

**The Role and Identity of Household Knights in Fourteenth-Century  
England, c.1320-c.1370**

Thesis submitted in accordance with requirements for Doctor of Philosophy at Cardiff  
University

June 2021

Pierre Gaité (C1433738)

Word count: 84,188

## Abstract

Research on fourteenth-century retinues has thrived in the last three decades, particularly in the context of Edward III's wars with Scotland and France. A number of studies have also been produced on knights in the household of the English kings. However, while there have been some studies on the overall followings of magnates like John of Gaunt and the Black Prince, as yet there has been no substantial investigation of household knights in the mid-fourteenth century more broadly.

This thesis achieves this by focusing on a set of case-study households, investigating knights in the service of Thomas Beauchamp (earl of Warwick, d. 1369), William Bohun (earl of Northampton, d. 1360) and Henry of Grosmont (earl of Derby, later earl then duke of Lancaster, d. 1361). It explores the evolution of the followings and the knights' social background and recruitment; their varying levels of military engagement and the range of campaign experience they had; the different forms of non-military duties they could perform; what rewards and benefits they enjoyed; and what ties bound them together as a knightly brotherhood. By doing so, the thesis demonstrates that the knightly households of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were cohesive and closely connected groups that each had distinct characteristics and were shaped by the circumstances and requirements of these magnates. It also reveals the nuanced relationships that different knights had with their lord, as well as how the followings were entwined with the knights' localities and with the nobility and gentry of the realm in general.

The thesis addresses a range of ongoing questions about medieval warfare, crime and justice, and the nature of bastard feudalism in the fourteenth century. By doing so, it offers medieval scholarship a more nuanced understanding of the period's social and military history.

## Contents

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Acknowledgements   | iii        |
| List of Tables and Figures   | iv         |
| List of Abbreviations  | v          |
| Note on Names and Labelling  | vii        |
| <b>Introduction</b>  | <b>1</b>   |
| <b>1 Membership, Social Background and Recruitment</b>                 | <b>33</b>  |
| 1.1 The Dynamics of the Followings – Geography and Changes over Time   | 34         |
| 1.1.1 The Household Followings over Time                               | 34         |
| 1.1.2 Geography of the Followings                                      | 44         |
| 1.2 The Social Background of Household Knights                         | 55         |
| 1.3 The ‘Mechanics’ of Recruitment                                     | 63         |
| 1.3.1 Avenues into the Household                                       | 63         |
| 1.3.2 Instruments of Recruitment                                       | 69         |
| <b>2 Military Life and Duties</b>                                      | <b>78</b>  |
| 2.1 Varying Degrees of Military Service and Relationships              | 78         |
| 2.2 Types of Military Duties   | 94         |
| 2.2.1 Tournament Participation   | 95         |
| 2.2.2 Recruiting, Campaign and Battle                                  | 99         |
| 2.2.3 Campaigning on Crusade   | 107        |
| 2.2.4 Skirmish, Siege and Naval Warfare                                | 110        |
| 2.2.5 Garrison and Leadership  | 118        |
| <b>3 Non-Military Life and Duties</b>                                  | <b>124</b> |
| 3.1 Peacetime Attendance at Home and Abroad                            | 124        |
| 3.2 Special Forms of Non-Military Service                              | 136        |
| 3.2.1 In Justice – Shrievalty and Judicial Commissions                 | 136        |
| 3.2.2 ‘Military-Adjacent’ Office – Constables, Lieutenants, Seneschals | 144        |
| 3.2.3 Managing Affairs – Stewards, Attorneys and Executors             | 147        |
| 3.3 Household, Crown and Nobility – The Intersection of Service        | 153        |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>4 Rewards, Benefits and Multiple Lordship</b>  | <b>160</b> |
| 4.1.1 Typical Forms of Direct and Indirect Reward                                       | 160        |
| 4.1.2 The Benefits of Office, Protection from the Law and Bending Justice               | 167        |
| 4.1.3 Infrequent Benefits – Marriage and Loans  | 173        |
| 4.2 Multiple Lordship: ‘Shared’ Bachelors and Promotion to Greater Service              | 175        |
| <b>5 Confraternity in Context: Links Within and Across the Knightly Households</b>      | <b>188</b> |
| 5.1.1 Self-Conscious Brotherhoods   | 188        |
| 5.1.2 Common Gathering, Crusade and Military Participation                              | 192        |
| 5.1.3 Shared Devotion, Religious Patronage and Monumental Effigies                      | 194        |
| 5.2 Specific Connections between Knights of the Same Household                          | 198        |
| 5.3 Links across the Households   | 209        |
| 5.3.1 Marriage, Kinship and Military Service  | 210        |
| 5.3.2 Landed Property and Legal Aid   | 214        |
| <b>Conclusion</b>   | <b>219</b> |
| Appendix A – Overview of Campaigns and Expeditions Abroad                               | 227        |
| Appendix B – Household Knights of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun | 229        |
| <b>Bibliography</b>   | <b>238</b> |

## Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Cardiff University's School of History, Archaeology and Religion for awarding my project the Ursula Henriques Scholarship. Without this support, completing the thesis would not have been possible. I am also grateful for the two awards I received from the Bill John Travel Fund, which enabled me to share my research and meet many terrific scholars at the IMC in Leeds, as well as a wonderful experience at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

I owe many thanks to my supervisors, Helen Nicholson and Bronach Kane. In addition to guiding my research efforts, they have been a constant source of reassurance and support during this long and arduous journey, one which has involved some difficult personal struggles. They have been unfailingly positive and forbearing whenever I may have fallen short. Likewise, I am grateful to Paul Webster and Jenny Benham. Both kindly offered me their support with applications, as well as valuable insights on how to improve my work.

I am indebted to the medievalists at Leeds, most especially Karen Watts, Alan Murray, William Flynn and Alaric Hall, who either provided my references for the PhD or were otherwise instrumental in continuing to feed my enthusiasm for the Middle Ages. I want to thank John France, Kelly DeVries, Clifford Rogers, David Green and Chris Given-Wilson, who have at various stages provided critique of some of my work; their input has stretched me and made me a better scholar. I am also thankful to Matthew Hefferan for sending me a copy of his own thesis, which has been a very useful reference point in the latter stages of this project.

Last, but most of all, I want to thank my parents, whose love, dedication and sacrifice over the years continues to amaze me. They are my greatest heroes of all.

## List of Tables and Figures

|           |  |     |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Table 1   | Retinue numbers for William Bohun: bannerets, knights and men-at-arms                                    | 39  |
| Table 2.1 | Household knights most frequently found in the retinue of Henry of Grosmont: names, totals and campaigns | 93  |
| Table 2.2 | Known household knights with the earls of Warwick, Derby and Northampton for the battle of Sluys, 1340   | 116 |
| Table 3.1 | Most frequent household knights of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, among his charter witnesses        | 126 |
| Table 3.2 | Most frequent household knights of Henry of Grosmont among his charter witnesses                         | 128 |
| Table 3.3 | Most frequent household knights of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, among his charter witnesses       | 129 |
| Table 3.4 | Household knights of Henry of Grosmont who joined or may have joined him on major diplomatic missions    | 134 |
| Figure 1  | Personal connections and various social spheres of Sir John Leukenore                                    | 156 |
| Figure 2  | Social ties involved in the earl of Arundel's commission of oyer and terminer, February 1342             | 206 |
| Figure 3  | Family trees of magnates and household knights, c.1325-c.1360  | 212 |

## List of Abbreviations

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Acta Bellicosa</i>                | <i>Acta Bellicosa Edwardi Tertii</i> , in <i>The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince</i> , ed. and trans. by Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 26-40 |
| Ayton, 'English Army'                | Andrew Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in <i>The Battle of Crécy, 1346</i> , ed. by Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 159-251   |
| Barber,<br><i>Triumph of England</i> | Richard Barber, <i>Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter</i> (London: Penguin, 2014)  |
| <i>BIHR</i>                          | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>  |
| BL                                   | British Library  |
| <i>BPR</i>                           | <i>Register of Edward, the Black Prince</i> , ed. by M. C. B. Dawes, 4 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930-33)  |
| Carpenter,<br>'Bastard Feudalism'    | Christine Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in England in the Fourteenth Century', in <i>Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald</i> , ed. by Steve Boardman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 59-92           |
| Carpenter,<br>'Beauchamp Affinity'   | Christine Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', <i>EHR</i> , 140 (1980), 514-32   |
| Carpenter,<br>'Warwickshire'         | Christine Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism in Fourteenth-Century Warwickshire', <i>Dugdale Society Occasional Papers</i> , 52 (2016), 1-65  |
| <i>CCR</i>                           | <i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>   |
| <i>CChR</i>                          | <i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>   |
| <i>CFR</i>                           | <i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>  |
| <i>CIPM</i>                          | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>  |
| <i>GEC</i>                           | G. E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , 2nd edn., 4 vols. (London: St. Catherine, 1910-16)  |
| <i>CPR</i>                           | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>  |
| <i>EHR</i>                           | <i>English Historical Review</i>   |
| Fowler, 'Grosmont'                   | Kenneth Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster', 2 vols. (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1961)  |

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Green, 'Household'                | David Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince', 2 vols. (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1998)  |
| <i>HR</i> (formerly <i>BIHR</i> ) | <i>Historical Research</i>  |
| <i>JMH</i>                        | <i>Journal of Medieval History</i>  |
| <i>ODNB</i>                       | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edn., available at: <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a>   |
| <i>P&amp;P</i>                    | <i>Past and Present</i>   |
| Parker, 'Patronage'               | Jennifer Mary Parker, 'Patronage and Service: The Careers of William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk and William Bohun, earl of Northampton' (unpublished Master's thesis, Durham University, 1985) |
| Sumption, <i>Trial by Battle</i>  | Jonathan Sumption, <i>The Hundred Years War Volume 1: Trial by Battle</i> , 2nd edn. (London: Faber and Faber, 2011)  |
| <i>TRHS</i>                       | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>   |
| <i>VCH</i>                        | <i>Victoria County History</i>  |
| Walker, <i>Lancastrian</i>        | Simon Walker, <i>The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990)  |

## Note on Names and Labelling

For the most part, the names of the knights have been rendered as they are most frequently found in the sources consulted. One exception to this is Frank van Halen (also known as Frank Hale), who is labelled such to reflect his Brabantine origins. The surnames of Fulk Birmingham and Ralph Bracebridge have also been rendered in their modern form.

Place names have been provided in their modern form, where this is known.

Unless otherwise stated, all document references refer to The National Archives.

## Introduction

'Despite the general appreciation of the importance of royal household knights, there is as yet no full-length study of these men'.<sup>1</sup> So wrote Stephen Church at the beginning of his survey of knights serving in the household of King John. In the years before and since, great strides have been made in research about magnates and kings, military retinues, retaining and household men. Yet in spite of this, many aspects of household knights in late medieval England have remained obscure.<sup>2</sup> Church's sentiment still holds true, for where household knights have been discussed it has usually been in passing, and questions linger about their individual and collective identity as well as their composition and activity. This is particularly true for the reign of Edward III (1327-77), as will be seen. The period of Edward's rule has received much attention, especially for its dramatic military victories and the symbiotic developments it saw in government, warfare and military recruitment. In this age of great change and militarisation, there remain questions about what role knights now had in the affinities of particular magnates, both in war and peace, and how this relates to the broader history of England in the mid-fourteenth century.

This study aims to show that household knights in the fourteenth century were closely and simultaneously entwined in military, political, judicial and social spheres. As such, they were significant players in the reign of Edward III and remarkably important for furthering our understanding of the period. This investigation into the household knights of some of Edward's leading magnates can provide us with detailed insights into the elite core of some of the leading military retinues at the start of the Hundred Years War: individuals who made vital contributions to English successes in the period, and consequently the fate of the realm as the century progressed. Moreover, these chivalric followings were an entity unto themselves: not just a collection of individuals with ties to a particular magnate, but important social webs with bonds running between each of its members. Studying the roles and identity of household knights can thus tell us more about the mechanisms – and limitations – of lordship within the late medieval period, and its function in the working of society. At a regional and national level, household knights were connected not only with other noble and gentry networks but also with business, crime and justice in the localities. This itself, and their service to magnates more generally, had to operate within the

---

<sup>1</sup> S. D. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of this opening discussion, we can take 'household knight' to mean one who has sworn loyalty to a particular lord and is directly attached to his 'household' – in the sense of an institution rather than any building or geographical location – typically in times of war, but often during peace as well. A fuller analysis of the terminology follows on pp. 19-23.

overarching framework of royal authority. As a result, this study reveals much about the power dynamics between king, nobility and locality, even the very nature of kingship and lordship in the Late Middle Ages.

### *Historiography*

Tracing the historiography of household knights in the service of kings and magnates is no straightforward matter, as the subject involves a complex interweaving of different time periods and research themes: not only royal and noble households over the centuries, but also their overlap with military retinues and warfare, the nature of retaining and lordly affinities more broadly, the reigns of kings and the changing face of knighthood, as well as the place of knighthood and the gentry within local and national society. These can be grouped loosely into three overlapping areas, covered here in turn: studies on households and household knights, so-called 'bastard feudalism' and affinities, and military retinues and warfare.

A discussion of research relating specifically to household knights can begin with John Edward Morris's seminal work on the armies of Edward I. Morris established that Edward's household knights were exceedingly useful to him in the Welsh wars, and while their military identity and proximity to the king made them valuable as a small standing army,<sup>3</sup> their duties could extend far beyond the role of fighting men. Morris describes knights of the royal household functioning in essentially the same way as military captains, used to muster infantry and workmen, or otherwise superintend the transport of resources and prisoners of war.<sup>4</sup> Others still remained close to the king as the permanent staff of his military headquarters, while some were given prestigious offices in regional government, such as Hugh de Turberville who was made seneschal of Gascony.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequent studies tended to focus on the mechanisms of the royal household more broadly,<sup>6</sup> but household knights again featured in Kenneth Fowler's exhaustive treatment on the life, career and following of Henry of Grosmont (c.1310-61), who became the earl and later duke of Lancaster in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Fowler's research has proven extraordinarily valuable to this thesis for its insights into the life of one of England's most

---

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Medieval Military History, Based on Original Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920-33); Alec Reginald Myers, *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959); Alan Rogers, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1966).

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth Fowler, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1961); *idem.*, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster* (London: Elek, 1969).

powerful magnates during the first phase of the Hundred Years War, detailing much about Grosmont's movements and the background on the duke's followers, including many of the knights who were part of his household and the scope of their relationship with him. Shortly after, John Maddicott and Seymour Phillips explored the life and career of two important magnates in the early fourteenth century: Grosmont's uncle and predecessor, Thomas of Lancaster, and Aymer de Valence, the earl of Pembroke.<sup>8</sup> Both authors devoted a chapter to the retinue of the respective earls. Maddicott illustrated the importance of Lancaster's household knights, not only because of the military power and prestige they advertised but also because they helped Lancaster remain a force in national politics, even after he was compelled to withdraw from government in 1317-18.<sup>9</sup> Phillips meanwhile noted the varied geographical distribution of Pembroke's knightly following, concluding that the earl was too engaged in royal service to have or develop the same kind of regional power base that some of his fellow Marcher lords possessed.<sup>10</sup> In the same year as Phillips, Michael Prestwich built on the early work of Morris by again addressing the role of Edward I's household men, in particular how and why the king retained specific individuals and their roles in both military and non-military spheres.<sup>11</sup>

There followed in the 1980s important work relating to the household, patronage and service of Edward III. Jennifer Parker's research focused on the early careers of four of Edward's household bannerets, all of whom were promoted to earldoms in 1337: William Montague, William Clinton, Robert Ufford and William Bohun.<sup>12</sup> Parker's work revealed much about the lives and associates of these men, the extent of their exploits in the king's service and the generosity of the rewards they consequently received. This was soon followed by seminal work on the royal household by Chris Given-Wilson, particularly with regards to the latter stages of Edward III's reign.<sup>13</sup> Most notably, Given-Wilson's work included detailed discussion about the significance of 'household knights' compared with 'chamber knights', concluding that 'knight of the household' as a term fell into rapid decline after 1360, in

---

<sup>8</sup> J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970); J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence: Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324. Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

<sup>9</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp. 40 and 65.

<sup>10</sup> Phillips, *Pembroke*, pp. 253-68.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972), pp. 41-66; idem., *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1988), pp. 147-54.

<sup>12</sup> Parker, 'Patronage'.

<sup>13</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); idem., 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS*, 37 (1987), 87-102; idem., *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1987). Reference to chamber knights are for instance found in William de Norwell, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. by M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H. S. Lucas and J. de Sturler (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1983), pp. 231-2.

preference for terms relating to the chamber – *camerarii*, *milites camere regis* and others.<sup>14</sup> Based on this and the labelling in account rolls from the latter part of the reign, Given-Wilson asserted that household knights decreased dramatically after 1360, partly due to the king rarely campaigning in person after this date and partly out of a wider preference among the nobility for the privacy of the chamber as opposed to the hall.<sup>15</sup> In their stead emerged a smaller, more select group of ‘chamber knights’ whose duties were predominantly domestic and administrative; going into the reign of Richard II there was then a shift to ‘king’s knights’, not strictly part of the household but attached to the person of the king and intended as an instrument for political influence.<sup>16</sup> Following on shortly from Given-Wilson was important research by Kate Mertes on the great noble household in the Late Middle Ages. Mertes also remarked on an apparent lack of overt military presence in magnate households, reasoning that by this time armed might probably derived from external retainers, tenants and clients. The vast majority of her evidence derived from the fifteenth century,<sup>17</sup> but it appeared to confirm a decline in the place of household knights as military servants.

A series of studies beginning in the 1990s added further to the picture of household service for the Anglo-Norman period, most notably by Marjorie Chibnall and John Prestwich. These confirmed the long tradition of a royal military household or *familia* dating back to the reign of Henry II and earlier.<sup>18</sup> Even in this time, the knights were more than simply a bodyguard or small standing army, sometimes being used as ‘sheriffs, provincial governors, judges, councillors and diplomats’.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, David Crouch’s research on William Marshal offered insight for the same period, but in non-royal followings in England and continental Europe. Crouch revealed how the *mesnie*, or military household, in the twelfth century was made up of knights from diverse backgrounds, maintained by a great lord whose colours and device they would wear.<sup>20</sup> In his exploration of the Marshal’s early career, Crouch determined that household knights often had their equipment provided for them, at least to begin with, and thereafter needed to secure ransoms in tournament or battle in order to

---

<sup>14</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 204, 207 and 209-11.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* See also Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 8, 50 and 197; Myers, *Edward IV*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Political Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 8 and 48-9.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Hooper, ‘The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century’, in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 1-16; Marjorie Chibnall, ‘Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I’, in *ibid.*, pp. 84-92; J. O. Prestwich, ‘The Military Household of the Norman Kings’, in *ibid.*, pp. 93-127.

<sup>19</sup> Prestwich, ‘Military Household of the Norman Kings’, pp. 104-8. See also Stephen Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 60-6.

<sup>20</sup> David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman, 2002), pp. 30-1.

maintain themselves and rise in prosperity.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, while permission was required for a knight to leave a magnate's household, membership would change with relative frequency, leading Crouch to depict knightly employment in households as something of a sporting transfer market.<sup>22</sup>

Ruth Ingamells would then expand knowledge of Edward I's military household some years later with a study focused specifically on the king's knights.<sup>23</sup> This included more detail about how the knights were, albeit less frequently, employed as sheriffs and diplomats, though in general their tasks outside of combat tended to be in military administration.<sup>24</sup> The core of Edward's knights remained with him throughout the year, and the amount of time they spent away from court could vary considerably depending on their roles: the stewards and the chamberlains were naturally a constant presence, but some knights who acted as falconers and ostringers would have to be away for extended periods in order to train their birds.<sup>25</sup> There were many pathways to official admission into the royal household; chief among them were previous service, promotion from squiredom and family connections, resulting in a network of kinship between the royal household and other families who had an established tradition of service to the king.<sup>26</sup>

Since Ingamells, there has been further research on royal household knights, completing a chain of studies dedicated to the military household of kings from John to Edward III.<sup>27</sup> All of these have demonstrated a remarkable continuity in the service of household knights: their primary role as a body of fighting men, their usefulness in military administration and non-military duties, as well as the origins and conditions of their membership in the royal household. Where subtle differences did emerge, these usually related to the influence household knights could have on the reign and vice versa. Kenneth Lightfoot's research into the knights of Henry III indicated that their occupation of sheriffdoms and castles provided a vital stabilising influence in the occasionally tumultuous reign, potentially preventing a decentralisation of the kingdom.<sup>28</sup> Alistair Tebbit similarly highlighted that recruitment into the royal retinue of Edward II was largely based on some personal connection with the king, for instance as a comrade in a previous military campaign

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>23</sup> Ruth Ingamells, 'The Household Knights of Edward I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 1992); idem., 'The Political Role of the Household Knights of Edward I', in *Thirteenth Century England V: Proceedings of the Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Conference, 1993*, ed. by P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 29-36.

<sup>24</sup> Ingamells, 'Household Knights', pp. 171-2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 159-60.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 67 and 170.

<sup>27</sup> Church, *Household Knights*; K. W. B. Lightfoot, 'The Household Knights of Henry III, 1216-1236' (unpublished PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2006); Alistair Tebbit, 'The Household Knights of Edward II' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Lightfoot, 'Household Knights', pp. 480-2.

or as a childhood companion, and demonstrated that the otherwise much-maligned monarch had an interesting knack for managing and inspiring loyalty in his men. Edward's household knights were integral to maintaining some stability during the uneasy reign, particularly in the governing of key castles at times of crisis, and Edward deployed his knights tactically in different war theatres, entrusting the defence of the Welsh and Scottish frontiers to those men with local interests.<sup>29</sup> Michael Prestwich and Jeffrey Hamilton have also contributed to this picture of Edward II's knights, in particular discussing their level of loyalty to the king. As well as confirming that the patterns of service and reward evidenced in the households of previous kings continued into the fourteenth century, their articles appraised the careers and length of service of Edward II's men, though they also allude to the retainers of Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>30</sup> The work of Tebbit, Prestwich and Hamilton make it evident that during Edward II's troubled reign, his knights were faced with extraordinary, unprecedented circumstances, which led some of them to extraordinary behaviour.

More recently, there has been an investigation by Matthew Hefferan into the household knights of Edward III, preceded by Christopher Candy's work on the knights closest to Edward III during the first decade of his personal rule.<sup>31</sup> Candy explained that Edward started afresh with new household knights in the wake of his father's reign, that these men were highly trusted and that they were given diverse assignments: some knights were given naval command roles, others undertook law enforcement duties such as keeping the peace and catching criminals, while John Sturmy was effectively an 'internal affairs' officer, charged with investigating problems within the royal household.<sup>32</sup> Hefferan's work developed our understanding of household knights, and the evolution of their role, in a number of ways. He corroborated Given-Wilson's past assertions about the transition from 'household' to 'chamber knight', and that this reflected the king's change in lifestyle and withdrawal from campaigning.<sup>33</sup> While there were instances of royal household knights undertaking judicial commissions and holding local offices such as shrievalties, this was

---

<sup>29</sup> Tebbit, pp. 71, 82-3 and 226. See also idem., 'Household Knights and Military Service under the Direction of Edward II', in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, ed. by Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 76-96 (pp. 78-9 and 86-8).

<sup>30</sup> Michael Prestwich, 'The Unreliability of Royal Household Knights in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 1-12 (p. 4); J. S. Hamilton, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 47-72 (pp. 53-4).

<sup>31</sup> Christopher Candy, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III): Further Considerations*, ed. by Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 49-62; idem., 'The Scottish Wars of Edward III, 1327-1338' (unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 2004); Matthew Hefferan, 'Edward III's Household Knights in War and Peace, 1327-1377' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2017); idem., 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign' of 1346', *HR*, 92 (2019), 24-49.

<sup>32</sup> Candy, 'A Growing Trust', pp. 53-5.

<sup>33</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 39-45.

generally regarded as secondary to their duty of providing Edward with military service and protecting the king's private interests.<sup>34</sup> They were sometimes also a convenient instrument in local and central administration for facilitating the king's will, though Hefferan emphasises this was not the same extensive royal political intervention in the localities that met such resistance in the reigns of Richard II and Richard III.<sup>35</sup>

A final consideration in this group of studies relates to the work of David Green and Simon Walker on the followings of Edward III's sons, Edward the Black Prince (1330-76) and John of Gaunt (1340-99).<sup>36</sup> This research has been tremendously valuable for throwing light on two of the greatest lords of the mid- and late-fourteenth century, revealing the scope and membership of their followings as well as how they operated in society. Prince Edward's household was comparable to the *familia regis*, but as the crown prince of England it was expected to evolve once he assumed the throne; there was a notable blurring of the prince's household and military retinue because of his martial interests and extensive war commitments, leading to household and estate duties often being undertaken by military men; it was similar in size to that of his younger brother John of Gaunt, but remained an organisation geared towards military endeavours rather than acting as a strongly political entity; Prince Edward also took a different approach to Gaunt in the recruitment of his men, preferring annuities over short-term indenture contracts.<sup>37</sup> The work of Green and Walker has revealed much about the dynamics of lordship and service during the fourteenth century, including the place of knights within a magnate's household, and how the nuances of the following could be shaped by the needs and circumstances of its master.

However, research on the keeping of household knights in the later medieval period must inevitably consider a second loose group of studies. These pertain to the evolution of

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 228-36.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 13 and 245-6. For more on Edward III's approach to patronage and political management, see W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority in England, 1340-60', *History*, 72 (1987), 4-19; idem., *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); idem., *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995); idem., *Edward III* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005); J. S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesesse and Limitation in Fourteenth-Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1129-33; idem., *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004). Patronage, splendour and the role of household knights are also discussed in Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 24, 37, 53, 119 and 190.

<sup>36</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*; Green, 'Household', I; idem., 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 133-52; idem., 'Politics and Service with Edward the Black Prince', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by J. S. Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 53-68; idem., *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007); idem., 'The Household of Edward the Black Prince: Complement and Characteristics', in *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Christopher M. Woolgar (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2018), pp. 355-71.

<sup>37</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 9, 25, 42-3, 98-9 and 108; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 4, 14-6 and 279-80; idem., 'Politics and Service', pp. 53-6 and 60.

lordship and service within so-called 'bastard feudalism' and the development of lordly 'affinities': the sum total of a magnate's household servants, retinue and wider associates, existing in some respects as a political entity and usually concentrated within a particular region. Put briefly, 'bastard feudalism' refers to a shift in retaining practice: instead of a relationship dynamic whereby men typically provided military and non-military service to lords in exchange for land holding, it increasingly became the norm for lords to secure service through the giving of fees, and constructing their followings based on personal acquaintance rather than ties of land holding; the term is also often taken to include attempts to influence local and national affairs, via the recruitment of county office-holders and the wide distribution of livery and badges.<sup>38</sup>

The term itself originated in the nineteenth century with Charles Plummer and other historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century who were very critical of the social practices that it described, believing that it was detrimental to the social order and led ultimately to the political instability and strife seen in the War of the Roses.<sup>39</sup> The term was rescued from its pejorative connotations in the 1940s by the influential Kenneth McFarlane, whose subsequent research expanded our understanding of late medieval lordship in a variety of ways.<sup>40</sup> McFarlane explored the development of land law and inheritance, and the impact this had on the social mores of the fourteenth-century aristocracy.<sup>41</sup> He also highlighted a number of complications in retaining practices: indenture contracts stipulating service 'for life' were not necessarily literal and the attendance of retainers was intermittent, but the distinction between them and live-in servants could be tenuous.<sup>42</sup>

This was followed a few years later by another integral study by George Holmes on late medieval nobility, retaining and noble followings.<sup>43</sup> Most pertinent here are Holmes's observations about the grants and contracts agreed between magnates and their men, for

---

<sup>38</sup> K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *BIHR*, 20 (1945), 161-80 (p. 161); John Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 2, 9-11 and 143; Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 43 and 87; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 94-5. See also Martin Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97; Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016); Scott L. Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth-Century England', *EHR*, 101 (1986), 811-39; idem., 'The Third Century of English Feudalism', *Thirteenth Century England VII*, ed. by M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 47-60.

<sup>39</sup> John Fortescue, *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called the Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885), pp. 15-6. See also William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England, and its Origin and Development* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875); H. M. Cam, 'The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism', *History*, 25 (1940), 216-33 (p. 225).

<sup>40</sup> McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', pp. 161-180; idem., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

<sup>41</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 46-9, 61-5, 72 and 78-80.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-6.

<sup>43</sup> George Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

instance identifying some of the retainers closest to the earl of Northampton William Bohun (c. 1312-60).<sup>44</sup> The imperfect survival of evidence, and the fact that close ties did not always correspond with formal contracts, led Holmes to remark that the period involved 'a sea of varying relationships' between magnates and their men, a phrase that we will return to later.<sup>45</sup> Holmes concluded that bastard feudalism was already established in at least some form during the reign of Edward II, and that it was only a 'documentary illusion' that made it seem to develop rapidly at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

Research since has tended to either discuss the permutations of bastard feudalism in general or investigate it via a focus on the patronage and affinity of particular kings and magnates. The field of debate has broadened and a number of matters continue to be discussed: the potential for tension between royal and lordly control in the localities; whether the bastard feudal system was fundamentally stabilising or destabilising; whether it gave magnates extensive control over their localities or whether the gentry were typically more autonomous and formed a 'county community' of sorts; whether it was a phenomenon that developed at the end of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or reflected continuity from earlier times.

In contrast to the earliest writers on the subject, historians have broadly agreed that the social dynamics that characterised bastard feudalism were not inherently destabilising; they could be abused for selfish ends, but they could equally be used to maintain order.<sup>47</sup> However, a more contentious issue has involved the retaining of men in the localities and control of county offices, and what this says about the default relationship between the crown and nobility. Rosemary Horrox indicates that Richard III's (d. 1485) efforts to court the county gentry into his direct service stoked animosity among the higher nobility.<sup>48</sup> Alison

---

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>47</sup> Christine Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR*, 140 (1980), pp. 530-1; *idem.*, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-99* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 281-398; *idem.*, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 8-24; *idem.*, '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. by Steve Boardman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 59-92; Alexandra Sinclair, 'The Beauchamp Earls of Warwick in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Social Science, 1986), p. 261; J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 5-7; Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law*, p. 79; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 110; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 103-4; Andy King, "'Pur Salvation du Roiaume": Military Service and Obligation in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. by Nigel Saul, pp. 13-32 (p. 29); Caroline 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 (p. 180); Andrew Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 101-2.

<sup>48</sup> Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 13-4.

Gundy and Helen Castor argued much the same about Richard II (d. 1400), whereas Given-Wilson was more apologetic regarding the second Richard's policy.<sup>49</sup> Fundamentally, this is a question of how much direct authority the crown could expect to wield in the localities as opposed to the magnates who resided there, and whether the relationship between king and nobility was primarily cooperative or competitive. The view that kings were unwise to cultivate a personal affinity in the shires has been linked to an assumption that this encroached on the regional authority that magnates expected to enjoy, but many historians have argued that relations between the crown and nobility were not adversarial by default.<sup>50</sup> It is evident that royal authority in the shires waxed and waned through the centuries,<sup>51</sup> but it is perhaps fair to say that the reasons for tension or harmony involved several factors: not least the temperament of individual kings, their personal rapport with leading magnates, and the overall fortunes of the realm.<sup>52</sup> This has important implications for the role of fourteenth-century household knights, as will be seen later.<sup>53</sup>

The contention over the extent of lordly authority leads into yet another debate about the existence of a 'county community' in the period. This is because the elusive boundaries of a magnate's affinity and influence raises questions about whether political power and social relations are best characterised in terms of 'vertical' ties linking local gentry to a regional magnate, or 'horizontal' ties of community between members of the gentry themselves. The case of vertical ties having predominance has been most notably championed by Christine Carpenter, who was firmly critical of the word 'community' being used in connection with the gentry and county society.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, several historians have stressed the prominence of horizontal ties and gentry independence from magnate influence. Nigel Saul's survey of the Gloucestershire gentry found they were largely unaffiliated with any great lords; Simon Walker likewise defended the notion of 'community' as a contemporary concept; Hicks and Keen were also sceptical that magnate influence in

---

<sup>49</sup> Helen Castor, *The King, The Crown, The Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power 1399-1461* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Alison Gundy, *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 10-6 and 222; Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 438; idem., *Royal Household*, pp. 211-6.

<sup>50</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 47-9 and 60-3; McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 103-5; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 189; Peter Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), p. 114; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 220-1 and 227.

<sup>51</sup> Coss, *Knight*, p. 114; Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 170-1; Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', p. 180.

<sup>52</sup> David Simpkin, 'The Organisation of Chivalric Society', in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. by Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 39-55 (p. 55).

<sup>53</sup> The matter of lordly and royal authority is addressed in Chapter 3, pp. 145-51 and Chapter 4, pp. 167-76.

<sup>54</sup> Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 340-80; idem., 'Beauchamp Affinity', pp. 530-1; See also Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 99-100.

the shires was always far-reaching.<sup>55</sup> Coss's work has reflected mixed views, stressing the agency and local outlook of the gentry while also acknowledging the significance of vertical ties, especially how they were evident in the retinue and military service.<sup>56</sup> In more recent times, there appears to be a growing appreciation for balance in these views, with even Carpenter stating that vertical and horizontal ties combined to produce the social cohesion apparent in the counties during Edward III's reign.<sup>57</sup>

A final area of dispute has involved questions over the most feasible date for the emergence of bastard feudalism. Carpenter has persistently argued that while features of it can be seen at earlier stages, bastard feudalism itself could not have existed before Edward III's reign: the bond of land tenure that characterised previous centuries still held substantial importance in the fourteenth century, and what may have looked like bastard feudalism in the reign of Edward II was merely the magnates scrambling for stability and control during uncertain times.<sup>58</sup> This contrasts with the suggestion of others that bastard feudalism may have emerged at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Caroline Burt reached this conclusion following an investigation of William (c.1238-98) and Guy Beauchamp (c.1272-15), successive earls of Warwick. Researching the earls' associates via the witness lists in their charters, Burt inferred that a bastard feudal affinity seemed to exist under Earl Guy; fewer of his followers were connected to him by land tenure, and more local officials were in his service than under his father.<sup>60</sup> Consequently, Burt hypothesises that bastard feudalism did not develop in reaction to the expansion of royal influence in the localities, but rather from magnates' desire to protect their lands and interests while absent during the intensive campaigning that started from 1294.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), pp. 97-8 and 166; Maurice Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 21; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 156-60 and 163-6; Simon Walker, 'Communities of the County in Late Medieval England', in *Political Culture in Late Medieval England: Essays by Simon Walker*, ed. M. J. Braddick (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) pp. 68-80; Hefferean, 'Household Knights', pp. 224-7.

<sup>56</sup> Coss, *Knight*, p. 114; idem., *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 69; idem., *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and Their World, 1270-1370* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 73; idem., 'Andrew Ayton, The Military Community and the Evolution of the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. by Gary P. Baker, Craig L. Lambert and David Simpkin (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), pp. 31-50 (p. 35).

<sup>57</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 3-4; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 227. See also Gwilym Dodd, 'County and Community in Medieval England', *EHR*, 134 (2019), 777-820; Philip J. Caudrey, *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry in the Age of the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), p. 95.

<sup>58</sup> Carpenter, 'Fourteenth Century', pp. 75 and 91; idem., 'Warwickshire', pp. 61-3. See also Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 223.

<sup>59</sup> Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 173 and 178-80. See also Alison Marshall, 'An Early Fourteenth Century Affinity: The Earl of Norfolk and His Followers', in *Fourteenth Century England V*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 1-12.

<sup>60</sup> Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 173 and 178-80.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

However, a greater number of scholars have made the case that many traits of bastard feudalism existed well before the Late Middle Ages. Debate between Coss, Crouch and David Carpenter on the phenomenon saw all three scholars agreeing that bastard feudal elements can be discerned in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, though they held differing views on the relevance of the label and what factors caused it to develop.<sup>62</sup> Andrew Spencer among others also noted that the mechanisms of bastard feudalism existed in earlier centuries while conceding that the way magnates used their followings was not necessarily the same.<sup>63</sup> In fact, such is the evidence for some of its features before the Late Middle Ages, and contention over how best to define bastard feudalism, that several historians dismiss the term as overall unhelpful.<sup>64</sup> In sum, the issues raised by these debates over bastard feudalism all have implications for the study of household knights in the changing social, political and military landscape of fourteenth-century England, for these men were at the very heart of lordly followings. These themes will consequently be addressed in the chapters that follow.

It is also necessary to consider a third group of studies. Before and during the fourteenth century, household knights were primarily kept as fighting men, and as such the developments in our understanding of military retinues and warfare are also relevant. Some important early work in this area came from Albert Prince, Norman Lewis and James Sherborne, relating specifically to the use of indentures for the purpose of securing service for particular military campaigns.<sup>65</sup> Their research traced the development of indenture contracts during the reign of Edward III between recruiting captains and their men-at-arms, asserting that the indenture system was in fact a steadying influence in society rather than the cause of widespread disorder, and an efficient method of raising armies.<sup>66</sup> This was followed by a meticulous survey of surviving indenture contracts by Michael Jones and Simon Walker, who analysed the terms and conditions of these documents and how their

---

<sup>62</sup> Peter Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 125 (1989), 27-64; David Crouch and D. A. Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 131 (1991), 165-89; Peter Coss, 'Reply', *P&P*, 131 (1991), 190-203. See also Sinclair, 'Beauchamp Earls', p. 261.

<sup>63</sup> Andrew Spencer, 'The Comital Military Retinue in the Reign of Edward I', *HR*, 83 (2010), 46-59; idem., *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 102 and 108; Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract', p. 833; idem., 'English Feudalism', p. 50; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 80; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 5-6; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>64</sup> Andy King, 'The English Gentry and Military Service, 1300-1400', *History Compass*, 12 (2014), 759-69 (p. 761); Holmes, *Estates*, p. 83; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 83 and 121-53; Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 165.

<sup>65</sup> A. E. Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), 283-98; N. B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS*, 27 (1945), 29-39; James W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *EHR*, 79 (1964), 718-46.

<sup>66</sup> Prince, 'Indenture System', p. 283; Lewis, 'Indentured Retinues', pp. 29, 32 and 39; Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues', p. 745.

form evolved, cautiously noting that indentures were only the 'most formal and explicit' bond of service 'but by no means the most common'.<sup>67</sup> Though the form of the agreement was new, the relationship dynamic between lord and retainer which it represented reflected a great degree of continuity.

