoner there in 1347, accused of the murders of Michael Poynings and Thomas le clerk of Shipton, as well as the rape of Joan, late wife of Nicholas de la Beche.[123] What was particularly important in this latter case is that Dalton was accused of 'assuming the royal power', that is, abusing his place in the royal government and connection to the king for personal gain, an offence that was equivalent to treason by the 1340s.[124] Plainly, there were limits to what the king's household knights could get away with. Nevertheless, it is clear that some level of legal immunity was a feature of household service in the fourteenth century. Indeed, the examples of Molyns and Bradeston were replicated elsewhere in the reign. Richard Pembridge, for instance, a household knight from at least 1353, entered into a quarrel with a John West of Hertfordshire in 1370, in which West claimed that Pembridge and his associates had ousted him from his lands and stolen various goods and chattels from him.[125] However, when West pursued his claims against Pembridge, Pembridge responded by bringing a commission of oyer and terminer against West, claiming that West had stolen pheasants, partridges, hares and rabbits from his warren at Ayot St Lawrence.[126] The inquest convicted West and ordered him to pay Pembridge 400 marks in compensation. West was also thrown into prison for four years where, 'for fear of his life', he released all his lands to Pembridge and brought to end all court proceedings against him.[127] As with Molyns, Pembridge too fell out of favour with the king, a consequence of his refusal to take up the office of lieutenant of Ireland of 1372, and so two years later, when West was released from prison, he was able to successfully bring his case against Pembridge. When added to the examples of Bradeston and Molyns, Pembridge's legal dealings in the 1370s clearly indicate that household

[122] TNA, SC8/48/2392.
[123] *CPR, 1345-48*, pp. 319, 366, 379, 384, 460. See also J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 69-70.
[124] Bellamy, *The Law of Treason*, pp. 67-71.
[125] TNA, SC8/77/3844.
[126] The initial commission was established on 12 May 1367 and was reissued 20 January 1370: *CPR, 1364-67*, p. 438; *CPR, 1367-70*, p. 354.
[127] TNA, SC8/184/9195.

knights received some legal protection while in household service. It would be a disservice to Edward to suggest that this was all his doing: as important as the actual protection household knights received in court was the perception of this protection. It was certainly this which lay behind the claim of the people of King's Barton that a thousand cases would have been brought against Thomas Bradeston had he not been so close to the king. Moreover, it is striking how few and far between complaints such as those made against Molyns, Bradeston and Pembridge were during Edward III's reign. Indeed, Edward III's household knights rarely appear on the wrong side of the law, perhaps a reflection of the fact that the majority of Edward's household knights did not abuse their position to such an extent to illicit wider complaint.

While relatively few of Edward's household knights were involved in criminal cases, a great deal more engaged in legal litigation regarding their land-holdings. In some cases, the preference shown to household knights was plain. In 1338, William, son of Bernard, presented documents to the chancery which proved that he was the rightful holder of the manor of Ilmere (Bucks.), which had recently been granted to John Molyns. However, the king decided that owing to Molyns' long service and the 'great charges and grave perils… both beyond the seas and within', Molyns should have the right to the manor.[128] More often, the support the king offered his household knights was subtler than this. Two cases illustrate this well. The first concerns the long-serving household knight John Darcy 'le pere' and his quarrel with Thomas Rocelyn over the manors of Edgefield and Walcott in Norfolk in 1331. These manors, which had once belonged to Rocelyn, had been granted to Darcy during the latter years of Edward II's reign, but were forcibly re-entered by Rocelyn in 1327. Though Darcy was willing to yield the manors, he refused to repay Rocelyn the profits generated from them while they were in his possession, and petitioned the king for respite.[129] Darcy's case was put to the prelates, earls and barons who had been appointed to oversee the gifts made by the late king (Edward II), and it was decided that Edward would 'speak to

[128] *CPR, 1338-40*, pp. 156-7.
[129] TNA, SC8/239/11949.

Thomas [Rocelyn] so that John [Darcy was] discharged of the money owed'. In addition, the decision was taken to provide Darcy with compensation for the land from which he had been expelled. Plainly, the king and his advisors were keen to see a beneficial solution to the quarrel for Darcy, granting him above and beyond what he had requested in his petition. Moreover, that the king decided to personally intervene in the case by talking to Roselyn indicates that he was willing to lend his personal support to his household knights in their legal disputes – especially if, like Darcy, they were long-serving knights.

The second case concerns Gawain Corder and John Lisle of the Isle of Wight.[130] This protracted case had its roots in 1316, when Corder was granted the manor of Grafton in Northamptonshire which had escheated to the crown following the forfeiture of William Hanred. According to Lisle, Hanred had held the manor from his late father, Roger, and so the manor should have escheated to him rather than the king upon Hanred's death, and should therefore now have been in Lisle's possession. Lisle petitioned parliament to this end on numerous occasions during the late 1320s. Each time, however, he was rebuffed.[131] Lisle petitioned the king again in 1330, pleading for a final solution to the case and it was ordered that the treasurer and chamberlain should search their charters and other muniments, rolls and memoranda to certify Lisle's claims.[132] These searches found nothing and so it was ordered that the chief justice of the Bench should take on the case 'as long as he proceed with no judgement without first consulting the king' – a clear indication once again of the king's personal interest in a case concerning a long-serving household knight.[133] Despite the apparent progress made in 1330, the case stalled for much of the next decade, with several letters of protection issued to Corder while he was fighting with Edward in Scotland, and a number of pardons issued excusing him for non-attendance at court concerning this matter.[134] The final decision on the case appears to have come in September 1339, when a writ was

[130] It should be noted that Lisle also served time as a household knight, though only briefly in 1328.
[131] TNA, SC8/53/2641; SC8/53/2650; SC8/206/10291.
[132] TNA, SC8/54/2653; SC8/54/2682.
[133] *CCR, 1330-33*, pp. 70-1.
[134] Letters of protection: *CPR, 1330-34*, pp. 265, 401, 420, 461. Pardons: *CCR, 1330-33*, p. 431; *CCR, 1333-37*, p. 456.

issued personally by the king confirming that the manor was the possession of Corder and that upon his death it should revert to Simon Simeon, the king's yeoman.[135] Clearly, for all his petitioning, Lisle had been unable to make headway against Corder. In the event, Corder, seemingly tired of the manor and the case, sold it to William le Zouche for 100 marks the following year.[136] Nevertheless, this case demonstrates once again the possibility for preference in legal proceedings that could come from having such a close personal relationship with the king.

Clearly, household knights received some support from the king in the above cases. What cannot be ignored, however, is the diligence that Edward paid to proper procedure in each. Indeed, in theory, Edward would have been within his rights to simply reject the petitions brought against his household knights, finding some technicality on which to quash them.[137] Some of his predecessors, such as Henry III, had few qualms about taking such brazen action.[138] Nor had Edward II in relation to the Despensers.[139] In practice, however, Edward III was more respectful of the law than this. Neither of the above cases was simply overturned, and each spent many years working their way through the formal mechanisms of the judiciary, albeit with the king's eye cast over proceedings. Whether such restraint was a deliberate policy on Edward's part is hard to know. Anthony Musson has certainly painted Edward as a man who recognised the importance of law and legal procedure during his reign.[140] If so, it was well conceived, for it allowed Edward's household knights to feel supported, but not to such an extent to draw criticism from the wider political community. If, on the other hand, it was simply that Edward respected the law too much to ride roughshod over it, this too says a great deal about his ideas of kingship, the place of the law in his rule, and the limits to which he was prepared to support his friends.

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135 *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 393.
136 TNA, CP25/1/177/75, no. 200.
137 For more, see G. Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 79-82.
138 Moore, "'If I do you Wrong'".
139 S.I. Walker, 'Tyranny, Complaint and Redress: The Evidence of the Petitions Presented to the Crown c.1320 to 1335' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 2013), pp. 64-108.
140 A. Musson, 'Second "English Justininan" or Pragmatic Opportunist? A Re-Examination of the Legal Legislation of Edward III's Reign', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. Bothwell, pp. 69-88.

8.2.2 Extraordinary Military Benefits

The final area in which household knights received preferential treatment was in their military service. That military service was profitable under Edward III has been the subject of much study in recent years, and it is now broadly accepted that warfare could be lucrative for the English nobility at this time.[141] In addition to the regular benefits of war, it appears that further rewards were on offer to the household knights. Take, for example, money received in recompense for lost warhorses. Warhorses were a valuable commodity in the fourteenth century and prior to a campaign each captain would have the warhorses in his retinue valued so that compensation could be sought from the crown if any were lost. Andrew Ayton has uncovered a number of examples in which the king replaced very expensive warhorses belonging to members of his household, many of which had not even been appraised before the campaign, which was, he suggests, a sign of preferential treatment.[142] William Montagu received £100 for horses lost in 1336, far more than any other. Between 1337 and 1338, meanwhile, a remarkable £1,281 5*d* was paid to household knights for lost warhorses.[143] Though these would only have been small, irregular contributions to the household knights' pockets, they would have been welcome and provided another important sign of royal favour.