Interest in English armies and military administration during the period has led to a formidable body of research since the 1990s, which has characterised the fourteenth century as an age of 'military revolution'. This entailed a number of developments: a shift in recruitment from tenurial obligations of war service and commissions of array to mostly contract-based armies; the rising importance of the longbow and a change in army composition to roughly even numbers of men-at-arms and archers; the adoption of new battle tactics that involved knights and esquires dismounting to fight on foot from well defended positions with the support of the archers.<sup>68</sup> The work of Andrew Ayton in this area has pointed towards a marked 'remilitarisation' of the gentry from approximately the 1340s onwards; it has also been particularly useful in highlighting the dynamics of the relationship between recruiting captains and the members of their retinue, illustrating the extent to which recruitment drew upon personal and geographical ties, and the often remarkable degree of continuity in membership across multiple campaigns.<sup>69</sup> Some historians have remained

---

<sup>67</sup> Michael Jones and Simon Walker, 'Private Indentures for Life Service in War and Peace 1278-1476', *Camden Fifth Series*, 3 (1994), 1-190 (pp. 12-5).

<sup>68</sup> Clifford J. Rogers, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War', *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241-78; idem., 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. by Clifford Rogers (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 265-83; idem., *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000); *Soldiers' Lives Through History: The Middle Ages* (London, 2007); idem., 'Tactics and the Face of Battle', in *European Warfare, 1350-1750*, ed. by Frank Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 203-35; idem., 'The Development of the Longbow in Late Medieval England and "technological determinism"', *JMH*, 37 (2011), 321-41; Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996); Andrew Ayton, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 253-68; idem., *Knights and Warhorses under Edward III: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994); idem., 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century,' in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 21-38. See also Matthew Bennett, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 1-20; Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 125; Christopher Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), p. 57.

<sup>69</sup> Andrew Ayton, 'Edward III and the English 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: Paul Watkins, 1998), pp. 173-206; idem., 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 81-104; idem., 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by J. S. Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 107-32; idem., 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Adrian R. Bell and others

unconvinced about the military revolution hypothesis,<sup>70</sup> but it has otherwise been accepted by scholarship.

Interest in the military retinue has continued to thrive in the last couple of decades. Research by Andy King and Andrew Spencer in particular has explored issues of recruitment, military obligation, retinue composition and membership, as well as its overlap with local and national community ties.<sup>71</sup> Other work by King has investigated the military retinue of Henry Beaumont (c. 1280-1340), revealing that the baron's following differed from those of his contemporary magnates in some respects. Beaumont tended to recruit more of his retainers directly from his estate properties than other lords because he did not possess the same level of status and connections; his position as a controversial figure whose fortunes fluctuated made it more difficult for him to maintain an affinity similar to those of Guy Beauchamp or Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>72</sup> Dan Franke's comprehensive survey of the life and following of Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk (1298-1369), emphasised continuity over revolution in the reasons for why men served in Ufford's retinue and how they were recruited, as well as the primacy of social dynamics over military ones.<sup>73</sup> In turn, Nicholas Gribit has approached the study of Henry of Grosmont's retinue from a different angle, focusing on the earl's first military expedition to Aquitaine in 1345. Gribit paid special attention to the membership and mechanics of the retinue Grosmont took with him, from bannerets to clerks and archers, and in doing so provides a valuable snapshot of the various elements in an English war host, as well as patterns in military service.<sup>74</sup>

At present, then, there is a significant body of research on lordship, society, retainers and retinues during the reign of Edward III. Moreover, Hefferan's work has focused

---

(Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 9-60; idem., 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', *JMH*, 43 (2017), 4-23; idem., 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 159-251.

<sup>70</sup> Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 66-7 and 175; Dan Franke, 'Beyond the Medieval Military Revolution: Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and the Wars of England 1298-1369' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Rochester, 2014), pp. 25, 73 and 79-80.

<sup>71</sup> King, 'Fourteenth-Century Northumberland', p. 29; idem., 'Gentry', pp. 763-4. See also idem., 'A Good Chance for the Scots? The Recruitment of English Armies for Scotland and the Marches, 1337-1347', in *England and Scotland at War*, ed. by Andy King and David Simpkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 119-58; Spencer, 'Comital Military Retinue', pp. 46-59; Adrian Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Marshall, 'Earl of Norfolk', pp. 1-12.

<sup>72</sup> Andy King, 'Sir Henry Beaumont and his Retainers: The Dynamics of a Lord's Military Retinues and Affinity in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. G. P. Baker, C. L. Lambert and David Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 77-104 (pp. 84 and 100-2).

<sup>73</sup> Franke, 'Robert Ufford', pp. 124-7; idem., '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 W. Kaeuper*, ed. by C. M. Nakashian and Dan Franke (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 62-84.

<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016).

specifically on the household knights of the king, and other studies have to a greater or lesser extent touched upon knights in the household and retinue of the Black Prince, Henry of Grosmont, John of Gaunt and Robert Ufford. There are nonetheless substantial gaps that can be filled. Hefferan's thesis explores the exercise of royal power, patronage and administration, including its flow into the localities and contribution to the English war machine. Yet important questions remain about how lordship and noble power operated within the framework of royal authority, and thus the relationship between kingship and nobility, as well as how lordship functioned both for its own sake and in the running of the realm. In addition, there is more to be said about the importance of household knights in warfare; whereas Hefferan noted that household knights 'do not appear to have offered anything extra to the king in the fighting of pitched battles', it will be seen in the following study that the household knights of magnates were instrumental as fighting men in the English military victories of the period.<sup>75</sup> There are important lords in the period whose knightly followings remain relatively unknown, and further investigation of these, especially with comparison between different households, can shed greater light on a number of areas: the nature of bastard feudalism; the military and administrative practices of other noble households; how one following overlapped with other affinities and how these connections operated across various domains, including judicial procedure, tournament participation, local society and military campaign; how the vast social network they were part of could be exploited for personal and familial prosperity, the effective running of the kingdom, the execution of legal justice, military recruitment and victory in war.

### *Purpose and Scope*

It is the ultimate objective of this thesis to examine household knights at the individual, group and national level. On an individual level, a careful cross-examination of various sources can yield new insights into the specific household knights of magnates in fourteenth-century England. We can discern who they were, their careers and personal backgrounds, and in what capacities they served their lords. The minute details of each knight's career of course varied with each individual's circumstances, but broadly speaking there were patterns of service for fourteenth-century household knights that can be discerned. At a group level, although these followings were not necessarily official, formalised knightly orders in the same vein as the Order of the Garter, they can nonetheless be regarded as self-conscious 'brotherhoods': a collection of knightly retainers who were conscious of their common bond of loyalty to one man. Moreover, each following was idiosyncratic, its characteristics very much shaped by the personal circumstances and preferences of the magnate at the head of

---

<sup>75</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 138.

it. Finally, as well as being shaped by the lives and careers of the magnates studied, the nature of service for these household knights was influenced by the wider historical context of the kingdom's circumstances, most notably Edward III's wars with Scotland and France. Each knightly following also operated within and was inextricably connected to the wider military and chivalric community of England, and the interconnectedness of these followings was an important element in the successful operation of government in the English war effort; it may be helpful to think of each 'brotherhood' as a cog in a machine, touching, turning and turned by other similar cogs as part of a greater operation.

It is of course important to acknowledge that the number of knights went into decline in the fourteenth century, and that this coincided with the consolidation of 'esquire' as a distinct group within the gentry. The two groups had much in common: they shared an association with chivalric culture, undertook some of the same duties in a lord's following, and men were technically considered esquires before they attained knighthood.<sup>76</sup> The present study does not look in depth at household esquires for number of reasons. Firstly, there is the practical consideration that incorporating household esquires in the analysis of the magnate followings here would make the scope of the study unwieldy. Secondly, it becomes apparent from a survey of the evidence that the role of knights and esquires differed in some important respects. Though the two groups shared similarities, there were still important social and military distinctions between them.<sup>77</sup> The fact that knighthood continued to be demarcated in literature and government or legal records reflects that it still held importance.<sup>78</sup> The knights of a magnate's following made for natural leaders and recruiters, and were also more likely to be tasked with special duties on military campaign.<sup>79</sup> Above all, despite their changing battlefield role in the period, knights still represented the elite of medieval soldiery. Their higher status and better pay indicate that more was expected of them in warfare: 'better equipment, more support staff, and more mounts'.<sup>80</sup>

This study reaches its conclusions through focusing on the households of three prominent magnates: primarily the earl of Warwick Thomas Beauchamp (1313/14-69) and the earl of Northampton William Bohun, with comparisons drawn to the following of Henry of Grosmont, the earl of Derby and Lancaster, eventually duke of Lancaster. A few knights of

---

<sup>76</sup> Adrian R. Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King & David Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 54 and 73-4; Michael Prestwich, 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: The Knight at War', *TRHS*, 5 (1995), 201-20 (pp. 204, 208 and 220); Peter Coss, 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation', in *TRHS*, 5 (1995), 155-178; idem., *Origins*, pp. 242-3.

<sup>77</sup> The distinction between knights and esquires in the royal household has been noted by Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 27.

<sup>78</sup> Knights were either listed separately from other men-at-arms or otherwise had their status marked out with *miles*, *chivaler* or *monser*. See for example E 101/20/17; C 76/20; C 81/1742; DL 25/32.

<sup>79</sup> This is covered in detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>80</sup> Bell et al., *Soldier*, p. 54.

Beauchamp and Bohun have received brief mention in prior scholarship by Ayton and Christine Carpenter.<sup>81</sup> However, no in-depth exploration of the knightly contingent of their households – the social background and lives of these men, their ties to each other, and the extent of their military and non-military duties – has yet been attempted. As key figures within the reign and military enterprises of Edward III, they represent ideal case studies.

Beauchamp was from a well-established magnate family. As the first son and heir of his father Guy (d. 1315), he assumed the earldom of Warwick in 1329 despite still being underage, and through the mid fourteenth century served as a close associate of Edward III.<sup>82</sup> An energetic soldier, Beauchamp was active in the Scottish campaigns of the 1330s and later in the war with France, serving as marshal of the army on the 1346 campaign and fighting alongside the Black Prince at the battle of Crécy.<sup>83</sup> He was subsequently made a founding knight in the Order of the Garter.<sup>84</sup> Further campaigns in France followed and Beauchamp fought once again with the Black Prince at the battle of Poitiers before participating in the 1359 Rheims campaign.<sup>85</sup> In the 1360s he made time between his war commitments to embark on crusade, initially making plans to join Peter of Cyprus in 1364, but then voyaging to Prussia in the summer of 1365, the winter of 1365-66 and again in 1367-68.<sup>86</sup> He fell ill and died in 1369 while participating in another French campaign alongside John of Gaunt. A highly capable and experienced military commander, Beauchamp was greatly trusted by his king: in 1340 he stayed behind as a hostage in the Low Countries for King Edward's debts along with Henry of Grosmont,<sup>87</sup> he was a regular presence in the royal council throughout the reign, and he had several relatives serving at the royal court, including his brother John, sons Guy and Thomas, and cousins John and Roger.<sup>88</sup> His personal background, prominence in the wars of Edward III and good relationship with the king make his following an ideal case study for household knights in the fourteenth century.

---

<sup>81</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 30, 33 and 39; Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 206-11.

<sup>82</sup> A detailed account of Beauchamp's life and career is provided in Anthony Tuck, 'Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh earl of Warwick (1313/14-1369)', *ODNB*.

<sup>83</sup> W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 175-6; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 217 and 243.

<sup>84</sup> Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982), p. 87.

<sup>85</sup> C 61/67; C 76/37.

<sup>86</sup> English crusading activity in Prussia and the rest of the Baltic region increased significantly during the fourteenth century, with large numbers beginning to participate from the 1330s onwards despite the onset of the Hundred Years War. Henry of Grosmont's venture in 1352 was the first independent English expedition, and almost half of the founding Garter knights went to Prussia during their careers in arms: Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), pp. 43-5, 74-5 and 208; Barber, *Triumph*, p. 389.

<sup>87</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 230.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 230, 251, 459 and 487.

In a number of ways William Bohun is a similar figure. He too served in the Scottish campaigns of the 1330s,<sup>89</sup> and became an important military commander greatly valued by the king. He led expeditions to Brittany in 1342 and 1345,<sup>90</sup> was the constable of the army on the 1346 campaign, and led the third division of the English forces at the battle of Crécy.<sup>91</sup> He served as the king's lieutenant in Brittany in the 1340s and in the Scottish Marches in 1356.<sup>92</sup> Bohun was also tasked with a number of diplomatic roles, including negotiations in France, Brabant and Flanders, and was a frequent advisor of the king in the royal council.<sup>93</sup> Though not a founding member of the Order of the Garter, he was one of the first replacements following the death of Hugh Courtenay in 1349.<sup>94</sup> Having a suitable chivalric following was therefore a priority for the earl, and it is worth looking more closely at the knights he kept close to him in war and peace.

However, some details set him apart from his comital peers. Though also born into an important noble family, William was only one of five sons to Humphrey Bohun, the earl of Hereford and Essex.<sup>95</sup> As his mother Elizabeth was a daughter of Edward I, he and Edward III were first cousins. His older brother John succeeded their father as earl of Hereford in 1327, and another older brother Humphrey succeeded him in 1336.<sup>96</sup> Thus, originally never intended for the high station he would attain, Bohun and his brother Edward (d.1334) began their careers as knights in the royal household of Edward III.<sup>97</sup> As cousins and friends of similar age to the young king they were among his most trusted associates, and were involved in the 1330 Nottingham Castle coup that saw Edward wrest power from his mother and Roger Mortimer.<sup>98</sup> He was not raised to comital rank until the 1337 parliament when he was granted the title of earl of Northampton, along with the funds to support his new station.<sup>99</sup> As something of a 'new man' in the ranks of Edward's higher nobility, and from a family with different regional ties to the Beauchamps, it is worth exploring how these differences may have affected William Bohun's household and the knights he retained.

---

<sup>89</sup> Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 125.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 250, 252, 263 and 266.

<sup>91</sup> *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 29; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 278 and 293; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 217 and 243.

<sup>92</sup> DL 10/320; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Volume 1: Trial by Battle*, 2nd edn. (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), p. 454.

<sup>93</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 243 and 379. Scott L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 119-20.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>95</sup> An overview of Bohun's life can be found in W. M. Ormrod, 'Bohun, William de, first earl of Northampton (c.1312-1360)', *ODNB*.

<sup>96</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, etc. as well as of the descents and possessions of many distinguished families. From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by N. H. Nicolas, 2 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1826), I, p. 66; *CCR, 1327-30*, p. 26.

<sup>97</sup> See for example BL Cotton MS Nero C VIII, fols. 223r-224r and 225r-225v; *CCR 1327-30*, p. 411

<sup>98</sup> Ormrod, 'Bohun, William', *ODNB*.

<sup>99</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 137.

As mentioned above, Grosmont's life and exploits have been covered in previous research, including details about his following. The son and heir of Henry earl of Lancaster, Grosmont served as a valued friend and subject of Edward III throughout his life.<sup>100</sup> He took an active role in the Scottish campaigns of the 1330s,<sup>101</sup> and accompanied Edward to the Low Countries in 1338-39, where he remained for a time as a hostage for the king's debts.<sup>102</sup> In anticipation of the war with France, Grosmont was promoted to the earldom of Derby in the parliament of 1337 – Edward III wanted to replenish the ranks of the higher nobility by raising some of his young and trusted comrades to important positions.<sup>103</sup> Grosmont eventually succeeded as earl of Lancaster following his father's death in 1345, and in 1351 Edward III raised him to the title of duke, becoming only the second lord of ducal status in England following the promotion of Prince Edward to Duke of Cornwall in 1337.<sup>104</sup> Grosmont spent the 1340s and 1350s busily engaged in various military and diplomatic enterprises: in addition to a Baltic crusading adventure in 1352,<sup>105</sup> he campaigned across France, was present for the siege of Calais and the Rheims campaign,<sup>106</sup> acted as the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine and Brittany,<sup>107</sup> and was involved in negotiations in Castile, Calais, Guînes, Avignon and Brétigny.<sup>108</sup> He died in March 1361 after succumbing to illness. Though he was not involved in the great victories of Crécy and Poitiers, Grosmont's military exploits in Aquitaine and Normandy were integral to the English successes in the first phase of the Hundred Years War. An avid participant in jousts and tournaments,<sup>109</sup> his chivalric prestige and importance to his king was also demonstrated by his inclusion as a founding member of the Order of the Garter.<sup>110</sup>

As the earl and eventually duke of Lancaster, available evidence for Grosmont's life and household is relatively plentiful, particularly when compared to Bohun and Beauchamp. Most notably, the studies by Fowler and Gribit have provided a number of valuable insights about Grosmont and the figures around him.<sup>111</sup> However, the focus of Fowler's research is on Grosmont's own life and career, with consideration of how the whole of his household fit

---

<sup>100</sup> Henry's life is summarised in W. M. Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-1361)', *ODNB*.

<sup>101</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 165 and 168; Candy, 'Scottish Wars', pp. 132, 136, 140-1, 270 and 273.

<sup>102</sup> *CPR 1338-40*, p. 374; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 230.

<sup>103</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 137.

<sup>104</sup> *CPR 1350-54*, p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-5.

<sup>106</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 292, 342 and 399.

<sup>107</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 131, 185, 262, 358 and 734.

<sup>108</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 263 and 292; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 53-5; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 131, 152, 185, 332 and 824.

<sup>109</sup> Juliet Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 26, 34-5, 72, 125-7.

<sup>110</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 542-3 and 545.

<sup>111</sup> For previous research about Grosmont, see above pp. 2-3 (Fowler) and p. 14 (Gribit).

into this. Meanwhile, Gribit pays attention to a single military expedition, examining the structure and recruitment and exploits of the entire army that Henry had with him in Aquitaine in 1345-46. In contrast, the intention here is to look specifically at the knights in Grosmont's following, as some aspects of their lives remain relatively obscure: details about their lives beyond the Grosmont household; some of their service to him in other military campaigns and outside of warfare; how they interacted with each other as a cohesive following, and – vitally – how they compare with the knights serving other magnates. Grosmont's status as the scion of the House of Lancaster, one of the very wealthiest men in the realm after Edward himself and cousin to the king means that he arguably occupies a status somewhere between the ranks of the comital peerage and the royal family. This makes for an interesting point of comparison and contrast with the household knights of Beauchamp and Bohun; it can reveal more about how a magnate's personal circumstances and career shaped his retaining practices, and the membership of the household he kept. Through studying the knightly retinues of these three earls, and synthesising the findings with existing research, it is possible to further our understanding of household knights and relations between the nobility and gentry in the mid fourteenth century, as well as to gain insight into the lives of a sizeable portion of the kingdom's knightly class.

#### *Methodology and Challenges – Conceptual Difficulties with Identifying the 'Household Knight'*

Any study of this kind must inevitably contend with two key issues of terminology: labelling, and the concepts to which they refer. There is a general understanding that a 'household' in the Middle Ages does not necessarily have to denote a building, or indeed a physical proximity to one's master, but can be used to refer to an institution, a level of identity signifying shared loyalty and service.<sup>112</sup> It is in this sense that the phrase 'household knight' is best understood, for it essentially refers to a bond of loyalty and service between a lord and knight. However, as figures of national importance, magnates encountered and had dealings with a multitude of people, including many knights, and for the earls in this study there is no equivalent of the surviving royal wardrobe accounts listing annual lists of livery grants to household knights.<sup>113</sup> As a result, trying to identify who was close enough to the earls to be considered members of their 'household' is a challenging task, and raises important questions about how we conceptualise lordly followings in the Late Middle Ages.

---

<sup>112</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, p. 88; idem., *Royal Household*, p. 21; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 18; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 10; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 43.

<sup>113</sup> London, British Library BL Cotton MS Nero C VIII. See below pp. 23-9 for discussion of the evidence used in this study.

To begin with the issue of labelling, there are various Latin and French terms in contemporary sources that signify or at least suggest whether a man is a household knight. Some of these are straightforward to comprehend. Mentions of a knight belonging to the *familia* or *comitiva*, or being a *bachelor* of the *hostel*, usually serve well enough to indicate his membership in the household or military retinue of a magnate. The problem with even relatively unambiguous labels is that they cannot be used as a strict guide for identifying such men. In reference to the knights of Henry III, Lightfoot explains that pertinent labels – *miles regis*, *miles de familia regis* and others – could be applied arbitrarily by the royal clerks, and Given-Wilson has also remarked that the use of such terms do not reflect the total number of knights who would have been attached to the king.<sup>114</sup> The presence or absence of even decisive terms can thus generate uncertainty over a particular man's status or length of tenure as a household knight, something which is also touched upon in Hamilton's investigation into the loyalties of Edward II's men.<sup>115</sup>

The matter is made more challenging still by labels that are less straightforward to interpret. Green for example identified problems of interpreting language in the nature of service to the Black Prince. In addition to highlighting the interesting but ambiguous application of titles like 'bachelor of the prince's chamber' and member of the prince's 'especial retinue', he also noted that the role of the bachelors remains unclear, and that it is difficult to say whether the word has exactly the same meaning as 'chamber knight' in the records of the royal household.<sup>116</sup>

Moreover, this uncertainty over the original language bleeds into the terminology used in scholarship as well. Despite a general appreciation for the figurative meaning of 'household', the title 'household knight' is still relatively uncommon in fourteenth-century historiography, and it may be that scholars have experienced a certain cognitive dissonance in labelling men as 'household knights' in a period when knighthood itself began to decline, and when most or all of them were only sometimes resident under their lord's roof.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, just as debate on the meaning of 'feudalism' or 'bastard feudalism' has been complicated by historians' different applications and conceptions of the term, so too has a multiplicity of labels hindered discussion on household knights, service and retainership.<sup>118</sup> Historiography has sometimes drawn fine distinctions between words like 'household knight',

---

<sup>114</sup> Lightfoot, 'Household Knights', p. 42; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 209.

<sup>115</sup> Hamilton, 'Reassessment', pp. 48 and 53-4.

<sup>116</sup> Green, 'Politics and Service', pp. 59-60; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 29, 206-7 and 209-11.

<sup>117</sup> Prestwich, 'Knight at War', pp. 204, 208 and 220; McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 78-80; Coss, *Knight*, p. 131; idem., *Origins*, pp. 69 and 236; Ayton, 'Thomas Ughtred', p. 111. See also the Sir Robert Herle indenture of retainer with Thomas Beauchamp: London, British Library, MS Additional 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>118</sup> Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 166.

'chamber knight', 'bachelor' and 'retainer', or 'household', 'retinue' and 'affinity', while on other occasions they have been used almost interchangeably.<sup>119</sup>

In endeavouring to resolve some of this, it is worth considering the potentially synonymous connection between 'household knight' and the word 'bachelor'. A case for the word 'bachelor' signifying a household knight was first made in the early 1970s by John Bean. In tracing the etymology of the word, Bean noted that it could be used to mean the knightly class more broadly, or a young or unmarried knight in particular, but also contended that its usage in contemporary documents was often meant to signify a household knight, a man who enjoyed a special level of regard and confidence from his master.<sup>120</sup> While this has not convinced everyone,<sup>121</sup> a number of historians have found Bean's suggestion plausible.<sup>122</sup> The idea is lent weight by some documentary sources from the fourteenth century. The 1339 indenture between Thomas Beauchamp and Sir Robert Herle stated that the latter would serve Beauchamp in peace 'come un autr[e] bachelor de son hostel'.<sup>123</sup> There are also a number of entries in the Patent Rolls referring to men as the 'bachelor' of particular magnates. In the vast majority of these cases, the man in question is identified as a knight and is receiving a generous reward from his patron; in one instance, the man mentioned, Ralph Middelneye, is not a grantee but is described as 'knight and bachelor and the earl [of Salisbury]'s councillor'.<sup>124</sup> The label did occasionally apply to esquires,<sup>125</sup> but this was not typical; one enrolled indenture between John of Gaunt and Sir John Neville of Raby states that Neville will have 'free living at the duke's court for himself, 1 bachelor, 2 esquires' and others.<sup>126</sup> It appears therefore that 'bachelor' in the fourteenth century could indeed be used to signify a knight belonging to a magnate's following who enjoyed a certain level of trust and amity from his lord. In the present study, 'household knight' and 'bachelor' will be used interchangeably in reference to these relationships of loyalty, chivalry and service; for the sake of ease, 'retainer', 'follower' and 'following' will signify the same unless stated otherwise.

---

<sup>119</sup> Christopher Gravett, *The Knight at Tournament* (Oxford: Osprey, 1988), p. 8; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 206-8; Green, 'Household', I, p. 46; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 11 and 32; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 70; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 39-40.

<sup>120</sup> J. M. W. Bean, "'Bachelor" and Retainer', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 3 (1972), 117-32 (p. 122); idem., *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 22-33.

<sup>121</sup> Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 19-20.

<sup>122</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 70 and 72; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 207-9; Coss, *Origins*, p. 242; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 28-9 and 89; Green, 'Politics and Service', p. 59; idem., 'Complement and Characteristics', pp. 357 and 367.

<sup>123</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>124</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 323; 1340-43, p. 115; 1345-48, pp. 139 and 440; 1354-58, p. 18; 1358-61, p. 163; 1361-64, pp. 202, 397 and 461; 1370-74, p. 325.

<sup>125</sup> *CPR*, 1364-67, p. 158; 1367-70, p. 78.

<sup>126</sup> *CPR*, 1370-74, p. 46.

This brings us to the issue of concepts. Scholarship has typically made sense of lordly retinues by following the cue of the 1390 statute on livery and maintenance, which categorised servants as being either resident household retainers, men contracted to serve in peace and war by life indenture, and any other retainers and associates who might be in receipt of fees, robes or other livery (the latter group thereafter prohibited by the statute from receiving such).<sup>127</sup> Successive historians have thus explained the relations between a lord and his followers in terms of a 'concentric circles' model, albeit with the understanding that these categories did not have rigid boundaries: those who served within the household, comprising a lord's closest followers, both literally and figuratively; members of the retinue, conceptualised as a group of external servants, usually based outside of the lord's immediate household and serving on a more occasional basis; members of the lord's wider affinity, defined as a lord's loosest social connections, including those with some acknowledged acquaintance or sympathies but not necessarily possessing the same responsibilities and benefits as formal servants.<sup>128</sup>

The 'concentric circles' model does of course have much to recommend it. However, for the purposes of investigating household knights in the mid-fourteenth century it presents a couple of problems. It is clear from previous studies that even knights of the royal household were not necessarily in permanent residence at court, sometimes spending substantial time away from the king, and that many knights probably served on a rotational basis.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, scholarship has made it clear that contracting retainers to serve through life indenture in war and peace was not necessarily a very common practice.<sup>130</sup> Even if it is generally understood that these circles could overlap and that servants could fluctuate between the groupings over their careers, this leaves household knights hovering awkwardly between the categories of 'household' and 'retinue', a position that may seem incongruous with their name.

Without abandoning the concentric circles model, one way of resolving this issue is to consider George Holmes's 'sea of varying relationships'.<sup>131</sup> This seems to have struck a

---

<sup>127</sup> *English Historical Documents*, vol 4, ed. by Alec R. Myers (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 1116.

<sup>128</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 105; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 79-80; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 83; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 32-3 and 184; Sinclair, 'Beauchamp Earls', p. 261-4; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 8 and 14-5; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 8-9; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 1-2; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 28-9, 43 and 52.

<sup>129</sup> Ingamells, 'Household Knights', pp. 159-60; Tebbit, 'Household Knights', pp. 119-20; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 228-35; Given-Wilson, *King's Affinity*, p. 209; idem., *English Nobility*, p. 88; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 189; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 18-9; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 43 and 90.

<sup>130</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 102; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 9; Green, 'Politics and Service', pp. 55-6; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 189; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 12-3; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 70-1; Carpenter, 'Fourteenth Century', p. 61.

<sup>131</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79.

chord within scholarship, for it is a phrase that has been quoted by others.<sup>132</sup> If we think in terms of a diversity of 'bachelors', discerned from the patterns of service of many dozens of knights, we can account for the different duties and levels of social proximity these men had with their masters. This then serves to bridge the apparent gap between the data we are presented with in the surviving sources and our theoretical understanding of noble and gentry relations in the fourteenth century. Although there is inevitably a certain level of arbitrariness in delineating such a set of categories, this does not negate its utility as a lens through which to examine the data in the surviving sources. As evidenced in previous studies,<sup>133</sup> it is inevitable that some uncertainty will remain. Holmes's statement about a sea of varying relationships, difficult to discern and only imperfectly revealed by the sources, indicates that there will always be a certain amount of interpretation at work in determining whether some men could be called household knights. However, where there are several links between a particular knight and magnate, we can be reasonably sure that their relationship was a significant one.

#### *Methodology and Challenges – Sources and Evidence*

Delineating the existence, identity and activity of household knights requires a broad combination of mainly documentary evidence from the period: retinue rolls, livery rolls, letters of protection and general attorney, the records of the Patent, Close, Charter and Fine Rolls, various Chancery Rolls for the Scottish, French and Gascon war theatres, wills, local history records, Inquisitions Post Mortem, horse valuations and recompenses, charters, grants and witness lists, wardrobe account books, records of debt and credit, and to a lesser extent chronicles are all considered in this investigation.<sup>134</sup> As with previous studies of lordly retinues,<sup>135</sup> one or two references to a link with a lord have not been taken as proof of a significant relationship. Instead, where knights are found in connection to the magnate several times this has been taken as a reasonable indication of household membership, especially if these links occur in a variety of contexts.

Inevitably, a study of this kind is beset by a variety of difficulties, from the challenges of the surviving evidence to questions about what conceptual frameworks are most applicable. These warrant careful consideration. The most obvious methodological challenge is the issue of quality and survival of relevant sources. Any enquiries in this field are

---

<sup>132</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 675; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 8-9; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', p. 18.

<sup>133</sup> Lightfoot, p. 61.

<sup>134</sup> Tebbit, 'Household Knights', p. 21 rightly points out that household knights are not usually noted in the chronicles, though there are some exceptions to this. Nonetheless, evidence from the chronicles is particularly valuable for understanding the context of their service abroad on military campaigns.

<sup>135</sup> Gundy, *Richard II*, p. 244; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 182.

frustrated by certain limits on the range of known surviving sources. This has been well attested in previous research, with Green, Bean and Holmes among others observing that key collections of documents are either incomplete or missing altogether.<sup>136</sup> Most notably missing are surviving wardrobe account books or livery rolls for the higher nobility outside of the royal family or the Duchy of Lancaster. Whereas sources like the British Library's MS Cotton Nero C VIII remain, which detail the fees and liveries paid by the king for his household knights in various years, any comparable documents for the earls in this study do not and this is an unfortunate loss: aside from the substantial gains they would provide for our understanding of the inner workings of the great household in the Late Middle Ages, such sources would be invaluable in providing insight into the makeup of a magnate's closest chivalric following in the mid-fourteenth century.

This is apparent in a number of other sources. Also limited in evidence are indentures of retainer, especially between lords and knights in the fourteenth century, and the incomplete range of survivals have raised a number of difficult questions in historiography about the frequency, importance and characteristics of retaining by indenture.<sup>137</sup> In this absence, we must rely on the random survival of isolated retinue rolls or, more frequently, indirect documentary sources like horse valuations, protection warrants, chancery rolls and witness lists to gain any insight into the membership of a lord's household knights. Similarly, inquisitions post mortem can reveal the landed wealth of knights at the time of their death, and if a similar inquisition exists for their father, a comparison of family holdings from one generation to the next can be attempted. However, such inquisitions are often lacking for the knights involved in this study and for the most part, the approximate wealth of the knights needs to be inferred from incidental details mentioned in sources like the Patent Rolls, which sometimes provide insights into debt and credit practices, land holdings or grants they received.

Moreover, of those sources that survive, the quality of the document can be an obstacle. Some are far better preserved than others, and it can often prove difficult to read and discern necessary details from them. One very notable example is the National Archives document E 101/19/36, a horse valuation list roll for the Scottish campaign of 1336; part of the roll is badly torn on one side, meaning that many of the names are missing for men in the earl of Warwick's following for the expedition. A further pertinent example is E 101/35/3, another list of horse valuations from 1337-38; here the problem is that the ink on the roll is

---

<sup>136</sup> Green, 'Household', I, p. 11; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 11; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 78-9; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 14.

<sup>137</sup> Given-Wilson, 'King and the Gentry', p. 102; Carpenter, 'Fourteenth Century', p. 61; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', p. 12; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 65; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 45, 87 and 89; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 9.

very badly faded, making it extraordinarily difficult to read and retrieve the names of knights in the retinues of various magnates, in this case the earls of Arundel and Salisbury. Quality and survival are thus very immediate concerns for any investigation into this topic.

Another issue pertains to the reliability of documents for making inferences. For most of the available sources, conclusions drawn about household knights have to be based on logical deductions from the information provided. However, this leaves an element of uncertainty that cannot be completely eliminated. This manifests itself in a number of ways in the study of knightly retinues. For example, witness lists are not entirely free from doubt; Green has pointed out that there could potentially be a disconnect between the dating of a charter and those present for it, and Hicks has raised questions about whether such records truly indicate social proximity and trust or reflect rather more businesslike arrangements.<sup>138</sup> It is also worth noting that the evidence of witness lists is not altogether straightforward, as witnesses were not necessarily always present together at the time when the document was dated. For instance, a charter might be drawn up on the stated day but not witnessed until later, after the named persons assembled. However, for the vast majority of royal charters in the fourteenth century, this tended to be within only a few days, and did still indicate the physical presence of the individuals mentioned.<sup>139</sup> Thus, witness data for the earls may not be perfectly accurate in terms of who was with them on specific dates, though it can still offer insight into which figures were most trusted or most frequently present in the household.

In addition, as Ayton has indicated, while protection warrants often reveal the makeup of a captain's military following, these may omit significant retainers who held no landed interests and are technically only proof of an intention to serve rather than being decisive evidence of a knight's participation with that leader, though it is fair to reason that even in the intent we might read significant social connections.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, a knight's presence in the military retinue does not in itself guarantee him being a household knight in the truest sense; it is widely understood that lords' retinues would expand rapidly in times of war when the need for ready fighting men was greater, and that such men were technically considered 'of the household' at least for the duration of the campaign, but signs of a closer relationship between a magnate and one of his knights must come from elsewhere.<sup>141</sup> Consequently, because we are missing an explicitly labelled list of household knights for most magnates of the period, confidence in a knight's integral membership in a household

---

<sup>138</sup> Green, 'Household', I, p. 12; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 66-7.

<sup>139</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 12 (1991), 35-93 (pp. 38-44); Green, 'Household', I, p. 12.

<sup>140</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 197-9.

<sup>141</sup> Hamilton, 'Reassessment', p. 49; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 23-4.

must come from a variety of sources, any of which on their own might leave room for doubt that the man in question was held in the confidence of his lord.

Moreover, although we can put trust in the net reliability of the documentary evidence for drawing satisfactory conclusions, there remain two types of problem within the content of the sources. The first of these relates to issues of spelling, naming and labelling. Medieval spelling conventions are notoriously inconsistent and this is particularly troublesome for a study of this nature, which involves tracing evidence of specific individuals across many years and different sources. A particularly pertinent example can be found in the banneret Thomas Asteleye, whose family name is rendered thus in many contemporary sources, but is misleadingly recorded in one horse valuation roll as Thomas de 'Hastelay'.<sup>142</sup> Keeping track of the different permutations of knights' surnames, and in some instances anticipating these in archival searches, can therefore make a significant difference in finding relevant information about these men.

Even where spelling is unambiguous, duplicates of names can present another challenge in reconstructing the lives and careers of household knights. An extreme example of this is Ralph Basset. Though documents often clarify whether the man mentioned is Ralph Basset of Sapcote or Ralph Basset of Drayton, scribes did not always bother with the distinction. Even in the cases where they did, further uncertainty arises from the fact that both family lines had a tendency to give their sons the same name; in addition to at least one Ralph Basset of Sapcote, there are no fewer than three successive generations of Ralph Bassets of Drayton recorded, a grandfather, father and son.<sup>143</sup> Matters are complicated still further because both Basset lines had close ties to the earl of Warwick Thomas Beauchamp, meaning that association with the earl in surviving sources does not help with identifying to which of the potentially five candidates a listed 'Ralph Basset' actually refers. As a result, while the provenance of individuals are sometimes specified in the sources, this does not happen often enough for us to always distinguish between two or more men with the same name, creating something of a grey area in the historical record of these namesakes, especially during periods when male relatives are known to have been simultaneously active.

A further obstacle with names and labelling is added by the fact that the knightly status of these men is not consistently specified, even within the same document. Although many sources such as retinue rolls and horse valuations clearly distinguish knights from esquires and other non-knights, this convention is not followed through in all surviving evidence. There are many instances, particularly in Scottish, French and Gascon Rolls of

---

<sup>142</sup> E 101/20/17.

<sup>143</sup> For the multiple Ralph Bassets of Drayton, see *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 213.

the Chancery, where a man identified as a knight on one folio or membrane appears elsewhere without the same title. This can create complications with trying to determine approximately when a man may have been knighted, and by extension his probable age or year of birth, as the absence of *sir*, *monser*, *dominus*, *miles* or *chivaler* next to his name does not necessarily mean he was still an esquire at the time of writing. This is particularly true for male relatives with the same name, in which case verifying whether the man in question is in fact an inexperienced son can become troublesome. It can create similar complications with determining whether the man was ever a knight at all or instead served as a member of the lord's following in a different capacity, such as a chaplain or lawyer. Careful cross-referencing between different sources within the same period and an established base knowledge of the individual in question are therefore essential for overcoming these problems.

The second issue related to the content of sources involves missing information and the conventions of how it is set out in the documents. These are not automatically obvious to the modern historian, and hence it is often difficult to tell if they carry any significance of which we must be aware. On a superficial level the absence of useful details often calls for greater feats of deduction. For instance, although protection warrants can be used to gain insight into the makeup of a captain's retinue, these seldom include a date and sometimes even the name of retinue leader is missing. While some warrants can be cross-referenced with other sources to determine what campaign they relate to, this otherwise results in a certain degree of vagueness about the military career of some knights that cannot be avoided.<sup>144</sup>

Another related problem is the sequencing of information, and this is apparent in a range of ways. For example, it is not always clear how much significance we should read into the ordering of names. We may detect a convention of social precedent in the sequencing of a witness list, and retinue lists often group participants in descending social rank, but it is far from easy to tell if the order that the knights themselves are recorded in further indicates either their closeness with the retinue leader or their social eminence within their knightly peer-group. On a larger scale, the problem of sequencing becomes apparent in some sources where there is no overall thematic or chronological pattern in the recording of content. This is certainly the case for the British Library's MS Additional 28024 (the 'Beauchamp Cartulary'), in which transcribed charters of earl Thomas of Warwick often appear alongside those of his father and grandfather. It is also often true of the Chancery Rolls, in which entries relating to protection or general attorney are inscribed with no discernible consistency; it is therefore tempting but ultimately unreliable to assume that adjacent

---

<sup>144</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 179-80.

entrants must have served as comrades in the same retinue, even though in some cases this can be proven in the same document or elsewhere.

Most of all, this uncertainty over the internal logic of the sources adds difficulty to making deductions about the inner structures of retinues and sub-retinues. Ayton has remarked that some of the protection warrants recorded in C 81/1742 virtually amount to a muster roll for the earl of Warwick, providing interesting insights into the makeup of his knightly retinue because several membranes clearly divide the men between the earl himself and two bannerets who contracted with him: Robert Scales and Almeric St Amand.<sup>145</sup> This is particularly valuable as it leaves little doubt about which knights stood closer to the earl in war and peace as regulars of his household, and which were enlisted temporarily via the local connections of the socially eminent sub-captains. Yet elsewhere, there is less certainty over the dividing lines between retinue sub-structures, as evidenced for example in the 1337 horse valuation roll E 101/20/17. Some details in the layout of the document imply that the listed men are grouped by sub-retinue: on one side, there is a dividing space between one list headed by the earl himself and a further collection of names; a list on the opposite side is headed by none other than the banneret Thomas Asteleye, suggesting that those listed directly under him were men of his own following; another list is headed by the earl's brother John, and horizontal lines underscore some of the names, suggesting sub-divisions within the overall corps serving under Warwick. However, the actual significance of these details is questionable, especially the latter, because neither the underscored names nor the ones directly following them clearly correlate with those who were likely to be sub-retinue leaders; whereas one might expect the men identified as knights to be the obvious heads of sub-retinues, several of the knightly names are recorded in between these horizontal divisions. Nor can it be presumed that other retinues on the same roll or in other documents would follow a similar method of organisation. In essence, the internal structuring of many of the relevant sources is only imperfectly understood, and this can cause some doubt over interpreting finer details about the prominence and connections of many household knights.

There is also the more banal difficulty of some documents containing multiple systems of folio numbering. This is true of number of sources relevant to this study, including the Beauchamp Cartulary and the wardrobe account book E 36/204 from the National Archives. It is therefore sometimes problematic to verify claims in historiography and consult the same documents for further information; it is not automatically evident which set of numbers a historian is using for their references, and different scholars sometimes follow different sets, as is the case with Juliet Vale and Andrew Ayton for the accounts book E

---

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

36/204.<sup>146</sup> Any new insights about the household knights of the earls in fourteenth-century England are therefore gained in spite of, as well as thanks to, the surviving documentary evidence.

One final consideration is the interpersonal and idiosyncratic nature of the relationship between a magnate and each household knight who served them.<sup>147</sup> This is significant because it means that both parties would have understood their respective roles and the nature of their relationship based on personal interactions that have naturally left little trace in the documentary evidence. Therefore, what can be deduced about the exact relationship between a magnate and each household knight must be pieced together from details across the surviving sources. This also extends to the personalities of the individuals involved, which can be only interpreted based on the impression left of them in the historical record. All of this inevitably creates a degree of uncertainty but, as will be seen, the remaining evidence does allow for a number of conclusions that lend further support to Holmes's notion that noble and gentry society formed a 'sea of varying relationships'.

### *Structure and Arguments*

Chapter 1 commences this study with an overview of the social background of household knights. By exploring the important vertical ties of regional lordship and horizontal ties of 'county community', it will illustrate how these men came from a mixture of personal backgrounds, were recruited through a variety of channels and that the mechanisms for retaining them differed according to the preferences of each magnate. It will also detail the varied patterns of service among household knights, and in doing so reveal that the most desired traits that magnates sought appeared to be a combination of trustworthiness and competence, as well as an eagerness and ability to fight. Establishing this social context will then facilitate a detailed investigation of the military and non-military duties that household knights were engaged in, which are addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 2 will expand on the military life and duties of these men. It begins by examining the varying levels of military service, then details the specific military duties of household knights, some being common requirements while others were more unique to the magnate they served. It will also scrutinise the complexities of late medieval lordship, showing how a knight's obligations to his immediate masters had to coexist with the demands of and his relationship with the crown. Chapter 3 then establishes how these same patterns of variation and consistency were present in their non-military duties. As well as confirming previous speculation that household knights served on a rotational basis, it

---

<sup>146</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 140; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 17.

<sup>147</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 19.

reveals how a magnate's knightly coterie formed an important contingent among the servants entrusted with his personal affairs. For instance, the chapter will demonstrate that among other things, the knights took precedence as witnesses for their lord's charters and as justices in his private commissions of oyer and terminer. It will also illustrate how, as part of the complexities of late medieval lordship, their duties to their master had to coexist with a knight's relationship with the crown.

Following this detailed exploration of the various duties of household knights in war and peace, Chapter 4 will demonstrate what these men stood to gain from such an arrangement, and how their service fitted into the broader context of their chivalric careers. In addition to outlining the incidental benefits of membership in a magnate's household, it will be seen that rewards could vary from one lord to the next, both in frequency and nature, and the chapter's overview of patronage will give some impression of each magnate's 'policy' towards their knightly retainers. It will also prove that the career of a household knight could evolve in a number of ways: their service could peter out, shifting focus to more local and personal interests or to low-level service for the crown; they could move horizontally to another household or move vertically into the personal service of the king, the Black Prince or another member of the royal family; alternatively, they might establish an enduring partnership and remain in service to the one lord.

Lastly, Chapter 5's analysis will focus on the group level and the realm as a whole, examining the connections that existed within and across the magnate households in this study. The evidence discussed will indicate that the household knights of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun were self-conscious brotherhoods: they would have seen themselves as part of a chivalric confraternity, bound as they were by a common loyalty to their lord. This manifested in a number of ways, including military and tournament participation, coming together under their lord's roof, crusading, shared devotional practices and religious patronage, and monumental effigies in churches reflecting the ties of allegiance these men held in their lifetimes. The chapter will show that membership in the household could broaden the social horizons of these men, and the interconnectedness of knightly followings is revealed through acting as witnesses for each other's charters, marriage arrangements, nominations to private commissions of oyer and terminer, and business partnerships involving grants, debt or credit. It finishes by adopting a national perspective, examining how each following was part of the wider context of chivalrous society in fourteenth-century England; far from existing in a vacuum, each knightly household was also bound by diverse threads to other, similar followings, including those of King Edward, the Black Prince and the other magnates in this study. Finally, the conclusion will serve to summarise the arguments of the thesis and explain its wider

significance, as well as where this leaves the state of the research field and other potential areas for exploration in the future.

## Membership, Social Background and Recruitment

To gain a fuller understanding of household knights in this period, it is important to investigate their geographical, economic and social context. A useful point of departure is to consider the group characteristics of the different knightly followings. The households of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun were idiosyncratic, reflecting their unique personal circumstances and preferences. Analysing the households along regional and chronological lines will not only illustrate their different group characteristics and how they evolved through the careers of their masters, but also serve as an introduction to the membership of each household. This can then facilitate discussion of the knights' social and economic backgrounds, their place in local and national society, how they found their way into the service of a magnate, as well as the nature and lifespan of this relationship.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will therefore analyse three different aspects of these households. First, it will offer an outline of their geographical and chronological makeup. Membership could alter due to external factors, particularly with passing generations and changes in the lord's life and circumstances, meaning that each household was 'not a static body, but a dynamic association, constantly reforming'.<sup>2</sup> These followings also drew from different parts of the kingdom. Vertical ties of regional lordship and horizontal ties were both significant factors in the recruitment and makeup of the households. Horizontal ties also raise interesting questions about the possible existence of 'county communities'. Second, it will examine the personal circumstances and backgrounds of the knights in each household. Some were eminent bannerets, while others were much humbler individuals at the lower end of knighthood's economic bracket. They also became knights of the household through a range of different channels, including ties of blood, a family tradition of service and promotion from earlier service as esquires. Third, the chapter will explore how each lord retained their household knights using a common set of methods, though which ones were used could vary according to the circumstances and preferences of each individual magnate.

---

<sup>1</sup> Although the figures in Grosmont's household have received attention in previous scholarship, several details about the social background of his knights have hitherto been left unexplored; there are also important implications relating to how they were retained.

<sup>2</sup> Green, 'Household', I, p. 246.

### 1.1 *The Dynamics of the Followings – Geography and Changes over Time*

It stands to reason that the great household was not a static entity, but one that would shift and change throughout the life of its master.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, each following could have slightly different characteristics in terms of its geographical makeup, how it was recruited, its evolution over time and how it was employed by its lord. All of this was influenced by the magnate's needs and circumstances. The purpose here is therefore to explore the group characteristics of the Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun household knights, including their regional composition and how they altered over the years.<sup>4</sup> This analysis will be organised according to each separate household, beginning with the earl of Warwick. The membership of each household has been reconstructed by tracing those who appear in connection with the relevant earl in surviving sources, and the dates of service have generally been judged according to the first and last evident association between the men. However, except in the obvious case of death, the absence of evidence does not necessarily mean a man was not serving before or after these dates.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1.1.1 *The Household Followings over Time*

A chronological analysis of Beauchamp's household knights indicates that by the 1334 Dunstable tournament the earl was already on good terms with a number of men who would become stalwarts of his household. The Second Dunstable Roll provides a comprehensive list of the knights involved in the contest, and among those listed under Beauchamp are his brother John, William Clinton before he was promoted to the earldom of Huntingdon, John Lovel, Thomas Asteleye, John Leukenore, William Beauchamp – most likely from a cadet branch of the family – and John Lysours.<sup>6</sup> Most of the rest of the men in the Roll can be identified as landholders from Worcestershire and Warwickshire but do not figure prominently in the earl's later retinue. Having only inherited the earldom in 1329, it seems that Beauchamp was still in the process of forming his knightly household.<sup>7</sup>

Warwick's retinue expanded through the 1330s to meet the demand for the Scottish campaigns, but several men found a more permanent footing in his following. In addition to Asteleye, Golafre, Lovel, Lysours and his brother John, Beauchamp was joined by Peter Montfort, the Pecche brothers John and Nicholas, Robert Herle, Nicholas Burneby, Nicholas Charneles, and one of the Ralph Bassets.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the decade a number of future

---

<sup>3</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A for a comprehensive summary of the data on the three households.

<sup>5</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 78-9; King, 'Henry Beaumont', p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> C. E. Long, 'Roll of the Arms of the Knights at the Tournament at Dunstable', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 4 (1837), 389-95 (pp. 394-5).

<sup>7</sup> The connection between the tournament and military retinues of a magnate are explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>8</sup> C 71/15; C 71/16; C 71/17; E 101/19/36; E 101/20/17.

knights had also begun service under the earl. While still only esquires, another Ralph Basset, William Lucy and Gilbert Chasteleyn debuted in Beauchamp's military retinue, Basset and Lucy serving in Scotland before all three accompanied Warwick for the defence of Southampton in the summer of 1339.<sup>9</sup> At this stage there was therefore a recognisable core to Earl Thomas's knightly following.

The French war saw another temporary influx in the 1340s. These included young aspirants who for a time became regular members of the earl's military entourage. Robert Bracy, Robert Holland – nephew of Thomas, the future Garter knight and earl of Kent – and John Foleville, the latter two specified as sons and heirs in their protection warrants, all of whom arranged to serve with Beauchamp in 1342-43 and 1345-65, with Bracy and Foleville also listed for 1346-47.<sup>10</sup> Both of these were lasting associations: Foleville served again in the 1350s and Bracy executed a judicial commission in 1366 on the earl's complaint of trespasses on some of his Worcestershire lands.<sup>11</sup> Richard Whitacre and Richard Stafford – younger brother of Ralph baron and later earl of Stafford – were also associates.<sup>12</sup> Whitacre fought under Warwick at Crécy and Calais,<sup>13</sup> and was chosen to act on the panel of justices for two of Beauchamp's commissions of oyer and terminer.<sup>14</sup> Stafford meanwhile prepared to campaign with Warwick in 1342, witnessed one of the earl's charters in 1344 and carried out another of Warwick's commissions in 1348.<sup>15</sup> The association with John Botetourt also appears to date from around this time. Botetourt began campaigning with Beauchamp as early as 1342,<sup>16</sup> and henceforth was a frequent associate of Warwick and the other knights of his circle.<sup>17</sup> The picture of Warwick's military retinue for the 1340s thus confirms Andrew Ayton's suspicion that by the time of the Crécy campaign, the earl was able to put together a team of veteran knights, already familiar with their lord and each other.<sup>18</sup> In the wake of the Crécy triumph, Warwick was made a founder member of the Order of the Garter, but there is no evidence to suggest that the influence of the Garter made a substantial difference to the earl's recruiting power. It appears that bonds formed by the order were mainly between the

---

<sup>9</sup> C 71/17; E 101/19/36; E 101/20/17; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

<sup>10</sup> C 76/17; C 76/20; C 76/22.

<sup>11</sup> C 61/67; C 61/68; *CPR*, 1364-67, p. 368.

<sup>12</sup> Carole Rawcliffe, 'Stafford, Ralph, first earl of Stafford (1301-1372)', *ODNB*.

<sup>13</sup> C 76/20; *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 493.

<sup>14</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 239; 1348-50, p. 80.

<sup>15</sup> C 76/17; C 81/1750; London, British Library, MS Additional 28024 fols. 15r-15v; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 80.

<sup>16</sup> C 76/17; C 81/1750.

<sup>17</sup> Botetourt's other collaborations included plans to campaign under Beauchamp in 1355 (C 61/67), acting as a charter witness for the earl (*CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74, 80), lending money to Warwick and his clerk (*CCR*, 1354-60, p. 645), and serving on judicial commissions (*CPR*, 1348-50, p. 529; 1350-54, p. 85).

<sup>18</sup> Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 14.

members themselves,<sup>19</sup> and by 1348 Warwick was well enough established both in the localities and as a commander that service under him was already an attractive prospect.

Instead, the 1340s saw some of the regulars from the previous decade serve under new commanders: Asteleye and Charneles are recorded as fighting on the Crécy campaign with Thomas Hatfield, the bishop of Durham, while Leukenore was reportedly in the king's division for the battle.<sup>20</sup> After 1346, Charneles, Golafre, Leukenore, Lucy and the Pecche brothers had no apparent involvement on military campaigns, or association with the earl. Nor did Asteleye, except for a peace commission and commission of array he was appointed on with Warwick in 1361 and 1367 respectively.<sup>21</sup> Asteleye was approximately thirty-eight by 1346, while Golafre was forty-four and Charneles was fifty-five,<sup>22</sup> so age may have been a factor in their retirement from active military duty. The age of the others is uncertain, but it may be that after taking part in the glory of Crécy these men withdrew from soldiering.

There were consequently a number of departures by the 1350s, but these were replaced in various ways. Two underage wards, Ralph Basset of Drayton and John Clinton, nephew of the earl of Huntingdon, remained in Warwick's service after coming of age.<sup>23</sup> Both prepared to join him for the Poitiers campaign and had various connections with knights in the following.<sup>24</sup> Other replacements came when the earl's retinue swelled for the continuing French war: William Breton, Baldwin Freville and Fulk Birmingham were all new additions from at least the Poitiers campaign,<sup>25</sup> and thereafter remained closely connected to Warwick and his circle of knights,<sup>26</sup> suggesting that service under Beauchamp was beneficial and prestigious enough to attract a dedicated core of men, and that the earl was quite capable of inspiring loyalty in his followers.

There is less evidence for the final decade of Warwick's life. Men like Basset of Sapcote, Breton and Botetourt continued to serve in the retinue,<sup>27</sup> but the earl's brother John

---

<sup>19</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 306-7 and 312-13; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 88-9 and 91.

<sup>20</sup> C 76/22; *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 29; Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp. 35, 37, 39, 85 and 141.

<sup>21</sup> *CPR*, 1361-64, pp. 63-4; 1364-67, pp. 430-1.

<sup>22</sup> Asteleye was still a minor in 1324, so could have been born no earlier than 1306 (*CIPM*, 1316-27, p. 382; *GEC*, I, p. 283); Golafre was thirty at the time of his father's death in 1332 (*CIPM*, 1327-36, p. 429); Charneles was apparently fifty in 1341 (*CIPM*, 1336-47, p. 232).

<sup>23</sup> *CCR*, 1345-47, p. 525 (Clinton); E 42/160; *CCR*, 1341-43, pp. 248, 411, 568 (Basset).

<sup>24</sup> Bassett, for instance, nominated Robert Herle as his attorney in 1355 (C 61/67); Clinton had fellow household knights witness charters (E 326/2261; E 42/492) and served on commissions with them (*CPR*, 1364-67, p. 433).

<sup>25</sup> C 61/67.

<sup>26</sup> Birmingham thereafter served on the Rheims campaign (C 76/37) and had dealings with Ralph Basset of Sapcote (*CCR*, 1360-64, pp. 381, 385); Breton continued to serve as a soldier and witness for the Warwick earls (C 61/76; BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 93r, and 110v) as well as a justice of oyer and terminer with Botetourt and Birmingham (*CPR*, 1364-67, p. 356); Freville worked with John Clinton on both sides of the law (*CPR*, 1354-58, p. 651 and 656), and had dealings with Peter Montfort and Basset of Drayton: *Testamenta Vetusta* I, pp. 69 and 126.

<sup>27</sup> C 61/76; C 61/77.

perished in 1360, followed by Lysours in 1361,<sup>28</sup> while Chasteleyn and Herle were now in the service of the crown.<sup>29</sup> William Beauchamp joined his father's household at around this time,<sup>30</sup> but only because the tragic early deaths of two older sons, Guy and Reynbrun, had compelled Warwick to withdraw William from his career in the Church.<sup>31</sup> Relatively few knights are recorded in the earl's retinue for his crusading travels: Basset, Breton, son William and Robert Tuchet were there, along with esquires John Burnell, John Durant, John Torrington, John Wylemer and Nicholas Golafre.<sup>32</sup> There are few traces in the evidence to indicate that any of the newer knights had such a close association with the earl, although Nicholas Golafre was again in Beauchamp's retinue, this time as a knight, for the earl's last expedition in 1369.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that Warwick retained fewer knights in his later years. This could reflect a general decline in the number of knights in retinues and society, and it may be that the handful with Beauchamp in the 1360s were considered his 'chamber knights' in the same vein as the royal household.<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, this could be an illusion of the documentary evidence considered, or perhaps the knightly contingent of the earl's retinue would have regrown if Beauchamp had lived longer.

Details on the early household of William Bohun are somewhat sparse. We know that his retinue in 1329 contained seven men-at-arms, and that he had five knights with him for the 1335 Scottish campaign.<sup>35</sup> The names of these men are largely unavailable, though some are provided and a few more can be deduced. Robert Corbet of Hadley was a prolific campaigner under Bohun and was in the latter's retinue by at least 1334.<sup>36</sup> Though he was not knighted until much later, evidence suggests that William Tallemache had ties to the Bohun family from around the same time; in April 1334 he witnessed a charter alongside the Bohun brothers Edward, William and Humphrey.<sup>37</sup> Richard Totesham, Gerard Wyderington, Walter Selby and the banneret John Verdoun were also serving with William no later than the Scottish campaign of 1336.<sup>38</sup> William Giffard was also probably part of the household at

---

<sup>28</sup> J. S. Bothwell, 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d. 1360), a Network of Patronage, and the Pursuit of a Career in the King's Service', *Medieval Prosopography*, 24 (2003), 247-66 (pp. 261-5); *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 493-5; C 135/216/16.

<sup>29</sup> See below, p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> C 81/1750; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 124.

<sup>31</sup> Christine Carpenter, 'Beauchamp, William, first Baron Bargavenny (1343-1411)', *ODNB*; Gundy, *Rebel Earl*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 124.

<sup>33</sup> C 76/52.

<sup>34</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>35</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 53-4 and 102-3.

<sup>36</sup> C 71/14.

<sup>37</sup> *CCR*, 1333-37, p. 310.

<sup>38</sup> BL MS Cotton Nero VIII, fol. 241r; C 71/16; E 101/19/36.

this time, as he witnessed the earl of Norfolk's grant to his nephew Bohun of all right in the farm of £800 across various counties.<sup>39</sup>

Many more names become apparent following Bohun's creation as earl of Northampton in 1337. Bohun's elevation and the apparent influx of knights to his household warrants some consideration here. His creation as earl of Northampton was one of several promotions in the March parliament of 1337; at the same time, William Montague became earl of Salisbury, Robert Ufford became earl of Suffolk, William Clinton became earl of Huntingdon, Hugh Audley was made earl of Gloucester and Henry of Grosmont became earl of Derby.<sup>40</sup> Bohun and the former three were close friends and bannerets of Edward's household who had supported him in the 1330 overthrow of Roger Mortimer's oppressive control and the Scottish campaigns of the 1330s.<sup>41</sup> In order to help them support their new dignities, the rapidly-advanced bannerets were also granted annuities from the king: 1,000 marks for Clinton, Montague and Ufford, and £1,000 for Bohun, though this was to be cancelled in the event that William succeeded his older brothers to the earldom of Hereford and Essex.<sup>42</sup> Audley had no need of further endowment, being married to one of the wealthy heiresses of the Clare estates.<sup>43</sup> Grosmont was due to succeed his father as earl of Lancaster and in practice was already active on behalf of his infirm father; in the interim he was granted the earldom of Derby, one of his father's lesser titles.<sup>44</sup> In addition to rejuvenating the ranks of the higher nobility, the 1337 comital creations have been regarded as an attempt to augment the military recruiting power of some of Edward III's closest friends, subjects and captains.<sup>45</sup> This is predicated on deductions that increasing the men's status and income would enable them to attract more troops for their retinues, partly from the prestige of serving under an illustrious captain and partly from their increased capacity for paying inducements and rewards. It is also implied in the phrasing of the charter that confirmed Ufford's and Bohun's elevation, which references the defence of the king's peace against his enemies and adversaries.<sup>46</sup> Franke has, however, cautioned against placing too much stock in the idea that the elevations dramatically boosted the new earls' recruiting powers. His research reveals that the extent of Ufford's retinue remained small in comparison to his comital peers and concludes that when studying the military pull of Ufford

---

<sup>39</sup> DL 10/276; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 236.

<sup>40</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 137-8 and 190; Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, pp. 35-6 and 40; Bothwell, *English Peerage*, pp. 15 and 22-8.

<sup>41</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-8. The reason why Bohun was awarded this higher sum is unclear, though Parker supposes it to be a gesture of special favour by Edward towards one of his cousins.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 233 and 238.

<sup>44</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 21-2.

<sup>45</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 229; Ayton, 'Aristocracy', p. 189; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 125-6.

<sup>46</sup> C 53/124, m. 25.

Table 1 – Retinue numbers for William Bohun: bannerets, knights and men-at-arms<sup>47</sup>

| Campaign                                       | Troop Numbers |  |
|--|---------------|--|
| 1334 (Scotland)                                | Total = 60    |  |
| 1335 (Scotland)                                | Total = 42    | 10 knights; 32 men-at-arms               |
| 1336 (Scotland)                                | Total = 56    |  |
| <i>March 1337, created earl of Northampton</i> |               |  |
| 1337 (Scotland)                                | Total = 59    |  |
| 1337 (Low Countries)                           | Total = 40    |  |
| 1338 (Low Countries)                           | Total = 88    | 1 banneret; 14 knights; 73 men-at-arms   |
| 1339 (Low Countries)                           | Total = 89    | 1 banneret; 19 knights; 69 men-at-arms   |
| 1340 (Low Countries)                           | Total = 156   | 2 bannerets; 39 knights; 115 men-at-arms |
| 1342-3 (Brittany)                              | Total = 193   | 52 knights; 141 men-at-arms              |
| 1346 (Crécy)                                   | Total = 160   | 2 bannerets; 46 knights; 112 men-at-arms |
| 1346-7 (Calais)                                | Total = 178   | 2 bannerets; 64 knights; 112 men-at-arms |
| 1359-60 (Rheims)                               | Total = 159   | 2 bannerets; 29 knights; 128 men-at-arms |

or any other magnate, ‘the earl must be put in his social context’ – that is to say, the personal and financial circumstances of a magnate must be closely examined to gain a better understanding of their following.<sup>48</sup>

It is a pertinent point, for in the case of Bohun, the retinue numbers he could command were not immediately different to his pre-1337 campaigns in Scotland, as indicated in Table 1 above. He had approximately sixty men-at-arms with him for the winter expedition of 1334-35. For the ‘great offensive’ in the summer of 1335 he had forty-three, and the following year his men-at-arms totalled fifty-six. For his first couple of expeditions as earl of Northampton, there was no dramatic change in these numbers. When Edward rushed north to relieve the siege of Stirling in June 1337, Bohun’s retinue comprised fifty-nine men-at-arms; his departure for the Low Countries that autumn included only forty. Yet following his return to the Continent in 1338 Bohun’s retinue was markedly larger, and thereafter the numbers he brought on campaign were generally comparable to those of his fellow earls;

<sup>47</sup> Information collected from: E 36/203; E 36/204; E 101/389/8; E 101/393/11; *Acta Bellicosa*; BL MS Add. 38823, fol. 59r; Parker, ‘Patronage’, pp. 102-3, 105, 107-8 and 110; Franke, ‘Robert Ufford’, pp. 79 and 185; Hefferan, ‘Household Knights’, p. 306.

<sup>48</sup> Franke, ‘Robert Ufford’, pp. 72-3, 79-80 and 88.

from 1340, Thomas Beauchamp and Henry of Grosmont both typically fielded retinues that totalled around a hundred or more men-at-arms.<sup>49</sup> Thus, although Parker noted that Bohun was already reasonably wealthy before 1337 – thanks to his father’s provisions for him in the form of jewels and other moveable wealth as well as marriage to Elizabeth, the rich widow of Edmund Mortimer<sup>50</sup> – it appears that his comital elevation did have an effect on his capacity to assemble larger retinues, albeit not in his first twelve months as earl of Northampton. The delayed impact of his promotion to earl appears to be reflected not just in Bohun’s overall retinue numbers but also his retention of household knights more specifically. The mass confirmation of protection warrants in the Patent Rolls for Bohun’s 1337 voyage provides more detail on his retinue than we have for previous expeditions. Many of these went on to have a substantial record of service in his following: William Trussbutt, William Ireland, Thomas Bosehale, Thomas Dagworth, Richard Denton, John Dengayne, Peter Favelore, John FitzWalter, Robert Marny, Hugh Morrisby, John and Hugh Neville, John Podenhale and Adam Swynbourn were all recorded as going with Bohun to the Low Countries in 1337 as part of Edward III’s military and diplomatic overtures on the continent.<sup>51</sup> Bohun stayed until April 1338, returning a few months later with new additions to his retinue, including household knights Hugh Badewe, Robert Bouchier and Robert Manteby.<sup>52</sup> Some of those going with the earl may have already been acquainted with him and had joined his following at an earlier date, but this was probably not the case for all of them. Thus, while Bohun’s elevation did not increase his retinue in the immediate short term, it does seem that the dramatic change to his status and prospects had an impact on his ability to keep the above knightly figures in his following beyond 1337-38.

Going into the 1340s, the continuing hostilities in France and the Low Countries involved more knights joining Northampton’s household. Apparently new to the earl’s following for the fighting in 1340 were John Havenyngham, John Roos, Thomas Mandeville and John Sutton.<sup>53</sup> Bohun and his company were reportedly present for the battle at Valenciennes against the count of Eu in May, the naval battle of Sluys in June and the siege of Tournai that culminated in the truce of Esplechin.<sup>54</sup> After this, however, Bohun had to submit as a hostage for King Edward’s debts to the town of Louvain. For at least part of this time as hostage John Podenhale and three other men actually took his place, but Peter Favelore and Oliver Bohun were needed to act as the earl’s attorneys, organising sacks of

---

<sup>49</sup> This is summarised in Franke, ‘Robert Ufford’, pp. 79 and 185.

<sup>50</sup> Parker, ‘Patronage’, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, pp. 530-1; Parker, ‘Patronage’, pp. 108 and 110.

<sup>52</sup> C 76/12.

<sup>53</sup> C 76/15.

<sup>54</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 221-7.

wool to pay for his release.<sup>55</sup> It may have been through his acquaintance with Earl William that Robert Bouchier came to be installed as Edward's new, secular, chancellor following the king's purge of government in the winter of 1340-41,<sup>56</sup> though this was not the end of Bouchier's association with the earl.

When Bohun took up the lieutenancy of Brittany in 1342-43 his retinue again swelled, and this included some further men who can be marked out as household knights of some significance. Robert Marny ceased serving in Bohun's retinue after 1342.<sup>57</sup> Some of Bohun's dependables like Richard Totesham and John FitzWalter remained in Brittany from 1345, acting as something of a 'second column' of the Bohun following under the sub-lieutenancy of Thomas Dagworth.<sup>58</sup> John Hothom of Bondeby, Geoffrey de Say, Henry le Scrope and John Coggeshale all took up arms with Northampton for a number of campaigns over the 1340s; Scrope and Coggeshale joined him again in the 1350s.<sup>59</sup> By now, all of Bohun's most important household knights had already come into his service. Others of course fought in Northampton's retinue on later expeditions and retinue data for the whole of the earl's military career is incomplete, but after 1342 none of those joining him for the first time had the same level of connection with him as the knights mentioned above; much like Thomas Beauchamp, it also does not seem that Bohun's membership in the Order of the Garter had any discernible significance for the household men he kept. It may be that the earl considered himself amply served by the men he already had around him. Though he lost Hugh Morrisby in 1348, several of Bohun's closest associates including John Dengayne, Peter Favelore, John FitzWalter and John Neville survived until a few years before or after the earl's death; others like Hugh Badewe lived many years more.<sup>60</sup> As so many of Bohun's closest knights remained active for most of his life, there was perhaps little need for him to replace them, and new retainers were only needed for occasional military service.

As with Beauchamp and Bohun, the early life of Henry of Grosmont is somewhat cloudy. He was apparently at the siege of Berwick in 1333 but is not confirmed as present at the battle of Halidon Hill.<sup>61</sup> His presence is again recorded for the winter campaign of 1334-35, during which he had sixty men in his retinue, and in the summer of 1335 when he

---

<sup>55</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 179-81.

<sup>56</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 232-4.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 199 and 203.

<sup>58</sup> Ayton, 'English Army at Crécy', pp. 209-10.

<sup>59</sup> C 76/17; C 76/33; C 76/37. Coggeshale may in fact have known Bohun earlier, as he was one of the men knighted in the same 1337 parliament in which Bohun became earl of Northampton: Parker, 'Patronage', p. 242.

<sup>60</sup> *CIPM*, 1347-52, p. 94 (Morrisby, d. 1348); C 135/139/25 (Dengayne, d. 1358); *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 344-5 (Neville, d. 1358), 470-1 and 555 (Favelore, d. 1360); 1361-65, pp. 56-7 (FitzWalter, d. 1361); *CCR*, 1374-77, pp. 82-3 (Badewe, d. 1374).

<sup>61</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 165.

brought 113, including two bannerets and nineteen knights.<sup>62</sup> Specific details are not available about who was in Grosmont's retinue for these expeditions, but from the 1336 campaign the membership of his knightly household begins coming to light. Henry was given overall command in the king's absence, with up to a hundred men in his own immediate retinue,<sup>63</sup> and quite a few of those who joined him were, or would become, significant and loyal household knights: Nicholas Cantilupe, the elder Hugh and Ralph Hastings, both John Twyfordes, John Seyton, Richard Shulton, Reginald Mohun, Nicholas Longford, Hugh Meynill, Thomas Cok, Alured Sulny, Theobald Trussell and John Walkyngton.<sup>64</sup> We may also suppose that at least some of these were with Henry on the earlier campaigns. Grosmont's status as the king's cousin and army commander no doubt helped in recruiting a suitable retinue, but several key figures who joined him already had a record of service with the house of Lancaster: the Hastings, the Twyfordes, Walkyngton, Longford and Meynill had already been in service to Grosmont's father or his uncle Thomas.<sup>65</sup> It seems likely that Henry was more reliant on such inherited followers in his earlier years, before becoming an earl in his own right and establishing a formidable military reputation.

More important figures joined Grosmont following his promotion to earl of Derby in 1337. Before the end of the decade, Edmund Everard, Andrew Brauncher, Peter and Robert de la Mare, John Blount, John Grey of Codnore and Richard Havering all began their service under Grosmont.<sup>66</sup> Of these, Grey and Blount also already had ties to the house of Lancaster.<sup>67</sup> Blount had a particularly close association to Grosmont's father: he was a donee of the elder Henry, served as his undersheriff in 1342 and was one of the executors of his will.<sup>68</sup> The rest, however, may well have come into Grosmont's orbit thanks to his new comital status on the advent of war with France.

As hostilities with Valois France intensified in the early 1340s, several more important household men began their service under Grosmont,<sup>69</sup> but perhaps the most notable influx came with his appointment as the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine in 1345 and 1346. In addition to the usual surge of temporary retinue recruits on the eve of a significant campaign, many of the knights who entered Grosmont's service for the Aquitaine expedition became prominent and consistent members of his following. These included Andrew Luttrell,

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 165 and 168; Candy, 'Scottish Wars', pp. 132, 136 and 270.

<sup>63</sup> Candy, 'Scottish Wars', pp. 141 and 273.

<sup>64</sup> E 101/15/12.

<sup>65</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 721-2 and 725; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 28.

<sup>66</sup> C 76/12.

<sup>67</sup> John Grey had served with Thomas of Lancaster: Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 721-2 and 725.

<sup>68</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 356.

<sup>69</sup> Significant household knights who joined Grosmont from 1340 to 1344 were: Nicholas de Ry, John Bosun, John son of Richard Grey, Roger Belers (C 76/15); John Mowbray (C 71/21); William la Zouche, Adam Everyngham, Edmund Ufford, Ralph Asteleye, Richard Rawcliffe (C 76/17); Richard Bastreville, John Norwich, Philip Lymbury and Stephen Cosington (C 76/19).

Ralph Camoys, Gervase Clifton, William Scargill, Thomas Uvedale, Norman Swinford, Richard Hebden, Alex Aunsel and Frank van Halen.<sup>70</sup> Grosmont also briefly gained the service of the highly prized and effective Neil Loring, who served on campaigns with him until 1352 when he ultimately transferred to service with the Black Prince.<sup>71</sup> The subsequent siege of Calais and diplomatic missions to France and the Low Countries involved more valuable additions. The younger Ralph Hastings began serving in Grosmont's retinue in 1347,<sup>72</sup> and in August of that year Grosmont requested Robert Bertram be given back his confiscated lands after having allowed the captured Scot Malcolm Fleming to escape.<sup>73</sup> Though this does not guarantee that Bertram was part of Grosmont's following yet, it makes it a distinct possibility.

On the other hand, this period also saw a number of significant departures. The elder Ralph and Hugh Hastings perished in 1346 and 1347 respectively, and Andrew Braunche died in 1349.<sup>74</sup> Peter de la Mare was also growing old; he retired from campaigning in 1346 and was dead by August 1349.<sup>75</sup> Age may have factored into John Blount's retirement from campaigning as well; he was around forty by the siege of Calais and although he remained in Grosmont's service as undersheriff for Staffordshire in 1350, he no longer took up arms.<sup>76</sup> Though he still witnessed charters and acquired land from Grosmont, John Walkington, another old hand from the service of the elder Henry, also retired from campaigning after 1347.<sup>77</sup> Such was the success of Grosmont's first command in Aquitaine that, as with many in the wake of the satisfying Crécy campaign, some of the knights close to him saw fit to end their military service: John Bosun, Ralph Asteleye, Richard Bastreville, John Norwich, Andrew Luttrell and John son of Richard Grey quit Grosmont's retinue with the conclusion of the Aquitaine expedition or the siege of Calais. John Seyton also did not campaign with Grosmont again until 1356.<sup>78</sup>

Though there was undeniably a substantial chivalric prestige associated with the Order of the Garter that Edward III founded in 1348, it does not appear that Grosmont's place as a founding member of the society had any significant impact on the membership of his household knights. The same can be said for his promotion to duke of Lancaster in 1352. Other figures did come into the following on the advent of the second Aquitaine lieutenancy

---

<sup>70</sup> C 76/20; E 101/25/9.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> C 76/24. This must have been a younger Ralph Hastings because the Ralph who previously served with Grosmont died in 1346, as noted below.

<sup>73</sup> CCR, 1346-49, p. 311.

<sup>74</sup> C 135/103/2 (Braunche); Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 292 (Ralph); Andrew Ayton, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh (c.1310-1347)', ODNB.

<sup>75</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 303-4

<sup>76</sup> CPR, 1348-50, p. 591; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 356.

<sup>77</sup> CPR, 1348-50, pp. 282, 366 and 469.

<sup>78</sup> CIPM, 1347-52, p. 309.

and the campaigns in Normandy and Brittany. Thomas Florak and Bernard Brocas were recruited in 1349,<sup>79</sup> while Walter Birmingham, Thomas Metham, Robert Marny and the younger Hugh Hastings joined between 1354 and 1356.<sup>80</sup> However, the early 1350s saw the departure of more key personnel. Reginald Mohun's service appears to have ended after 1350, and the dedicated Thomas Cok was dead before February 1353.<sup>81</sup> Grosmont's retinue continued to periodically swell in anticipation of new military expeditions, but the most loyal and valuable of his household knights had already found their way into his service by this time. If he had lived longer, it may be that some knights who joined Henry in these later years would have established themselves as other stalwarts of the following. Richard Aberbury, Metham and Thomas Ufford were all figures who first had contact with Grosmont in 1355 and were later associated with John of Gaunt when he succeeded as duke of Lancaster.<sup>82</sup>

### 1.1.2 Geographical Composition of the Followings

The geographical composition of each following also warrants consideration, and this involves an exploration of both vertical and horizontal social ties. One pertinent issue here is the hypothetical existence of 'county communities', and this involves two significant questions: first, whether or not there were distinct communities – in the sense of shared local identity and interests – shaped by county boundaries, and second, to what extent the gentry saw themselves as members of such a community. The concept has been the subject of much debate, partly due to ambivalence over what the word 'community' implies, and this will be returned to below.<sup>83</sup> As discussed in the introduction, some studies have highlighted the significance of vertical ties between magnates and local gentry,<sup>84</sup> while others have expressed varying degrees of scepticism over magnate influence, instead seeing the dominant social bond as horizontal ties between gentry within the framework of a county community.<sup>85</sup> The existence of such communities has in turn been questioned with assertions that gentry social ties and identity were highly localized, and did not correspond

---

<sup>79</sup> C 76/27.