Less common, though usually more lucrative, was the preferential treatment household knights received concerning ransoms. Though it was common for Edward to forcibly procure politically important prisoners,[144] it seems that he was prepared to pay considerably better compensation in this regard to his own household knights. Walter Mauny made roughly £8,000

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141 For a summary, see G.L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 133-5. See also Partington, 'The Nature of Noble Service to Edward III'.
142 A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 80-1.
143 Shenton, 'The English Court', p. 47; TNA, E101/388/5, mm. 26-7.
144 J. Beriac-Laine and C. Given-Wilson, 'Edward III's Prisoners of War: The Battle of Poitiers and its Context', *EHR*, 116 (2001), esp. pp. 815-16; D. Hay, 'The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth Century England', *TRHS*, 5th series, 4 (1954), pp. 101-2; R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 52-61.

between 1333 and 1340 by selling prisoners to the king, while Reginald Cobham was promised 6,500 'old florins' (£1,226) for the count of Longeville in February 1369, though he was still attempting to recover the money in the earl years of Richard II's reign.[145] The household knights' preference in this regard is most apparent in the fate of two captives taken at the siege of Caen in 1346. The two men captured were the count of Eu, taken by Thomas Holland, and the count of Tancarville, constable of France, seized by the relatively unknown knight Thomas Daniel. What is important here is the price each man received for his prisoner. Holland received £12,000 from Edward for the count of Eu, while Daniel received just £666 for Tancarville.[146] Given that these were prisoners of broadly comparable political and military standing, it seems reasonable to suggest that the payments offered to each captor were affected by Holland's royal connection. Admittedly, other factors must have been at work in this instance to create such an extreme variation in payment. Nevertheless, this case does seem to indicate that household knights received preferable rates for the prisoners they took.

By the fourteenth century, convention (and increasingly contract) also dictated that a retinue leader was responsible for ensuring the release of any member of his retinue who fell into enemy hands.[147] Interestingly, the king seems to have been no different in this with his household knights. Though few household knights were captured under Edward III, the case of John Stirling is telling. Stirling, who was captured fighting with the king in France in 1341, was gifted 250 marks and granted the reversion of the Northumbrian manors of Belsay and Newland shortly after, along with various other properties, specifically to compensate him for his capture and ransom.[148] When

[145] M. Prestwich, 'The English Army to 1485', in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, ed. D.G. Chandler and I. Beckett (Oxford, 1994), p. 13; Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage*, p. 105; Beriac-Laine and Given-Wilson, 'Edward III's Prisoners of War', p. 832; *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 167.
[146] For the count of Eu, see *CPR, 1345-1348*, p. 337; for the count of Tancarville, see *Accounts of the Chamberlains and other Officers of the County of Chester, 1301-1360*, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (London, 1910), p. 126.
[147] Remy, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 149, 233-4; M. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 156-85.
[148] A. King, "'According to the Custom used in French and Scottish Wars": Prisoners and Casualties on the Scottish Marches in the Fourteenth Century', *JMH*, 28 (2002), p. 274.

added to the other range of informal benefits on offer for service in the royal household, it is easy to see why service as a household knight was desirable in the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

Edward III's household knights were well rewarded for the time they spent in service. Lands, wardship, marriage rights and annuities, as well as the range of informal benefits on offer, all ensured that household service was a lucrative affair. Importantly, these grants were never so extensive nor narrowly focussed to attract any substantial criticism from the wider political community: while some petitions were brought against the actions of Edward's household knights, these were rare, and always focussed on the individual knight, not the king or his knightly household as an institution. Such conclusions, while perhaps unsurprising, are nevertheless valuable, for they sit well within the wider picture of royal patronage under Edward III. In particular, they suggest that a powerful, symbiotic bond, existed between service and reward at this time. Indeed, while it is impossible to know whether the household knights would have served in such a capacity regardless of the benefits on offer, that they so routinely received generous rewards in return for their service clearly demonstrates that the bestowal of patronage in return for loyalty and service were fundamental elements of the household knight system – and kingship more broadly – at this time. Likewise, that Edward's reign witnessed such a clear shift from land-based grants made for a minimum of a life-term, to limited-term grants such as wardship and marriage rights, indicates that while Edward's generosity to his household knights cannot be overlooked, nor can the sophistication with which this was done. Indeed, such a move ensured that Edward was not only rewarding his household for the services they had already rendered, but was promoting royal service as the principal channel though which future favour could be obtained.

Conclusion

Edward III's household knights occupied an important place in English warfare and politics in the fourteenth century. In part, this was because they permeated so many aspects of Edward's reign. Militarily, they assisted in financing and equipping royal armies, not least during the final years of the 1330s when Edward's efforts to form an alliance in the Low Counties brought England to the brink of financial collapse. At a time when military service was changing from compulsory to professional forces, meanwhile, they provided the king with a core of experienced private military retinues around which royal armies could be built. In the 1340s, this often accounted for over half the men-at-arms serving in royal armies. Once on campaign, they offered a corps of experienced and reliable commanders capable of leading specific military ventures, such as sacking towns, crossing rivers and fighting off local resistance. They were also utilised extensively to garrison a great many castles on England's northern border with Scotland and on the south coast, and featured regularly as diplomats, commissioned to negotiate alliances, truces and treaties across Europe. In terms of their political utility, a household banneret was far more likely to receive an individual summons to parliament than any other man below the baronage, and clearly had some unspoken right to sit amongst the peerage. This was especially the case during the 1330s as part of Edward's bid to create a 'new nobility' who offered him important support in his desire to go to war with France.[1] Likewise, these men dominated the royal court throughout Edward's reign, largely as a result of their participation at royal tournaments, though, interestingly, never to such

[1] J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 15-27; J.S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth–Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1111-1140.

an extent as to elicit direct criticism. Even the chamber knights' place in the fractured court politics of Edward's last years was almost entirely unremarked upon by the Good Parliament of 1376. Both the household bannerets and the simple household knights, meanwhile, acted as valuable royal agents in the localities, tasked with protecting royal interests in England's shires, often as constables of royal castles and keepers of royal forests and manors.

Important though the men who served as household knights clearly were to Edward's rule, a central question posed at the outset of this thesis was whether this was the explicit result of the household status of these men, or whether it was simply that Edward was retaining the type of men who would naturally have fulfilled these roles. An individual such as Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, who served the king in a variety of capacities before entering household service, including as constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports during the early 1340s, was clearly a valuable royal servant regardless of his membership of the household and was likely only drafted into the household because Edward required a competent man to act as chamberlain following the death of John Darcy 'le pere'. Similarly, men such as William Montagu, William Clinton, Walter Mauny, Reginald Cobham or Guy Brian may well have led distinguished careers even if they had never spent time in the household. Nevertheless, it seems extremely unlikely that these men would have achieved such notoriety, or been so regularly called upon by the king to perform the important military and political roles they did, if not for their household status. Indeed, it has been seen on a number of occasions that household knights were favoured by Edward III for specific responsibilities or activities. Appointments to the keepership of the Tower of London went exclusively to men with at least two years' experience in the royal household after 1341. Likewise at least one household knight featured on every commission set up to investigate abuses of purveyance between 1346 and 1347, the period of Edward's largest military campaign, the Crécy-Calais campaign. Household knights were also chosen far more regularly than any their non-household counterparts to lead assaults on small towns or at river crossings, especially during the 1340s. This exceptional service also saw them favoured above the majority of others in the

dispersal of royal patronage. Eight of the ten grants of land made from the earl of Kent's forfeited estate in the early 1330s went to serving household knights, the majority in fee, the most desirable grant type. Consequently, it can be argued with some conviction that the responsibilities and rewards granted to members of Edward's knightly household while in service were, for the most part, the direct result of their status as household knights. It is only right, therefore, that the knightly household be viewed as one of the most important aspects of the way in which Edward ruled England.

This has significant ramifications for the way in which Edward's reign is understood. It is now clear, for example, that Edward enjoyed in the household knights a reliable group of 'middle managers' who, though rarely tasked with the leg-work of recruiting men through the array or procuring supplies for the army, were routinely appointed to oversee these processes. This goes some way towards explaining why Edward was able to put so many well-provisioned armies into the field during the central years of his reign. Likewise, while it has long been held that the men chosen to lead specific military missions as part of Edward's *chevauchées* or during lengthy sieges were selected primarily for their military abilities, it is now clear that their household status was also a crucial factor in this. This is vital, for the camaraderie that existed between members of the knightly household, built up through many years of service alongside one another, gave the knightly household a degree of unity and efficiency as a fighting unit that has not hitherto been fully appreciated. Indeed, the household knights were not merely a group of talented individual military captains. Rather, they were an interconnected group of commanders who offered cohesive and coordinated military leadership. This leadership was invaluable to the success of the grand *chevauchées* that characterised English warfare in the 1330s, 1340s and 1350s and cannot be overlooked in explaining Edward's good fortunes in these years.

Similarly, appointments to the admiralty, the constableship of Dover and the keepership of the Tower of London, while previously seemingly unrelated, might all now be seen as individual spokes on a 'wheel of royal service' that revolved around membership of the knightly household.