<sup>80</sup> C 76/32; C 76/33; C 76/34. Again, this had to be a younger Hastings, as the Hugh serving Grosmont before this died in 1347.

<sup>81</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 274.

<sup>82</sup> C 76/33; C 76/34; C 81/1730; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 700 and 725; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 29 and 275.

<sup>83</sup> Walker, 'Communities of the County', p. 71; Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 379. See below, pp. 51-3.

<sup>84</sup> Coss, 'Military Community', p. 35; idem., *Foundations*, p. 159; Carpenter, 'Beauchamp Affinity', pp. 514-32.

<sup>85</sup> Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 97-8 and 166; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 163-5; Walker, 'Communities of the County', pp. 69, 71 and 75; Coss, *Foundations*, p. 73; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 225-6.

to county boundaries.<sup>86</sup> However, there is now a growing appreciation for the combined importance of vertical and horizontal connections,<sup>87</sup> and it certainly seems that the knightly contingent of the households in this study operated along both of these axes.

To consider vertical ties first, it is clear that the majority of Thomas Beauchamp's most prominent household knights were primarily active and based in counties where the earl's landed interests were also centred. Thomas Asteleye had roots in Warwickshire,<sup>88</sup> as did Peter Montfort and William Lucy, based at Beaudesert and Charlecote respectively.<sup>89</sup> John Clinton was from Maxstoke, and the Pecche brothers held various properties in the county, Hampton-in-Ardern chief among them.<sup>90</sup> Robert Herle and his father William established landed interests in Warwickshire.<sup>91</sup> Baldwin Freville inherited lands across a range of counties but was also active in Warwickshire, while Fulk Birmingham repeatedly represented the county in parliament.<sup>92</sup> William Breton, Richard Whitacre and John Lysours were also centred there.<sup>93</sup> In addition, William Beauchamp – the probable cousin – was involved in a number of judicial commissions in Worcestershire.<sup>94</sup> John Botetourt had Warwickshire ties, but both he and Robert Bracy were also active on Worcestershire commissions in the 1350s and 60s.<sup>95</sup> Meanwhile, most of the land held by the earl's brother John was located in Worcestershire, where he was also involved in a number of commissions.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 344, 346-9 and 354.

<sup>87</sup> Walker, 'Communities of the County', pp. 69-70 and 75; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 36-8; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 227; Caudrey, *Military Society*, p. 95.

<sup>88</sup> Asteleye succeeded his uncle Nicholas, who held the Warwickshire lands of Asteleye, Wetendon, Morton and Milverton of Guy Beauchamp at the time of the latter's death in 1315 (*CIPM*, 1307-16, p. 408); Wolvey was another key property, descending through his mother Alice Wolvey (*CPR*, 1343-45, p. 26; *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 480).

<sup>89</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 25 (Montfort); *VCH Warwick*, 5, pp. 34-8 (Lucy).

<sup>90</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 525; 1346-49, p. 80 (Clinton); C 131/5/28 (Pecches).

<sup>91</sup> At the time of his death, William Herle held land and rent in Caldecote and Burghton: *CIPM*, 1347-51, p. 19; *CFR*, 1347-56, p. 25.

<sup>92</sup> Freville inherited Warwickshire lands from his father in 1343 (*CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 294-5), added to these estates (*CCR*, 1369-74, p. 430) and served on several Warwickshire commissions (*CPR*, 1354-58, pp. 651; 1370-74, p. 483; 1374-77, p. 142); Birmingham received parliamentary summons for Warwickshire in 1361, 1362 and 1365 (*CCR*, 1360-64, pp. 251, 440; 1364-68, p. 168).

<sup>93</sup> Breton is labelled as a knight of Warwickshire in *CFR*, 1347-56, p. 381; Whitacre served on judicial commissions in Warwickshire (*CPR*, 1343-45, p. 411; 1345-48, p. 239; 1348-50, p. 80) and was also appointed as a collector of wool for the county (*CFR*, 1347-56, p. 4); Lysours' holdings were at Bernangle, Sutton in Coldfield and Wilmcote (C 135/216/16).

<sup>94</sup> C 81/1742; C 76/15; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 372; 1338-40, p. 274.

<sup>95</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, pp. 85, 430, 439; 1361-64, p. 529; 1364-67, p. 431; *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 604; 1354-60, p. 528 (Botetourt); *CPR*, 1364-67, p. 434; 1364-67, p. 368; 1361-64, pp. 63-4 (Bracy). Botetourt was known as the lord of Weoley, Worcestershire: *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 645; Birmingham, Birmingham Archives, Heritage and Photography Service, MS 3279/351228.

<sup>96</sup> Bothwell, 'John Beauchamp', pp. 249, 252-3, 255; *CPR*, 1361-64, p. 48; 1367-70, pp. 192-3, 430-1, 434.

Some of the other local ties were anomalous. Herle had roots in Northumberland.<sup>97</sup> Clinton was active in Kent after inheriting substantial land there following his uncle's death,<sup>98</sup> while John Leukenore and John Golafre were occasionally active in Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.<sup>99</sup> Yet beyond this, the rest of Beauchamp's knights were drawn from the counties of Oxford, Leicester, Stafford and Northampton: all territories surrounding the earl's 'country'. The banneret Asteleye's influence spanned across the counties of Northampton and Leicester.<sup>100</sup> Robert Holland's family came from Lancashire, but upon succeeding his father's estate he based himself in Northamptonshire.<sup>101</sup> Nicholas Burneby was also a Northamptonshire knight.<sup>102</sup> Nicholas Charneles, Ralph Basset of Sapcote and John Folville were Leicestershire natives.<sup>103</sup> Basset of Drayton's property and activity were divided between Warwickshire and Staffordshire.<sup>104</sup> Unsurprisingly, the earl of Stafford's brother Richard was also based in Staffordshire.<sup>105</sup> Lastly, Leukenore, Golafre and Gilbert Chasteleyn were mainly prominent as knights of Oxfordshire, associated with Dean near Spelsbury, Sarsden and Kingham respectively.<sup>106</sup>

Over time, however, Earl Thomas focused more on consolidating his support in Warwickshire and Worcestershire, apparently continuing a policy of his father and grandfather of establishing a strong powerbase at the centre of the earldom.<sup>107</sup> This can be seen in his and his father's marriage choices for their daughters,<sup>108</sup> Earl Thomas's continual buying up of land in the region,<sup>109</sup> and also his involvement in 'hoovering up' local gentry into his service.<sup>110</sup> This latter process is certainly reflected in the membership of his household

---

<sup>97</sup> *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 272; *CFR*, 1347-56, p. 25; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 211; 1358-61, pp. 491-2.

<sup>98</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 172-6; *CPR* 1370-74, pp. 107-8; 1377-81, pp. 7, 359-60, 574; 1381-85, pp. 23, 72-3, 77.

<sup>99</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 511; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 522 (Leukenore); *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 322; *CFR*, 1337-47, pp. 490-1 (Golafre).

<sup>100</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, p. 382; *CPR*, 1330-34, pp. 138, 206, 287, 296; 1340-43, p. 102; *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 466.

<sup>101</sup> M. M. N. Stansfield, 'Holland, Thomas, earl of Kent (c.1315-1360)', *ODNB*; *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 515, 518.

<sup>102</sup> *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 322; *CChR*, 1327-41, pp. 123, 306; *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 84; R. Gorski, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 99 and 142.

<sup>103</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 294; 1338-40, p. 274; 1340-43, pp. 102, 214; 1343-45, p. 177; *CCR*, 1341-43, pp. 369-70 (Charneles); C 143/335/10; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 57; 1361-64, pp. 20, 291; 1364-67, p. 431; 1367-70, pp. 191, 193 (Basset); C 71/16; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 274 (Folville).

<sup>104</sup> E 42/160; *CCR*, 1341-43, pp. 248, 264-5 and 411; *CPR*, 1361-64, p. 529.

<sup>105</sup> Rawcliffe, 'Ralph, first earl of Stafford', *ODNB*.

<sup>106</sup> *CFR*, 1327-37, p. 381; 1337-41, p. 391; *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 387; 1341-1417, p. 24; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 106; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 123; 1370-74, p. 98 (Leukenore); *CChR*, 1371-41, p. 322; *CFR*, 1356-68, pp. 44-5, 63; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 106; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 508 (Golafre); *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 218; *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 147 (Chasteleyn).

<sup>107</sup> King, 'Henry Beaumont', p. 102; Gundy, *Rebel Earl*, p. 55; Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 169-70, 174-5 and 178.

<sup>108</sup> Gundy, *Rebel Earl*, p. 55.

<sup>109</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 8 and 113.

<sup>110</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 36.

knights: new recruits to the following increasingly came from Worcestershire or Warwickshire, and by the end of his life Ralph Basset of Sapcote appears to be the only knight of Beauchamp's household who was not predominantly based in these two counties.

Among the most important household knights of Henry of Grosmont, there was an obvious concentration in South Yorkshire and the East Midlands. Most numerous were the men of Lincolnshire: Nicholas de Ry, Nicholas Cantilupe, Adam Everyngham, Richard Hebden, Philip Lymbury, Norman Swynford, Andrew Luttrell, and Alex Aunsel were either rooted in the county or had some of their landed interests there.<sup>111</sup> Next was Yorkshire, where Ralph Hastings, Rawcliffe, the Scargills William and Warin, Thomas Metham, William lord Greystock and again Everyngham were all prominent.<sup>112</sup> Nottinghamshire too was substantially represented. Everyngham, Metham and Cantilupe had manors and land there, as did Hugh Hastings, John Bosun and Gervase Clifton.<sup>113</sup> Added to this, Nicholas Longford, Hugh Meynill, John Twyford and both John Greys were resident and active in Derbyshire.<sup>114</sup> Roger Belers held land across the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester; Meynill and Theobald Trussell were also prominent in Leicestershire, while Luttrell held the manor of Salteby there.<sup>115</sup>

Vertical ties can help to explain some of this regional concentration. Gribit has noted that the majority of Grosmont's knights being from Lincolnshire is unexpected, because at the time of Grosmont's first expedition to Aquitaine in 1345 the earl held almost no lands in the county, these only coming into his hand following the death of his father at the end of the year.<sup>116</sup> Parker noted that Henry had been 'enjoying absolute lordship' over the county for about a year before he was officially created earl of Lincoln in 1349,<sup>117</sup> but this does not explain the early preponderance of Lincolnshire knights in his household – all of them are known to have started in Henry's retinue between 1336 and 1345.<sup>118</sup> Gribit offers two plausible explanations for this. First, that the aforementioned men were from families with a

---

<sup>111</sup> SC 8/174/8689; *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 493; 1348-50, p. 167 (Ry); SC 1/42/8; JUST 1/1405 (Cantilupe); *CIPM*, 1377-84, pp. 207-9 (Everyngham); Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 294 (Hebden); C 135/194/10; *CPR*, 1361-64, pp. 65 and 67 (Lymbury); *CIPM*, 1365-70, pp. 232-3 (Swynford); *CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 422-3 (Luttrell); C 143/305/9; *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 79 (Aunsel).

<sup>112</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 146; 1345-48, p. 45 (Hastings); *CPR*, 1354-58, pp. 60 and 453-4; 1364-67, pp. 430-1 (Rawcliffe); *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 117; *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 336 (Scargill); *CIPM*, 1352-61, p. 210 (Metham); *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 420-7 (Greystock); *CIPM*, 1377-84, pp. 207-9 (Everyngham).

<sup>113</sup> *CIPM*, 1377-84, pp. 207-9 (Everyngham); *CIPM*, 1352-61, p. 210 (Metham); E 326/1711 (Cantilupe); Ayton, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh', *ODNB* (Hastings); *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 542 (Bosun); *CIPM*, 1327-36, p. 11 (Clifton).

<sup>114</sup> SC 8/131/6502; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 311; 1348-50, p. 383 (Longford); *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 383 and 586; *CIPM*, 1361-65, pp. 392-4 (Meynill); SC 8/131/6502; *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 26 and 311 (Twyford); C 131/195/22; C 143/249/21; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 383 (Grey).

<sup>115</sup> C 136/13/1; *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 364 and 366; 1348-50, pp. 247-8; 1350-54, p. 93 (Belers); *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 183 (Meynill); *CIPM*, 1370-73, p. 187 (Trussell); *CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 422-3 (Luttrell).

<sup>116</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 213.

<sup>117</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 234.

<sup>118</sup> See above, pp. 41-3.

tradition of service to the house of Lancaster,<sup>119</sup> but with the earl Grosmont's father increasingly infirm and inactive, it made more sense for them to seek service with Grosmont instead.<sup>120</sup> Second, that at least some of the Lincolnshire men may have transferred their allegiance from Henry Beaumont, who held extensive territory in the county, when he died in 1340; as Beaumont's son-in-law, Grosmont made for a convenient alternative.<sup>121</sup>

A small section of Grosmont's earliest-serving men had ties to Wiltshire. The dedicated de la Mares, Peter and Richard, had the majority of their estates there, though they also held property in Gloucestershire.<sup>122</sup> Edmund Everard had interests across the counties of Wiltshire, Berkshire, Somerset and Dorset, but his most important lands appear to have been in Wiltshire, including the only manor he held at the time of his death in 1370.<sup>123</sup> Though a knight of Somerset,<sup>124</sup> Andrew Braunche appears to have been active in judicial cases for Wiltshire as well.<sup>125</sup> The origins of their recruitment could again be due to vertical ties of lordship. In August 1337 Grosmont's father settled on him and his wife a set of Wiltshire and Hampshire manors that had come into the Lancastrian inheritance via Grosmont's mother Maude Chaworth: specifically, these were Hannington, Inglesham, Longstock, Hartley Mauditt and Weston Patrick.<sup>126</sup> Meanwhile, the service of Braunche, Everard and the de la Mares can be most reliably dated to 1337 or 1338. It is possible then that they became known to Henry via his new presence in Wiltshire.<sup>127</sup>

As was typical for most of his peers, William Bohun's estates were also scattered across the realm and inevitably there were a few anomalies in the county provenance of his men. John Hotham was from Bondby in Lincolnshire, though his estates stretched over the counties of York, Warwick, Northampton as well.<sup>128</sup> John Verdoun's life and lands were centred in Northampton, while Robert Manteby was of Norfolk stock.<sup>129</sup> The energetic soldier Robert Corbet was of Hadley in Shropshire,<sup>130</sup> and Peter Favelore had the manor of

---

<sup>119</sup> See below, p. 65.

<sup>120</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 213-4.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 360; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 303-4.

<sup>123</sup> *CIPM*, 1370-73, pp. 17-31.

<sup>124</sup> C 135/103/2.

<sup>125</sup> SC 8/244/12197.

<sup>126</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 17-18; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 3 and 22-3; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 215.

<sup>127</sup> Just over a decade later, Peter and Robert de la Mare were granted annuities derived from Grosmont's Wiltshire manors East Garston, Market Lavington and Berwick St. James: *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 261 and 268.

<sup>128</sup> C 241/117; *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 17; *CCR*, 1343-46, pp. 387-8; 1349-54, p. 222; *CIPM*, 1347-52, pp. 429-31.

<sup>129</sup> C 241/131/62; Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/SR/36/122 (Verdoun); *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 529 (Manteby).

<sup>130</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 490; *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 552. Different Robert Corbets lived in Shropshire at the time and it is unclear if more than one served in Bohun's retinue; when specified, this is always as Corbet of Hadley: C 71/14; C 76/12.

Bickenhill in Oxfordshire via Bohun's grant.<sup>131</sup> Thomas Bosehale's holdings also included land in Oxfordshire, as well as Berkshire and Somerset.<sup>132</sup>

However, most of Bohun's territory was focused in and around Essex,<sup>133</sup> so it is unsurprising that the majority of his knights were drawn from there and the neighbouring counties of Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolk, Kent and Middlesex. John Coggeshale was sheriff and escheator for Essex, Hertford and Middlesex, and also held land in Suffolk.<sup>134</sup> William Giffard and Thomas Dagworth were also Suffolk men.<sup>135</sup> Richard Totesham's interests were concentrated in Kent where he held land, witnessed charters and in 1373 was granted all of the issues from Maidstone church.<sup>136</sup> Favelore too was connected to Kent and Middlesex; he held property in both counties and was on a judicial commission for Kent in 1347.<sup>137</sup> Distinguishing between different men named John Dengayne is challenging, but it appears that the one associated with Bohun was a man of regional significance: his rather formidable inheritance is detailed in the inquisitions post-mortem for Nicholas Dengayne and an elder John, detailing manors and parcels of land across Essex, Huntingdon, Cambridge and Northampton.<sup>138</sup> His busy life involved various commissions in these counties but also Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Rutland, and at the time of his death in 1358 he also held land in Leicestershire and Bedfordshire.<sup>139</sup>

What is perhaps surprising about the geography of the Bohun following is just how large the Essex majority was in the makeup of the earl's household knights.<sup>140</sup> As discussed above, there were clear regional concentrations in the households of Beauchamp and Grosmont, but these were not as heavily weighted as the concentration of Bohun's men around Essex. Hugh Badewe's family was based in the county, where he inherited various parcels of land and rent in the county from his uncle and father, witnessed charters for his neighbours and served on judicial commissions.<sup>141</sup> In 1328 the earl's brother Oliver received free warren in all his demesne lands at Norton in Essex, as well as 'Heighardres' and

---

<sup>131</sup> E 151/1/18; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 104; 1370-74, p. 373; *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 470-1 and 555.

<sup>132</sup> C 136/4/12.

<sup>133</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 523-30; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 256.

<sup>134</sup> C 135/157/19; E 153/2005; E 153/2785; E 358/2; E 358/4; *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 495; *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 36.

<sup>135</sup> *CPR*, 1324-27, pp. 53-4; 1338-40, p. 365; 1343-45, p. 181; *CCR*, 1323-27, p. 174; *CChR*, 1327-41, pp. 95 and 466 (Giffard); *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 59; John Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 108 (Dagworth).

<sup>136</sup> C 241/121/143; *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 278; *CPR*, 1374-77, pp. 109 and 269.

<sup>137</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 310; *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 470-1 and 555.

<sup>138</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, pp. 226 and 252-4.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 138; 1334-38, pp. 137-9; 1338-40, p. 72; 1340-43, p. 111 and 204; *CCR*, 1339-41, pp. 661; C 135/139/25.

<sup>140</sup> The concentration of Bohun soldiers in Essex has also been noted by Ayton, 'Aristocracy', pp. 173-5; idem., 'English Army', pp. 205-10.

<sup>141</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, p. 374; 1327-36, pp. 248-9; *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 455; 1341-43, p. 478; 1343-46, p. 390; *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 446 and 450.

Stelling in Kent.<sup>142</sup> Robert Bouchier's landed wealth was based in Essex, including the manor of Halstead, and he was active in the county on various commissions.<sup>143</sup> The bulk of Coggeshale's estate was in Essex, where he inherited a scattered mixture of lands and rents from his father in 1318.<sup>144</sup> Similar examples exist for Favelore, John FitzWalter, William Ireland, Hothom, Thomas Mandeville, Robert Marny, John and Hugh Neville, Ralph Spigournel, John Sutton and William Tallemache.<sup>145</sup> It might initially be assumed that the heavy emphasis on Essex was because Bohun was a 'new man' to comital rank and initially dependent on royal patronage to support his new dignity.<sup>146</sup> However, it appears that there was already a heavy concentration in Essex of Bohun family interests and retinue service more broadly. David Simpkin has noted a local tradition of service to the Bohuns in the time of William's father Humphrey, the previous earl of Hereford and Essex.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, the 1336 inquisition post mortem for William's brother John, successor as earl of Hereford and Essex and head of the family, provides us with a snapshot of the earldom's estates: Essex manors and parcels formed the majority of the inheritance, more so than land in Wales and the Marches, along with a handful of properties across the counties of Gloucester, Wiltshire, Hertford, Middlesex and Buckingham.<sup>148</sup> John Bohun and his successor Humphrey were largely inactive in politics or Edward III's military projects, quite likely due to a physical infirmity,<sup>149</sup> so it made sense for knights who would otherwise have campaigned with the earl of Hereford to instead serve under his brother Northampton. The transferability of retainers between comital siblings is also made apparent in the witness list for one of Earl Humphrey's charters in 1347: Geoffrey de Say, John Northwood, Robert Bouchier and Hugh Badewe were all named, each appearing with some regularity in Earl William's following.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 84.

<sup>143</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 139; 1340-43, pp. 25, 27 and 221; *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 639; *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 191.

<sup>144</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, p. 128.

<sup>145</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 563; 1360-64, p. 109 (Favelore); *CIPM*, 1327-36, pp. 126-7; 1361-65, pp. 56-7; *CCR*, 1349-54 (FitzWalter); *CIPM*, 1347-52, pp. 429-31 (Hothom); *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 409 (Ireland); C 146/1255; C 146/1246; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 563; *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 509 (Mandeville); *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 351 (Marny); *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 31; 1338-40, p. 10; 1340-43, pp. 25-7; 1350-54, p. 514 (Nevilles); SC 2/171/77; *CIPM*, 1352-61, p. 526 (Spigournel); *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 111 and 204; *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 478 (Sutton); DL 25/32; *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 602; 1343-45, pp. 281-2; *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 209; 1350-54, p. 164 (Tallemache).

<sup>146</sup> Matthew Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III and the Polity: The Earls of Arundel and Northampton in the Localities, 1330-60', *HR*, 92 (2019), 680-704 (p. 684) mentions Bohun's new status and the strong geographical focus, but does not explicitly say they are causally linked. Parker, 'Patronage', p. 238 notes that while Bohun received gifts from the king, he already had considerable wealth from his father's provision and marriage to the wealthy heiress Elizabeth Badlesmere.

<sup>147</sup> David Simpkin, 'The Contribution of Essex Gentry to the Wars of Edward I and Edward II', in *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Christopher Thornton, Jennifer Ward and Neil Wiffin (Hatfield: Essex Publications, 2017), pp. 52-64 (pp. 53-4 and 61-2).

<sup>148</sup> *CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 25-9.

<sup>149</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>150</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 236-7.

Vertical ties within the counties are thus strongly apparent in each of the followings, as most of the knights were rooted in areas where the earls' estates were concentrated. They were brought together via their bond to these magnates, and their own ties were not rigidly defined by county boundaries.<sup>151</sup> Yet horizontal ties could also have a bearing on the composition of the following. Such bonds could facilitate recruitment into the household, with some knights potentially coming to the earls' attention through their county connections to men who were already members. This may have been the case with Beauchamp's men Leukenore and Golafre. The two knew each other as fellow county knights from at least 1329 when they were witnesses to an Oxfordshire grant,<sup>152</sup> and afterwards worked together on a number of Oxfordshire commissions.<sup>153</sup> As the earliest indication for Leukenore's association with Warwick predates Golafre's by one or two years,<sup>154</sup> the former may have been responsible for the latter's recruitment to the household. Asteleye may also have been decisive in bringing Nicholas Charneles into Beauchamp's service; both men were connected through their Leicestershire ties and Asteleye was associated with the earl before Charneles.<sup>155</sup>

As noted by Gribit, horizontal ties may also help to explain the segment of East Anglian men who found their way into Grosmont's following. John Norwich, Ralph Asteleye, Ralph Camoys and Nicholas Gernoun were all knights of Norfolk who provided notable household service over Henry's lifetime.<sup>156</sup> At the time of his first lieutenancy in Aquitaine, Henry only held the manor and hundred of North Greenhoe in Norfolk, so regional authority cannot account for the recruitment of the East Anglian soldiers.<sup>157</sup> Instead, Gribit supposes that the banneret Norwich may have been instrumental in recruiting local troops for the Aquitaine expedition.<sup>158</sup> This is very likely to be the case regarding the men-at-arms and infantry for that campaign, but if we look specifically at the four knights mentioned above, we see that Asteleye had already campaigned with the earl a couple of years before Norwich,<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', pp. 348-9.

<sup>152</sup> *CCR*, 1327-30, p. 519.

<sup>153</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 278, 285 and 407-8.

<sup>154</sup> Leukenore's attendance at the 1334 Dunstable tournament has been covered. Golafre's receipt of free warren in 1335 may have been at Beauchamp's behest (see below, p. 23). From 1336, he was also sheriff of Worcester, deputized by Beauchamp who held the office by heredity: *CCR*, 1334-38, p. 372.

<sup>155</sup> Though the evidence dates from after entering the earl's household, Asteleye and Charneles also worked together on commissions and in the same retinue on the Crécy campaign: *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 102; 1343-45, p. 177; Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp. 35, 39, 85 and 168.

<sup>156</sup> C 76/19; C 76/20; C 76/24; (Norwich); C 76/17; E 101/25/9 (Asteleye); C 76/20; C 76/23; C 76/25; E 403/355 (Camoys); E 101/15/12; E 403/355 (Gernoun).

<sup>157</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 210; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 185.

<sup>158</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 210.

<sup>159</sup> C 76/17; C 76/19. Asteleye was in Henry's retinue in 1342, while Norwich's first appearance was in 1344.

and Gernoun had fought under Henry as an esquire as far back as 1336.<sup>160</sup> Instead then, we have reason to suspect that Gernoun, Asteleye or both may have had some influence in recruiting other Norfolk men for Henry's retinue, including Norwich.

Horizontal ties could also explain another surprise of the Northampton following: the earl's contingent of northern men. Gerard Wyderyngton and his brother Roger were knights of Northumberland, where they served on various commissions and held several manors and parcels of land.<sup>161</sup> Adam Swynbourne, John Podenhale and Peter Favelore also held ties to the county: Swynbourne was from a family of Northumberland landholders,<sup>162</sup> Podenhale was the county sheriff in 1333,<sup>163</sup> while Favelore appears several times in the historical record for the late 1330s as a merchant of Newcastle.<sup>164</sup> Swynbourne also had roots in Cumberland, as did Hugh Morrisby whose holdings included land at Moresby, Akhurst, Gilgarran, Culgaith, Branthwaite and Ainstaple.<sup>165</sup> Morrisby also held land in Askeby and 'Wynanderthwaite' in Westmorland.<sup>166</sup> Meanwhile, Richard Denton was prominent in both Cumberland and Westmorland, holding various land, serving on commissions and acting as escheator.<sup>167</sup> Why there would be a section of Bohun's knights from this corner of the kingdom is not immediately obvious, as the earl did not hold any lands in the region.<sup>168</sup> The service of all of these men dates back to at least 1337, so one possible explanation may be that Bohun came to know at least some of them through the campaigns in Scotland in the 1330s. Wyderyngton was in Bohun's retinue for the 1336 expedition,<sup>169</sup> and was associated with Swynbourne as one of his kin.<sup>170</sup> Thus, it may have been through mutual acquaintance with Wyderyngton that Swynbourne came into the earl's service. Similarly, it is uncertain if Denton served in Bohun's retinue before the 1337 expedition to the Low Countries, but Denton was described as one of the king's bachelors in a 1327 petition.<sup>171</sup> As we know that Bohun was one of Edward III's earliest companions, service to the king could explain how Bohun and Denton initially crossed paths. The well-connected Denton, with interests across counties, may have been another useful sub-recruiter for the earl's household knights. In this

---

<sup>160</sup> E 101/15/12.

<sup>161</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 296-7 and 523; 1354-58, pp. 65, 120 and 613-4; 1370-74, p. 194; *CIPM*, 1370-73, pp. 195-214.

<sup>162</sup> C 134/61/24; C 134/102/9; *CIPM*, 1316-27, pp. 473-4; *CPR*, 1358-61, pp. 140-1.

<sup>163</sup> SC 8/136/6784.

<sup>164</sup> *CCR*, 1337-39, pp. 424, 432, 562-3; 1339-41, pp. 134, 284 and 417; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 385.

<sup>165</sup> *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 389.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *CPR*, 1327-30, pp. 429-30; 1330-34, pp. 285, 288, 292 and 390; 1334-38, pp. 111 and 137-8; *CCR*, 1349-54, pp. 176, 185, 256 and 293.

<sup>168</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 523-30. Even though inquisitions post-mortem sometimes include historical land holdings no longer in the possession of the deceased, none of the above counties appear in the inquisition for William Bohun.

<sup>169</sup> C 71/16.

<sup>170</sup> *CCR*, 1327-30, p. 8; *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 141.

<sup>171</sup> SC 8/105/5225.

way horizontal ties may also account for some of the figures who became part of the Northampton following.

In sum, Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun all drew upon a network of vertical and horizontal ties for the membership of their household knights. Each magnate had a wide range of counties represented among his knights, and many of them had estates stretching across different counties, but each following contained a clear concentration of men from certain parts of the kingdom. Beauchamp's men were primarily of the West Midlands, particularly Warwickshire, while Grosmont's were based in Yorkshire and a cluster of East Midland counties. For Bohun the majority was especially great, with most of his household knights coming from Essex. Lordly influence in different parts of the realm can account for much of the recruitment, but evidence suggests that horizontal ties among the gentry were also an avenue into the household; the neighbours and acquaintances of household knights could sooner or later become knights of the household themselves.

All of this has important implications for how we should conceive of the interplay between the noble household and so-called 'bastard feudal' society, military communities and county community, as well as the balance of horizontal and vertical ties within the localities. Much of course depends on how the term 'community' is defined, and this can be considered from different angles. Christine Carpenter has vigorously criticised the idea of a face-to-face county community, with clearly defined boundaries and a physical meeting point where a sense of 'community' could propagate, and it does indeed appear that such a conception of county community is not valid for this period.<sup>172</sup> Most recently, Gwilym Dodd's analysis of parliamentary petitions has indicated that we should acknowledge county community as 'an important contemporary conception of political identity' without viewing it as an overriding force in local society.<sup>173</sup> Dodd's case is certainly compelling, though this aspect of county community as political identity is not necessarily pertinent to the current investigation. In terms of household recruitment, the most relevant definition for county community is the loose, abstract sense of shared experience and identity; a 'community of the mind', in a sense.<sup>174</sup> It may be debatable whether shared experience and identity is sufficient to justify the term 'county community', but there can be little doubt that individuals could feel a sense of attachment and belonging to a particular county, and could recognise this affinity in others. There is no reason to assume that household knights could not simultaneously identify themselves with a certain county and also as members of a magnate's household.

---

<sup>172</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 346-9.

<sup>173</sup> Dodd, 'County and Community', pp. 803-5.

<sup>174</sup> Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community', p. 344; Walker, 'Communities of the County', p. 71; Dodd, 'County and Community', p. 781.

There is some overlap to be seen here between county communities and military communities. Ayton has highlighted the importance of locality as a factor in the recruitment of England's military community.<sup>175</sup> Philip Caudrey has also written about the gentry of East Anglia in the fourteenth century belonging to not one but a plurality of military communities, based partly on their county ties but also on acquaintance with comrades in past retinues and campaigns.<sup>176</sup> Caudrey noted this was particularly pronounced in the East Anglia gentry because they campaigned with a number of different campaigns,<sup>177</sup> and we have seen how Henry of Grosmont was one of these. We can infer then that there was some overlap between county communities and military communities, of which a soldiering magnate's household formed a significant part.<sup>178</sup> The extent of this overlap could depend on the number of prominent recruiting captains there: in a county that did not have a strong magnate presence, or where there was no one 'dominant strand of lordship',<sup>179</sup> there was more potential for disparity between county identity and what military milieu the county gentry belonged to. East Anglia was a good example of this, with men of the region finding their way into retinue service under a variety of military captains.<sup>180</sup>

Overall, the notion of 'county community' has a bearing on the recruitment of household knights in its loosest sense: that of shared experience, identity, neighbourhood and acquaintance. This is because magnates could sometimes draw upon their men's horizontal ties for finding suitable individuals to join their following, and whom household knights knew depended to a significant extent on what county or counties they were part of. It was certainly the case that magnates could be involved in their counties, especially for the purpose of household and military recruitment, but this did not really extend to the point of dominating local affairs.<sup>181</sup> Vertical ties were not so pervasive that a lord's power and affinity acted as a conduit for all county activity. Yet equally, it would be rash to suppose that counties were presided over by a set of 'independent', 'ruling' gentry oligarchs thoroughly opposed and immune to magnate influence.<sup>182</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> Ayton, 'Army at Crécy', pp. 178 and 209.

<sup>176</sup> Philip J. Caudrey, 'War, Chivalry and Regional Society: East Anglia's Warrior Gentry before the Court of Chivalry', in *Fourteenth Century England VIII*, ed. by J. S. Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), pp. 119-46 (pp. 143-4); James Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and the Recruitment for Henry Despenser's Crusade of 1383', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999), 181-190 (p. 189).

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Chapter 2 addresses the military function of household knights in detail.

<sup>179</sup> Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', p. 689.

<sup>180</sup> Franke, 'Robert Ufford', pp. 59-60, 66-7 and 97; Caudrey, 'East Anglia', p. 144; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 210.

<sup>181</sup> Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', pp. 691, 693 and 703-4. The question of magnate power in the localities, as opposed to recruitment, is explored in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 171-3.

<sup>182</sup> Walker, 'Communities of the County', p. 69; Dodd 'County and Community', pp. 803-4.

## 1.2 The Social Background of Household Knights

The ranks of knighthood in the fourteenth century belonged to a social bracket often referred to by scholars as the 'upper gentry'.<sup>183</sup> However, within this sub-stratum there was considerable variety in men's social and economic standing, which is also reflected in the backgrounds of household knights.

As can be expected for the magnates discussed in this study, some of their retainers were socially, financially and militarily eminent bannerets.<sup>184</sup> In some cases, it appears that the relationship was purely one of military participation, with the bannerets acting as useful sub-recruiters in regions where the earls did not have much of a direct presence themselves.<sup>185</sup> The connections between Beauchamp and Robert Scales, Almeric St Amand and Thomas Ughtred conform to this type.<sup>186</sup> Likewise, the relationship between Grosmont and John Norwich appears to have been limited to retinue service, and the banneret's eminence in East Anglia made him a useful sub-recruiter of local troops.<sup>187</sup>

In other cases, a banneret's link with one of the earls was closer. This was certainly true for Thomas Asteleye and Beauchamp. Asteleye's family was regarded highly enough that the earl's father and predecessor Guy saw fit to arrange the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Thomas Asteleye, making the latter Beauchamp's brother-in-law.<sup>188</sup> During his minority, Asteleye held a knight's fee at Whittington in Warwickshire of Guy Beauchamp,<sup>189</sup> as well as land in Langton, Leicestershire, held by Nicholas Latimer.<sup>190</sup> As the heir of his uncle Nicholas he also inherited Asteleye, Wetendon, Morton, Milverton and Merston in Warwickshire.<sup>191</sup> Records from the 1330s and 40s reveal that he also held land in Withybrook, Hopsford, Bedworth, Wolvey, Willoughby and Chilvers Coton in Warwickshire, Crick, Clay Coton and West Haddon in Northamptonshire, as well as Broughton, Sutton, Leire, Thorpe, Lindley, Higham and Willoughby in Leicestershire.<sup>192</sup> Asteleye's esteem and regional importance is further reflected in the various appointments he undertook for the

---

<sup>183</sup> Maurice Keen, 'Chivalry', in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 35-49 (p. 41-2); Chris Given-Wilson, 'Late Medieval England, 1215-1485', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 137-73 (p. 122); Coss, *Knight*, pp. 114-7; idem., *Foundations*, p. 54.

<sup>184</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 13-5; Wrotesley, *Crécy and Calais*, p. 6; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 210.

<sup>185</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', p. 213; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 21-2.

<sup>186</sup> The relationship between Warwick, Scales, St Amand and Ughtred is covered in Chapter 2, pp. 75-6.

<sup>187</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 210-1.

<sup>188</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 54. Asteleye was a banneret from at least 1339, being labelled as such in the retinue roll for Thomas Beauchamp's occupation of Southampton: SC 13/3/1.

<sup>189</sup> *CIPM*, 1307-16, p. 408.

<sup>190</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, p. 382

<sup>191</sup> *CIPM*, 1307-16, p. 408.

<sup>192</sup> C 143/253/2; C 143/233/3; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 389; 1338-40, p. 526; 1345-48, p. 480; *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 466.

crown, and to a lesser extent private plaintiffs. Throughout his life he was involved in commissions of array, peace and oyer and terminer, as well as more specific orders from the king and council, always across the counties of Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire.<sup>193</sup> Asteleye was therefore among the wealthier and more illustrious of household knights, whose purview extended across much of the earl of Warwick's own sphere of influence in the Midlands.

A similar relationship existed between William Bohun and John Dengayne, who held a substantial estate across several counties.<sup>194</sup> Following the death of his father Nicholas in 1322 John inherited the manor of Cotes in Cambridgeshire, as well as Perstead and Colne in Essex.<sup>195</sup> An elder John, probably Dengayne's uncle, died in the same year, leaving Dengayne various manors and acres of land across Huntingdonshire, Essex, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire.<sup>196</sup> Dengayne was similarly industrious in public service across his home counties,<sup>197</sup> but whereas the Asteleye and Beauchamp connection seemingly went dormant after 1346, Dengayne remained one of Bohun's closest and most trusted followers throughout the earl's life.<sup>198</sup>

Grosmont likewise had under him several bannerets who were of similar value, including John Grey of Codnor, Adam Everynham of Laxton, Frank van Halen and Hugh Meynill, though generally these did not quite possess the extensive property of Asteleye and Dengayne. Walker notes that Grey's family struggled to maintain baronial status from their various properties, though he was officially a banneret by the time he accompanied Grosmont to Aquitaine in 1345.<sup>199</sup> At the time of his death in 1363, Meynill's estates were also of a smaller scale. He owned the manors of Langley, Tissington and Yeavely in Derbyshire, a moiety of the Warwickshire manor Kings Newton and moieties of Upton and Burton Overy in Leicestershire, as well as land and rent across these counties and Staffordshire.<sup>200</sup> Thomas Cok also eventually became a banneret, but this was after he left Grosmont's regular service and required some assistance from the king. As Grosmont's

---

<sup>193</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, pp. 138, 287, 296 and 560; 1334-38, p. 206; 1338-40, p. 483; 1340-43, pp. 102, 111-3, 204 and 418; 1343-45, pp. 573 and 580; 1348-50, p. 525; 1354-58, pp. 61-2; 1364-67, pp. 430-1; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 623; 1341-43, pp. 11, 36-7 and 200.

<sup>194</sup> Dengayne was labelled a banneret in 1342, when the sheriff of Northampton was ordered to pay him 1 mark per day for his work hearing and determining trespasses of the king's ministers: *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 333.

<sup>195</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, pp. 226.

<sup>196</sup> *CIPM*, 1316-27, pp. 252-4.

<sup>197</sup> See for instance Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM/D/5/20/15; *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 138; 1334-38, pp. 65-6 and 137-9; 1340-43, p. 111; 1345-48, p. 308; 1350-54, pp. 85-9; 1354-58, p. 128; *CCR*, 1333-37, p. 470; 1337-39, p. 515; 1341-43, p. 333; 1343-46, pp. 19 and 262; 1349-54, p. 150.

<sup>198</sup> Details of Dengayne's service are given in Chapter 2, pp. 82-4 and Chapter 3, pp. 120, 122, 124, 135, 140-3 and 146.

<sup>199</sup> Simon Walker, 'Grey, John, third Baron Grey of Codnor (1305x11?-1392)', *ODNB*.

<sup>200</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, pp. 392-4.

direct replacement as seneschal of Aquitaine, in 1349 Cok was granted 100 marks yearly 'because he is engaged to stay with the king for life and that he may the better support the estate of banneret, which for the king's honour he lately took'.<sup>201</sup>

On the other hand, some household knights were of very modest means. Although Robert Corbet of Hadley in Shropshire was a frequent presence in Bohun's military retinue he remains a somewhat obscure figure, eclipsed in the historical record by other Corbets in Shropshire, including Robert of Morton and Robert of Caus.<sup>202</sup> Grosmont's Gervase Clifton received a markedly humble inheritance following the death of his father Robert in 1327, holding only a pair of Nottinghamshire manors, Clifton and Wilford.<sup>203</sup> Another example is Beauchamp's man John Lysours. Although earlier in life he appears to have held some land at Fledborough and Woodcote in Nottinghamshire,<sup>204</sup> when he died in 1361 his only holdings were a meagre set of rents in Warwickshire: 25s from five messuages and two and a half virgates in Barnacle near Coventry, a yearly rent of 13s 4d from a messuage and carucate in Sutton in Colefield, which he held of Beauchamp, and a yearly rent of 12d from 'Welmendecote'.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, before his death Lysours had actually imparted these to one Hugh Lysours and Hugh's wife Beatrice, with reversion to John's own heirs.<sup>206</sup>

The case of Bohun retainer John FitzWalter is somewhat different, but demonstrates the significant change in fortunes that could befall some knights. In 1328 FitzWalter was the beneficiary of a substantial inheritance: two manors, land and rent in Norfolk; Shimpling manor in Suffolk and seven manors, land and rent in Essex.<sup>207</sup> This also included a multitude of knight's fees in the aforementioned counties, as well as in Hertford, Cambridge and Northampton. While not impoverished by the time of his death in 1361, his holdings were substantially reduced: the Essex manors were largely unchanged, one of the Norfolk manors remained with some land and rent, and he had made small purchases in London; everything else, including the numerous knight's fees, was gone.<sup>208</sup> An explanation for the change can be found in the audacious life of crime that FitzWalter seems to have led: from 1340 to 1351 he and his associates committed acts of extortion, assault and theft.<sup>209</sup> One particularly

---

<sup>201</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 362.

<sup>202</sup> For example: *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 91 and 94; *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 148.

<sup>203</sup> *CIPM*, 1327-36, p. 11.

<sup>204</sup> In 1341 a John 'Lyseus' was granted free warren of all demesne lands in Fledborough and Woodcote (*CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 8), while a petition before the king and council in 1349 regarding lands in Fledborough uses the name 'Lyseus' and 'Lysours' interchangeably (*CCR*, 1349-54, pp. 130-1).

<sup>205</sup> *C* 135/216/16; *CIPM*, 1370-73, p. 29; *CCR*, 1369-74, pp. 146-7.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> *CIPM*, 1327-36, pp. 126-7.

<sup>208</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, pp. 56-7.

<sup>209</sup> Gloria Harris, 'Organised Crime in Fourteenth-Century Essex: Hugh de Badewe, Essex Soldier and Gang Member', in *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth*

striking example was in 1343, when he took a number of hostages in the town of Colchester.<sup>210</sup> In May 1346 he was ominously ordered before the king and council 'to answer things that will be set before him'.<sup>211</sup> FitzWalter seems to have provoked the king's displeasure again two years later, when a commission was ordered to survey the cargo of FitzWalter's ship *la Peter* because the necessary custom had not been paid on its cargo of wool.<sup>212</sup> This was followed in 1352 by a stay in the Tower of London. John's lands were confiscated and their keeper was ordered to pay him 40d a day for so long as he remained in prison.<sup>213</sup> He received a general pardon a few months later, being mainperned by fellow Bohun retainers and Essex men Guy St Clare and Robert Marny. FitzWalter was permitted to take back his lands, but only after purchasing them from the king for a sum agreed between FitzWalter and the council.<sup>214</sup>

Nor was this the end of his troubles. Less than a year later he had taken on a pair of £200 debts to the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, and was also in dispute with a group of men regarding the possession of certain goods at Fyncham in Essex.<sup>215</sup> Moreover, he and his steward William Baltrip were again guilty of shipping wool without paying custom on it, and he was involved in a feud with Dunmow Priory: FitzWalter was accused of commanding men to vandalise the premises and carry away some of its goods.<sup>216</sup> When the king confiscated FitzWalter's lands again in 1354, 'divers men' apparently took away many of his goods and damaged his property.<sup>217</sup> FitzWalter never truly recovered financially; in 1355 he had to be granted a year of respite from creditors trying to obtain repayment for debts, then in 1358 the barons of the exchequer were ordered to account with FitzWalter exactly how much he still owed to the king, with the understanding that he would follow a repayment plan of £20 a year to the exchequer.<sup>218</sup> Given all of his tribulations, it is perhaps remarkable that FitzWalter was able to keep as much of his inheritance as he did.

As the example of FitzWalter illustrates, financial hardship sometimes went hand-in-hand with criminal activity, and many of knights in the households of these magnates were in trouble with the law at some point in their lives. Two of Beauchamp's men, Nicholas Pecche and to a lesser extent his brother John, are another interesting case. A document from 1338

---

*Century*, ed. by Christopher Thornton, Jennifer Ward and Neil Wiffin (Hatfield: Essex Publications, 2017), pp. 65-77 (p. 71); Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', p. 691.

<sup>210</sup> Harris, 'Organised Crime', p. 71.

<sup>211</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 71.

<sup>212</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 160.

<sup>213</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 415.

<sup>214</sup> *CPR*, 1350, p. 299; *CCR*, 1349-54, pp. 429-30 and 489-90. Interestingly, John Neville and Guy St Clare also mainperned for Robert Marny in the same period: *CPR*, 1349-54, pp. 429 and 489-90.

<sup>215</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, pp. 583-5 and 611.

<sup>216</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, pp. 411-2 and 428.

<sup>217</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 21

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170; *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 613.

details the landed wealth of the male Pecche relatives in the wake of their father John's death: Nicholas held Hampton-in-Arden, valued at £36 13s and 2d but only worth 6d annually after expenses, along with the manor of Honiley, worth £4 5s 2d; the younger John Pecche's lands only amounted to the value of 77s; Edmund Pecche's were valued at £4 15s 10d, while another son Sir Thomas of Oxfordshire held lands valued at £6 13d a year.<sup>219</sup> There are also numerous records of debts owed by Nicholas and his father John, including £60 to Spanish merchants in 1331 that was still unpaid three years later, £300 to a London vintner in 1332, £46 14s 4d to a pair of London drapers in 1333, and £200 to a parson and vicar in 1335.<sup>220</sup> Nicholas was even temporarily detained in Newgate Prison due to an unpaid debt to a London skinner Henry de Northampton.<sup>221</sup>

It is possible that the financial problems of the Pecches originated with John the elder, if he is the same John Pecche who was associated with the earl of Kent's failed rebellion against the regime of Roger Mortimer.<sup>222</sup> In March 1330, a John and Nicholas Pecche were subsequently apprehended, along with many others on these charges, and John was required to forfeit all land he had previously held across the counties of Southampton, Gloucester, Warwick, Somerset and Dorset.<sup>223</sup> Although these were apparently returned to him later the same year after surrendering himself to the king's will,<sup>224</sup> afterwards there is little to no mention of any properties held by Nicholas or the two Johns outside of Warwickshire. At least some of the Pecches' criminal behaviour seemed to stem from desperation with their financial difficulties. However, it is also possible that these problems were due to a reckless temperament that ran in the family; John senior was already borrowing significant sums in the 1320s, even from his own sons,<sup>225</sup> and more than once found himself in trouble for breaking the law.<sup>226</sup> Nicholas was subsequently at the heart of more misdeeds, most notably a misadventure in Oxfordshire in which he collaborated with

---

<sup>219</sup> C 131/5/28.

<sup>220</sup> C 131/174/48, *CCR*, 1330-33, p. 309 and 1333-37, p. 308; C 131/174/71; C 241/105/123; C 241/106/253.

<sup>221</sup> *CCR*, 1333-37, p. 400.

<sup>222</sup> Andy King, 'The Death of Edward II Revisited', in *Fourteenth Century England XIV*, ed. by Gwilym Dodd and James Bothwell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), pp. 1-22 (pp. 2-10).

<sup>223</sup> *CFR*, 1327-37, pp. 168-9; *CCR*, 1330-33, pp. 32 and 52.

<sup>224</sup> *CCR*, 1330-33, p. 52.

<sup>225</sup> C 131/171/53 (£115, 1321); C 131/172/74 (60 marks, 1326); *CCR*, 1327-30, pp. 578-9 (£45, 1329).

<sup>226</sup> John Pecche apparently murdered a rent collector in 1325: *VCH Warwick*, 6, p. 80. In 1328 a commission of oyer and terminer also accused him of stealing horses and money from Thomas Blauncfort: *CPR*, 1327-30, p. 280. A commission of oyer and terminer from 1340 also names an Edmund and Ralph Pecche in a list of troublemakers trespassing and stealing livestock in Warwickshire: *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 486-7.

the abbot of Farthinghoe to steal no fewer than five hundred sheep from Ebulo Lestraunge.<sup>227</sup>

The above are far from the only examples of dubious behaviour by the knights in this study. Gilbert Chasteleyn, Ralph Basset of Sapcote and Hugh Badewe were among the many soldiers who needed to be pardoned at Calais in 1346-47.<sup>228</sup> Curiously, Theobald Trussell was pardoned in 1352 'at the immediate request' of Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, and needed another pardon in 1355 for debts and crimes.<sup>229</sup> William la Zouche was pardoned for outlawry twice in 1359 and 1365.<sup>230</sup> William Tallemache was forgiven for the death of John Gyle, and Chasteleyn received pardon of outlawry after non-appearance before the king 'touching an appeal of mayhem'.<sup>231</sup> Alexander Aunsel and members of the Lymbury family were accused of stealing timber from Robert Darcy's manor of Scott Willoughby in Lincolnshire.<sup>232</sup> John Seyton attacked the bailiff of York castle and stole £40, and at another time Richard Rawcliffe, Ralph Hastings and some of his kin were imprisoned at York for the murder of Edmund Darel.<sup>233</sup> Gervase Clifton, John Pecche, Robert Herle and Robert Marny all landed in trouble at various points for crimes described in phrases like 'homicides, felonies, robberies and trespasses', or 'exertions, oppressions and evils'.<sup>234</sup> Within Bohun's following, Robert Manteby, John FitzWalter, William Giffard, William Tallemache, Adam Swynbourne, Hugh Badewe and John Dengayne were all accused of trespass and theft.<sup>235</sup> In 1336, Dengayne was also accused of embezzling money from 100 marks given for the outfitting of hobelars.<sup>236</sup> Even some of the most responsible and trustworthy individuals were not always beyond reproach. Even the remarkable Thomas Cok had to be pardoned for non-appearance before justices in Somerset.<sup>237</sup> Though an energetic and trusted law enforcer throughout his life, John Leukenore's own commission of oyer and terminer in 1371 was halted because 'the said commission was procured in chancery by untrue suggestion'.<sup>238</sup> Lastly, Hugh Berewyk's valuable service to the king, Black Prince and Grosmont did not

---

<sup>227</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 65. For more of the misadventures and financial troubles of Nicholas and his kinsmen, see C 131/174/74; C 241/113/8; C 241/105/123; *CCR*, 1333-37, p. 308; 1341-43, pp. 249 and 640; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 378; 1338-40, pp. 486-7.

<sup>228</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, pp. 495, 520 and 526.

<sup>229</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 244; 1354-58, p. 260.

<sup>230</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 293; 1364-67, p. 119.

<sup>231</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, pp. 354-5.

<sup>232</sup> *CPR*, 1327-30, pp. 476 and 564.

<sup>233</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 289.

<sup>234</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 118 (Herle); 1345-48, p. 241 (Clifton); 1350-54, p. 352 (Pecche); *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 429 (Marny).

<sup>235</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 96-7. The misbehaviour of Badewe, FitzWalter and Marny in particular are detailed in Harris, 'Organised Crime', pp. 65-77.

<sup>236</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 373.

<sup>237</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 262-3.

<sup>238</sup> *CPR*, 1369-74, pp. 276-7.

prevent him from being temporarily imprisoned in 1354 for 'certain disobediences to the king', which he was subsequently required to answer for.<sup>239</sup>

The causes of criminal activity by household knights therefore seem to be varied. Financial difficulty and desperation were certainly factors in some cases, while personal enmity and altercations were at the root of others. Greed, powerful connections and a confidence in escaping any negative consequences is also apparent in some situations. Such confidence was sometimes justified, as evidenced by the pardons they received, which often came explicitly at the request of their lord.<sup>240</sup> As with the knights of Edward III himself, it seems that personal loyalty was more important than 'concerns over the absence of a lily-white reputation'.<sup>241</sup> However, any judgements on the integrity of the knights should be tempered by the knowledge that corruption was pervasive within the judicial system of the period: within this context, it is not so surprising that some men resorted to means outside of the law, either to seek redress for grievances or out of necessity to protect themselves.<sup>242</sup> Indeed, lordly protection was generally understood to be part of any relationship between a magnate and retainer.<sup>243</sup> Some figures were clearly more inclined to criminal behaviour than others but taken as a whole, gross abuses and misconduct were fairly uncommon.

Beyond considerations of financial status and conduct under the law, the backgrounds of a few knights were somewhat atypical. Frank van Halen stands out as the only significant household knight in the three followings who had foreign origins. Van Halen was from a family of money lenders based in Brabant and came across to England with Philippa of Hainault when she wedded Edward III.<sup>244</sup> He was knighted in 1331 and originally retained by Edward III, but joined Grosmont for his expedition to Aquitaine in 1345, where he was instrumental in Henry's military plans.<sup>245</sup> He received patronage from both Grosmont and the king, as well as the Black Prince.<sup>246</sup> It is easy to see parallels between van Halen and Walter Mauny, another figure from the Low Countries who arrived in England with Philippa's wedding entourage and who subsequently led a successful and lucrative career in soldiering.<sup>247</sup> Yet within the followings of Grosmont, Beauchamp and Bohun, he is unique as the only household bachelor not originally from England.

---

<sup>239</sup> CCR, 1349-54, p. 587; 1354-60, p. 57.

<sup>240</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 163-4 and 166-72.

<sup>241</sup> Candy, 'A Growing Trust', p. 56. For details on the misdemeanours of Edward's household knights, see Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 243-5.

<sup>242</sup> J. R. Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England', *Past and Present Supplement 4* (1978), pp. 1, 48, 50-1 and 81-2; Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348* (London: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 51.

<sup>243</sup> Keen, *English Society*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>244</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 174.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 122 and 124-5.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 174 and 290-1.

<sup>247</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 84, 123-4, 127 and 132-3.

There were, however, other men in the households who initially came from non-knightly backgrounds. Within the Grosmont following, the figure of Hugh Berewyk has received some attention, primarily in the context of his service to Grosmont,<sup>248</sup> but there has been no real exploration of his background prior to this. Berewyk apparently began as a legal professional; from the late 1320s he can be found acting as an attorney and justice for the crown and various private parties.<sup>249</sup> In 1337 he was referred to as the king's yeoman, and from 1339 began to undertake judicial duties for the household of the young Black Prince.<sup>250</sup> In 1341 he was appointed as the prince's justiciar of Chester and by the following year he was steward for the Duchy of Cornwall.<sup>251</sup> The South West and the prince's estates remained Berewyk's jurisdiction for a few years,<sup>252</sup> but by 1350 he was acting as a steward for Grosmont, in whose service he remained for the rest of Henry's life.<sup>253</sup> It is unclear when Berewyk was knighted, but he was labelled as one in April 1350 when mentioned as Grosmont's attorney.<sup>254</sup>

Another knight of non-knightly origin was Peter Favelore. From 1337 he appears in the historical record as a merchant, specifically of Newcastle, but his business must have frequently brought him to London.<sup>255</sup> In May 1337 he was one of several merchants lending money to the king, and from 1330 to 1341 he lent sums to various individuals who would levy collateral from Essex and London if they defaulted.<sup>256</sup> Favelore was serving William Bohun from at least 1337 when he was in the earl's retinue embarking for the Low Countries,<sup>257</sup> but it is again unclear when he achieved knighthood – Favlore appears with the title to his name in an undated protection warrant.<sup>258</sup> This was unlikely to have been before 1350, when he still appeared in witness lists after the knights named,<sup>259</sup> but throughout his time with the earl of Northampton he was one of Bohun's most trusted and favoured retainers.<sup>260</sup> Taken all together, it can be said that earls like Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun recruited their household bachelors from across the economic spectrum of fourteenth-century knighthood. Most came from families traditionally of knightly stock, but a

---

<sup>248</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont' I.

<sup>249</sup> C 131/3/29; SC 8/51/2523; *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 324; 1334-38, pp. 204, 529, 531 and 574; 1338-40, pp. 66, 70-1, 192, 278 and 281; 1340-43, pp. 321-2.

<sup>250</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 500; 1338-40, pp. 187, 351-3, 363 and 368; 1340-43, pp. 89-90.

<sup>251</sup> E 122/176/3; E 306/11/2; Green, 'Household', II, p. 190.

<sup>252</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 449, 456, 551, 553, 577, 581-2, 585-7 and 593.

<sup>253</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 358.

<sup>254</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 219.

<sup>255</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 385; *CCR*, 1337-39, pp. 562-3; 1339-41, pp. 134, 188, 284 and 417.

<sup>256</sup> *CCR*, 1327-30, p. 380; 1330-33, p. 120; 1337-39, pp. 108, 424 and 432; 1339-41, p. 465; 1341-43, p. 119.

<sup>257</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 531.

<sup>258</sup> C 81/1730.

<sup>259</sup> *CCR*, 1350-54, p. 478.

<sup>260</sup> For the service and patronage of Favelore to the earl, see Chapter 3 pp.120,122,124,126,135 and 140-3; Chapter 4, pp. 156-7.

handful earned their way into the ranks of chivalry after spending many years in the social orbits of these magnates.

### 1.3 *The 'Mechanics' of Recruitment*

This brings us to the matter of precisely how household knights were recruited and retained. Certain aspects of this remain unclear. Green has for instance noted that for the Black Prince, it is not known whether men beseeched him for membership in his household or if they were specifically sought out.<sup>261</sup> The same is true for the households considered here, though we may suppose that there was a mixture of the two; the 'sea of varying relationships' described by Holmes no doubt included a spectrum of different interpersonal dynamics,<sup>262</sup> and the purpose here will be to explore the ways that lords and knights could cross paths, and the means by which they were retained.

Recruitment into a noble household or military retinue has sometimes been discussed in terms of 'mechanics' or 'mechanism',<sup>263</sup> but it is important to delineate two separate aspects here: the circumstances that could lead to a knight's service in a particular household, and the tangible incentives that magnates used to employ their followers. Exploring both of these elements reveals a common set of retaining practices across the households in this study, though some patterns were more typical than others, and these varied according to the circumstances of each individual lord.

#### 1.3.1 *Avenues into the Household*

Among the background circumstances leading to recruitment, a small number of household knights served because they were relatives of the magnate in question. Examples can be found for Thomas Beauchamp and William Bohun, though no evidence of this exists for Henry of Grosmont. Henry had no male siblings, children or cousins to join his household, and none of his relatives by marriage became household knights. His sister Maud initially married the earl of Ulster William de Burgh, while his daughters eventually married the Duke of Bavaria and John of Gaunt,<sup>264</sup> all figures too important to serve in his household, and two of them based outside of the realm. Likewise, there is no evidence that his wife Isabella Beaumont's male relatives, his sister Maud's second husband Ralph Ufford, or his sons-in-law John of Gaunt and Ralph, son of Ralph Stafford ever featured in Henry's retinue or as his charter witnesses.<sup>265</sup> A case could be made that Grosmont's brother-in-law Thomas

---

<sup>261</sup> Green, 'Politics and Service', p. 55.

<sup>262</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79.

<sup>263</sup> Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', p. 13; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 126-7; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 156; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 23.

<sup>264</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 449; Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster', *ODNB*.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*.

Wake of Lidell, husband of Henry's sister Blanche,<sup>266</sup> was considered part of Henry's household, but the evidence is not extensive: Grosmont nominated him for a commission of oyer and terminer in 1338, and he joined Henry for his diplomatic mission to Spain in 1343.<sup>267</sup> A Thomas Wake also served in Grosmont's retinue in 1345 and 1347, but it remains doubtful that this was the same man.<sup>268</sup>

There were some kinsmen in the following of William Bohun, most notably his own brothers Oliver and Edmund. Both served repeatedly in William's military retinue from at least 1337 to 1347, though before and after these dates are also possible judging from their appearance in several undated protection warrants.<sup>269</sup> Oliver was a witness for at least one of Northampton's charters.<sup>270</sup> Unfortunately, the younger Bohuns are otherwise somewhat obscure. The earl's son Humphrey, who was around twenty years old at the time of Bohun's death in 1360,<sup>271</sup> does not seem to have been active in his father's military retinue and was still the king's ward when he obtained permission for pilgrimage at the start of 1362.<sup>272</sup> Thomas Dagworth was also a relative, wedded to the earl's sister Eleanor by 1344,<sup>273</sup> but he had already been part of the earl's household since at least the Low Countries mission of 1337.<sup>274</sup>

Regarding Beauchamp's men, it is likely that Thomas Asteleye's status as Beauchamp's brother-in-law influenced his membership in the household, but in Asteleye's case this would have been only one of several determining factors.<sup>275</sup> Other relatives included John and William Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick's brother and son, although as kin to the earl their involvement as household bachelors was somewhat atypical. William joined the household at a late stage in his father's life, which is why there is relatively little evidence for his participation. Similarly, John Beauchamp was occasionally active in his brother's household and the two seem to have had an amicable relationship,<sup>276</sup> but it is apparent that John's participation was sporadic. He has also been identified as a household knight of Edward III, and was not more frequently evident in Warwick's retinue because

---

<sup>266</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 14.

<sup>267</sup> C 81/291; CPR, 1338-40, p. 145.

<sup>268</sup> E 101/25/9; C 76/22. Gribit supposes this to be a relative of Wake of Lidell but not the same man: *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 332.

<sup>269</sup> C 76/12; C 76/15; C 76/20; C 76/22; C 81/1730; C 81/1734; CPR, 1334-38, p. 530; CCR, 1346-49, p. 279.

<sup>270</sup> CCR, 1343-46, p. 230.

<sup>271</sup> CIPM, 1352-61, p. 524.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., p. 524; CPR, 1361-64, p. 173. There is, for instance, no mention of him in William Bohun's company in 1355 or 1359: C 76/33; C 76/37.

<sup>273</sup> CCR, 1343-46, pp. 300 and 491.

<sup>274</sup> CPR, 1334-38, p. 531.

<sup>275</sup> See below, p. 67.

<sup>276</sup> C 71/16; C 81/1750; E 101/20/17; BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 15r-15v, 39r; CPR, 1345-48, p. 288; Bothwell, 'John Beauchamp', p. 255.

being the brother of a prominent magnate, and a capable individual in his own right, meant that he was often busy in other capacities or heading his own retinue.<sup>277</sup> Another ambiguous example is Beauchamp's cousin Roger: occasionally witness to the earl's charters, his general attorney and even one of the executors of his will, but also identified as a household knight of the king, sometime captain of Calais and a leader of his own retinues.<sup>278</sup>

Regional proximity and a family tradition of service was a much more common avenue of recruitment. A particularly robust pattern is apparent for the house of Lancaster. The families of (Ralph) Asteleye, Audley, Blount, Bures, Colville, Darcy, Ferrers, Florak, Grey of Codnor, Hastynges, Lestraunge, Longford, Meynill, Nevill, Scargill, Trussell, Twyford, Verdoun and Walkyngton all had members in the service of Thomas of Lancaster or Henry senior before their scions became household knights to Henry of Grosmont.<sup>279</sup> In turn, many of Grosmont's knights or members of their family continued to serve his successor John of Gaunt.<sup>280</sup>

The same pattern can be seen elsewhere. In Beauchamp's following, Thomas Asteleye, the Pecche brothers, William Breton, John Golafre, William Lucy, Peter Montfort and John Clinton all came from families with a history of serving the earls of Warwick.<sup>281</sup> Similarly, John Botetourt, William Breton, Baldwin Freville, Fulk Birmingham and Ralph Basset of Drayton remained in the affinity of the earl's son and successor, acting as witnesses and associates of the younger Thomas and his following.<sup>282</sup>

Likewise, out of William Bohun's knights, it is known that Thomas Mandeville and members of the Scrope family continued in the service of his son Humphrey.<sup>283</sup> Mandeville was even granted the wardship of all the Bohun estates in Essex following Humphrey's death in 1373.<sup>284</sup> Further examples might be expected but as noted earlier, several of the most important Bohun household knights either predeceased Earl William or died very soon after him. There were in all probability other surviving men who also had associations with the young Earl Humphrey, but these are not immediately apparent from the sources

---

<sup>277</sup> C 76/33; C 76/37; Bothwell, 'John Beauchamp of Warwick', pp. 250-3 and 261; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 71 and 77.

<sup>278</sup> CCR, 1360-64, p. 550; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 80; C 61/76; C 76/33; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 71, 77 and 168.

<sup>279</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 721-3 and 725; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 28.

<sup>280</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I pp. 721-3 and 725; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 25, 28-9, 264, 266-7, 270-1, 275-6, 278, 280, 286, 289-90 and 294. The families were: Aberbury, Berewyk, Blount, Burton, Camoys, Cantilupe, Clifton, Cokayne, Derby, FitzSimon, Gernoun, Grey of Codnor, van Halen, Hastynges, Haveryng, Longford, Luttrell, de la Mare, Marmyon, Metham, Mohun, Nevill, Neumarche, Paynel, de la Pole, Rawcliffe, Roos, Saville, le Scrope, Seton, Sulny, Swynford and Ufford.

<sup>281</sup> Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 167, 174; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 8.

<sup>282</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 21r, 103, 93r; CCR, 1369-74, p. 430; CPR, 1374-77, p. 474; 1377-81, pp. 49, 329; Gundy, *Rebel Earl*, pp. 53, 71, 121.

<sup>283</sup> CPR, 1370-74, p. 93.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 476.

considered here. The tendency for successive generations within a family to serve the same houses or regional lords is also apparent among the retainers of Edward III and the Black Prince,<sup>285</sup> but each lord and retainer ultimately formed their own relationships.<sup>286</sup> An arrangement of service between a magnate and a household knight had to be agreed upon by both men; family traditions of service could be an influence, but each lord and retainer were individuals and made individual choices. For example, it was not unusual for the link between comital and gentry families to skip a generation, either because the knight established connections with other lords and affinities, or because he remained largely unaffiliated with any. This can, for instance, be seen in Thomas Beauchamp's following: Caroline Burt has identified figures in the families of Pixham, Saltmarsh, Vaux, Austyn, Sidenhale, Porter and Sutton who were associated with Thomas's father or grandfather, Guy and William.<sup>287</sup> However, no men from these families featured significantly in Thomas's own following.

Connected with the matter of family tradition is the question of whether or not land tenure necessitated or acted as a gateway to household service. While this could have been another factor in recruitment, it is often difficult to verify whether this preceded or followed service.<sup>288</sup> Evidence for this is certainly limited for the knights of William Bohun. The 1336 inquisition post mortem for his brother John, as the earl of Hereford and Essex, does not reveal the names of any of Earl William's men or their kin holding property of the Bohun family, or vice versa.<sup>289</sup> Likewise, aside from a set of enfeoffments made before his death, William's own inquisition post mortem in 1360 does not indicate any household knights holding land of him.<sup>290</sup> Instead, a few tenuous examples can be found in the inquisition for the earl's father-in-law Bartholomew Badlesmere. The Badlesmere inheritance included land and rent in West Greenwich, Kent, held of the heirs of Geoffrey de Say, which was later in Bohun's possession via the inheritance of his wife Elizabeth, one of the Badlesmere co-heiresses.<sup>291</sup> The Badlesmere estate also included half a knight's fee in Kent held by the heirs of John Northwood, half a knight's fee in Suffolk held by John Shardlow, and two Shropshire hamlets held of the Corbets of Morton.<sup>292</sup> If these had once been in Bohun's possession, they were no longer at the time of his death, and none of these knights were among those most prominently associated with the earl of Northampton. Yet there remains

---

<sup>285</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 185; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 25; Ayton, 'Aristocracy', pp. 173-4; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 78; Green 'Household', I, pp. 246, 255 and 264-6.

<sup>286</sup> Coss, *Foundations*, p. 73; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 19.

<sup>287</sup> Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 167-176.

<sup>288</sup> King, 'Henry Beaumont', p. 85.

<sup>289</sup> *CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 25-9.

<sup>290</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 523-30. For the enfeoffments, see Chapter 3, pp. 143-4.

<sup>291</sup> *CIPM*, 1327-36, pp. 90-4.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*

the possibility, however slight, that their acquaintance with the earl began through a tenurial connection. It may be that in trying to recruit a sufficient military retinue, Bohun resorted to connections via land tenure after drawing on more immediate personal ties.

In the case of the Warwick following the best gauge is the inquisition post mortem for Earl Guy in 1315, indicating which knightly families held land of the earl when Thomas Beauchamp was still in his infancy. This reveals that Asteleye held a knight's fee in Whitington, and the Warwickshire lands he inherited from his uncle were held on the condition that Nicholas Asteleye would hold Earl Guy's stirrup whenever he mounted his horse.<sup>293</sup> Montfort held a number of properties in the counties of Warwick, Oxford and Rutland;<sup>294</sup> Ralph Basset of Sapcote held portions of knight's fees in Dorset and Warwickshire;<sup>295</sup> John Pecche held a quarter of a knight's fee in Whitacre and Clinton held knight's fees at Amygton and Wotton Hulle, Warwickshire;<sup>296</sup> lastly, John Beauchamp held a fee at Holt in Worcestershire.<sup>297</sup> With these men, we might speculate that service owed from land tenure was the primary reason for their recruitment, but this is ultimately uncertain. John Beauchamp was a relative, while Montfort, Pecche, Asteleye and Clinton already had a family precedent of service. Asteleye was also Earl Thomas's brother-in-law.<sup>298</sup> Basset may have come to Warwick's attention through their feudal connection, but his holdings of the earl were very meagre.

Evidence that the knights of Grosmont came into his service through a tenurial connection is similarly sparse. The de la Poles held land at Maidenwell in Lincolnshire of Grosmont's father, and the Cusance family held the Gloucestershire manor of Down Ampney in the same way.<sup>299</sup> Men from both families eventually served in Grosmont's retinue, but neither was strongly affiliated with him. There was a stronger tie to the Cliftons and the Greys; the Grey family held the Derbyshire manor of Stafford in Dale of the elder Henry, and Gervase Clifton's father Robert held Broughton in Staffordshire of Earl Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>300</sup> Again, though, tenancy under the Lancaster lords was not necessarily the reason, or principal reason, why knights from these families joined the Grosmont household. In sum then, it is doubtful that many household knights of Grosmont, Beauchamp or Bohun entered their service specifically because they were already tenants of the earls. A similar observation has been made for the following of the Black Prince, in which 'land in return for

---

<sup>293</sup> *CIPM*, 1307-16, p. 408.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 402 and 404.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 402 and 405.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 404-5.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>298</sup> Guy Beauchamp bequeathed the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth in 1315 to Thomas Asteleye: *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 54.

<sup>299</sup> *CIPM*, 1336-47, pp. 430 and 448.

<sup>300</sup> *CIPM*, 1327-36, pp. 62 and 164.

service was not a common arrangement'.<sup>301</sup> This stands in apparent contrast to the earl of Suffolk Robert Ufford: while family relations and a tradition of service were also factors in Ufford's recruitment, as one of Edward III's 'new men' he needed to rely more heavily on the tenurial associations he gained from the lands provided for him following his promotion to the earldom of Suffolk.<sup>302</sup>

Some knights were recruited following the death of their previous lord.<sup>303</sup> John Lymbury had served under Henry Beaumont, but following the latter's death in 1340, Lymbury's son Philip went on to become one of Grosmont's most important men.<sup>304</sup> The same can be said of Richard Rawcliffe, John Bosun, and the Swynford and Aunsel families, who were also tenants and followers of the Beaumonts.<sup>305</sup> Baldwin Freville campaigned with William Montague in 1342, later switching to the retinue of William Clinton for the Crécy campaign after Montague's death, and then after Clinton died in 1354 he joined the earl of Warwick for the Aquitaine campaigns in 1355 and 1356.<sup>306</sup> Fulk Birmingham joined Beauchamp's household at the same time, having previously served in Clinton's retinue.<sup>307</sup> In these and other cases, it appears that some of the more enthusiastic soldiers found their way into a particular following, sometimes indefinitely, because they were in need of a new retinue captain to campaign with.

Alternatively, some men entered the household at a younger age, beginning as esquires or even wards. Ralph III Basset of Drayton, Roger Clifford and John Clinton of Maxstoke all began as wards under the protection of Thomas Beauchamp.<sup>308</sup> All three served in Beauchamp's retinue for the Poitiers campaign,<sup>309</sup> two acted as witnesses for the earl's charters,<sup>310</sup> and Clifford eventually married Maud, one of Beauchamp's daughters.<sup>311</sup> Among the esquires, noteworthy examples include another Ralph Basset,<sup>312</sup> William Lucy and Gilbert Chasteleyn. Basset and Lucy debuted in Beauchamp's military retinue in Scotland, before they and Chasteleyn accompanied Warwick for the defence of Southampton in the summer of 1339.<sup>313</sup> All three went on to become stalwarts of the

---

<sup>301</sup> Green, 'Household', I, pp. 15 and 286.

<sup>302</sup> Franke, 'Robert Ufford', pp. 23-4.

<sup>303</sup> Green, 'Complement and Characteristics', pp. 361-3; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 104.

<sup>304</sup> *CIPM*, 1365-70, p. 294.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292; 1392-99, pp. 284-91.

<sup>306</sup> C 76/17; C 76/22; C 61/17.

<sup>307</sup> C 76/20; C 61/67.

<sup>308</sup> *CCR*, 1345-47, p. 525 (Clinton); E 42/160; *CCR*, 1341-43, pp. 248, 411, 568 (Basset); *CPR*, 1345-48, pp. 58 and 96 (Clifford).

<sup>309</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 241; C 61/67. Though Basset is actually mentioned as being in Prince Edward's retinue, he almost certainly came to the latter's attention via Beauchamp as their mutual acquaintance. See Chapter 5 for more on connections within and between the great households.

<sup>310</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 106 (Clinton) and 149r (Basset); *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 288 (Basset).

<sup>311</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 78.

<sup>312</sup> Very likely Ralph Basset of Sapcote.

<sup>313</sup> C 71/17; E 101/19/36; E 101/20/17; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

Warwick following, serving the earl more than most in both war and peace.<sup>314</sup> Nicholas Golafre was a later example, joining Beauchamp for the Rheims campaign before going on crusade with him in 1364.<sup>315</sup> By the time of the earl's final campaign in 1369-70, Golafre had achieved knighthood and was still serving in Warwick's retinue.<sup>316</sup>

Several of Henry of Grosmont's longest-serving and most dependable retainers also began as esquires. Edmund Everard, Nicholas Gernoun, Alured Sulny and Theobald Trussell can all be identified in Grosmont's retinue before they reached knighthood. The latter three fought with Henry as early as the 1336 campaign in Scotland, while Everard had joined by the time of the first expeditions in the Low Countries.<sup>317</sup> Although Gernoun did not campaign many times, all were to become long-serving knights of the following.<sup>318</sup>

Knights of William Bohun who began in his service as esquires appear to be more numerous than for those of the other earls. These included Thomas Dagworth, Peter Favelore, John FitzWalter, William Ireland, Thomas Mandeville, Robert Marny, Hugh Neville and William Tallemache.<sup>319</sup> Again, all were among the most frequent participants in the earl of Northampton's military retinue, as well as recipients of his trust and patronage.<sup>320</sup> Though it may be an illusion of the surviving sources, it is tempting to suppose that this is reflective of Bohun's later arrival into the ranks of the leading nobility.<sup>321</sup> As a relatively new magnate, it is plausible that Bohun had less pre-established authority and fewer social connections, in which case it may be that some of his more enduring household knights came from a pool of young esquires, most of them based in the Bohun heartland of Essex and more easily recruited than established men with little or no prior association to the earl.