This helps us better understand the rationale behind many of the decisions Edward made concerning how he governed his kingdom and conducted his wars. While Edward was clearly willing to rely on members of the wider nobility to facilitate his rule on many occasions – such as his reliance on Thomas Dagworth to oversee English fortunes in Brittany during the first half of the 1340s – when direct royal intervention was deemed necessary it was to his household knights that the king turned. This can most clearly be seen in the use of household knights in the administration of England's localities. While household knights were rarely placed amongst the ranks of local officialdom as sheriffs or escheators, they featured with marked regularity on commissions tasked with investigating offences committed against the king's lands, manors or other interests across his kingdom. Doing so not only ensured that the king was safe in the knowledge that the man appointed to the task possessed the requisite abilities and competence to carry it out, but lent an additional element of direct, personal royal authority to his mission.

This is not to say that household knights were a central element of every aspect of Edward's reign. They were never dominant in the arraying of levied troops for the army and the chief military leaders under Edward III were still undoubtedly the titled nobility, whose rank and titles made them the natural candidates for such a responsibility. Likewise, though the household knights maintained a constant presence amongst the parliamentary Lords and on the royal council, this was markedly reduced after the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41. Even so, there can be little doubt that it would have been harder for Edward to rule without the efforts of these individuals. They were loyal, active and capable men who offered a vital pool of royal servants to assist the king. This offers an interesting contrast to other rulers of fourteenth-century Europe. Indeed, it would have been far easier for Edward's counterparts in France to rule without household knights. Though often influential courtiers, military officials and government administrators, the household knights of the kings of France did not pervade the French polity to the same extent as their English equivalents. Rather, the distinct regionalism of fourteenth-century France prevented them from

occupying a central position in the raising and leading of royal armies or in formal offices of state.[2] There was one very good reason beyond such practical considerations, however, that inspired rulers of medieval Europe to retain household knights: the important symbolic role they played in enhancing a monarch's prestige. Indeed, if 'the size and splendour of a magnate's retinue signalized his importance in the world', then retaining a formidable retinue of household knights was crucial for any later medieval king.[3]

It must not be forgotten that Edward did, in fact, reign without a large body of household knights during the last two decades of his life – irrespective of the need to surround oneself with a sizable group of retainers. Indeed, the knights and bannerets of the royal household, who had been a feature of English kingship since Norman times, ceased to exist after the early 1360s, the services and prestige such men offered no longer necessary to Edward's rule. In their place, a small core of chamber knights came to the fore, increasingly domestic in their focus and duties. This change had been a long time coming: chamber knights were first recorded in the 1320s, and appeared sporadically thereafter, but it was in the last two decades that it took on its final form. This does not mean that their contributions to his kingship after this date were any less significant. It was simply that the increasingly sophisticated mechanisms of military and government administration that emerged over Edward's reign, coupled with the king's own scaling back of military activity, ensured that these individuals who had once been so central to the practice of English kingship took on a new role after 1360. Such a change had a monumental impact on the place that royal knights occupied within the medieval polity for years to come. Indeed, Richard II never retained a group of loyal military commanders within his household in the same way that Edward III had. Rather, he continued to retain a small number of chamber knights, to whom he added a new class of 'king's knights' and 'king's esquires'. This was probably a result of the king's

[2] P.S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (London, 1968), pp. 122-3; M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 1-68; M. Vale, 'Courts', and C. Carpenter and O. Mattéonni, 'Offices and Officers', in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-1500*, ed. C. Fletcher, J-P. Genet and J. Watts (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 24-40, 78-115.
[3] J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), p. 40.

increasing desire to tap into the growing influence of the county gentry, the value of which was becoming increasingly clear in the powerful noble affinities which were emerging at this time, not least that of his uncle, John of Gaunt.

If Alison Gundy is to be believed, this change led to a level of direct royal involvement in local affairs under Richard II that was unpalatable to the wider political community and contributed significantly to Richard's downfall.[4] While, in Gundy's opinion, the blame for this lay squarely at Richard's feet, the fact that no household knight was retained during Richard's lifetime does help to explain why he did not return to the broadly acceptable household knight system in the 1380s or 1390s. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that historians should not be too hasty to cast the royal affinity off as an inherently bad thing in the later Middle Ages, as Gundy would have us believe. Indeed, as seen in Chapter 7, political society was, for much of the fourteenth century, not so heavily focussed on powerful, noble affinities, nor gentry-led oligarchies, that the crown's authority could not be successfully extended into England's localities through household knights. This was particularly true if these royal retainers were, as the case of Edward III's reign demonstrates, used with a delicate touch. These findings fit well with those of Chris Given-Wilson's work on Henry IV's reign and Gwilym Dodd's on those of Richard II and III, who likewise argue that royal knights only became a problematic part of the exercise of late-medieval kingship when they were relied upon too heavily by an individual monarch at the expense of the place of wider nobility in the governance of the realm.[5] This serves as useful reminder, then, that the merits of individual royal policies in later-medieval England are best judged on their appropriateness for the precise context in which they arose, rather than through debating whether they were inherently compatible with the expectations of the polity as a whole.

There is a further methodological lesson to be learnt from this thesis. A valuable aspect of this study is the equal attention that it has paid to military and political history. There was clearly

[4] A.K. Gundy, *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge, 2013).
[5] C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 424-38; G. Dodd, 'Tyranny, Affinity and Locality: The Public and Private Authority of Richard II and Richard III' (forthcoming).

some divide between these two aspects of household service. Men such as Miles Stapleton, Thomas Ughtred and John Potenhale, for instance, were all retained for the Crécy campaign of 1346 and the Reims campaign of 1359-60 but in no other years. They were evidently first and foremost military retainers. For others, however, such as John Darcy 'le pere' and William Montagu, both of whom were key political players in the first half of Edward III's reign, separating these aspect of their service is impossible. It seems only right, therefore, that historians follow this lead and treat the military and political history of Edward's reign as two sides of the same coin. Indeed, by combining these complimentary facets of historical enquiry, in this case through the prism of the household knights, a more rounded view of Edward's kingship, and one more in keeping with contemporary thought, has undoubtedly been achieved. This is not to say that there are not limitations to this study. Foremost amongst these is the fact that a single thesis cannot offer, nor can the surviving sources provide, comprehensive biographies for each household knight. Rather, it has been necessary to rely on the biographical information of Edward's most conspicuous household knights – William Montagu, Walter Mauny, Reginald Cobham and John Beauchamp of Warwick, amongst others – supplemented with prosopographical study of the household knights more broadly. Doing so has allowed a detailed picture of who the household knights were and what they did to be put forward. The finer nuances of the household knights' place in Edward's reign can only be uncovered, however, through further study of the lesser-known individuals to serve in this capacity.

What can be drawn from all this? There are three salient themes that have run throughout this thesis which must be drawn together at its close. The first of these is the multifaceted nature of royal service in the fourteenth century. Indeed, as noted above, the exclusively military service offered by men such as Stapleton, Ughtred and Potenhale contrasted sharply with that rendered by those such as Darcy and Montagu, which was as prominent at times of peace as it was during times of war. The implication of this is that, while individuals such as Montagu and Darcy saw royal service as a holistic affair which occupied a significant proportion of their careers, for others

time as a household knight represented but a single – if beneficial – step in a wider military career. Was the service that the fleeting members of Edward's household offered less important than that of its long-term retainers? Measuring such a thing is difficult, though the manpower that the short-term retainers provided to the household during large scale military campaigns was certainly crucial. Likewise, many of the short-term household knights appear to have formed a group of wider 'Plantagenet servants' who were able to move between the households of the king, his queen and their children to render service where it was needed most. This was especially true for the Black Princes household in the 1350s. Even so, one thing that is clear is that those who spent many years in the household were by far the best rewarded. Indeed, what emerges strongly from this thesis is the reciprocity of royal service under Edward III: those who rendered the lengthiest and most conspicuous service in Edward's household typically received the lion's share of royal patronage.[6] This was not always the case; each man's pre-existing personal wealth had an impact on what he received. Nevertheless, the fact that it was men such as William Montagu, Walter Mauny, Reginald Cobham and John Beauchamp of Warwick who profited most liberally from household service shows the important link that existed between service and reward in fourteenth-century England and explains why men were so keen to serve the crown under Edward III.

Another central motif of this thesis has been the concept of loyalty: the household knights have been described as the king's 'loyal servants' on many occasions throughout. How did such a concept sit within the expectations of their service? This question has received a good deal of attention in relation to Edward II's household knights. Alistair Tebbit suggested that loyalty amongst Edward II's household knights was conspicuously low during the 1310s and early 1320s, identifying a number of former royal household knights who chose to side with the earl of Lancaster during his rebellion against the king in the early 1320s.[7] Though this has been partly

[6] This is a similar picture of royal service under Edward III to that put forward in R. Partington, 'The Nature of Noble Service to Edward III', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England: A Festschrift for Christine Carpenter*, ed. B. Thompson and J. Watts (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 74-92.

[7] A. Tebbit, 'Royal Patronage and Political Allegiance: The Household Knights of Edward II, 1314-1321', in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003*, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge,

contested by Jeffrey Hamilton, who argues that a core of household knights remained loyal to the king throughout this turmoil and only became disillusioned with the king as a result of his overreliance on the younger Despenser during the mid-1320s, it nevertheless highlights that the loyalty of household knights in the fourteenth century could not always be taken for granted.[8] That Edward III's household knights remained loyal to him throughout his reign, even during the parliamentary crises of 1340-41 and 1376, suggests, therefore, that there was a more powerful culture of loyalty at work within his knightly household than there had been in his fathers. What fostered this? At a basic level, Edward III was a more successful king than his father and thus did little to squander the natural allegiance that these men owed him.[9] Part of the answer also probably lies in the fact that Edward III's ability to dispense patronage was never compromised in the same way it had been under Edward II explains why his household knights did not feel the need to look elsewhere for it. Finally, the intangible yet powerful sense of collective identity and purpose that characterised the knightly household under Edward III was important. Indeed, a core of household knights spent many years in close proximity as part of Edward's household and regularly hunted and feasted together, fought as part of the same tournament team, and served together on military campaign. The sense of *esprit de corps* that these activities fostered amongst these knights, and indeed with king himself, provided a potent bonding agent within the household that generated strong personal loyalties to the king. This was clearly important in inspiring the king to place his trust in these men to carry out the range of duties they did, and says a great deal about the importance of Edward's personable character in inspiring the loyal service of his subjects.

The third and final theme that has run throughout this thesis is the intelligence, moderation and sophistication with which Edward III employed the skills and services of his household

2005), pp. 197-208; M. Prestwich, 'The Unreliability of Royal Household Knights in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 1-12.

[8] J.S. Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 47-72. See also, J.R.S. Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 608.

[9] K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973), p. 120.

knights. He gradually increased his reliance on them as military commanders during the Anglo-Scottish wars of the 1330s as they demonstrated their capabilities in this regard, and he subsequently placed them at the centre of his great victories during the 1340s. As the king aged, however, and additional focal points for military service emerged, the involvement of royal knights in warfare was scaled back. Politically, though Edward's reliance on the household knights as a source of counsel overstepped the mark during the parliamentary crisis of 1340-41, he was generally moderate in his reliance on their advice and used them only sparingly as a way of extending royal influence into the localities. Finally, Edward was open-handed but never excessive in rewarding his household knights – allowing him to avoid criticism of favouritism almost entirely. The extent to which this can be attributed to Edward's political acumen is difficult to ascertain. The above evidence is certainly suggestive of a politically capable and aware monarch. Nevertheless, it would perhaps be too much to view Edward's use of his household knights as part of a wider, consistent 'master plan'. As Mark Ormrod has commented, though Edward's policies were 'a good deal more coherent and consistent that has usually been suggested… Edward was far too much of an opportunist to resist short-term compromises'.[10] The rewards given to household knights, for example, though well thought through, were also heavily influenced by the changing resources available to the king. Likewise, though it probably saved him from criticism of unwarranted meddling in local affairs, the household knights' relatively minor role in local politics compared to the later 'king's knights' and 'esquires' was almost certainly the result of the fact that this would have had an adverse impact on their ability to carry out their military duties, rather than a conscious decision on Edward's part not to impose royal authority in the shires too heavily through them. Consequently, we must conclude that, though Edward was undeniably sensible in his use of his household knights, their developing place in his reign was also the result of a reactive

[10] W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), p. 68.

king who had a firm grasp on what he wanted, what was expected of him and who was willing to evolve to achieve both.

Appendix 1

Edward III's Household Knights, 1327-1377[1]

Below is a list of all known household knights who served under Edward III. Given that there are twenty-four years for which no records exist (shaded grey), this list is not exhaustive. Where it is likely that an individual served as a household knight in a year for which there is no record this has been indicated.

Key: k = simple household knight; b = household banneret; c = chamber knight; *b* = *bachelerii*;[2] *c* = chamberlain; s = steward.

Name:	1327	**1328**	**1329**	**1330**	1331	1332	1333	**1334**	**1335**	**1336**	**1337**	**1338**	**1339**	**1340**	**1341**	**1342**	**1343**	**1344**	1345	**1346**	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	**1353**	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	**1359**	**1360**	1361	1362	1363	**1364**	1365	**1366**	**1367**	1368	**1369**	1370	**1371**	**1372**	**1373**	1374	1375	**1376**	**1377**
Gerard Alspath	k	k																																																	
John Arundel																																							*b*													
Richard Arundel																																							*b*													
Robert Ashton																																							*b*												*c*	*c*
Robert Aspale				k																																																
Adam Asshurst																				k	k																																
Robert Athol									k	k	k	k																																								
John Attwood																																								*b*													
Nicholas d'Aubrincourt			k																																																
Hugh d'Audley				b																																															

[1] Sources: 1328: TNA, E101/383/10, transcribed in *Calendar of the Memoranda Rolls, mich 1325-mich 1326*, ed. R.E Lathman (London, 1968), pp. 373-76. 1329: TNA, E101/384/7, m. 4. 1330: TNA, E101/385/4, transcribed in *Calendar of the Memoranda Rolls*, pp. 377-85. 1334: TNA, E101/387/9, mm. 9-11. 1335-37: BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 225r-230r. 1338: TNA, E101/388/5, mm. 17-19. 1339: TNA, E101/388/9, ff. 121-122. 1340-41: TNA, E101/389/8, mm. 9-10, 26-7. 1342-44: TNA, E36/204, ff. 89r-92r. 1353: TNA, E101/392/12, f. 40r. 1359-61: TNA, E101/393/11, f. 76r; E101/393/15. 1364: TNA, E101/394/16, m. 9. 1366-67: TNA, E101/395/10; E101/396/2, f. 56. 1369: TNA, E101/396/11, f. 17. 1371-73: TNA, E101/397/5, ff. 43-5, 82. 1376-77: TNA, E101/398/9, ff. 3, 27.

[2] This was the term used to describe a number of knights who received robes for the Christmas festivities in 1366, though the extent to which this corresponded to household status is unclear. See above, p. 42-3.

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Elias Audo'en			k																																															
Edmund Bacon				k																																														
Simon Basset														k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k												k	k																
William Baude																																	k	k																
Giles Beauchamp (of Alcester)	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																							
John Beauchamp (son of Giles)																				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																							
John Beauchamp of Warwick												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																
Roger Beauchamp (of Bletsoe)													k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																						*c*	
Thomas Beauchamp (of Warwick)																																	b	b	b					b	b								
Henry Beaumont																																	k	k																
John Beaumont													k	k	k																																		
Thomas Beaumont																k	k			k	k																													
Robert Benhale				k	k	k	k	k	k				k																																				
Simon Bereford	k	k																																															
John Berkeley																				k	k																														
Maurice Berkeley	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																													
Thomas Berkeley																																	k	k																
Edward Bohun	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																																									
William Bohun				b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																																						
John Borhmant																				k	k																													
John Bottiler	k	k	k	k																																												
Thomas Bourn of Kent	k	k																																														
Thomas Bourn of York																	k	k	k	k	k																												
Simon Boxworth													k																																				
Thomas Bradeston				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																												
Thomas Bradewell																																	k	k	k	c	c	c										
Amyan de Brett																				k	k																													

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Peter de Breux																				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Thomas de Breux																				b																																	
Guy Brian																				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	s	s	s																
Bernard Brocas																																						c													
John Brocas													k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																	
Oliver Brocas																																	k	k																	
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder																				c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c																						
Bartholomew Burghersh the younger																k	k	k	k																																			
John Burley																																	k	k	k	c	c	c													
Nicholas Burnell																																	b	b																	
Alan de Buxhull																																						c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Hugh Calkyn														k	k					k	k																															
John Carru												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																															
Edward Chandos	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k							k	k	k																																	
John Chandos																																	k	k																	
John Charlton I																														c	c	c	c	c																
John Charlton II																																	k	k																	
Henry Cheshunt													k																																					
Menald Cheshunt																				k	k																															
Alan Clavering													k	k	k					k	k																															
John Clinton	k	k																																																
Robert Clinton																																	k	k																	
William Clinton	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																																							
John Cobham																				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																							
Reginald Cobham								k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																														
Thomas Colville																				k	k																														
Gawain Corder	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																													
Geoffrey of Cornwall				k																																													
Richard of Cornwall													k	k	k	k	k																																	

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
William Councy (Gouncy)													k	k	k					b	b																														
Hugh de Courtenay																				k	k																														
John Cromwell	b	b	b	b																																															
Robert Dalton												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																														
John Dalton													k																																					
Adomar Darcy																				k	k																														
John Darcy 'le pere'	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	s	s	s	s	c	c	c	c	c	c																														
John Darcy 'le fitz'												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b																														
Norman Darcy								k	k	k	k	k	k																																					
William Darcy																				k	k																														
Robert Darden			b																																															
Richard Darmoury I	b	b																																																
Richard Darmoury II												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																														
Robert Dathels													k																																					
Ralph Daubeny	k	k	k	k																																														
William Daubeny	k	k	k										k																																					
John Daubernon				k																																														
Henry Dengayne																				k	k																														
Edward Despenser																																	b	b															
Gilbert Despenser																																	k	k															
Philip Despenser																			k	k	k																													
John Deyncourt																	k	k									k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																
Arnold Dufold	k	k	k	b																																														
Raymond Durant				b																																														
Richard Dyens				k																																														
John Edington																																	k	k															
Roger Elmerigg																																	k	k															
Edmund Everard																																						c	c	c	c	c	c							
John de Eynsford																																						c												

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
…? F…[3]				k																																															
John Faucomberge													k																																							
William Faucomberge			k																																																
William Felton								k	k	k	k									k	k																															
Ralph Ferrers												k	k							k	k																															
Robert Ferrers	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																													
Henry Ferrers				k							*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*																																			
Robert de Fiennes			b	b																																													
Robert Fitzelys														k	k	k																																	
Guy Fitzsimon	k	k	k	k																																												
Ivo Fitzwarin																				k	k																													
John Fitzwarin													k																																				
William Fitzwarin				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																												
Henry of Flanders																				k																													
Amaneus de Fossato								k	k																																							
John Foxley																																	k	k	k	c	c	c										
William Frank								k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																												
Fulk Frene (de la Freigne)																				k																													
Hugh Frene								k																																								
William Gatlin	k	k	k	k																																												
William Gilford								k	k	k	k																																					
Wulfard Gistell													k	k	k					k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																						
William Grantstone																				k	k																													
Henry Grey of Ruthin																																		k	k													
John Grey of Ruthin	b	b	b	b																																												
John Grey of Rotherfield																							b	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s																	

[3] Manuscript unreadable.