### 1.3.2 *Instruments of Recruitment*

There was a common set of methods involved in recruiting men, but when and how much they were used could vary slightly between the different lords. An obvious point of departure for this is to consider the role of indentures. The use of indented contracts as a recruiting tool was becoming more common during the period. For instance, whereas compulsory,

---

<sup>314</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 90, 101, 113 and 117, and Chapter 3, pp. 127-8, 130 and 132-3 for more on the activity of these men.

<sup>315</sup> C 76/37; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, Crusade*, p. 124. It is probable that Nicholas was the son of John Golafre, who served Beauchamp in the 1330s.

<sup>316</sup> C 76/52.

<sup>317</sup> C 76/12; E 36/204, fol. 86v (Everard); E 101/15/12 (Gernoun, Sulny and Trussell).

<sup>318</sup> Gernoun can be found twice, in 1336 and 1349-50; Everard, Sulny and Trussell all fought under Grosmont four or more times over twenty five years: E 101/15/12; C 76/12; C 76/17; C 76/20; E 101/25/9; C 76/26; C 76/33; C 76/34; C 76/38.

<sup>319</sup> All of those mentioned can be found listed among the esquires for Bohun's retinue one or several times in C 81/1734.

<sup>320</sup> These names feature strongly in the evidence for William Bohun's men in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

<sup>321</sup> While Grosmont was only created an earl in the same parliament as Bohun, he had already been acting as the virtual head of the house of Lancaster in lieu of his blind father.

unpaid war service was still in use in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, by the 1330s this was gradually replaced by indentures, and when Edward III's war with France resumed in 1369 they had largely replaced other forms of troop recruitment.<sup>322</sup> Specific contracts were also drawn up between the king and his army captains and lieutenants, detailing the parameters of their role, the number of troops they would bring and how long they would serve. Such was the case when the earl of Warwick was enlisted by the young Black Prince and his regency council to protect Southampton in the summer of 1339.<sup>323</sup> Likewise, indentures were drafted between Edward III and the various retinue captains for campaigns in Scotland, as well as with Grosmont and Bohun for their 1345 lieutenancies in Aquitaine and Brittany.<sup>324</sup>

Indentures could thus be used as a method of retaining, either as short-term military contracts or as life indentures for service in war and peace. However, there is broad agreement within scholarship that they were not common. Though there could be an overlap between the two, indentured retainers were not always individuals with a significant personal attachment to their lord.<sup>325</sup> They also did not serve as a replacement for other recruiting strategies but were merely the most formalised and obvious evidence of an agreement.<sup>326</sup> Moreover, they did not necessarily create new relationships but rather formalise existing ones.<sup>327</sup> This was certainly true for a number of magnates heavily involved in military pursuits. Edward III and the Black Prince did not typically retain household knights by indenture,<sup>328</sup> and of the five known indentures made by Henry of Grosmont, only three of them were used to retain knights: Ralph Hastings, Norman Swynford and Edmund Ufford.<sup>329</sup> In the case of Thomas Beauchamp and William Bohun there is only one surviving indenture of retainer, for Robert Herle in 1339 and William Tallemache in 1340 respectively, so it is doubtful whether these earls made frequent use of them either. This is especially so because the knights were only retained by indenture after already entering their service: they can both be found in the earls' retinues for campaigns from 1337, and Tallemache had been a charter witness alongside Bohun and his brothers in 1334.<sup>330</sup> We might speculate that their

---

<sup>322</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 35-6.

<sup>323</sup> Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/2.

<sup>324</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 171 and 181; Candy, 'Scottish Wars', pp. 87-8, 157 and 262.

<sup>325</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 32; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>326</sup> See for example Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 12-3; Coss, *Knight*, p. 116; Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', p. 61; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 9; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 20-1; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 69; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 9; Green, 'Complement and Characteristics', p. 366; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 156-60.

<sup>327</sup> Coss, *Knight*, p. 116.

<sup>328</sup> Green, 'Household', I, pp. 21, 24 and 46; idem., 'Politics and Service', pp. 55-6; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 31.

<sup>329</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 181; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 156-8.

<sup>330</sup> E 101/20/17; BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r (Herle); C 76/13; *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 310; *1334-38*, p. 530 (Tallemache).

contracts signal a transition from the temporary military retinue to more permanent membership in the household, but we cannot be very sure without other contracts under the same earls.

Nonetheless, it is useful to look at indentures as an indication for some of the conditions involved in a knight's recruitment and retaining. An original copy of Grosmont's indenture with Swynford or Hastings does not seem to have survived, but the Swynford agreement can be inferred from Grosmont's letter to the chancellor in 1347 explaining that Swynford is staying with him, and therefore should not have his lands confiscated for not serving on campaign in Northern France with the king.<sup>331</sup> His 1347 indenture with Edmund Ufford stated that Ufford 'soit demorre ovesque nous de nous servir a toute sa vie, en guerre et en pees'.<sup>332</sup> Bohun's contract with Tallemache similarly states that the latter 'est demoure au nos p[ur] pees et p[ur] guerre p[ar] tote sa vie'.<sup>333</sup> Beauchamp's indenture likewise states that Herle 'est dem[ou]re dev[er]s le dit count' and, tellingly, adds that he will serve Warwick 'come un autr[e] bacheler de son hostel'.<sup>334</sup> The description of serving for life was more of a legal idiom than a literal truth, but this along with the verb *demourer* indicates the relationship is to be ongoing rather than an agreement of temporary campaign service. Herle's membership in Beauchamp's household was in return for certain land the earl had given him – this is the subject of an adjacent charter in the Beauchamp Cartulary, stating that Herle is to be given all of the earl's land and rent in Lang Newton and Newsam, Warwickshire.<sup>335</sup> Likewise, the Tallemache indenture confirmed that the latter's stay with Northampton was in return for the earl granting him Lashley manor in Essex.<sup>336</sup> Alternatively, Grosmont's indenture with Ufford indicates that the knight is being retained for an annuity of 40 marks drawn from the earl's manor of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire.<sup>337</sup> This is stated as a grant for Ufford's past and future good service, suggesting that this was both a reward and a retaining inducement. It may be then that simply the prospect of attractive rewards and patronage was an initial recruitment tool for household knights.

The Ufford indenture also states that he will receive Grosmont's livery in the same manner as other knights, signifying his membership in Henry's household. Curiously, the Tallemache and Herle contracts do not explicitly state that the knights will receive the earls' livery. This nonetheless was probably part of the agreement. It is clear from wardrobe accounts and other indentures that lords typically used the distribution of robes as part of

---

<sup>331</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 675-7 and II, p. 65.

<sup>332</sup> DL 27/155; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 63-5.

<sup>333</sup> DL 25/32.

<sup>334</sup> BL MS Add 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> DL 25/32.

<sup>337</sup> BL 27/155.

their recruitment,<sup>338</sup> and as the Herle agreement does specify livery for horses it would be strange if this was not extended to the man himself. The granting of robes was most likely understood as a given and therefore not stated in the terms, and while earlier indentures normally stipulated such items, by the end of the century they had ceased to be mentioned.<sup>339</sup>

Grosmont seems to have used both land grants and annuities to recruit at some of his men. The use of land for this can be inferred from the timing of the grants and when the knights entered his service. Hugh Berewyk and Hugh Camoys joined Henry's household by 1349 or 1350; in 1350 Camoys was granted the manor of Longstock in Hampshire, and a year later Berewyk was pardoned by the king for acquiring Grosmont's manors of Esgarton and Lavington Chaworth without licence.<sup>340</sup> As evidenced by the Ufford indenture, annuities could also be involved in retaining household knights. These were perhaps more typical for Grosmont, as several more examples of can be found for his following. Robert Bertram received £20 out of Dunstanburgh castle in his native Northumberland.<sup>341</sup> Nicholas Gernoun and Thomas Hereford both received the same from the Norfolk manor of Tunstead, while Neil Loring had £20 out of Gimingham in the same county.<sup>342</sup> Frank van Halen's £20 annuity came from King's Sombourne in Hampshire.<sup>343</sup> In addition to Ufford, Grosmont used the manor of High Ferrers to award John Seyton £20.<sup>344</sup> Thomas Verdoun and Reginald Mohun likewise received £20 out of Raunds in Northamptonshire and Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire respectively.<sup>345</sup> The eminent Thomas Uvedale actually received £40 out of Methwold in Norfolk, while John Twyford and Richard Shelton had the more modest sums of 20 marks and 10 marks out of Hinkley in Leicestershire.<sup>346</sup> Thomas Florak received 10 marks as well, and John Blount was given a meagre £1 10s from the farms of Tutbury honour.<sup>347</sup> It is unclear when exactly Henry set up these annuities, so it is not possible to say for certain whether they were specifically retaining inducements or rewards for service. Yet as shown by the Ufford indenture, they could have been both, and it is likely that at least some of these annuities were deliberate recruiting tools.

Conversely, no similar arrangements can be found for Bohun or Beauchamp. Herle was given Beauchamp's land and rent in Lang Newton and Newsam in its entirety rather

---

<sup>338</sup> For example, Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 23-4, 37-8, 40, 42, 44-5, 47-50 and 52-3; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 30-1 and 264; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 234.

<sup>339</sup> Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 23-4.

<sup>340</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 573; 1350-54, p. 146.

<sup>341</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 101.

<sup>342</sup> DL 29/288/4719 (Hereford and Loring); *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 16 (Gernoun).

<sup>343</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 95.

<sup>344</sup> DL 41/10/34.

<sup>345</sup> DL 28/32/17 (Verdoun); DL 41/10/34 (Mohun).

<sup>346</sup> DL 29/288/4719 (Uvedale); DL 28/32/17, fol. 31v (Twyford); DL 41/10/34 (Shelton).

<sup>347</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 8 (Florak); DL 28/32/17, fol. 13r (Blount).

than an annual sum derived from the property. Rather than annuities, it was more likely that Warwick and Northampton retained their household knights using land grants. Evidence for Bohun's men is limited, as his land grants to them are generally from several years after their first service with the earl. In 1343 the earl granted Peter Favelore the Dorset manor of Gussage, but he had been campaigning with Northampton since at least 1337.<sup>348</sup> Likewise, William Ireland received half the Essex manor of Margaret Roding for life in 1346, but was in Bohun's retinue as early as 1338.<sup>349</sup> Unless these too were intended for past and future service, it is difficult to say that these specific grants were used for recruiting the men.

Evidence for the earl of Warwick is more decisive, as we can compare the inquisition post mortem of Warwick's father and predecessor Guy with the list of knight's fees in the Beauchamp Cartulary.<sup>350</sup> This indicates shifts in the land holding of Earl Thomas's household knights, providing some clue as to property he granted them. In Warwickshire, Thomas Asteleye, Peter Montfort, Nicholas Pecche, John Clinton and Ralph Basset still held knight's fees in Beauchamp's adulthood, but some of their holdings had altered: Clinton's fee had changed to Smithfield, Montfort gained Uppingham in Rutland, Pecche's land was now Wormeletton instead of Whitacre, and Basset had also received fees in Morton, Rokeby and Gilvey.<sup>351</sup> In addition, William Lucy was granted land at Wynginghull, Richard Whitacre at Whitacre and Elinedon, and Robert Bracy held a fee in Worcestershire.<sup>352</sup> Beauchamp's Oxfordshire manor of Spelsbury, inherited following his father's death, was also later in the possession of John Leukenore, who released it back to Warwick in 1344.<sup>353</sup> Similarly, John Lysours was not holding any land of the earl in 1315, but several decades later his humble inquisition post mortem reveals a messuage and carucate of land held of Beauchamp in Sutton Coldfield,<sup>354</sup> a key Warwickshire manor in the earldom's estates. The picture we are left with indicates that the giving of land – either to hold of the earl or possess in their own right – was a prominent part of how Beauchamp recruited knights into his household.

The absence of annuities from some magnates is curious, and appears to be deliberate. In the inquisitions post mortem for the earls of Warwick, Oxford or Northampton, no annuities are mentioned; while it is possible that the inquisitions do not provide an absolute account of the earls' interests, it nonetheless stands in contrast with the inquisition

---

<sup>348</sup> DL 36/1.

<sup>349</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 70.

<sup>350</sup> Such compilations of knight's fees and other honorial dues being held by tenants were still being kept by most magnates even in the fifteenth century, suggesting that this aspect of 'feudalism' did not outright perish in the Late Middle Ages: James Ross, 'The English Aristocracy and Mesne Feudalism in the Late Middle Ages', *EHR*, 133 (2018), 1027-59 (pp. 1034-6).

<sup>351</sup> BL MS Add. 28024 fols. 190r-93r.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>353</sup> *CChR, 1341-1417*, p. 24; BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 14r.

<sup>354</sup> C 135/216/16.

for the duke of Lancaster, which mentions several annuities.<sup>355</sup> An entry for 1343 in the Close Rolls is also telling in this regard. The earl of Gloucester Hugh Audley had granted lands to Robert Bouchier worth £100 'for his stay' with the earl, but Audley took back control of these as Bouchier instead 'made stay with the king'; by way of compensation to Bouchier, Edward therefore granted him a life annuity of the same value from the issues of the hanaper.<sup>356</sup> Hefferan has noted that Edward III typically used annuities as a way of rewarding rather than recruiting his own knights, and Bouchier does not appear in Hefferan's list of the king's household knights.<sup>357</sup> It is uncertain whether Bouchier was technically being retained as a bachelor of the king's household, but the example illustrates that Edward did bestow annuities on his men where many of the earls did not.

It is conspicuous that it was the very wealthiest magnates in this period, like the king, the Black Prince and the dukes of Lancaster, who made regular use of annuities to either recruit or reward their men.<sup>358</sup> The earls of Warwick, Northampton and Oxford certainly must have had sufficient resources to afford the granting of annuities to at least some followers; that they apparently did not suggests a particular policy regarding lordship was at work. It could be that annuities were often a useful alternative for the aforementioned royal and ducal lords because they needed to provide patronage to a larger array of followers than even the earls. Whereas the latter parcelled off some of their lands for loyal retainers and associates to use at their discretion, the king, prince and Lancastrian lords may have wanted to keep a tighter control over their estates if this meant that revenues could be used more efficiently to pay multiple annuitants. Doing so may have been useful if they were expected to exercise patronage to a wider array of followers.

Another possibility is that it reflects a longer tradition of family practices. In the surviving indentures for Grosmont's grandfather Thomas of Lancaster, the latter typically retained his men by granting them an annuity, ranging from 10 marks to £40 depending on the individual.<sup>359</sup> Grosmont's father likewise retained using annuities; Philip Darcy in 1327 for 40 marks and Philip of Castle Martin in 1333 for 17½ marks.<sup>360</sup> In this context, it makes sense that Grosmont would follow the same policy as his predecessors in the House of Lancaster. The evidence for Bohun's father Humphrey is more mixed. Of three surviving indentures, one involved a grant of land in Annandale, one an annuity of 20 marks and one

---

<sup>355</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 513-30; 1365-70, pp. 303-12.

<sup>356</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 61.

<sup>357</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 264.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 264-7; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 19-22 and 157-9; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 20-2.

<sup>359</sup> Thomas Lovel for 20 marks; Adam Swillington for £40; Hugh Meynill for 10 marks; John d'Eure for 40 marks; William Latimer actually received the Lincolnshire manor of Sedgebrook as well as 20 marks: Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 56-61; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>360</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 63-5 and 68-9.

made no mention of any grant.<sup>361</sup> We have no surviving indentures by Beauchamp's father Guy, so we do not know how he operated in this regard; we only have the suggestion from Burt's analysis of his charter witnesses that most of the earl's closest associates did not hold land of him.<sup>362</sup> However, we do know that annuities were in fact used by Beauchamp's son and successor, usually granting 20 marks to men of knightly status.<sup>363</sup> It seems from this that Beauchamp himself was indeed following a specific policy in the use of land grants over annuities, with the son more typically resorting to a flat cash payment for his followers instead of the father's tendency to issue manors and knight's fees.

There has been considerable debate about the origins and decline of 'feudalism' and 'bastard feudalism', primarily because of differing definitions. If 'feudal' practice can be taken to mean retaining followers for service via the granting of land, and 'bastard feudal' as the use of written contracts, fees and payment in kind, then it is clear that earls in the reign of Edward III used a mixture of the two. What we see in the recruitment practices of these magnates appears to be a combination of preference and family precedent within a larger shift in retaining practices over the course of Late Middle Ages. Annuities were more variable and sometimes conspicuously large in the early fourteenth century, became smaller and more standardised by the late fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century they were notably small, often token sums to indicate allegiance and employment.<sup>364</sup> In the middle of this process, the mid-fourteenth century, we find earls like Audley, Beauchamp and Bohun using land grants to recruit or retain at least some of their men, rather than annuities. Their decision to do so may have been a reflection of their relative position within the higher nobility, or more simply a matter of their own preference in how to exercise lordship.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has explored the membership of knights in the households of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun, tracing the development of their followings over the course of their adult lives and investigating their geographical makeup. Their household knights originated from a range of different places, but each following had distinct regional characteristics. Beauchamp's knights were predominantly men of the West Midlands, from Warwickshire and its neighbouring counties. Grosmont's household was largely drawn from the East Midlands and Yorkshire, but with a smaller contingent coming from a block of counties in the south and south west. The great majority of Bohun's men were of Essex, with some ties to other south eastern counties, but curiously there was also a

---

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., pp. 48, 50 and 61-2.

<sup>362</sup> Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 175-6.

<sup>363</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 91.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., pp. 92-3; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 24-5.

section of the following based in the very north: Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland. If we can permit the use of the term 'county community' to describe a sense of shared identity and belonging to a particular region, then we can perhaps conclude that the households of these three magnates were something of a melting pot for different 'county communities': shared identities of county belonging coincided with a shared identity of membership in their lord's household.

The distribution of the earls' estates can explain some of these regional characteristics, as many knights were probably recruited through the vertical ties of regional lordship: in counties where a magnate held substantial property, he would have had more opportunities to associate with the local gentry; knights who were interested in seeking lordly patronage or retinue captains would be more likely to join his following; in areas where the comital family had been well established for generations, there was often a precedent for members of certain gentry families to provide them with service; holding land of the lord could be another way that the men came into contact, though decisive evidence for this is not apparent. However, horizontal ties also affected recruitment and membership in the households. In particular, the kinsmen and county neighbours of household knights could themselves be added to the earls' following. This could account for the involvement of some individual men, as well as the geographical makeup of the households. It appears likely for instance that the East Anglian connection in Grosmont's household, and the northern element of the Bohun following, were due to the connections of a few important knights in their service.

The knights themselves varied in their backgrounds from wealthy and eminent bannerets to men of very modest means who were drawn from the lower end of knighthood's economic ladder. Indeed, their fortunes could vary significantly over the course of their lives. They varied also in their disposition. Some men clearly possessed a somewhat dubious character, while others like John Leukenore, Hugh Berewyk and John Dengayne appear in the historical record as remarkably upstanding and dependable figures, though even these individuals sometimes courted trouble. Many were from long-established knightly families, but a few seem to have come from commercial or legal backgrounds. In the case of Beauchamp, a few men began as wards within the earl's household. Some, particularly in Bohun's following, served as esquires for a long time before eventually attaining knighthood.

In terms of the actual tools used in the earls' recruiting of household knights, useful evidence has been preserved in a few surviving indentures, though indentures themselves were not a requisite of retaining in the period. The giving of the lord's livery is not always explicitly mentioned, but can be inferred. While it is possible that Beauchamp and Bohun sometimes used annuities to retain their men, no evidence for this remains and it seems to have been more typical for them to use land grants to secure the services of household

knights. Grosmont too used manors for this, but unlike Warwick and Northampton he also made use of annuities for this purpose, similar to the king, Black Prince and John of Gaunt. Analysing the use of such retaining tools does throw up a complication in that these were sometimes given as both a means for securing future service and a reward for service already provided. Any particular grants that look more likely to be rewards than initial retaining inducements are explored more fully in Chapter 4. Before that we must investigate the military and non-military duties of these household knights, and thus gain an understanding of what exactly the earls recruited them for.

## Military Life and Duties

As was the case for other magnates so busily engaged in military pursuits, the household followings of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were greatly influenced by the requirements of war.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore of little surprise that military service should form such a major part of the duties for knights in their households. Military activity played a significant role in the lives of these men, even though some did not campaign frequently. The first argument here will be that the precise nature and level of military involvement varied with each man, and that here too the prosopographical evidence reveals a range of different relationships between magnate and household knight. Second, that the military duties of household knights took a number of different forms, some more typical than others, and that these were naturally influenced by the movements and duties of the magnate they served. The military experience of these men was therefore rich and diverse. They were involved in some of the most significant and memorable military operations of their time, and the combined battle experience they possessed, in addition to the bonds they shared as military comrades, neighbours, friends and fellow household knights, would have made them an exceedingly important part of the English victories in this period.

### *2.1 Varying Degrees of Military Service and Relationships*

Serving in a magnate's military retinue is perhaps the most fundamental marker of a knight's membership in a lord's household, and was one of the most common duties they could perform. Yet household knights were not equal in their military participation. One of the purposes here is to delineate the varying patterns of military activity among those men who can be reasonably identified as members of a lord's household. These can be organised according to a set of loose categories explained below.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to note that shortcomings of the evidence make some of the data uncertain. First, distinguishing between different knights can be problematic when relatives or men of different provenance carry the same name. This particularly affects the entries for the Ralph Bassets, Robert Corbet and John Botetourt. A John Botetourt is listed as the son of Thomas in C 61/67 (1355-56), while another is listed as the son of John in C 61/76 (1363-64). It is possible that the latter is the son of the former, but other sources do not distinguish different Botetourts by kinship or locality. The Basset men present an even greater challenge; there were three Ralph Bassets of Drayton within the

---

<sup>1</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 41-3; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 1-2; idem., 'Complement and Characteristics', p. 358; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 232; Ayton, 'English Armies', p. 312.

time period of this study, and at least one of Sapcote.<sup>2</sup> In some instances, the provenance is omitted altogether, making it difficult to discern some of the details about these namesakes. Similarly, the retinue of William Bohun often includes a Robert Corbet, but Robert Corbet of Morton, Hadley and Caus were all different men of Shropshire, as proven by their appointment to the same commissions.<sup>3</sup> Not all sources specify which Corbet is being mentioned, including lists of retinue members. However, there is only ever one Robert Corbet in Bohun's retinue for a given campaign, and where specified this is always the one of Hadley. It has therefore been tentatively supposed that all instances of Corbet with the earl of Northampton refer to this man.

Secondly, dates of service can cause some ambiguity. They have generally been judged according to the first and last evident association between lord and knight, but – except in the case of death – the absence of evidence does not necessarily mean a man was not serving before or after these dates.<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, a long time span of service may actually involve one isolated interaction many years after regular service had apparently ceased. The patterns of service delineated here should therefore be taken as likelihoods rather than certainties.

Lastly, the number of campaigns in which a man fought alongside a magnate can also be unclear, as surviving protection warrants are not dated and may therefore overlap with evidence found for specific campaigns.<sup>5</sup> Letters of protection were not always sought by every member of the retinue and even when retainers did so, the protections were sometimes recorded on the Chancery Rolls without specifying the recipient's company. One example is William Tallemache's recorded protection for the Brittany campaign in 1342, which does not specify his membership, though he can be identified elsewhere as a close associate of William Bohun.<sup>6</sup> The same is true for the Pecche brothers in the Scottish expedition of 1333; it is unclear on this occasion whether they campaigned with the earl of Warwick, though they certainly did so at other times.<sup>7</sup> For the sake of caution, cases like these have not been counted towards the total campaigns of a knight under one particular magnate.

The first and, for the purpose of this study, the least significant category of household knight are those whose association did not go beyond serving once or perhaps twice in the

---

<sup>2</sup> For the different Ralph Bassets of Drayton, see *CChR*, 1327-41, pp. 168 and 327; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 213; *CCR*, 1341-43, pp. 33-4. For Sapcote, see *C* 75/15; *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 520. It is not always specified whether a Ralph Basset mentioned is of Drayton or Sapcote, as in E 101/19/36 and E 101/20/17.

<sup>3</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 91 and 94; 1343-45, p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 78-9; King, 'Henry Beaumont', p. 83; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 197-9; *idem.*, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 161

<sup>6</sup> *C* 76/17. Tallemache's service is detailed below, pp. 85-6.

<sup>7</sup> *C* 71/13.

military retinue. It is widely understood that lords' retinues would rapidly expand in times of war and these were subject to a large degree of turnover between campaigns.<sup>8</sup> The household and military retinues of Grosmont, Beauchamp and Bohun were no exception, and many of their knights had little to no association with them beyond fighting in the retinue for a single campaign. Although even these temporary men were considered 'of the household' for the duration of a campaign,<sup>9</sup> they represent the least important type of household knight in a magnate's following and are not examined as closely here.

Though examples of such temporary retainers abound in each of the followings discussed, a few notable individuals who fall into this category are some of the bannerets who fought under Thomas Beauchamp. Almeric St Amand was in Beauchamp's retinue for the Breton campaign in 1342,<sup>10</sup> with Robert Scales and Thomas Ughtred also joining him in Warwick's company for the Crécy campaign in 1346.<sup>11</sup> However, there is little or no trace of an association between these men and Beauchamp outside of these military contexts. Though a well-established veteran soldier, it has been noted that Thomas Ughtred in particular did not have a very close personal connection with any magnate.<sup>12</sup> Instead, the evidence suggests that the involvement of these bannerets in the Warwick following was, for the earl at least, about forming new recruiting connections before a large-scale military venture, thereby gaining access to companies based in regions he would otherwise have no access to. Recruiting Ughtred gave Beauchamp access to substantial manpower from Yorkshire thanks to the banneret's own connections in the county.<sup>13</sup> The same appears to be true for Scales and St Amand, judging from the protection warrants collected in C 81/1742, which provide interesting insight into the structure of Beauchamp's retinue for the Crécy campaign.<sup>14</sup> One list in the collection records the two men at the head of their own sub-retinues, while another list detailing the numbers in each sub-retinue suggests the importance of these figures by setting all three bannerets apart at the top of the document, just under the earl himself.<sup>15</sup> As a result, Beauchamp's relationship with these men seems to

---

<sup>8</sup> Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 16; David Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), p. 113; Hamilton, 'Reassessment', pp. 48-9; Green, 'Politics and Service' pp. 58-9; Given-Wilson, 'King and the Gentry', p. 89; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 190; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Hamilton, 'Reassessment'; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 21; McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> C 76/17.

<sup>11</sup> C 76/20; C 76/22; C 81/1742.

<sup>12</sup> Ayton, 'Thomas Ughtred', pp. 107 and 126-7.

<sup>13</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', p. 213; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 21-2.

<sup>14</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 179-80. As mentioned on these pages, although the Chancery warrants are usually undated, the campaigns they refer to can often be deduced by comparing the retinue lists with those found in the French Rolls (C 76).

<sup>15</sup> C 81/1742. Ughtred and St Amand both apparently brought twenty men-at-arms, with Scales bringing fifteen.

have been a purely professional one: the knights could benefit from campaigning under a prestigious magnate and competent captain with the means to ensure they were adequately paid and provisioned, while the earl could add more troops to his retinue by drawing on the connections and influence of important bannerets.

A distinction can be drawn between such temporary recruits and other bachelors who were employed more consistently, but still exclusively for war. John Folville, Robert Holland, John Bosun, Gervase Clifton, John Norwich and John Bardolf are all examples of bachelors used in this way. Folville and Holland served under Thomas Beauchamp in 1342 and 1345, with Folville also campaigning a decade later.<sup>16</sup> Bosun took part in several expeditions with Grosmont across the 1340s,<sup>17</sup> while Clifton also arranged to join the Lancaster retinue in 1345, 1354 and 1355.<sup>18</sup> Norwich likewise joined him in 1344, as well as for the Aquitaine campaign and siege of Calais.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, Bardolf can be identified in the earl of Northampton's retinue for 1340, 1342 and 1345.<sup>20</sup> Figures like these appear to have been recruited by Beauchamp, Grosmont or Bohun purely for their martial inclinations, and were presumably happy to serve repeatedly under the same commander, but they had no apparent association with these lords except during their military expeditions. Nonetheless, such men must have been extremely valuable assets to the likes of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton. As magnates heavily engaged in Edward III's wars, they would have needed knights with a genuine enthusiasm for campaigning.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, from a military standpoint a willingness to fight was arguably even more important than strength or weapon skill, because it could lead to greater reliability and courage in battle.<sup>22</sup> Though perhaps not among a lord's closest followers, 'war bachelors' used solely for military ventures were thus an important contingent of the household knights, adding a greater degree of continuity across campaigns that made the retinue a more effective unit.<sup>23</sup> Hefferan identifies similar figures in the household of Edward III, such as Miles Stapleton, whom the king could draw on for war service but were not necessarily needed in peacetime.<sup>24</sup> Hefferan also validly

---

<sup>16</sup> C 76/17; C 76/20; C 61/67.

<sup>17</sup> C 76/15 (1340); C 76/17 (1342); C 76/19 (1344); C 76/20 (1345); C 81/1724;

<sup>18</sup> C 76/20; C 76/32; C 76/33.

<sup>19</sup> C 76/19; C 76/20; C 76/24.

<sup>20</sup> C 76/15; C 81/1734; C 76/20.

<sup>21</sup> Contemporary knight Geoffroi de Charny spoke emphatically on this matter, asserting that 'when a great nobleman, lord of extensive lands, is of great worth ... as a result he loves and values men of worth all the more for the knowledge he has of the great deeds he has seen them perform': Geoffroi de Charny, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*, ed. Richard Kaeuper, trans. Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> Rogers, *Soldiers' Lives*, pp. 39-40 and 173.

<sup>23</sup> Ayton 'English Army', pp. 206-7 and 227; idem., 'Aristocracy', pp. 173-5; idem., 'Thomas Ughtred', p. 129; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 14-6 and 20. The practice of calling upon some knights only for war service had precedent in the royal household going back to Edward I: Ingamells, 'Household Knights', p. 160.

<sup>24</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 70.

links these men to the gradual trend of increasing military 'professionalism' or 'careerism' that has been observed as taking place from the mid to late fourteenth century.<sup>25</sup> In these aforementioned 'war bachelors' we can perceive a blending of traditional military and household service conventions with an emerging dedication to a life of soldiering.

Others might provide frequent service in their earlier years, but then stop associating closely with the lord after their youthful or campaigning days were over. Examples of men who seem to fit this type include Nicholas Burneby for Thomas Beauchamp, Richard Rawcliffe and Robert Twyford for Henry of Grosmont, as well as Hugh Badewe for William Bohun. Burneby was born in 1316-17,<sup>26</sup> and was thus in his late teens and early twenties during the campaigns with Warwick in the 1330s.<sup>27</sup> He then appeared to withdraw from soldiering with the exception of the Crécy campaign in 1346, which apparently saw him transfer from Beauchamp's retinue to that of the Black Prince.<sup>28</sup> However, this was his last military adventure, and Burneby thus retired from active campaigning at the young age of thirty. With Burneby, we might surmise that military participation was a means for him to occupy himself productively before coming into his inheritance; the Crécy campaign was his only adventure in warfare after succeeding his father in 1343.

The case of Grosmont's man Robert Twyford appears to be similar, though it is difficult to verify with the limited evidence. He can be identified as the son of John Twyford the elder, whose career involved service to Grosmont, his father and his uncle, Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>29</sup> Robert's debut in arms was in 1336, as an esquire in Grosmont's retinue,<sup>30</sup> so we might reasonably suppose he was still a young man at this stage. He served again as a knight in 1338, along with his father and older brother John,<sup>31</sup> but this was the last time he appears to have campaigned. His father died at Berwick in 1341, during a tournament that Grosmont had arranged against the Scots,<sup>32</sup> which may have put him off pursuing a longer career in soldiering, or it may be that like Burneby, once his inheritance was assured he took little interest in a martial life.

---

<sup>25</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 70; Ayton, 'The Military Careerist', pp. 20-3; David Simpkin, 'Chivalric Society', p. 53.

<sup>26</sup> The inquisition post mortem for his father Eustace in 1343 stated Nicholas to be twenty six years old at the time: *CIPM*, 1336-47, p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> He served with Beauchamp in Scotland in 1335 and 37, and at Southampton in 1339: C 71/15; C 71/17; E 101/20/17; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

<sup>28</sup> C 76/20; *CPR*, 1345-48, p.549; George Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais: From the Original Records in the Public Record Office* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1898), pp. 31, 93 and 107.

<sup>29</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 311; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 659, 697 and 722-3.

<sup>30</sup> E 101/15/12.

<sup>31</sup> C 76/12.

<sup>32</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 697.

Hugh Badewe was also a rather young campaigner. Born in c.1314,<sup>33</sup> he was a member of Bohun's retinue from at least 1337 to 1340.<sup>34</sup> Trace of him in Northampton's retinue afterwards is difficult to find, though he did receive pardon outside Calais in 1347 'for good service in parts this side of the seas'.<sup>35</sup> This would still only place him at thirty three, and he does not appear to have taken part in any later campaigns. He could have received seisin of his lands as early as 1332 after proving his age, so inheritance was probably not part of Badewe's considerations. Nor did his service to the Bohun family come to an abrupt end, as he continued to act as a charter witness in 1347 and 1358-60.<sup>36</sup> It therefore may be that Badewe was satisfied with what experience he had accrued and preferred to return to his life in Essex, though he was more than happy to make trouble in his home county.<sup>37</sup>

The case of Richard Rawcliffe is somewhat different. He first took up arms in his teen years, with the first record of him on campaign dating to 1336, when he served in the company of Henry Lord Beaumont.<sup>38</sup> His first expedition under Grosmont was in Brittany in 1342, followed by further missions in 1344 and 1345-46,<sup>39</sup> so that by 1345 he had already served on five campaigns under four different commanders.<sup>40</sup> He therefore seems to have spent his younger years more concerned with accruing as much campaign experience as possible than with establishing himself within the following of a great lord.<sup>41</sup> However, this seems to have changed after his recruitment into Grosmont's household, as he remained in service to the earl in the years that followed; he was one of the witnesses to the indenture retaining Sir Edmund Ufford in 1347, as well as one of the justices nominated by Grosmont for a commission of oyer and terminer in 1356, and later served as a forester and steward for the duke's successor John of Gaunt.<sup>42</sup> It is notable though that despite his early vigour and ongoing attachment to the Lancaster following, Rawcliffe's military adventures seem to have come to an end after the expedition to Aquitaine in 1345-46. Given the evidence, we might suppose that in the house of Lancaster Rawcliffe found a lord whose status, charisma or generosity persuaded him to set aside his footloose campaigning under different captains, in favour of more exclusive service. Alternatively, it may be that soldiering only appealed to him in his younger years. Information about the year of Rawcliffe's inheritance is not available, so it remains unclear if this was a factor in his decision.

---

<sup>33</sup> Badewe was seventeen years old at the time of his father Edmund's death in 1331: *CIPM*, 1327-36, pp. 248-9.

<sup>34</sup> C 76/12; C 76/15; C 81/1734; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 531.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 526.

<sup>36</sup> DL 25/34; DL 25/1932; DL 25/1591; DL 27/174; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 236-7.

<sup>37</sup> For Badewe's criminal activity, see Chapter 1, pp. 59-60 and Harris, 'Organised Crime', pp. 65-77.

<sup>38</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 316.

<sup>39</sup> C 76/17; C 76/19; C 81/1724; E 101/25/9.

<sup>40</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 220.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.

<sup>42</sup> DL 27/155; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 453; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 223-4 and 316.

It may be tempting to regard this pattern of youthful or pre-inheritance campaigning as another indication of increasing military professionalism. It was certainly the case that the number and proportion of gentry men serving in English armies in the late fourteenth century had fallen into decline.<sup>43</sup> However, it should also be noted that this pathway – of knights engaging in military pursuits during their younger years as a rite of passage – was a tradition that went back centuries.<sup>44</sup> Thus, while the number of knights following this particular career trajectory was evidently falling, it was nonetheless a continuation of older trends.

Overall, it appears that some household knights agreed to serve their patron consistently until they either tired of military adventure or until they were sufficiently established in their own estate. Some continued to have an amicable but less frequent association with their lord, remaining part of the affinity in some sense even if they were no longer formally retained. Previous scholarship has made note of this particular relationship dynamic between magnates and ‘alumni’ bachelors of the household,<sup>45</sup> and examples can be readily found in the followings of the three lords primarily discussed here. Even after Baldwin Freville’s transition to service with the Black Prince he continued to associate with the earls of Warwick and the other knights of their following, joining them in judicial commissions, witnessing charters, and having them as his own witnesses.<sup>46</sup> Robert Herle had already been captain of Calais and was acting as steward for the young princes John and Edmund when he was involved in Warwick’s 1356 enfeoffment.<sup>47</sup> There was also an apparent reconnection with Nicholas Burneby when the latter was nominated for Beauchamp’s 1351 Northamptonshire commission of oyer and terminer,<sup>48</sup> long after any other trace of his membership in the household. Similar observations can be made for William Bohun; some of his knights served in more administrative capacities during their later years.<sup>49</sup> The same phenomenon has been observed for the household knights of Edward III, with Hefferan noting Bartholomew Burghersh the younger as one example of a knight who was still very much regarded as part of the king’s following long after any evidence of him being officially retained.<sup>50</sup> Rather than assuming all ties between lord and knight were eventually cut, we should therefore consider that in some cases there was

---

<sup>43</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 80; Ayton, ‘Military Careerist’, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup> Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 30, 52-53, 55, 67 and 227.

<sup>45</sup> Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 31; Hefferan, ‘Household Knights’, pp. 166-7.

<sup>46</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 104; *CPR 1358-61*, p. 221; *CCR 1369-74*, p. 430; E 326/2261.

<sup>47</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 590; *1350-54*, p. 357; *1354-58*, p. 416. For more information see Chapter 3, pp. 152-3, and Chapter 4, p 165.

<sup>48</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup> The 1345 Breton expedition appears to have been the last campaign that Peter Favelore and Thomas Mandeville embarked on in the earl of Northampton’s retinue (C 76/20). However, Mandeville was still a witness for the earl’s charters as late as 1358 (DL 25/34 and DL 27/174), and Favelore remained especially close with Bohun: E 151/1/18; *CCR, 1354-60*, p. 81; *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 369; *1354-58*, p. 255.

<sup>50</sup> Hefferan, ‘Household Knights’, pp. 166-7.

merely a change in relationship, with a knight leaving regular service but maintaining some level of friendly contact and membership within the affinity.