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Reginald Grey of Ruthin																																	b	b															
Richard Grey of Codnor		b																																															
Rhys ap Griffith				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																						
Edmund Haclut	k	k	k	k																																												
Simon Hale	k	k	k	k										k																																			
John Hale	k	k													k																																		
John Hampton																				k	k																												
Hugh Hastings																				b	b																												
Robert Hastings			b																																													
Thomas Haukeston																				k	k																												
Thomas Hoggeshagh																				k	k																												
Alan Holland																k																																
Otho Holland																k	k	k	k	k	k																												
Thomas Holland												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																												
Robert Hole																																	k	k															
John Howard																				k	k																												
Edward Kendale																																	k	k															
John Kingston	k	k																																														
Thomas Kingston																																	k	k															
John Kyrell								k																																								
Thomas Lancaster																				k	k																												
Nicholas Langford			k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																												
Thomas Latimer				k																																													
William Latimer I				b																																													
William Latimer II																											k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	s	s	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*						
Thomas Latham																				k	k																												
John de la Lees																																			s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s							
Henry Lisle (Tyeys)													k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																												
John Lisle of the Isle of Wight	k	k																																														

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
John Lisle of Rougemont												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b																												
Nigel Loryng														k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																													
John de Louedale																				k																														
Nicholas Loveign																																	k	k															
John Lovel								k																																								
Thomas Lucy								k	k	k	k	k	k			b	b	b																														
Andrew Luttrell																																	k	k															
Michael Lynge			b	b																																												
John Marmion																																	k	k															
William Marmion																				k	k																												
John Mauduyt																k	k	k																														
Robert Mauley I	k	k																																														
Robert Mauley II																				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																						
Henry Mauny													k																																			
Walter Mauny				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																											
John Maltravers	b	b	s	s																b	b																												
John Melton	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																							
John Molyns				k	k	k	k	k				b	b																																			
Edward Montagu																				k	k																												
Robert Montagu																											k																					
Thomas Montagu																																k	k															
William Montagu	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																																					
Auger (Raymond) de Montaut																			b	b																												
Edward Montgomery													b																																			
John Montgomery								k				k	b			b	b	b	b	b	b																											
Dennis Morbeke																																	k	k															
Robert Morley																				b	b																												
Edmund Mortimer		b																																													
Geoffrey Mortimer		b	b																																												
Roger Mortimer																											b																					
John Multon								b																																							
Thomas Murreux I																																	k	k															

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Thomas Murreux II																																	k	k																	
John Musard																																	k	k																	
John Neville of Raby																																												s	s	s	s	s	s	s	
John Neville of Hornby	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																										
Ralph Neville of Raby			b	s	s	s	s	s	s	s																																									
Robert Neville of Hornby																				k	k																															
Thomas Pabenham													k	k	k	k	k	k																																	
Gilbert Pecche								k																																										
John Pecche																											k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																	
Richard Pembridge																											k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	*c*	c					
Henry Percy			b	b																																														
Richard Perrers	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																										
Antony Pesaigne				b																																														
John de la Plaunk	k	k	k	k																																														
Walter de la Pole																				k	k																														
Michael Poynings														k	k					k	b																														
Thomas Poynings												k																																						
John Potenhale													k							k	k														k	k														
John Quatremartz			k																																															
Theobald de Rachecourt																				k																															
John Radcliffe																				k	k																														
John Ravensholme																				k	k																														
Giles dit Paonet de Roet																				k																															
Henry Ribbeford	k	k																																																
John Rither	k	k																																																
Thomas Roland																				k	k																														
Thomas Roselyn				b																																														

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
John Ros	s	s	b	b																																														
Thomas Ros				k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																								
Walter Ros	k	k																																																
…? de St…[4]				k																																														
Almaric de St Amand																											b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																
Edward de St John																																	b	b																	
Gerald de St John													k																																						
Hugh de St John								k																																										
Thomas St Leger																																	k	k																
Robert Salle																																									*b*									
John Sapy													k	k	k	k	k	k																																
Robert Sapy				k																																														
Thomas Saunford												k	k	k	k	k																																		
Geoffrey de Say																							b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																			
William de Say																																	k	k																
Geoffrey le Scrope			b	b									b																																					
Ralph Sefoul	k	k																																															
Edward Seri?																																	k	k																
Henry Shal?														k																																				
Henry Shernekyn				k																																														
John Sherborn													k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																													
Walter Shobdon	k	k	k																																														
William Silton																																	k	k																
Peter of Spain (Castile)																				b																														
Ralph Stafford														s	s	s	s	s	s																														
Miles Stapleton																				k	k													k	k														
John de Staunton[5]																													k	k	k	k	k	k	k	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
John Stirling (Strevlyn)														b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																												
John Sturmy				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																		
William Sturmy												k	k	k	k	k	k	k																															

[4] Manuscript unreadable.

[5] Entitled to robes from the household for life from 1355, but never drew them: *CPR, 1353-58*, p. 173.

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Richard Stury																																													c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Gawain Suthorp													k																																							
Roger Swinnerton	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b																																										
Thomas Swinnerton												k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																
Gilbert Talbot	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	b																																										
John Talbot of Richards Castle		k	k	k																																															
Richard Talbot		k	b	b															s	s	s	s	s																														
Boicius Tharnak	k	k																																																
John Tichbourne																																	k	k																	
William Trussell				k									k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																														
Warin Trussell													k	k	k					k	k																														
Gilbert Turbeville														k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																														
Hugh Turpington	k	k	k	s																																														
Hugh Tyrell													k	k	k	k	k																																	
Thomas Tyrell																																									*b*										
Edmund Ufford								k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																				
Edward Ufford								k																																											
John Ufford				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																																				
Ralph Ufford				k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	b	b	b																																	
Robert Ufford			b	b	b	b	b	b	b	s	s																																								
Thomas Ughtred																					b												b	b	b															
Philip la Vache																																																	c	c
Richard la Vache																				k	k												k	k	k	c	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*								
Thomas de Vere[6]																																	k	k	k	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*							
Ralph Vernon													k	k	k	k	k	k																																	
Thomas Wake of Blisworth			k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k																															
Stephen Waleys																				k	k																														
John Ward																				k	k																														
Roger de la Warr																																					c													
Guy de la Warr																																	k	k																
William Warrene																				k	k																													

[6] Hereditary chamberlain from 1362-71, but not active in the role.

Name:	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377
Robert Waterville			b																																															
Thomas West	k	k	k	k																																														
Thomas Weston	k	k	k	b																																													
William Windsor																																						c												
Roger Wodelok			k	k																																													
Hugh Wrottesley																																	k	k															
John Wysham	b	b	s	b																																													
John de Ypre																																																s	s
Adam la Zouche	k	k	k	k																																													
Alan la Zouche																k	k	k	k	b	b																													
Richard la Zouche																																	k	k	k	c	c	c											
William la Zouche																											b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b															

Appendix 2

Household Knights' Military Retinues

Introduction:

For the purposes of this appendix, four of the most notable campaigns of Edward III's reign have been selected as case-studies for the household knights' private military retinues. In each, the bannerets are listed first, followed by the simple household knights. The campaigns are: Edward's great Scottish offensive of 1335; his first continental campaign to the Low Countries in 1338-39; the largest of all his military campaigns, the Crécy-Calais campaign of 1346; and, finally, the Reims campaign of 1359-60, the last military campaign that the king led in person, and the final to feature household knights. This selection provides sufficiently broad coverage to allow some useful conclusions to be drawn in Chapter 3. Moreover, each benefits from the survival of the necessary sources for such an investigation, the pay accounts (*vadia guerra*), which record details of the military captains serving with the army on each campaign, the size of their retinues, and the period over which they served.[1] The exception to this is 1346. But, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1, while the section of the account book recording military service has not survived, there are a number of later transcriptions on which we can rely for much of the missing information.[2] Given the imperfect information provided in these transcriptions, however, the figures given below for the army in 1346 should, at best, be seen as estimates. Moreover, because it is unclear what stage of the campaign the information in the Wetwang transcriptions represents, it has been assumed here, in keeping with the work of Andrew Ayton and Clifford Rogers, that the figures given in the transcriptions refer to the size and composition of each retinue as it was at the beginning of the campaign, when it was likely to have been at its strongest.[3]

[1] For more on the *vadia geurra* accounts see A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 138-56.

[2] See above, pp. 32-5. For the section of the 1346 wardrobe account book that does survive see TNA, E101/390/12. For more on the Wetwang accounts, see A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and P. Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 230-41; M. Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign of 1346', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2018).

[3] Ayton 'The English army at Crécy', p. 239; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 423-6.

1335 – The 'Great Offensive' in Scotland:[4]

Retinue Leader	*Bannerets*[5]	*Knights*	*Men-at-arms/ Esquires*	*Archers*	*Total*
William Bohun	0	10	32	30	72
William Clinton	0	12	53	40	105
John Darcy 'le pere' [6]	-	-	-	-	-
William Montagu	1	24	154	40	219
Ralph Neville	0	15	69	0	84
Roger Swinnerton	0	6	13	5	24
Gilbert Talbot	0	5	26	0	31
Robert Ufford	0	10	32	0	42
Robert Athol		-	-	-	-
Giles Beauchamp		-	-	-	-
Robert Benhale		0	3	0	3
Maurice Berkeley		1	9	0	10
Thomas Bradeston		0	5	0	5
Edward Chandos		-	-	-	-
Reginald Cobham		1	7	0	8
Gawain Corder		0	3	0	3
Norman Darcy		0	4	0	4
William Felton		-	-	-	-
Robert Ferrers		1	6	0	7
William Fitzwarin		-	-	-	-
Amaneus de Fossato		0	4	0	4
William Frank		0	3	0	3
William Gilford		0	4	0	4
Rhys ap Griffith		-	-	-	-
Nicholas Langford		0	2	0	2
Thomas Lucy		0	2	0	2
Walter Mauny		0	7	0	7
John Melton		0	2	0	2
Thomas Ros		-	-	-	-
John Sturmy		0	4	0	4
Ralph Ufford		0	3	0	3
John Ufford		0	6	0	5
Edmund Ufford		0	2	0	2
Thomas Wake of Blisworth		0	4	0	4
Totals	1	85	558	115	759

[4] Source: BL, Cotton Nero C VIII, ff. 233-47, 252-64. Some of this information is also available in C. Candy, 'The Scottish Wars of Edward III, 1327-1338' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Durham, 2004), p. 271.

[5] This column records the number of bannerets serving in each retinue not including the retinue leader. As such, where 1 banneret is named, this indicates that there was an additional banneret to the household banneret present in that retinue. The same also applies to the knights listed in the retinues of the simple household knights. These additional knights are usually described as 'companion knights' or 'allies' (*militis socii*). This practice is maintained in all the tables that follow.

[6] Darcy was in Ireland for the beginning of the campaign, though he did bring an Irish contingent later.

1338-1339 – The Cambrai-Thiérache Campaign:[7]

Retinue Leader:	*Bannerets:*	*Knights:*	*Men-at-arms/ Esquires:*	*Archers:*	*Total:*
John Beaumont	0	4	24	0	28
Maurice Berkeley[8]	0	1	5	0	5
Thomas Bradeston	0	1	6	0	7
Reginald Cobham	0	3	33	24	60
John Darcy 'le pere'	0	3	24	24	51
John Faucomberge[9]	0	0	5	0	5
Henry Ferrers	0	11	48	10	69
Robert Ferrers	0	1	9	0	9
William Fitzwarin	0	1	10	24	35
Walter Mauny	0	10	33	50	93
John Molyns	0	3	24	24	51
Edward Montgomery	0	2	11	0	13
John Montgomery	0	1	14	27	42
Thomas Poynings	0	3	29	0	32
Geoffrey le Scrope[10]	0	0	28 [11]	15	43
John Sturmy[12]	0	0	4	0	4
Robert Ufford	0	1	4	0	5
Giles Beauchamp		0	3	0	3
John Beauchamp of Warwick †[13]		1	1	0	2
Roger Beauchamp†		0	0	0	0
Robert Benhale		0	6	0	6
Simon Boxworth[14]		0	1	0	1
John Brocas †		0	9	27	36
John Carru		0	2	0	2
Henry Cheshunt †		1	0	0	1
Alan Clavering		1	0	0	1
Gawain Corder		0	2	0	2
Richard of Cornwall †		0	0	0	0
William Councy †		0	3	4	7
William de Cusance		0	0	0	0
John Dalton[15]		0	1	0	1
Robert Dalton		0	1	0	1
John Darcy 'le fitz'		0	2	0	2
Norman Darcy		0	3	0	3
Richard Damory II		0	2	0	2
Robert Dathels		0	4	0	4
William Daubeny		0	2	0	2
Ralph Ferrers		-	-	-	-

[7] Source: *Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, pp. 325-60.
[8] Promoted to the rank of banneret on 23 October 1339. Thus, his retinue reflects that which he brought as a simple household knight.
[9] Only served until August 1339.
[10] Geoffrey was sent back to England in July 1338 to take charge of the navy.
[11] While precise figures are not given, Geoffrey was paid 60*s* per day for his and his men-at-arms' wages. As Geoffrey would have been drawing 4*s* per day, this leave 56*s* for his men-at-arms. At the agreed rate of 2*s* per day, this would allow for payment of 28 men-at-arms.
[12] Named as a knight-usher of the king's hall.
[13] † Denotes that this individual was paid a reduced rate of 18*d* per day as he was resident in the hall of the king and at the king's table. This means that this individual was fed by the king, and that they were usually in his presence.
[14] Only joined the king's army in October 1339.
[15] Only joined the king's army in October 1339.

John Fitzwarin		0	4	0	4
William Frank		1	5	0	5
Wulfard Gistell		0	4	0	4
Thomas de Holand		0	2	0	3
Henry Lisle †		0	0	0	0
John Lisle of Rougemont		-	-	-	-
Nicholas Langford		0	2	0	2
Thomas Lucy		0	5	0	5
Henry Mauny		1	3	0	4
Thomas Pabenham †		0	0	0	0
John Potenhale		0	5	0	5
Gerald de St John[16]		0	0	0	0
John Sapy[17]		0	0	0	0
Thomas Saunford		0	2	0	3
John Sherborn †		0	0	0	0
William Sturmy		0	7	12	19
Gawain de Suthorp		0	4	0	4
Thomas Swinnerton		0	2	6	8
Warin Trussell[18]		0	1	0	1
William Trussell †		0	8	0	8
Hugh Tyrel †		0	3	0	3
Ralph Ufford		0	3	0	3
John Ufford		0	3	0	3
Edmund Ufford		0	7	0	7
Ralph Vernon		0	2	0	2
Thomas Wake of Blisworth		0	6	0	6
Totals	0	70	431	247	727

[16] Only received household robes for 1339, was not a household knight when the campaign began in 1338.
[17] Only received household robes for 1339, was not a household knight when the campaign began in 1338.
[18] Only knighted on 23 October 1339, a household esquire before that date. Only served 25 days as a household knight during this campaign.

1346 – The Crécy Campaign:[19]

I. Household Knights on main Campaign:

Retinue Leader:	*Bannerets*	*Knights:*	*Men-a-arms/ Esquires:*	*Archers:*	*Other:*	*Total:*
Giles Beauchamp	0	1	5	6		12
John Beauchamp of Warwick	0	1	13	13		27
Maurice Berkeley	0	6	32	31		69
Roger Beauchamp	0	2	5	9		16
Thomas Bradeston	0	6	24	30		60
Thomas de Breux	0	6	13	20		39
Reginald Cobham	0	6	42	56	Hobelars:7[20]	111
William Councy	0	3	15	0		18
John Darcy 'le fitz'*[21]	0	8	20	24		52
John Darcy 'le pere'	0	11	48	80		139
Robert Ferrers of Chartley	0	3	25	35		63
William Fitzwarin	0	1	10	9		20
John Lisle of Rougemont*	0	6	11	23		40
Edward Montagu	0	9	15	20		44
Robert Morley	0	5	9	15		29
Michael Poynings	1	8	23	12		44
John de Stirling	0	1	23	26		50
Richard Talbot	0	14	60	82		156
Edward atte Wood[22]		?	?	?		Unknown
Simon Basset		0	2	3		5
Thomas Beaumont		0	7	7		14
John Berkeley		0	2	0		2
John Borhmant		0	1	2		3
Thomas Bourn		0	4	6		10
Amyan de Brett		2	12	0	Hobelars: 17	31
John Brocas		0	14	24		38
John Carru		0	5	8		13
Menald de Cheshunt		0	2	4	Hobelars: 2	8
Alan Clavering		0	3	3		7
John Cobham		0	30	33	Welshmen: 19	82
Thomas Colville		0	12	7		19
Gawain Corder		0	4	4		8
Hugh de Courtenay		1	8	8		17
Robert Dalton		0	4	8		12
Adomar Darcy		0	2	4		6
William Darcy		0	2	4		6

[19] Sources: College of Arms, M Series, M.16bis, ff. 82r-97r, as printed in Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, pp. 191-202; BL, Harleian MS. 3968, ff. 114r-131v, as printed in, *Lettres de Rois, Reines et Autres Personnages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre*, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac (Paris, 1839), pp. 82-5; A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', pp. 245-51.