Other individuals were more balanced, if not constant, in their service. A magnate's knightly relatives could periodically serve in the military retinue, as already discussed.<sup>51</sup> Yet another sub-group of household knight involved men who served in peace and war on a number of occasions, but apparently not with the same frequency or consistency as the most dedicated bachelors. This sub-group of intermittent followers can be regarded as one of the more common 'categories' for household knights, though here too some degrees of gradation can be discerned. Thomas Asteleye served with the earl of Warwick on two military campaigns in 1337 and 1339,<sup>52</sup> as well as being a frequent charter witness and regular associate within the Beauchamp following.<sup>53</sup> John Botetourt is another example, acting as a witness and justice for the earl,<sup>54</sup> while also being listed in Beauchamp's retinue for campaigns in 1342-43, 1355-56 and 1363-64.<sup>55</sup> Admittedly, there remains some ambiguity here as Botetourt is listed as the son of Thomas and the son of John in the latter two lists respectively, so it is unclear whether this was a clerical error or if these were separate men; other sources do not differentiate separate John Botetourts.

Nicholas Gernoun, William Scargill, Thomas Uvedale and the elder Ralph Hastings fulfilled a similar role for Henry of Grosmont. Gernoun was Henry's annuitant, served on campaign in 1336 and 1349, and witnessed at least one of his charters.<sup>56</sup> Scargill was Henry's steward of Pontefract in 1343, as well as an occasional charter witness;<sup>57</sup> his campaigns under Henry included Aquitaine in 1345-46 and the expedition to Normandy and Brittany in 1356-58.<sup>58</sup> Uvedale lent money and rendered various services to the duke, complaining in 1364 that he had not been fully compensated for these during Henry's lifetime;<sup>59</sup> his military activity under Lancaster included Aquitaine in 1345-46, the sub-lieutenancy of Brittany in 1355-56, as well as the Rheims campaigns of 1359-60.<sup>60</sup> Ralph Hastings senior served Henry for approximately a dozen years, working as a constable and steward for the honour of Pickering from 1334;<sup>61</sup> his military activity with Lancaster included

---

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 60-2.

<sup>52</sup> E 101/20/17; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

<sup>53</sup> E 326/2261; Gloucester, Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3; BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 73r-74v; *CPR*, 1330-34, pp. 294 and 296; 1364-67, pp. 63-4 and 430-1; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80.

<sup>54</sup> *CPR*, 1364-67, pp. 356 and 368; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80.

<sup>55</sup> C 76/17; C 61/67; C 61/76; C 81/1750.

<sup>56</sup> E 101/15/12; E 404/508; E 403/355; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 469; 1350-54, p. 16; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, p. 250.

<sup>57</sup> DL 42/1, fols. 90v-91v; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 363.

<sup>58</sup> C 76/20; C 76/34; C 76/38; C 81/1742.

<sup>59</sup> *CPR*, 1361-64, pp. 495-6.

<sup>60</sup> C 76/33; C 81/1730; SC 1/42/62; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 709; II, p. 262.

<sup>61</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 292; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 356.

Scotland in 1336, Brittany in 1342, and two voyages to Aquitaine in 1344 and 1345-46.<sup>62</sup> His service probably would have continued if not for his death in 1346.<sup>63</sup>

For William Bohun, knights with similar service patterns included John Coggeshale, Hugh Blount and John Roos. Coggeshale was an occasional charter witness for Bohun across at least fourteen years,<sup>64</sup> but appears to have served in the retinue only once in the 1340s.<sup>65</sup> Blount's link to the earl stretches from at least 1346 to 1360, but his involvement was not extensive: one known instance of him acting as a charter witness, and one campaign in Bohun's military retinue.<sup>66</sup> Roos also served in the retinue in the Low Countries and for the Crécy campaign, but was still connected to the earl as late as 1358.<sup>67</sup>

In several cases the service of household knights, military or otherwise, was notably limited in time span, as was the case with Richard Denton, William Giffard and John Verdoun. Denton's connection with Bohun spanned at least fifteen years,<sup>68</sup> but his military service with Northampton only covered half of this, with a handful of expeditions in the Low Countries and France from 1337 to 1346.<sup>69</sup> By 1352 Denton had apparently passed the age of seventy, so it is of little surprise that his military activity under the earl was so limited.<sup>70</sup> Giffard's association spanned only from 1336 to 1341, although in that time he was a charter witness and justice of oyer and terminer for Bohun, as well as a member of the earl's retinue for the 1338 and 1340 campaigns in the Low Countries.<sup>71</sup> Verdoun's association with Northampton also appears to have been temporary and covers a similar period. Along with Giffard, he was one of the knights who witnessed the 1336 grant to Bohun from his father-in-law the earl of Norfolk,<sup>72</sup> and campaigned with Bohun in the Low Countries in 1338.<sup>73</sup>

Analogues for Henry of Grosmont include Robert Bertram and John Twyford, both the father and son. The two Twyfords were donees of the Lancaster lords,<sup>74</sup> and John senior

---

<sup>62</sup> C 76/17; C 76/19; C 76/20; E 101/15/12; E 101/25/9.

<sup>63</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 292.

<sup>64</sup> DL 25/1960 (1346); DL 25/34 and DL 27/174 (1358); DL 25/1591 (1360).

<sup>65</sup> C 81/1734; E 36/204, fol. 86v.

<sup>66</sup> C 76/20; DL 25/1591. Bohun's retinue lists a father and son both named Hugh Blount; it is ambiguous which was his witness for the 1360 charter.

<sup>67</sup> C 76/15; C 76/20; C 81/1734; DL 25/34 and DL 27/174.

<sup>68</sup> The last found trace of his association with Bohun dates from 1352, when he was appointed by Bohun to receive seisin of the castle of Lochmaben and the lordship of Annandale on his behalf: DL 27/45.

<sup>69</sup> C 76/12; C 76/20; C 81/1734; E 36/203, fol. 125r; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1; *CCR*, 1337-39, pp. 412 and 629.

<sup>70</sup> He received exemption for life from being put appointed to various offices without his agreement, partly on account of his age, and partly on account of his good service to the current and previous two kings: *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 226.

<sup>71</sup> C 76/12; C 76/15; C 81/1734; E 36/204, fol. 86v; DL 10/276; DL 25/1956; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 236 and 531; 1343-45, p. 181.

<sup>72</sup> DL 10/276.

<sup>73</sup> C 76/12; C 81/1734; E 36/203, fol. 125r.

<sup>74</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 697-8; II, pp. 261, 291 and 316.

had already served Henry's father for several years before joining Grosmont's household, acting as a charter witness on several occasions for the older Henry.<sup>75</sup> They went on military campaign with Grosmont between 1336 and 1341,<sup>76</sup> but John senior apparently died in 1341,<sup>77</sup> and there is no record of John junior with Grosmont after this. Bertram's military service was similarly constrained, being limited to a few campaigns in the mid to late 1350s,<sup>78</sup> though his association with Henry seems to date from earlier: Grosmont lent him money in 1354, and in 1347 persuaded the king to return Bertram's lands in Northumberland, which had been confiscated as punishment after Bertram let a captive Scot escape his custody.<sup>79</sup>

John Pecche is a similar example for the earl of Warwick, accompanying him in both war and peace, but only for a period of roughly ten years, and not with the same frequency as his younger brother Nicholas: John was listed in the earl's retinue in 1336, and was a witness for charters at Porchester in 1346.<sup>80</sup> Nicholas Charneles and John Golafre also served Beauchamp in various capacities, but seemingly for no more than a few years. The former acted as a witness in 1342, while the latter was Beauchamp's undersheriff of Worcestershire in the 1330s;<sup>81</sup> both men joined him on campaigns in Scotland (1337) and Southampton (1339).<sup>82</sup> Lastly, Richard Stafford and Richard Whitacre served Beauchamp during the 1340s, both on campaign and in commissions oyer and terminer.<sup>83</sup>

In sum, this indicates that there are a substantial number of men who are identifiable as household knights for various magnates, but whose connection with them does not appear to have been as strong or as enduring as the ties between other knights and these lords. In some cases, age or circumstance was a decisive factor, with the death of the knight or lord in question precluding a longer period of military service. Yet in other cases, it is clear that the relationship was limited to a specific period. This may have been left undefined, with the termination of service occurring organically with the passage of time, though we may well assume that it was sometimes stipulated in advance. Alternatively, some knights

---

<sup>75</sup> DL 42/1, fols. 24v, 66v, 76v and 197v; DL 25/2084 DL 27/192; DL 27/212; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 698.

<sup>76</sup> E 101/15/12; C 76/12; E 36/203, fol. 126r. Although Fowler states that Twyford and Seyton were Grosmont's attorneys in 1338, citing C 76/12, the passage in question actually states that the two men were joining Henry in parts beyond the seas, naming the attorneys that they were leaving in charge of their own estates: Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 659.

<sup>77</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 697.

<sup>78</sup> C 76/33; C 76/34; C 76/38. He was also Henry's steward and constable of Dunstanburgh castle, receiving an annuity out of the same: Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 691-2.

<sup>79</sup> *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 311; *1354-60*, p. 84.

<sup>80</sup> E 101/19/36; Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3; *CCR, 1346-49*, pp. 74 and 80.

<sup>81</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 372; BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 76v.

<sup>82</sup> E 101/20/17; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

<sup>83</sup> C 76/17; C 76/20; C 81/1742; C 81/1750; *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 239; *1348-50*, p. 80; *CFR 1337-47*, p. 493

evidently remained in household service for many years but were not as actively employed by their lord, either for military or non-military duties. This was quite likely because either the bond between them was not as close as it was between the lord and others of his household, or that the knight's loyalty was divided between patrons.<sup>84</sup>

Though very much in the minority, some knights rarely ever served on campaign, despite being relied upon in non-military roles or closely connected to their lord and the rest of the affinity. John Leukenore was Beauchamp's attorney in 1340 and a frequent charter witness for the rest of the decade.<sup>85</sup> Peter Montfort was very much at the heart of Warwickshire gentry ties and entwined with Beauchamp's knightly household,<sup>86</sup> serving as a charter witness, acting on judicial commissions and conducting business with other members of the following.<sup>87</sup> John Dengayne was Bohun's general attorney in 1338-39, 1340-41 and 1342-43, as well as an occasional charter witness.<sup>88</sup> Hugh Berewyk was Grosmont's general attorney, a witness and steward of his lands from 1350-61.<sup>89</sup> However, these men seldom if ever served in a military capacity. The only Beauchamp military operations that Montfort and Leukenore respectively took part in were apparently the Scottish campaign of 1336 and the earl's garrisoning of Southampton in the summer of 1339.<sup>90</sup> No instance has been found of Dengayne or Berewyk going on campaign with their masters.

This could have been for a mixture of reasons. Although Montfort was already an established figure in the 1310s and 1320s,<sup>91</sup> when Thomas Beauchamp was still a minor, he seems to have lived until roughly 1370,<sup>92</sup> so it is unlikely that age was a factor in his lack of military involvement; infirmity or inclination appear more likely causes. Berewyk may have originally been a lawyer, with no apparent experience or inclination towards warfare. In 1337 he was described as the 'king's yeoman',<sup>93</sup> and had a busy legal career before finding his way into Grosmont's service by the late 1340s.<sup>94</sup> Dengayne's background was roughly

---

<sup>84</sup> The phenomenon of 'shared' bachelors is explored further in Chapter 3, pp. 154-8 and Chapter 4, 176-87.

<sup>85</sup> C 76/15; BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 19v, 36r, 73r-73v, 75r, 76r-76v, 97v, 161v-162r and 179r; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 436.

<sup>86</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 25 and 29-30.

<sup>87</sup> E 42/492; *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 411, 490 and 573; 1345-48, pp. 239 and 386-7; 1350-54, pp. 85-7 and 284; 1358-61, p. 221; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, pp. 69 and 126.

<sup>88</sup> C 81/1734; C 81/1735; C 76/12; C 76/13; C 76/15; C 76/17; DL 25/32.

<sup>89</sup> Berewyk was Grosmont's general attorney, a witness and steward of his lands from 1350-61 (C 76/27; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 469; 1354-58, p. 381; 1358-61, p. 242; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 655, 659 and 683-4).

<sup>90</sup> C 71/16 (Montfort); Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1 (Leukenore).

<sup>91</sup> E 210/5163; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 25 and 29-30.

<sup>92</sup> Birmingham Archives, Heritage and Photography Service, MS 3888/A344/1.

<sup>93</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 500.

<sup>94</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 659. Berewyk was nominated on numerous judicial commissions by the crown and private plaintiffs (see for example *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 204 and 574; 1338-40, pp. 192, 278, 281 and 486; 1340-43, pp. 321-2, 449, 553 and 589), and also served for a time as steward of the Duchy of Cornwall (E 306/11/2).

similar. Though labelled a knight from at least 1329 and occasionally involved in commissions of array,<sup>95</sup> his life was largely taken up with judicial and administrative business rather than military tasks. This included acting as sheriff of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire in 1345 and escheator for the same in the following year,<sup>96</sup> as well as undertaking commissions for tax collection, oyer and terminer, and pursuing inheritance claims in the courts for interested parties.<sup>97</sup> Given the nature of some of his appointments, such as arresting violent individuals and investigating the oppressions of ministers and household officials,<sup>98</sup> we may suppose that Dengayne was not incapable of acting as an enforcer with skill at arms, but the lack of evidence for him in any military retinue indicates that his chief talents and interests were not in soldiering.

John Leukenore is a slightly more ambiguous example. As with Dengayne, Leukenore had a vigorous career in royal and private justice, including potentially dangerous cases,<sup>99</sup> as well as estate and county administration. In 1333 he was made keeper of Oxfordshire and Berkshire,<sup>100</sup> and was steward of Queen Philippa's household from at least 1348 to 1351.<sup>101</sup> Yet he was also somewhat familiar with campaign life. Aside from joining Beauchamp's occupation of Southampton in 1339, he was also active on the Crécy campaign, being variously numbered in the king's company and the retinue of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, before receiving pardon outside Calais.<sup>102</sup> However, he apparently had no further involvement in military actions after 1346. It could be that duties to the crown overruled any personal interests, but given Leukenore's infrequent military activity before this time, it is unlikely that warfare was one of his main priorities. It must suffice to say that during his tenure in Beauchamp's household, the earl seemed to value him more for his dependability in administrative affairs. Taken together, the examples of Berewyk, Leukenore and Dengayne reveal that a minority of household knights hardly if ever factored into their masters' military plans, but this should not be automatically taken to mean that they were of inferior fighting calibre or less trusted; on the contrary, these were highly valued men, whose qualities perhaps made them too important to spare for the military retinue on most occasions.

---

<sup>95</sup> *CCR*, 1327-30, p. 529; *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 72 and 361.

<sup>96</sup> E 358/2; E 358/4; E 358/5; *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 622; 1346-49, p. 6; *CPR* 1345-48, pp. 44, 46, 294 and 298.

<sup>97</sup> He was also put in place to secure the inheritance of Margaret and Elizabeth, the latter William Bohun's wife, following the death of their father Giles Badlesmere (*CCR*, 1337-39, pp. 515 and 519). For some examples of his commissions, see *CPR*, 1338-40, pp. 273, 357 and 499-501; 1343-45, p. 97 and 160-1; 1345-48, pp. 230-1; 1350-54, p. 81 and 508-9.

<sup>98</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 365-7; 1340-43, pp. 105-7 and 322; 1348-50, pp. 584-5.

<sup>99</sup> For some of his many commissions, see *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 378 and 508; 1338-40, pp. 68 and 144; 1345-48, p. 112; 1350-54, pp. 448; 1354-58, p. 122.

<sup>100</sup> *CFR*, 1327-37, p. 381.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 93; 1350-54, p. 165.

<sup>102</sup> C 76/20; *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 482; Wrotesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp. 37 and 184.

Aside from these role-specific bachelors, some knights can be identified as part of a magnate's 'inner circle' from their remarkably prolific service. Such individuals provided longer and more frequent service than most, and this included engagement in the lord's military retinue. Robert Herle, Ralph Basset of Sapcote, John Lysours, William Lucy and Nicholas Pecche are remarkable for their energetic service in Thomas Beauchamp's following. Herle joined Warwick's retinue five times across the 1330s and 40s,<sup>103</sup> and Basset potentially up to eight times over four decades, if the one named as an esquire in some of the earlier retinue lists is the same man.<sup>104</sup> Lucy campaigned with Beauchamp seven times through the 1330s and 40s, initially as an esquire and eventually as a knight,<sup>105</sup> while Lysours' military participation included at least six expeditions, possibly beginning in 1337 and ending with the Rheims campaign in 1359-60, shortly before his death.<sup>106</sup>

William Bohun was most frequently served on campaign by Robert Corbet, John FitzWalter, John and Hugh Neville, William Tallemache and Gerard Wyderyngton. FitzWalter went on at least five expeditions with the earl of Northampton.<sup>107</sup> Corbet and Hugh Neville served in the retinue at least six times during the 1330s and 40s; their service partly overlapped, but whereas Corbet can be found in Bohun's retinue for 1334 and 1336, Neville can be confirmed in 1339 and 1346.<sup>108</sup> Tallemache was an adherent of Northampton throughout the earl's lifetime and likewise served on six or more missions, initially as an esquire and then as a knight.<sup>109</sup> Wyderyngton, another lifelong follower, appears to have been the most prolific, joining Bohun on seven or more occasions.<sup>110</sup> John Neville of Essex appears to have served five times,<sup>111</sup> but he and John Neville of Northampton are not always distinguished in sources for the earl's retinue. Of the two, Neville of Essex appears more

---

<sup>103</sup> E 101/20/17 (1337); C 76/15 (1340-41); C 76/20 (1345-46); C 76/22 (1346-47); C 81/1742; C 81/1750; E 36/204, fol. 88r.

<sup>104</sup> Ralph Basset is not specified as 'of Sapcote' in E 101/19/36 (1336); E 101/20/17 (1337) and Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1 (1339). Sapcote is specified in C 76/15 (1340-41); 59-60, C 61/76 (1363) and C 76/52 (1369), as well as the undated C 81/1742 and C 81/1750.

<sup>105</sup> E 101/19/36 (1336); E 101/20/17 (1337); SC 13/3/1 (1339); C 76/15 (1340-41); C 76/20 (1346); C 76/22 (1347). He appears on a list of protection warrants in C 81/1742, which most likely corresponds to the Brittany campaign of 1342-43 when compared with Warwick's retinue in C 76/17.

<sup>106</sup> E 101/20/17 (1337); SC 13/3/1 (1339); C 76/15 (1340-41); C 61/67 (1355-56); C 76/37 and 38 (1359-60). Lysours perished in 1361 (C 135/216/16). He appears on the same list of C 81/1742 protection warrants as William Lucy, probably dating to 1342.

<sup>107</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1 (1337-38); C 76/12 (1338-39); C 76/15 (1340); C 76/33 (1355-56); C 76/38 (1359-60); C 81/1734.

<sup>108</sup> C 71/14 (1334); C 71/16 (1336); C 81/1734; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1 (1337-38); C 76/12 (1338-39); *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 223 (1339); C 81/1734; C 76/15 (1340); E 36/204, fol. 86v; C 76/20 (1345); C 76/22 (1346).

<sup>109</sup> *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1 (1337-38); C 76/12 (1338-39); E 36/203, fol. 125r; C 76/15 (1340); C 76/20 (1345); C 76/33 (1355-56); C 76/38 (1359-60). He is confirmed as a knight in the Chancery Roll for 1355-56.

<sup>110</sup> C 71/16 (1336); C 76/12 (1338-39)

<sup>111</sup> A John Neville can be found in: *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1 (1337-38); C 76/12 (1338-39); E 36/204, fol. 86v; C 76/20 (1345); C 76/33 (1355-56).

often in association with Bohun, but it is clear that they were different men because they appear together on at least one list of protection warrants, as well as in the earl's retinue for the 1338-39 mission to the Low Countries.<sup>112</sup> As a result, in instances where the man's provenance is not specified, it is probable though not certain that the one mentioned is Neville of Essex.

Other knights that could be described as particularly devoted to Bohun include his brother Oliver, Peter Favelore, William Ireland, Robert Manteby and William Trussebut, all of whom can be confirmed in Northampton's following for at least four expeditions. Oliver, Favelore, Ireland and Trussebut were in the earl's company for the expeditions of 1337-38, 1338-39, 1340 and 1345; Manteby was present on the latter three occasions, as well as the Rheims campaign of 1359-60.<sup>113</sup> The total number of expeditions for all of the above knights could in fact be higher, but determining more precisely the service of Northampton's most militarily able men is problematic. Bohun himself was a knight in the household of Edward III before his 1337 promotion to earl,<sup>114</sup> and information for his retinue before this is not easily found. It is apparent that he pledged to contribute ten knights for the king's 1335 campaign in Scotland,<sup>115</sup> but the names of these are not specified. Meanwhile, mention of men in his retinue in the earlier Chancery Rolls is very sparse. The difficulty of dating protection warrants and horse restoration lists is another added complication, and while the issue is not unique to William Bohun's following, it does seem to affect the data for his retinue more than others: John Neville, Corbet and Manteby appear at least three times in such documents for Northampton's retinue; FitzWalter and Oliver Bohun appear in four; Hugh Neville in five, while Tallemache and Wyderyngton can be found six times.<sup>116</sup> As it is not usually possible to identify which specific campaigns these sources are referring to, it is unclear whether, or when, they are merely replicating the same data found in the Chancery Rolls. As such, it is uncertain whether the knights mentioned here campaigned with Bohun even more frequently, but there remains a possibility of this.

As one of the most illustrious men of his day, Henry of Grosmont certainly had no shortage of dedicated knightly campaigners. Alex Aunsel, Roger Belers, Thomas Cok, Edmund Everard, Adam Everyngham, John Grey of Codnor, Richard Havering, Philip Lymbury, Robert de la Mare, Hugh Meynill, Reginald Mohun, Nicholas de Ry, John Seyton, Theobald Trussell, Edmund Ufford and John Walkyngton all stand out for their industrious and in some cases exclusive service in Grosmont's retinue. All of these joined Henry on half

---

<sup>112</sup> C 76/12; C 81/1734.

<sup>113</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, pp. 530-1; C 76/12; C 81/1734; C 76/15; E 36/203, fol. 125r; E 36/204, fol. 86v; C 76/20; C 76/38.

<sup>114</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 295.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>116</sup> C 81/1734; C 81/1735; E 36/203, fol. 125r; E 36/204, fol. 86v.

a dozen or more expeditions, some diplomatic but mostly military ventures. As with Bohun though, there are methodological challenges regarding some of the details. The exact tally for some men is ambiguous due to some uncertainty surrounding Henry's French campaigns in 1349-50 and 1355. On both occasions departure from England was affected by adverse winds, and the evidence for who participated in the campaigns is largely limited to letters of protection and general attorney, which only prove intention to serve rather than actual involvement.<sup>117</sup> In his comprehensive study of Henry's life and career, Fowler claims that some of those who intended to join Grosmont on these expeditions never actually left Portsmouth, suggesting that letters issued before the campaigns, not during, indicate intended service not carried out.<sup>118</sup> However, this appears counter-intuitive given that the expeditions did eventually set out despite their delays. For the Aquitaine expedition of 1349-50, Henry secured pay for a company that included two bannerets and twenty-three knights,<sup>119</sup> and in 1355 when Grosmont's departure was delayed at Portsmouth, Edward III eventually absorbed the forces accompanying him into a war host that departed in November of that year; the army almost did battle against forces led by King John of France before the English ultimately withdrew to Calais.<sup>120</sup> It therefore seems improbable that knights who initially arranged to campaign with Henry on these occasions did not follow through with the commitment. Moreover, Fowler elsewhere counts these instances of supposed non-service in his totals for each of the above men.<sup>121</sup>

If we accept the higher number, either on the assumption that the knights did serve or on the grounds that even in the intention we can read a certain level of dedication, then the frequency of retinue service for these men can be summarised in Table 2.1 below. Fowler also counts Hugh Hastings among these militarily prolific knights, with six campaigns under Henry.<sup>122</sup> However, Hastings was in fact two men, a father and son. The former died in 1347,<sup>123</sup> so the campaigns of Hugh Hastings under Grosmont after this date must be attributed to the son. It is also worth noting that although Grosmont's 1343 mission was supposed to be diplomatic in nature, working alongside the earl of Salisbury William Montague to establish an alliance between Edward III and Alfonso XI of Castile (1311-1350), the two earls and their followers became involved in Alfonso's military plans, fighting a series of raids and participating in the sieges of Granada and Algeciras; Henry himself was allegedly wounded in the face during the action.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 363-4, 375 and 614-5.

<sup>118</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 241-2.

<sup>119</sup> E 372/195 and E 403/355; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 353-4 and 375.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 614-7.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 703-5.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ayton, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh', *ODNB*.

<sup>124</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 547; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 53-5.

Table 2.1 – Household knights most frequently found in the retinue of Henry of Grosmont: names, totals and campaigns<sup>125</sup>

| Name                | Campaigns   |
|---------------------|---|
| Roger Belers        | 6 – 1340, 1342-43, 1345-46, 1347, 1355, 1359-60   |
| John Grey of Codnor | 6 – 1338-39, 1341, 1345-46, 1347, 1348 (§), 1354-55(§), 1355                                |
| Hugh Meynill        | 6 – 1334, 1336, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46   |
| Reginald Mohun      | 6 – 1336, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1349-50                                      |
| Edmund Everard      | 6 – 1338-39, 1342-43, 1343 (§)(c), 1345-46, 1347, 1359-60                                   |
| Edmund Ufford       | 6 – 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1349-50, 1356-58, 1359-60                                   |
| Thomas Cok          | 7 – 1336, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1343 (§)(c), 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1349-50, 1351-52 (c)            |
| Adam Everyngham     | 7 – 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1347, 1348 (§), 1355, 1359-60                               |
| Philip Lymbury      | 7 – 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1347, 1348 (§), 1349-50, 1356-58, 1359-60                            |
| Roger de la Mare    | 7 – 1338-39, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1347, 1349-50, 1356-58, 1359-60                             |
| John Seyton         | 7 – 1336, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1347, 1356-58                                |
| Alex Aunsel         | 8 – 1345-46, 1347, 1348 (§), 1349-50, 1354-55(§), 1355, 1356-58, 1359-60                    |
| Nicholas de Ry      | 8 – 1340-41, 1342-43, 1344 (§), 1345-46, 1347, 1349-50, 1351-52 (c), 1355, 1356-58, 1359-60 |
| Theobald Trussell   | 10 – 1336, 1338-39, 1342-43, 1345-46, 1347, 1348 (§), 1349-50, 1355, 1356-58, 1359-60       |

(§) – diplomatic mission

(c) – crusade expedition

In sum, not all household knights were equal: their level of military participation under their lord varied, and this was interwoven with the precise nature of their relationship. Some were one-off campaigners, with no connection with the lord beyond retinue service on a single military expedition. Others were more properly members of the household, but only for a few years, campaigning once or twice and perhaps serving their lord in some other limited capacity, but still ultimately temporary in their involvement. Others still were more regular campaigners under a certain magnate, but had nothing to do with him outside of the theatre

<sup>125</sup> Data taken from: C 71/14 (1334); E 101/15/12 (1336); C 76/12 (1338-39); C 76/15 (1340); C 71/21 (1341); C 76/17 (1342-43); *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 338 (1343); C 76/19 (1344); E 101/25/9 and C 76/20 (1345-46); C 76/24 and C 76/25 (1347); C 76/26 (1348); C 61/62, C 76/27, E 404/508 and E 403/355 (1349-50); Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-5 (1351-52); C 76/32 (1354-55); C 76/33 (1355); C 76/34 and *CPR 1358-61*, pp. 225 (1356-58); C 76/38 (1359-60). See also Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 243-63.

of war. Some more regular members of the following might serve with a similar frequency, but also in other domains and for a longer period of time. Lastly, there were the most devoted, the 'core' members of the knightly household. A small minority of these were infrequent as military men, treasured by their masters more for their loyalty and effectiveness in more administrative roles, but generally the most devoted knights were also the most militarily prolific. The fact that these men were so dedicated, not only to military action but military action under one particular lord, suggests a remarkable degree of personal loyalty as well as martial fervour.

## *2.2 Types of Military Duties*

As discussed earlier, martial pursuits dominated much of the lives of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun, especially given their importance in the military plans of Edward III. This was certainly due in part to their friendship with the king, personal prowess and overall competence in military affairs. Yet it was also because of their standing within the higher nobility; Edward needed commanders of suitable station who could attract a sufficient number of troops to their banner in times of war, and who would, at any time, have at their disposal a group of loyal and reliable followers to act as their agents.

Military engagement on the scale Edward required of his leading magnates, and by extension their household knights, involved a broad range of combat environments and objectives, from raids and pitched battles to sieges and naval engagements in a variety of war theatres. No less important was the consideration that had to be given to logistics and organisation: the effective and tactical manoeuvring of troops in the field, the defence of key locations, the administrative upkeep of armies and settlements in war zones, and sometimes the delicate matter of diplomatic negotiations.<sup>126</sup> The demands on men like Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton were thus extensive, and for them to be effective servants of the crown in England's wars, they needed to have around them a group of knights capable of assisting them in all aspects of combat and strategy. However, this is not to say that all military duty was done in the service of the kingdom; as will be seen, Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun also needed good fighting men at their side for more personal endeavours, particularly in tournaments and crusade.

Methodological challenges do of course remain. The movements and military activity of these magnates is already known to us from the work of previous scholarship, based on evidence from contemporary chronicles and government records, but the specific deeds of individual household knights do not often receive attention, especially in the case of

---

<sup>126</sup> A comprehensive list of the expeditions of Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont is provided in Appendix A.

Beauchamp and Bohun.<sup>127</sup> However, by examining the membership of their retinues in relevant years, it is possible to discern which of their household knights participated in the various military engagements of the period, and therefore attribute specific campaign experiences to the individuals under them. The discussion here will begin with the tournament participation of household knights before moving on to exploring their most typical duties: the recruitment of other soldiers and their involvement in various forms of battle. This is followed by an investigation of less common duties – special appointments made to certain knights rather than obligations shared by the group – and lastly, consideration of their endeavours on the crusade frontiers.

### *2.2.1 Tournament Participation*

One responsibility of household knights that sat within the general purview of military activity was to participate in tournaments with their lord. Juliet Barker has observed that well into the fourteenth century household knights continued to be ‘an important part of the tourneying circuit’, citing the example of the men serving Lord Berkeley who joined him for tournaments at Hertford, Coventry, Exeter and Bristol, all in 1328.<sup>128</sup> It is also worth noting that the 1339 indenture between Thomas Beauchamp and Robert Herle specifies that Warwick will provide mounts for Herle for tournaments.<sup>129</sup> In February 1344 Grosmont was also granted permission to found his own jousting society in Lincolnshire, which would hold contests at Lincoln every year and of which he would be the captain.<sup>130</sup> We can suppose that a number of Grosmont’s Lincolnshire knights would have joined him for these contests: Alex Aunsel, Nicholas Cantulupe, Adam Everynham, Richard Hebden, Philip Lymbury, Nicholas de Ry, Norman Swyford. Given the involvement of these lords in the tournaments of Edward III’s reign, we can be reasonably confident that their household knights would have joined them for these occasions. Aside from the fact that the magnates, like their king, clearly enjoyed the sport, such events also proved useful occasions for continued training in martial skills like riding and the handling of weapons.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> Somewhat more is known about the men under Henry of Grosmont thanks to the relative wealth of surviving sources relating to the duchy of Lancaster, as well as his particularly exalted status among contemporaries.

<sup>128</sup> Barker, *Tournament*, pp. 22, 26-7.

<sup>129</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r. Mention of tournaments was relatively common in early indentures of retainer, but the Herle contract is the latest example of this in surviving evidence; given that tournaments were typically mentioned alongside war in these documents, it seems that tournament attendance thereafter became an assumed as part of the conditions of war service: Jones and Walker, ‘Private Indentures’, pp. 22-3.

<sup>130</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 196 and 379.

<sup>131</sup> Jan Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn., trans. by Sumner Willard and R. W. Southern (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 35-6; Sydney Anglo, ‘How to Win at Tournaments: The Techniques of Medieval Combat,’

Unfortunately, retrieving the names of particular household knights at certain tournament events is not often possible. Information about tournaments generally derives from mentions in the chronicles or entries in the royal wardrobe and household accounts.<sup>132</sup> The chronicles sometimes specify the number of participants and the names of one or two key figures, while the accounts tend to only name specific individuals if the king had items specially made for them.<sup>133</sup> Generally then, the presence of household knights has to be inferred from tournaments which the earls are known to have attended. For example, we can glean that Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were all present for the contests at Dunstable in 1334 and 1342.<sup>134</sup> We also know that Grosmont took part in jousts during his brief stay at Roxburgh in December 1341 and at Berwick in 1342.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, Beauchamp was at the Smithfield tournament in June 1343, in which he was apparently the victor.<sup>136</sup> We might presume that the lords' household knights joined them for at least some of these, but otherwise we are sorely limited in data for their tournament companions.

The 1334 Dunstable tournament provides an exception to this, as we have a surviving roll of arms for the men who competed on this occasion. Some sense of who fought under whom is preserved in the record, and we can discern which knights came with Beauchamp by looking at the entries of names underneath his own. Some were apparently of no more than passing acquaintance, but of those with a verifiable connection to Beauchamp's household, we can identify the earl's brother John, William Beauchamp of a possible cadet family branch, Thomas Asteleye, John Leukenore and John Lysours.<sup>137</sup> Other names are recognisable as other Warwickshire men – very occasional retinue members or charter witnesses for Beauchamp, but their association with him was not as close: John and William Lovel, William le Botiller, John Kyriel and the future earl of Huntingdon William Clinton.<sup>138</sup> The lack of more recognisable Beauchamp stalwarts on the list can perhaps be explained by the fact that the Warwick knightly following was still in an embryonic form. The

---

*Antiquaries Journal: Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 68 (1988), 248-64 (pp. 249-51); Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 224 and 227; Barker, *Tournament*, pp. 17-20 and 178-9.

<sup>132</sup> See for example E 36/204; E 101/389/14; E 361/2; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 43, 64 and 66; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, pp. 33-4, Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 133, 159 and 231.

<sup>133</sup> Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. By Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas G.C.M.G., addressed to Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President; illustrated by the Accounts of the Great Wardrobe of King Edward the Third, from the 29th September 1344 to the 1st of August 1345; and again from the 21st December 1345 to the 31st January 1349', *Archaeologia*, 31 (1846), 1-163 (p. 113).

<sup>134</sup> Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 394-5; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 66; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 123.

<sup>135</sup> Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 123; Knighton, *Chronicle*, p. 23.

<sup>136</sup> Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 146.

<sup>137</sup> London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho D IV 92 and Sloane MSS 1301 257; Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 394-5.

<sup>138</sup> C 76/20; C 81/1742; BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 75v (Lovels); *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 436 (Le Botiller and Kyriel). For Clinton, see *CCR, 1333-37*, p. 652 and W. M. Ormrod, 'Clinton, William, earl of Huntingdon (d. 1354), soldier and magnate', *ODNB*.

earl could have been no older than nineteen or twenty at the time,<sup>139</sup> and would have still been in the early stages of forming his household's membership. As such, it makes sense that Beauchamp would initially look to recruit a retinue from the knights around his family's power base in the Midlands.

Henry of Grosmont also participated in the Dunstable tournament of 1334. This was still a few years before he was raised to the earldom, and so we might be sceptical about how much influence he had to attract tournament companions. It is therefore by no means certain how many of the names under his own reflect the membership of his own tournament party. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that a few of those directly under Henry include John Twyford, John Twyford junior and John Blount: each are recognisable as knights of Grosmont's household who would go on to serve him in various capacities.<sup>140</sup> It is perhaps telling that these are the only names listed who are verifiable as knights of Grosmont's household in later years, and that each of them had a history of service with the house of Lancaster under Grosmont's father and his uncle Thomas.<sup>141</sup> Like Beauchamp, Henry too was in the early stages of his career, and while still in the process of forming enduring connections it made sense for him to draw on existing Lancastrian loyalties. Data for Grosmont's household knights at later tournaments is again lacking, but the location of Lincoln for his 1344 grant to hold annual jousts may be a clue that some of his most enthusiastic tournament companions were men of that county: Alex Auncel, Roger Belers, Thomas Cok, Richard Hebden, Philip Lymbury, Nicholas de Ry, Norman Swynford and Theobald Trussell were all probable participants in Grosmont's jousting events. All were knights with formidable military experience, eventually campaigning under Grosmont between four and ten times each, during which several of them were appointed special responsibilities.<sup>142</sup> As some of Henry's most able and industrious soldiers, it is only logical that they would be among his regular tournament partners as well. The bonds formed in war could readily be strengthened on the jousting field, leading to greater cohesion and teamwork in future campaigns.<sup>143</sup>

Information on William Bohun's men is similarly sparse, but the future earl of Northampton was also at Dunstable in 1334, and again some of the names immediately under his own appear in his service in later years: John and Thomas Verdoun, Adam Swynbourne and to a lesser extent William Thorpe and Ralph Spigournel.<sup>144</sup> A generation

---

<sup>139</sup> See Introduction, p. 17 and Chapter 1, pp. 34-5.

<sup>140</sup> BL MS Cotton Otho D IV 92 and Sloane MSS 1301 257; Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 394-5. For more on Blount and the Twyfords, see pp. 129, 132, 138-9, 149, 168 and 176-7.

<sup>141</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 722-3 and 725.

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix B and Table 2.1 above for an overview of their campaign participation.

<sup>143</sup> See below pp. 106-7 for examples of this group cohesion, and Chapter 5, pp. 191-3 for more on the tournament's role in forming knightly households into chivalric brotherhoods.

<sup>144</sup> BL MS Cotton Otho D IV 92 and Sloane MSS 1301 257; Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 394-5.

earlier, one Theobald Verdoun had competed under Bohun's father Humphrey, the earl of Hereford, at the Dunstable tournament of 1309.<sup>145</sup> John Sutton, another who later emerged as a figure in the Northampton following, appears further up the list, under Bohun's brother Edward.<sup>146</sup> Here again the old channels of family service formed a useful starting point, or source to fall back on, for developing the network of social connections that household membership was inevitably part of.