[20] A 'hobelar' was a light horseman used for swift raiding when on a march. See Prince, 'The Army and Navy', pp. 339-40.

[21] * Denotes that this individual was only promoted to the rank shown on the day of the battle and thus their retinue may be artificially small.

[22] While no Edward atte Wood features in the Wrottesley transcriptions, Ayton believes that he should be included in the household retinue as he is recorded as a new knight in the *Eulogium Historiarum* but died during the assault of la Roche Guyon: Ayton, 'The English army at Crécy', p. 248, n. 15.

Richard Damory	0	6	6		12
Philip Despenser	0	4	10		14
John Deyncourt	0	3	3		6
William Felton	3	9	0		12
Ralph Ferrers	0	2	0		2
Ivor Fitzwarin	0	2	4		6
Wulfard Gistell	0	4	5		9
John Hampton	0	2	3		5
Thomas Hoggeshagh	0	2	4	Hobelars: 1	7
Otho Holland	0	3	0		3
Thomas Holland	0	9	4		13
Nicholas Langford	0	2	3		5
William Marmion	0	1	1		2
Robert Neville	0	4	2		6
John Radcliffe	1	12	14		27
Giles dit Paonet de Roet	0	2	0		2
Thomas Roland	0	4	4		8
John Sherborn	0	3	3		6
Miles Stapleton	0	4	6		10
Thomas Swinnerton	1	2	4		7
Warin Trussell	0	2	2		6
William Trussell	2	9	18		29
Gilbert Turberville	0	8	8		16
Henry Tyeys	0	2	4		6
Richard la Vache	0	4	5		9
Stephen Waleys	1	4	13		18
John Ward	0	3	2		5
William Warrene	3	15	15	Welshmen: 8	41
Totals:	111	634	759	54	1,559

II. Likely later additions to the household:

Below is a list of men who are likely to have only arrived with the English army, or else entered the king's household, during the siege of Calais.

Retinue Leader:	*Rank:*	*Reason for late addition:*	*Retinue:*
Bartholomew Burghersh the elder	Banneret	Present on the main campaign but only entered the household as chamberlain on the return of John Darcy 'le pere' to England in late 1346.	186
Henry of Flanders	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	45
Fulk Frene	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	33
Hugh Hastings	Banneret	Serving with Flemish army.	74
John Howard	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	77
Thomas Latham	Banneret	Unknown	32
John de Louedale	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	32
John Maltravers	Banneret	Serving with Flemish army.	41
Walter Mauny	Banneret	Under siege at Aiguillon in Gascony.	325
Auger de Montaut	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	19
John Montgomery	Banneret	Serving with Flemish army.	68
Peter of Spain	Banneret	Unknown - Foreign	20
Ralph Stafford	Banneret	Under siege at Aiguillon in Gascony.	204
Thomas Ughtred	Banneret	Served in retinue of earl of Warwick for the main campaign.	47

Adam Asshurst	Knight	Serving in retinue of William Kildesby at start of campaign	6
John Beauchamp, son of Giles	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	11
Peter de Breux	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	12
Guy Brian	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	12
Hugh Calkyn	Knight	Unknown - Foreign	4
Henry Dengayne	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	0
William Frank	Knight	Recruiting reinforcements in England, reached the king in September 1346.	49
William Grantstone	Knight	Unknown - Foreign	15
Thomas Haukeston	Knight	Recruiting reinforcements in England, reached the king in September 1346.	48
Thomas Lancaster	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	7
Nigel Loryng	Knight	Serving in the retinue of the earl of Lancaster at the start of the campaign.	4
Robert Mauley II	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	34
Walter de la Pole	Knight	Unknown	4
John Potenhale	Knight	Serving in the retinue of Thomas Bradeston at the start of the campaign.	4
Theobald de Rachecourt	Knight	Unknown - Foreign	4
John Ravensholme	Knight	Promoted to household knight on day of battle.	2

1359-60 – The Reims Campaign:[23]

Retinue Leader:	*Bannerets:*	*Knights:*	*Men-at-arms/ Esquires:*	*Archers:*	*Total:*
Nicholas Burnell	0	2	11	20	33
John Beauchamp of Warwick[24]	0	9	20	30	59
Guy Brian	0	6	37	56	98
John Chandos	0	6	54	36	96
John Charlton I	0	9	30	40	79
Edward Despenser	0	12	47	60	119
Reginald Grey	0	7	29	24	60
William Latimer II	0	4	25	60	89
Adomar de St Amandus	0	3	17	21	41
Thomas Ughtred	-	-	-	-	-
William la Zouche	0	11	35	60	106
Simon Basset		0	1	2	3
Thomas Beauchamp		0	2	3	5
Henry Beaumont		0	4	6	10
Thomas Berkeley		0	3	4	7
Peter de Breux		0	2	3	5
John Brocas		0	3	4	7
John Burley		0	2	3	5
John Charlton II		0	3	4	7
Gilbert le Despenser		0	4	6	10
John Deyncourt		0	0	0	0
Henry Grey		0	1	2	3
Thomas Hoggeshagh		0	2	3	5
Robert Hole		0	3	4	7
Edward Kendale		0	3	4	7
Thomas Kingston		0	2	3	5
Nicholas Loveign		0	6	10	16
Andrew Luttrell		0	2	3	5
John Marmion		0	0	0	0
Thomas Montagu		0	3	4	7
Dennis Morbeke		0	0	0	0
Thomas Murreux I		0	2	3	5
John Pecche		0	2	3	5
Richard Pembridge		0	2	6	8
John Potenhale		0	0	0	0
Edward de St John		0	3	4	7
Thomas St Leger		0	2	3	5
William de Say		0	1	2	3
William Silton		0	2	3	5
Miles Stapleton		1	7	10	18
Thomas Swinnerton		0	5	6	11
Richard la Vache		0	9	10	19
Thomas de Vere		0	2	3	5
Guy de Warr		1	6	10	17
Hugh de Wrottesley		0	2	4	6
Richard la Zouche		0	0	0	0
Totals	0	71	396	542	1008

[23] Source: TNA, E101/393/11, ff. 79r-87r.

[24] Only with the army between March and May 1339.

Appendix 3

Annuities Granted to Household Knights

* Denotes granted to support a new rank.
All grants made for life unless otherwise stated.
All exchequer grants made until equivalent found in rent or land unless otherwise stated.

Date	*Knight*	*Amount*	*Source*	*Ref*
5 Feb 1327	Edward Chandos	£40*	Exq[1]	*CPR, 1327-30*, p. 39
5 Feb 1327	John Melton	40m*	Exq	*CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 39, 513
14 Feb 1327	Walter Shobdon	£20	Various rents	*CPR, 1327-30*, p. 18
13 Mar 1327	Edward Bohun	£100*	Exq	*CPR, 1327-30*, p. 39
13 Mar 1327	Hugh Frene	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1327-30*, p. 39
2 Aug 1327	Simon Hale	100m[2]	Customs of Boston	*CPR, 1327-30*, p. 545
3 Mar 1328	John Wysham	200m	Various sources[3]	*CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 249, 461, 467
4 May 1330	Edward Bohun	£104	Various Sources[4]	*CPR, 1330-34,* pp. 11, 21
14 Aug 1330	Giles Beauchamp	£40	Exq	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 546
17 Aug 1330	Hugh Turpington	350m[5]	Exq	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 550
18 Sep 1330	Thomas Bradeston	£65	Farm of Glos.[6]	*CPR, 1330-34,* pp. 43, 147-8
10 Jan 1331	John Melton	40m	Farm of York	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 37
1 Apr 1331	Walter Mauny	35m	Farm of Norf.	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 96
24 Sep 1331	Edward Bohun	£50	Farm of Grimsby	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 192
16 Oct 1331	William Bohun	£90	Farm of Colyngham[7]	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 193
17 Nov 1331	William Bohun	£20	Farm of Basingstoke[8]	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 217
30 Nov 1331	Edward Bohun	£54	Various farms[9]	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 222
25 Jan 1333	William Montagu	£20[10]	Exq	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 394
22 July 1333	Thomas Lucy	£20*	Exq	*CPR, 1330-34,* p. 493
3 Apr 1335	Walter Mauny	£100	Exq	Bothwell, p. 201
8 June 1335	Reginald Cobham	100m	Exq	*CPR, 1334-38,* p. 117

[1] Later changed to £40 from the farm of Derby at Bohun's request: *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 29.
[2] Had been promised 100 marks in lands by Edward III before the overthrow of Edward II.
[3] Included £22 6*s* 8*d* a year from the farm of Shrewsbury.
[4] Included £50 from the farm of Ramsey Abbey, late of the earl of Kent, and a further £54 from the farm of Bath.
[5] To support his new position as steward of the household.
[6] Late of the earl of Kent
[7] Late of the earl of Kent
[8] Late of the earl of Kent
[9] Given money from the farms of various manors in Somerset.
[10] In recompense for him surrendering the manor of Herecote to William Bohun, the manor having been accidently granted to both Montagu and Bohun previously: *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 319.

10 Oct 1335	William Felton	£20	Farm and rent of towns of Matfen and Nafferton[11]	*CPR, 1334-38,* p. 173
30 Aug 1337	Edmund Ufford	£20	Exq	*CPR, 1334-38,* p. 495
18 Feb 1338	William Frank	50m	Farm of Lincs.	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 10
12 Mar 1338	Walter Mauny	£100	Exq[12]	*CPR, 1338-40,* pp. 26, 53
12 Mar 1338	John Montgomery	£100	Various sources[13]	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 28
7 July 1338	Reginald Cobham	400m*[14]	Various farms[15]	*CPR, 1338-40,* pp. 105-6, 152
15 Apr 1339	John Brocas	£20	Farm of Oxford	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 244
16 Oct 1339	Thomas Bradeston	£500*	Exq[16]	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 395
4 Nov 1339	Robert Dalton	£20	Exq[17]	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 396
5 Nov 1339	Walter Mauny	£50	Farm of Northants	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 332
1 Mar 1340	Gawain Corder	£40	Farm of the alien abbey of St Bertin	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 432
3 May 1340	Geoffrey le Scrope	£200	Exq	*CPR, 1338-40,* p. 478
1 Aug 1341	John Darcy 'le fitz'	£40	Exq[18]	*CPR, 1340-43,* p. 283
22 Sep 1342	Ralph Ufford	£200*	Exq	*CPR, 1340-43,* p. 514
29 May 1343	John Stirling	£20	Lands of earl of Atholl in Yorks during minority	*CPR, 1340-43,* pp. 47, 56
28 Nov 1343	John Beauchamp of Warwick	£20	Income of the New Forest.	*CPR, 1343-45,* p. 142
16 Feb 1344	John Darcy 'le pere'	£100	Lands of William Ros during minority	*CPR, 1343-45,* p. 200, 250
3 Aug 1344	Thomas Swinnerton	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1343-45,* p. 538
1 July 1345	William Trussell	£40[19]	Exq	*CPR, 1343-45,* p. 527
26 Oct 1345	John Beauchamp of Warwick	£30	Farm of the manor of Hayling	*CPR, 1343-45,* p. 553
27 Feb 1346	Robert Dalton	£40	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 52
21 Mar 1346	John Lisle of Rougemont	£40	Farm of priory of St Neots	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 65
1 June 1346	John de Loudale	100m	Customs of the port of London	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 123
1 June 1346	Wulfard Gistell	50m	Customs of the port of London	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 95
8 July 1346	Richard la Vache	£20	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 157

[11] Initially only to last for five years.
[12] Land found for him in north Wales and Northants on 19 April 1338: *CPR, 1338-40,* p. 56.
[13] £40 came from the farm of various manors in Suffolk, the remainder being drawn from the exchequer. Was already in arrears by 16 November 1338: *CPR, 1338-40,* p. 162.
[14] Enlargement of a grant made on 8 May 1335.
[15] £64 of this came from the manor of Chippenham (Bucks.), £55 a year from farm of great Yarmouth town, and £140 from profits of shrievalty of Surrey and Sussex.
[16] After 18 July 1340, drawn from the alienated English lands of the Abbot of Fécamp: *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 28.
[17] Traded in for £39 19*s* 3*d* from the farm of Apthorp (Northants.) on 4 April 1340: *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 448.
[18] Grant made to John and his heirs.
[19] Only to be paid during his time sitting on the regency council of Lionel of Antwerp, the king's son, while the king at war.

8 Aug 1346	Wulfard Gistell	£100[20]	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* pp. 168-9, 228
8 Aug 1346	William Councy	£100[21]	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* pp. 168-9, 228
26 Aug 1346[22]	Robert Mauley II	£40*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	Guy Brian	£40*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	John Ravensholme	£40*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	Peter de Breux	£40*	Exq[23]	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	Thomas Lancaster	100m*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	Henry Dengayne	£20*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
26 Aug 1346	John Beauchamp, son of Giles	£20*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 474
8 Sep 1346	John Beauchamp of Warwick	£80[24]	Customs of the port of London[25]	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 169
23 Mar 1347	Michael Poynings	200m*	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 268
28 Dec 1347	Richard la Vache	40m[26]	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 445
28 Dec 1347	Thomas Swinnerton	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1345-48,* p. 444
30 Dec 1348	John Beauchamp of Warwick	£180*	Exq[27]	*CPR, 1348-50,* p. 223
15 Jan 1350	Guy Brian	200m[28]	Various alien priories[29]	*CPR, 1348-50,* p. 444
10 Feb 1351	Almeric de St Amundo	200m	Exq[30]	*CPR, 1350-54,* p. 41
9 Mar 1351	John Beauchamp of Warwick	£280	Exq[31]	*CPR, 1350-54,* pp. 52, 58
25 June 1351	Robert Mauley II	£40	Farm of Notts[32]	*CPR, 1350-54,* p. 106
24 Aug 1351	Richard Pembridge	£30	Exq[33]	*CPR, 1350-54,* p. 492
20 Sep 1351	Peter de Breux	£40	Exq	*CPR, 1350-54,* p. 141
22 May 1352	John Darcy 'le fitz'	£40	Farm of Prior of Minster Lovel[34]	*CPR, 1350-54,* p. 329
5 July 1354	William Latimer II	100m	Exq[35]	*CPR, 1354-58,* p. 90

[20] In compensation for losses sustained on Crécy campaign.
[21] In compensation for losses sustained on Crécy campaign.
[22] Day of the battle of Crécy.
[23] Later granted £18 10*s* from the farm of the hundred of Saunford in part satisfaction of this, and a further £21 10*s* from the farm of Thetford Priory: *CPR, 1346-48*, p. 435; *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 192. Payment transferred back to the exchequer on 30 September 1364: *CPR, 1364-67*, p. 44.
[24] Traded for a previously granted annuity of £30 from the farm of the manor of Hayling.
[25] Later drawn from the farm of Northumberland: *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 301.
[26] Extension of grant made on 8 July 1346.
[27] Later drawn from the farm of Northumberland: *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 301.
[28] Granted 'in light of his services in war and for bearing the king's standard in the latest conflict between the king and his enemies in France'.
[29] Later received security that, if the proceeds of the priories from which he draws his annuity are restored to their original owners following a peace in the war with France, he shall have 150 mark annuity at the exchequer instead.
[30] Only in receipt of this so long as he stays in the king's service.
[31] This grant was made to neaten Beauchamp's previous grants, which amounted to £280 from a variety sources. These previous grants were surrendered in exchange for one yearly payment from the exchequer.
[32] Replacement of earlier exchequer annuity.
[33] Vacated 27 September 1351 as found alternative sources of sustenance.
[34] Given the priory itself in 1353 as he struggled to obtain the promised amount: *CFR, 1347-56*, p. 364.
[35] Until he inherited his mother's lands.

6 Nov 1354	Peter de Breux	40m[36]	Exq	*CPR, 1354-58,* p. 136
15 July 1355	Guy Brian	£200*	Various alien priories[37]	*CPR, 1354-58,* pp. 273, 287
10 Nov 1357	John Deyncourt	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1354-58,* p. 638
6 Aug 1358	Richard la Zouche	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 94
25 Apr 1359	Thomas Kingston	£25	Farm of Wilts.	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 186
29 June 1359	Andrew Luttrell	£200[38]	Exq	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 234
29 July 1359	John Chandos	£100	Exq	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 255
7 Feb 1360	Richard Pembridge	£40	Farm of Priory of Ware[39]	*CPR, 1358-61,* pp. 359-40
23 May 1360	Thomas Beauchamp	£100*	Exq[40]	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 369
25 May 1360	John Edington	£40*	Exq	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 370
20 Nov 1360	John Foxley	£40*	Exq	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 592
1 Mar 1361	Guy Brian	200m	Various alien priories	*CPR, 1358-61,* p. 564
20 Nov 1362	Thomas Bradewell	£20[41]	Exq	*CPR, 1361-64,* p. 269
8 Feb 1363	Bernard Brocas	£10[42]	Exq	*CPR, 1361-64,* p. 309
1 Nov 1363	Roger de la Warr	50m	Exq	*CPR, 1361-64,* p. 422
29 Sep 1364	Alan Buxhull	50m	Exq	*CPR, 1364-67,* p. 26
21 Feb 1365	John de la Lees	40m	Exq	*CPR, 1364-67,* p. 92
1 Oct 1365	John Foxley	£20[43]	Exq	*CPR, 1364-67,* p. 186
30 Sep 1369	Edmund Everard	40m	Exq[44]	*CPR, 1367-70,* p. 302
30 Sep 1374	Philip la Vache	£50	Exq[45]	*CPR, 1374-77,* p. 5
8 Jan 1377	John de Ypre	200m	Alien priory of Ware	*CPR, 1374-77,* p. 399

[36] Extension of a £40 grant made on 21 September 1351.
[37] Not specified beyond stating that these incomes will come from alienated priories.
[38] Granted because he is to marry Elizabeth de Vere, daughter of the earl of Oxford.
[39] Taken from farm of Southampton following treaty of Brétigny in 1360: *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 566.
[40] Until receives his inheritance, the earldom of Warwick, which came to him in 1369.
[41] In lieu of a £20 rent reduction he had previously been granted on his keeping of the manors of Possewick and Westlexham in Norfolk.
[42] In recompense for surrendering the manor of Benham.
[43] As part of a grant making him constable of the king's castle on the Isle of Sheppey.
[44] Until further notice.
[45] Until death or further instruction.

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