Overall, fewer examples of tournament events are apparent in the mid 1340s and in the 1350s.<sup>147</sup> Though this may be an accident of surviving evidence, it is tempting to suppose that Edward III and his leading magnates were by this stage more often occupied in international military and diplomatic endeavours. Nonetheless, it stands to reason that magnates like Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were energetic tournament contestants, even if the passing of years afforded them fewer opportunities to participate in these events. They shared with their king both an aptitude for military pursuits and an interest in chivalric culture. The fact that Beauchamp bequeathed his relatives John and Roger his best and second-best jousting horses following his death in 1369 certainly suggests that the earl was a frequent and avid participant.<sup>148</sup> The same was clearly true for Grosmont: his autobiographical *Livre de Seyntz Medicines* confesses his passion for tournaments,<sup>149</sup> and his reputation in this regard still persisted a century later when the *Boke of Noblesse*, written by an unknown author for Edward IV of England, described how Grosmont had been a 'chief auctor and foundour in law of armes'.<sup>150</sup> The parallels between war, chivalry and hastiludes were self-evident, and those who were most active in military service often tended to be the most avid tournament participants.<sup>151</sup> This applies not only to the upper echelons of the English peerage but also the knights who served under them. Aside from fulfilling an obligation to attend on their lord when called upon, especially for such public events,<sup>152</sup> there can be little doubt that at least some household knights would have been eager to represent both themselves and their lords in the lists.

---

<sup>145</sup> Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 390-3. Edward Bohun died later the same year while the English army was campaigning in Scotland.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Juliet Vale's provisional list of tournaments from 1327 to 1355 contains fifty-five entries, with forty-two of these taking place before the 1346 Crécy campaign; eight more are dated from 1348 to 1349, and a further five are listed from 1351 to 1357: Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 172-4.

<sup>148</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 80; Barker, *Tournament*, p. 174.

<sup>149</sup> Henry of Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. by E. J. Arnould (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1940).

<sup>150</sup> *The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475*, ed. by John Gough Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1860). See also Barker, *Tournament*, pp. 26, 72 and 125-7.

<sup>151</sup> Barker, *Tournament*, p. 125.

<sup>152</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 54.

### 2.2.2 Recruiting, Campaign and Battle

One of the most fundamental responsibilities of household knights was to act as sub-recruiters for their lords, bolstering the ranks of the military retinue by providing a number of additional men-at-arms for campaign.<sup>153</sup> Specific numbers are unfortunately not available for most men across most campaigns, but we do know that the indenture of retainer between Thomas Beauchamp and Robert Herle, dated in April 1339, stipulated that Herle would bring another four men-at-arms to go with the earl in times of war, their mounts provided by Sir Robert himself while the latter's mount would be provided by Warwick.<sup>154</sup> Herle's fortunes were to rise significantly in the years to follow; in February 1350, he was granted £100 yearly for serving at the king's side with one other knight and eight esquires, and he would have commanded far more men while serving as the captain of Calais in 1350-52 and captain of Brittany in 1359.<sup>155</sup>

Even so, for a regular knight bachelor in an earl's military retinue, four extra men seems to have been a fairly respectable number for a retainer to muster, especially for a young knight of around twenty-two years old.<sup>156</sup> There is little information about Sir Robert's landed wealth at the time of his formal indenture with Warwick, but his father William appears to have been a man of some substance in Northumberland and the Midlands, if the surviving evidence of his various roles and activity are any indicator of status. In October 1331 William was given power, along with Geoffrey le Scrope and the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, to treat for marriage between the count of Guelders and the king's sister Eleanor.<sup>157</sup> The following March, he served on a commission of oyer and terminer in Staffordshire with the elder Ralph Basset of Drayton, a prominent figure in his own right, while in September he received free warren in his demesne lands of Kyrkeherle, Ederston and Slavelly in Northumberland.<sup>158</sup> In 1334, Beauchamp himself nominated William for a commission of oyer and terminer in Leicestershire.<sup>159</sup> William Herle does not seem to have fought on campaign under Warwick, but his own influence and social connections may well have been a factor in helping his son Robert recruit the necessary men for the earl.

---

<sup>153</sup> Bell et al., *Soldier*, p. 84; Green, 'Military Personnel', p. 139; Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 178-9 and 209; idem., 'Aristocracy', p. 178; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 20-1 and 56-7; Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revisited', p. 187; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 184; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', p. 19; Ingamells, 'Household Knights', p. 17; Tebbit, 'Household Knights', pp. 25 and 29; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 103; Simpkin, *Aristocracy at War*, p. 112.

<sup>154</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>155</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 492 and 590; 1350-54, p. 357; 1358-61, p. 181. For more details see Chapter 4, pp. 174-6.

<sup>156</sup> At the time of his father William's death in 1347, Robert was described as '30 years and more': *CIPM*, 1347-51, p. 19.

<sup>157</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 188.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290; *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 272.

<sup>159</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 571.

Herle's requirement of bringing four men-at-arms for Beauchamp's retinue is also comparable with the numbers of men provided by the knights of Henry of Grosmont's household. The indenture of retainer made between Henry and Edmund Ufford stipulated that the latter would bring three men-at-arms for war service.<sup>160</sup> Elsewhere a protection warrant, which can be dated as a list for Grosmont's retinue in 1344 through cross-referencing with the Chancery Rolls, provides detail about the men-at-arms that some of his knights brought with them on campaign.<sup>161</sup> James Audley (d. 1386) and William Marmyon brought one additional man each; Philip Despenser, Nicholas de Ry and Adam Everyngham provided two; John Lovel matched Herle's stipulated contribution of four men and Richard FitzSymond joined with five; Hugh Meynill, William la Zouche and John Norwich had sub-retinues of seven, eight and ten men respectively, but it is worth noting that these latter three were all knights of banneret status.<sup>162</sup>

Aside from these considerations, the earls needed their household knights to be adept at actual fighting. While the relevance of tournament participation for training in warfare is broadly acknowledged,<sup>163</sup> there has been less appreciation for the regular, individual combat training and resultant fighting skill of knights.<sup>164</sup> A detailed exploration of this is beyond the scope of the current study, but the prowess resulting from practice can be readily seen in the military engagements of the mid-fourteenth century. For this matter, it is useful to begin by considering some of the pitched battles of the period. Though they were infrequent and risky undertakings, pitched battles were dramatic and potentially decisive events in the course of a campaign, and their characteristics could vary from each other as well as those of smaller engagements. The aim here will be to explore which of the magnates' men were with them during particular confrontations, as well as how their combined skill and experience were strategically important.

The hallmark confrontation of Crécy in 1346 forms a powerful example.<sup>165</sup> The earls of Warwick and Northampton were both involved in the action, and there is little doubt that

---

<sup>160</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 156-7.

<sup>161</sup> C 81/1724; C 76/19. The knights listed in the warrant match well with the names in Grosmont's retinue for 1344, in particular the corroboration of less common individuals like Philip Despenser, James Audley, John Dalton and William Marmyon.

<sup>162</sup> C 81/1724.

<sup>163</sup> See above, pp. 98-9.

<sup>164</sup> For a fuller discussion of this, see Pierre Gaité, 'Exercises in Arms: The Physical and Mental Combat Training of Men-at-Arms in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 16 (2018), 99-122.

<sup>165</sup> For what follows, see Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed and trans. by Geoffrey Brereton (London: Penguin, 1978), pp. 84-94; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, pp. 179-84; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 216; Le Baker *Chronicle*, pp. 72-8; Gray, *Scalacronica*, pp. 114-5; Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 60-63; Marilyn Livingstone and Morgen Witzel, *The Road to Crécy: The English Invasion of France, 1346* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), pp. 272-8; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 266-71; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 174-5; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 278-81; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 213-56; Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 206-7 and 227.

the men of their retinue would have been close by. Precise details about how the English army was arranged remain unclear, but it appears that the troops were arrayed in three divisions: one under the nominal command of the Black Prince, supported by the earl of Oxford and the army's co-marshals, Thomas Beauchamp and Godfrey Harcourt; one led by the earls of Northampton and Arundel; and one headed by Edward III himself. Archers were apparently deployed in groups in between and in front of the divisions, which comprised dismounted men-at-arms and infantry. The battle ended in a resounding victory for the English forces, though it is well known that the prince, Warwick and their comrades were sternly tested by the successive assaults of the French army.<sup>166</sup>

The precise makeup of a retinue could alter during the course of a campaign,<sup>167</sup> but looking at the names in the Beauchamp's retinue for the expedition, we can be reasonably sure that those engaged in the fighting around him included stalwarts like Robert Herle, William Lucy, Nicholas Pecche, as well as Nicholas Burneby, John Lovel of Tichmarsh, John Folville, Robert Bracy and Richard Whitacre.<sup>168</sup> In the second division, William Bohun and his followers were also active in the battle, deployed according to Froissart 'to support the Prince, if the need arose'.<sup>169</sup> Among those who would have been with Bohun at the time were his brother Oliver, Robert Corbet, Richard Denton, Peter Favelore, Robert Manteby, Thomas Mandeville, John and Hugh Neville, William Tallemache and the ubiquitous Gerard Wyderyngton.<sup>170</sup>

The English strategy was to hold a defensive position with mixed ranks of men-at-arms and archers, disrupting the enemy's onslaught through a combination of arrow volleys and ditches that had been dug into the ground before them. The men-at-arms and regular infantrymen could then more easily dispatch the remaining foes from each dissipated assault wave.<sup>171</sup> This approach can be traced back to the battles of Dupplin Moor (1332) and Halidon Hill (1333).<sup>172</sup> Admittedly, the 1336 and 1337 campaigns did not eventually provide

---

<sup>166</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 91-2; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 937-8; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 280-1.

<sup>167</sup> Ayton, 'Normandy Campaign', p. 256; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 124.

<sup>168</sup> Of these men, we know for certain that Lysours, Herle, Lucy and Pecche were veterans of the Scottish expeditions under Beauchamp's command: C 71/16; E 101/19/36; E 101/20/17; C 76/20.

<sup>169</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 87.

<sup>170</sup> C 76/20.

<sup>171</sup> DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 170-5; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 280 and 294; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 230-2; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 268. For the role of the archers at Crécy and similar pitched battles of the period, see Robert Hardy, 'The Longbow', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 161-82; David Whetham, 'The English Longbow: A Revolution in Technology?' in *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas*, ed. by L. J. Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 213-32; Russell Mitchell, 'The Longbow-Crossbow Shootout at Crécy (1346): Has the "Rate of Fire Commonplace" Been Overrated?' in *ibid.*, pp. 233-59; Rogers, 'Development of the Longbow', pp. 340-1.

<sup>172</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 149-51 and 159-60; Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 100; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 268; Ayton, 'English Armies', pp. 315-6.

the opportunity to adopt this strategy again in a sizeable battle, and we cannot decisively tell whether Beauchamp's and Bohun's veterans from previous campaigns had been present at those earlier battles. However, we can reasonably assume that they were familiar with how those victories were achieved.<sup>173</sup> Moreover, even during a campaign where no pitched battles took place, the earls and their closest associates must have been prepared for the eventuality, and had some idea of how they would face the danger. This is also confirmed by Christopher Candy's observation that by the Scottish campaign of 1337, of which Beauchamp had overall command, the proportion of men-at-arms and their 'expected roles in battle' had significantly changed, imitating the model of victorious forces earlier in the decade; as the very composition of the English armies in Scotland had changed significantly by this date, it stands to reason that they were expected to fight in a way that suited this change.<sup>174</sup> We also know that Bohun's men adopted the same strategy at the battle of Morlaix in Brittany in 1342, where they were able to rout a substantially larger French force under Charles of Blois.<sup>175</sup>

Thus, the knights under Beauchamp and Bohun were familiar with these tactics from their previous campaign experience. As elite warriors and trusted servants, the household knights around the two earls would no doubt have taken a leading role in executing the English battle plan, at Crécy and similar confrontations, for they were familiar with both the strategy and with fighting alongside each other.<sup>176</sup> The effectiveness of the household contingents in the English army can perhaps be attributed to a mixture of combat skill, past experience, effective leadership, and the matrix of personal bonds that facilitated cooperation within the followings.

The triumph of Crécy actually proved to be just the beginning of an enduring military collaboration between Thomas Beauchamp and the Black Prince. The two leaders fought together again during the prince's great *chevauchées* in 1355 and 1356, the latter culminating in the battle of Poitiers, and they continued campaigning together in Gascony in the early 1360s.<sup>177</sup> In September 1356, the prince's army was being pursued by a much

---

<sup>173</sup> Muhlberger, *Deeds of Arms*, p. 3 bears mentioning here: 'Warriors of the fourteenth century must have talked endlessly and in detail about combats they had witnessed or about famous fights that had involved their friends, companions or relatives'.

<sup>174</sup> Candy, 'Scottish Wars', p. 182.

<sup>175</sup> Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 67-8; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 709-12; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 13-4; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 67-8; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 139-44. On this occasion, we know that Bohun was joined by Robert Bouchier, John FitzJohns, William lord Greystock, John Bardolf and John FitzWalter: C 76/17; *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 647.

<sup>176</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 206-7 and 227. See also Matthew Bennett, 'Battle Tactics', p. 2; Ayton, 'Aristocracy', pp. 173-5; idem., 'Thomas Ughtred', p. 129; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 14-6 and 20.

<sup>177</sup> Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 142-4; Avesbury, *De Gestis Edwardi Tercii*, pp. 449-50. See also Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 33-4; Peter Hoskins, *In the Steps of the Black Prince: The Road to Poitiers, 1355-*

larger force headed by King John II of France. Battle lines were drawn on 18 September, with the English troops again divided into three divisions: the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury commanded the rear guard, the Black Prince took the central division and Beauchamp headed the vanguard.<sup>178</sup> On this occasion, the French army originally planned to advance on the English position dismounted. However, when Audrehem, one of the French co-m Marshals, saw Warwick move the vanguard to help the English baggage train across the nearby Miosson river, he interpreted this as the beginning of a retreat and promptly ordered his mounted division to charge Warwick's troops.

Again, exploring the records for Beauchamp's retinue provides some insight into which household knights were with him on the campaign. John Clinton was now also old enough to take up arms as a knight of the earl's household, and the consistent John Lysours was once again among Beauchamp's forces, along with newcomers to the Warwick following William Breton, Baldwin Freville and Fulk Birmingham.<sup>179</sup> The belligerent John Folville also made a return to Beauchamp's ranks specifically for the expedition.<sup>180</sup> Once again, Beauchamp's men followed through with the staple English strategy: dismounted and waiting in a defended position, this time behind thick hedges on the outskirts of the Nouaillé Forest, and cutting down the few who were able to reach them through the dense terrain and volleys of arrows.<sup>181</sup> Warwick's household knights and the rest of the vanguard were able to kill or capture most of the cavalry that set upon them, and Audrehem himself was taken prisoner in this charge. The rest of the battle followed a similar vein, and despite the superior numbers on the French side, their losses in captives and casualties were grievous.<sup>182</sup>

Beauchamp's household knights were thus at the heart of both of England's colossal victories in the first period of the Hundred Years War. It is worth considering what this suggests about the capabilities and renown of both the earl and his men. It appears that Beauchamp's contribution to English military efforts earned him a fierce reputation, and one could surmise this was shared by his personal following to some extent. A 1344 letter from the abbot of Abingdon addressed Beauchamp as a 'magnificent and powerful man' and 'most vigorous knight'.<sup>183</sup> It might be tempting to dismiss these words as merely following a

---

1356 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 165-92; Bennett, 'Battle Tactics', p. 13; Green, 'Household', II, p. 13; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 43.

<sup>178</sup> *Anonimale Chronicle*, p. 165; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 125-30; Le Bel, *Chronicle*, pp. 226-8; Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 123-45; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 350; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 372-9; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 256-8.

<sup>179</sup> C 61/67; C 61/68.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 351-352; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 372-3.

<sup>182</sup> Avesbury, *De Gestis Edwardi Tercii*, pp. 469-71; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, p. 228; Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 138; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 351-2

<sup>183</sup> 'magnifico [et] potenti viro'; 'militi strenuissimo': BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 49r; Tuck, 'Beauchamp', *ODNB*.

convention of courtesy at the opening of a letter, but the abbot's choice to emphasise the earl's martial strength rather than other qualities is nonetheless telling. This was of course prior to the Crécy and Poitiers campaigns, but by this stage Warwick had already accrued a substantial amount of campaign experience and judging by the abbot's form of greeting, the earl was well known for it. Edward III was certainly pleased with Beauchamp's performance on the Crécy campaign: in 1347 he granted the earl £1,366 11s 8d as a gift and reward for good service in France, and the following year formally retained Beauchamp for 1,000 marks a year in return for being ready to serve the king with a hundred men-at-arms whenever he was needed.<sup>184</sup> In addition, the *Anonimale Chronicle* mentions that by the time of Beauchamp's final campaign in 1369, his reputation was such that the duke of Burgundy, encamped near Calais and ready to intercept the English forces under John of Gaunt, preferred to withdraw from the field rather than face 'le diable de Warwyk' who had arrived in support of Gaunt.<sup>185</sup> If this was the view of Beauchamp held by the duke of Burgundy, we might well suppose that his reputation within England was no less impressive, as suggested by the evidence above. It also stands to reason that such a skilled soldier and commander would want to surround himself with similarly good warriors. There is little reason to doubt, then, that Warwick's household knights were a powerful asset on the battlefield; the outcomes at Crécy and Poitiers, where they were heavily involved in the fighting, certainly indicates this.

The knights of Henry of Grosmont were not present for the landmark victory at Crécy as they were engaged in the duchy of Aquitaine at that time, but while there they achieved a dramatic and significant victory of their own at the battle of Auberoche in 1345.<sup>186</sup> A force led by Louis of Poitiers and the count de l'Isle arrived in the region to confront Grosmont's incursion and take back the towns and fortified positions that the English had captured since Henry's arrival in early August.<sup>187</sup> By mid-October this army, somewhere between 7,000 and 10,000 in number, laid siege to the recently captured Auberoche. Upon learning this, Grosmont led his small force of around 1,200 to Auberoche by night via backroads, secretly camping his troops in the nearby forest.<sup>188</sup> They waited in vain for the earl of Pembroke Laurence Hastings to arrive with reinforcements, and eventually Grosmont and his principal knights had to devise a plan without him: the English archers would crawl to the edge of the woodland cover while the men-at-arms quietly manoeuvred to the rear of the great meadow that the besiegers were occupying outside Auberoche; at Henry's signal the archers would

---

<sup>184</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 440; 1348-50, p. 145; *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 562.

<sup>185</sup> *Anonimale Chronicle*, p. 61; Tuck, 'Beauchamp', *ODNB*; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 46.

<sup>186</sup> Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 55-8; *Anonimale Chronicle*, p. 18; Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 68.

<sup>187</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 113, 120 and 123.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

begin releasing their volleys on the unsuspecting French, with the cavalry charging the camp immediately after.<sup>189</sup> The strategy required delicate execution, and if not successful then the English risked being overwhelmed and destroyed by the far larger army. Such an outcome would have been fatal for the entire Anglo-Gascon campaign. In the event, however, the approach worked perfectly: despite their vastly superior numbers, the French army was defeated, suffering heavy losses. Louis of Poitiers and the count de l'Isle were captured, in addition to a further two dozen prominent figures for lucrative ransoms.<sup>190</sup> While not comparable in scale to the battle of Crécy, the triumph at Auberoche was a dramatic morale boost for the Anglo-Gascon forces, and for the rest of the year they were free to consolidate their grip on the region without serious resistance in the field.

Surviving records and chronicles provide remarkable detail about who was in Grosmont's retinue during the whole Aquitaine expedition, and from this it is possible to deduce which of his household knights were most likely with him for the battle of Auberoche. Absolute certainty in this is not possible, as some of Henry's men were needed to take charge of the garrisons at other key locations in the duchy.<sup>191</sup> However, we can be certain that Frank van Halen was involved because Grosmont had appointed him as constable of Auberoche, and the Brabantine knight is known to have led the sortie that completed the rout of the besiegers.<sup>192</sup> It is also likely that Hugh Meynill, Thomas Cok and John Norwich were still free to participate; these three took control of important locations later in the campaign, but it seems likely that Grosmont would have appointed them for the reason they were not already installed elsewhere.<sup>193</sup> Alex Auncel and Stephen Gumby may also have been present; they had been left in place with Ralph Stafford to lead the garrison at Libourne, but these troops were apparently added to Henry's force before he headed for Auberoche.<sup>194</sup> Among the others who were probably with him at the battle, particular names that stand out are Peter and Robert de la Mare, Edmund Ufford, Stephen Cosington, the elder Ralph Hastings, Adam Everyngham and Philip Lymbury, as well as the indefatigable campaigners Nicholas de Ry and Theobald Trussell.<sup>195</sup> Each of these stand out in the historical record as being among some of Grosmont's closest and most dedicated household

---

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., pp. 125-6 and 132; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>191</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 130.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-30 and 136. John Norwich was probably in command of the detachment that captured Angoulême, as he was later made governor of the town. Cok was later appointed governor of Villefranche, and Meynill played a significant role in the defence of Aiguillon the following year.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., pp. 123-4.

<sup>195</sup> E 101/25/9; C 76/20; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 243-63; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 120-30. For a comprehensive list of knights in Grosmont's retinue, including those on the 1345 campaign, see Appendix B.

men, and their presence would have been invaluable in such a crucial moment when the earl of Derby's overall success in Aquitaine hung in the balance.

Equally intriguing is the method of the victory, and its implications for the knights in Henry's household. In an era when traditional cavalry tactics so often failed and England's most famous victories involved dismounted men-at-arms fighting in defensive positions, it is perhaps easy to overlook that a massed cavalry charge was no easy feat in itself, requiring individual skill with weapons and horsemanship as well as disciplined group cohesion. In particular, scholarship on the tournament *mêlées* of earlier centuries, in which contests were typically fought between teams of mounted knights, has made it clear that close formation and coordinated manoeuvres were useful for attaining victory.<sup>196</sup> The besiegers at Auberoche were caught unawares, with many not wearing their armour when the attack began. Nonetheless, to cause the level of panic and disruption necessary to carry the day, Grosmont's cavalry must have needed to punch deep into the enemy camp, moving closely together lest they lose the momentum of the charge, split too far apart and find themselves isolated among the ranks of enemy soldiers.<sup>197</sup> As in other matters where teamwork is essential, a sense of fellowship, reliability, clear communication and a well-defined common goal would have been of paramount importance for the Auberoche cavalry charge. The mounted contingent of Henry's small force did also include local Gascon allies and relative outsiders, who accompanied the earl on the expedition but were not closely affiliated with him personally. Yet the greatest source of purposeful cooperation must have come from those knights most tightly woven into the membership of Grosmont's household, and such a bold tactic may have been impossible without them.

No less remarkable is that the earl and his men were able to devise their audacious strategy and move into a position where they could even attempt it. Grosmont's overall military acumen has been praised by both his contemporaries and historians,<sup>198</sup> but it is worth remembering that he took council with his household men before their plan was decided. Credit for the daring and ingenuity therefore belongs more properly to both the earl and his following.<sup>199</sup> In addition, it was no small feat for a group comprising hundreds of men and horses to move undetected to the rear of the French encampment. The inferences we

---

<sup>196</sup> Steven Muhlberger, *Jousts and Tournaments: Charny and the Rules for Chivalric Sport* (Union City: Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002), p. 20; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), pp. 72, 81 and 85; Richard Barber, *The Reign of Chivalry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 27; Barker, *Tournament*, pp. 22, 43 and 182; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 88; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 170-1.

<sup>197</sup> Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, pp. 97-103; DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, pp. 170-1.

<sup>198</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>199</sup> An interesting analogue can be found in the battle of Poitiers in 1356; in a letter written by the Black Prince to the citizens of London, the prince's wording of 'it was agreed', when describing the English plan, suggests that their approach was devised in a strategic council, attended by the foremost figures within the army and the prince's retinue: Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 351; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 373.

can make here bear close resemblance to Ormrod's comments about 'the iron discipline on which the prince could count within his ranks, as well as the overwhelming confidence that those men vested' in their commander at the battle of Poitiers.<sup>200</sup> Henry of Grosmont must have been no less sure of his own knights' ability to lead by example and complete the tricky preparations for their battle plan.

### 2.2.3 Campaigning on Crusade

More unusual examples of campaign experience could be found on the crusading frontiers. The diplomatic mission to Castile from in the summer of 1343, led by Grosmont and the earl of Salisbury William Montague,<sup>201</sup> represented an opportunity for the knights accompanying them to test their sword arms against the Moors of Southern Spain. Despite the massive territorial gains that Castile had made by the end of the thirteenth century, the kingdom was beset by trouble from its own rebellious nobility, as well as attacks from Muslim powers and shifting relations with the neighbouring Christian kingdoms of Portugal and Navarre.<sup>202</sup> The early reign of Alfonso XI of Castile (1311-1350) had thus been fraught with challenges, but by 1343 he was undertaking the siege of Algeciras, the last bastion of the Marinid Sultanate on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>203</sup>

Though Castile had made great strides under Alfonso, the king still had no shortage of problems: these included relations with foreign powers, the precarious financing and provisioning of his siege, and the formidable task of conquering the heavily fortified Algeciras.<sup>204</sup> The English delegation under Grosmont and Montague was therefore enthusiastically received for the military assistance they could provide, and were given no shortage of opportunities to prove themselves in battle. Though the siege itself was a long and arduous process, there were frequent skirmishes between the Christians and the Moors,

---

<sup>200</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 351.

<sup>201</sup> Grosmont departed in March and was back in England by the start of November. Primarily, the mission concerned a marriage alliance between the two kingdoms via Edward III's daughter Joan and one of Alfonso's sons, as well as the settling of maritime disputes: Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 156-7 and 162-5.

<sup>202</sup> Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 267-72; Nicolas Agrait, 'The Experience of War in Fourteenth-Century Spain: Alfonso XI and the Capture of Algeciras (1342-1344)', in *Crusaders, Condottieri and Canon: Medieval Warfare in Societies Around the Mediterranean*, ed. by Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 213-37 (pp. 215-8).

<sup>203</sup> Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 159-60; Joseph, F. O'Callaghan, *The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle of the Strait*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 193; Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, 'Christian Expansion in Medieval Iberia: Reconquista or Crusade?', in *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 163-78 (p. 176); Agrait, 'Alfonso XI', p. 215. See also Joseph, F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 212.

<sup>204</sup> O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade*, pp. 193-7; Agrait, 'Alfonso XI', pp. 215-8.

who made regular sorties out of Algeciras.<sup>205</sup> It is also known that Henry and his men spent some time aboard the ships of the Castilian fleet blockading the town from the Strait of Gibraltar.<sup>206</sup>

Decisive information about who of Henry's household knights accompanied him to Spain is unfortunately sparse. Of those closely associated with him, we can only be sure of Thomas Cok and Edmund Everard.<sup>207</sup> However, a good many of Henry's closest men were with him very shortly before and after the expedition, during the siege of Vannes (November and December 1342)<sup>208</sup> and Henry's diplomatic mission to the papal court at Avignon (May or June 1344)<sup>209</sup> respectively. It is therefore quite probable that several of these men were also with him in the interim,<sup>210</sup> and difficult to imagine that many of Henry's most dedicated soldiers and companions would pass up the opportunity to fight against the enemies of Christendom.<sup>211</sup>

The fighting at Algeciras must have been a somewhat different prospect compared to what Grosmont and his knights were normally used to in Scotland, France and the Low Countries. Aside from the overbearing heat that must have accompanied a campaign in Southern Spain over the summer months, the Moors themselves represented a threat unlike the enemies they had faced before in Scotland, France or the Low Countries. For instance, the Moorish style of riding, with bent knees for greater control over the horse and thus greater manoeuvrability, had implications for how their cavalry would move and operate in battle.<sup>212</sup> Human anatomy of course functioned in the same way and while the technology of arms and armour were not worlds apart, engaging an unfamiliar foe in combat could be especially perilous. The lesson is well illustrated by an episode involving the Gascon count of Foix and his companions who also joined the siege for a time; the count and his men were warned not to charge ahead by themselves specifically because they were unfamiliar with the Moors' way of fighting, and when they did so regardless they had to be rescued by their Castilian allies.<sup>213</sup> The cannons used by the Moorish defenders also presented a problem. A hit from a cannon could easily be fatal, and the burning gunpowder 'caused ulcerations that

---

<sup>205</sup> O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade*, pp. 195 and 204.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-7.

<sup>207</sup> *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 338 (Everard); *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 18 (Cok).

<sup>208</sup> C 76/17; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>209</sup> C 76/19; C 81/1724; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 165-7.

<sup>210</sup> This means Grosmont would have been joined by any combination of: James Audley, Ralph Asteleye, Richard Bastreville, Roger Belers, Andrew Braunche, John Bosun, Stephen Cosington, John Dalton, Adam Everyngham, Ralph Hastings, John Lovel, Philip Lymbury, Peter de la Mare, William Marmyon, Hugh Meynill, Reginald Mohun, Robert Neville, John Norwich, Richard Rawcliffe, Nicholas de Ry, John Seyton, Richard Shelton, Theobald Trussell, Edmund Ufford, John Walkyngton and William la Zouche of Totteneys.

<sup>211</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>212</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, p. 130.

<sup>213</sup> O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade*, pp. 199-200.

led inevitably to death'.<sup>214</sup> Overall, the crusade frontier in Southern Spain was a stern test of chivalric prowess. Henry himself was apparently wounded in the face, while two members of his own household were killed in action.<sup>215</sup> It is perhaps a testament to the skill of Grosmont's knightly household that the casualties were not worse.

The crusading frontier of Prussia presented yet another different kind of warfare, and here too the knights of the earls were active. Livonia and Prussia were officially converted to Christianity through the efforts of the Teutonic Order by the end of the thirteenth century, so by the fourteenth century the crusading frontier had shifted to Lithuania.<sup>216</sup> English crusading activity in the region started gathering momentum from the 1330s, and Grosmont's venture there in 1352 was the first independent English expedition to the region.<sup>217</sup> A large body of troops accompanied him in the hopes of crusading against the pagans, including several prominent household knights.<sup>218</sup> However, in the event it does not seem that Grosmont and the troops with him were able to go on a *Reise*, a foray into the territory of the pagan enemy.<sup>219</sup> These were in any case infrequent, generally occurring only a few times a year, and even then only when the conditions were favourable: the boggy ground was often impassable for baggage trains and mounted men-at-arms, except in dry summers or hard winters in which the ice was thick enough to support horses.<sup>220</sup>

In contrast, Beauchamp had better luck when he travelled to Prussia in the summer of 1365, the winter of 1365-66 and again in 1367-68.<sup>221</sup> He had initially made plans to join King Peter of Cyprus (d. 1369) for a Cypriot crusade in 1364, but had to change plans when Peter's preparations took too long and Edward III recalled Beauchamp to France due to the outbreak of civil war in Brittany.<sup>222</sup> Instead, the earl secured permission to commute his crusade vow to Prussia, and made repeated journeys to the frontier. The membership of

---

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>215</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 55.

<sup>216</sup> Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, 'Northern Crusades: Between Holy War and Mission', in *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 144-62 (p. 152); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 1997), pp. 138-9 and 150; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 220.

<sup>217</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 43-5, 74-5, 208; Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 389.

<sup>218</sup> Among those reportedly with Grosmont were Nicholas de Ry, William lord Greystock and Niel Loring; other knights included Henry Percy, John Neville, William Cantilupe and William Bernak: *Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348-58*, ed. by T. de Limburg-Stirum, I, pp. 383-4; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 548 and 703.

<sup>219</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 703; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-5; von Güttner-Sporzyński, 'Northern Crusades', p. 152.

<sup>220</sup> Alan V. Murray, 'The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 41 (2010), 413-29 (p. 417); Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 382-4 and 387.

<sup>221</sup> Axel Ehlers, 'The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 21-44 (pp. 34-5); Murray, 'Saracens', p. 418; Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 389.

<sup>222</sup> Ehlers, 'Lithuania Reconsidered', pp. 34-5; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 43-5.

Warwick's retinue for the Prussian expeditions is unclear, though some clues are available from his crusade plans in 1364. Beauchamp's petitions to the papal court reveal that among those intending travelling with him were William Breton, Nicholas Golafre and Ralph Basset of Sapcote.<sup>223</sup> If these men took similar crusade vows as Beauchamp, they may also have transferred this to a Prussian campaign.

As with the knights of Grosmont in Spain, the men who eventually travelled with Beauchamp on crusade found an altogether different type of warfare awaiting them. Between the territory of the Teutonic Order and the Lithuanians was an expanse of uninhabited wilderness made up of dense forest and undergrowth as well as marshlands, lakes and tributaries of the Niemen, Neris and Viliya rivers.<sup>224</sup> Campaigning in such an environment was consequently a great logistical challenge; provisions needed to be transported alongside the retinue in sledges, and much of the fighting took place in close proximity to the rivers, as it was easier to transport fresh supplies to troops via these waterways.<sup>225</sup> With a *Reise* generally only possible in a sufficiently cold winter, the weather conditions must have also made for an intense and difficult experience. Moreover, the terrain was suitable only for groups the size of a lord's retinue, and this in turn may have created a more ominous, oppressive atmosphere. It is not without good reason then that *Reisen* 'enhanced reputations in a tangible way'.<sup>226</sup> In such conditions, the military experience and personal bonds formed by membership in the knightly household would have been valuable assets in ensuring that comrades returned home alive.

#### 2.2.4 Skirmish, Siege and Naval Warfare

In the more familiar surrounds of France, Scotland and the Low Countries, pitched battles were not the only kind of fighting that household knights were involved in. The individuals in this study were also familiar with sieges and naval battles, and even on campaigns where no large battle took place, smaller-scale raids and skirmishes were a frequent form of fighting.<sup>227</sup> For instance, Beauchamp and Grosmont were among the English lords who took part in a raid through the Scottish Highlands in late September 1335.<sup>228</sup> Several important

---

<sup>223</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>224</sup> Murray, 'Saracens', pp. 417-8; Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 139-40 and 167-8; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 382-4 and 387-8.

<sup>225</sup> Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 172-3; Murray, 'Saracens', p. 417.

<sup>226</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 94. See also Murray, 'Saracens', p. 425.

<sup>227</sup> Ayton 'English Army', p. 200. Destruction of the settlements and countryside was a calculated strategy in the English war effort: Herbert James Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), pp. 93-9; Clifford Rogers, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. by Clifford Rogers (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 265-83; Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, pp. 62-3 and 69; Bennett, 'Battle Tactics', p. 1. A good summary of historiography on Edward III's strategy more broadly can be found in Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 230-4.

<sup>228</sup> Candy, 'Scottish Wars', p. 140.

household knights joined Grosmont the following year when he took command for another Scottish campaign, charged by Edward III with subduing the lowlands up to Perth.<sup>229</sup> Beauchamp and Bohun were also present with their retinues on the expedition.<sup>230</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this study to recount every smaller-scale engagement where the three earls and their household knights were involved. Instead, a few particularly noteworthy examples from the Crécy campaign of 1346-47 should serve to explain how the knights played an integral part in such encounters. Data collated by Ronald Braasch on chronicle accounts of skirmishes throughout the Hundred Years War indicates that English forces generally fared well against the French in such engagements, with the chroniclers usually attributing English victories to either the longbow, superior courage, the element of surprise or a lack of discipline and effectiveness in the French soldiers.<sup>231</sup> Likewise, the household knights in this study enjoyed no small amount of success when they were involved in skirmishes, but a close inspection of these encounters indicates that skill and group cohesion, as well as courage, were a significant influence in the English victories.

First, there was the assault on Caen in Normandy on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1346. The fighting began in a premature, impromptu manner: the English army had initially camped two leagues away at a nearby Cistercian priory, and before Edward III could rest and consolidate his forces around the town, some troops from Beauchamp and the Black Prince's division began the attack.<sup>232</sup> When Edward III learned of the engagement, he ordered Beauchamp as the army marshal to have the men withdraw. However, when Warwick arrived on the scene with some of his men-at-arms, he instead judged it worth pressing the attack.<sup>233</sup> Edward subsequently sent Bohun, the army's constable, to halt the fighting but again, after assessing the situation, Bohun and his men also joined Beauchamp in attacking the bridge.<sup>234</sup> The French defence there managed to hold out until more attackers gained entry to the town and descended on them from the rear.<sup>235</sup>

---

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114 and 140-2. The knights included the banneret Nicholas Cantilupe, both John Twyford, Ralph and Hugh Hastings, Nicholas Longford, Hugh Meynill, Thomas Cok, John Seyton and Richard Shulton were all listed in his retinue: E 101/15/12.

<sup>230</sup> C 71/16; E 101/19/36; Candy, 'Scottish Wars', pp. 142 and 273.

<sup>231</sup> Ronald W. Braasch III, 'The Skirmish: A Statistical Analysis of Minor Combats during the Hundred Years' War, 1337-1453', *Medieval Military History*, 16 (2018), 123-157 (pp. 142-6).

<sup>232</sup> *Acta Bellicosa*, pp. 31-2; Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 54-6; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 70; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, p. 172; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 902-5; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 160-1. The fighting seems to have started when shots were exchanged between some of the English and Welsh archers and the crossbowmen on the river; this soon drew the attention of the men-at-arms, who began to attack the bridge.

<sup>233</sup> *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 32; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 202-4; Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 54-56; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, p. 173; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 906-7; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 161-63.

<sup>234</sup> Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>235</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 906-7; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 161-3.

The attack on Caen was thus an intense and hectic affair; the situation began with a lapse in discipline and had to be salvaged through the quick decision-making of the commanding officers on the scene. It was, however, an important win in the English campaign. The count of Eu, the lord of Tancarville and Robert Bertrand, constable, chamberlain and marshal of France respectively, were all captured in the battle.<sup>236</sup> We cannot be certain how many or who from Beauchamp's or Bohun's campaign retinues were with them during the combat, but it is highly likely that several of the earls' closest knights would have accompanied them when such urgent action was needed. In such an environment, core knights of the Warwick and Northampton followings – men like Gilbert Chasteleyn, Robert Herle, William Lucy, Peter Favelore, William Tallemache and Gerard Wyderyngton – must have been immensely valuable for their skill, experience and synergy as a fighting force.<sup>237</sup> In addition to Warwick's own tactical acumen, confidence in the men around him no doubt made it easier for the earl to make the snap decision at Caen of pressing the attack instead of maintaining Edward's order to wait and consolidate.

It also bears mentioning that the status of Beauchamp and Bohun as the army marshal and constable almost certainly meant that the two needed to work closely together through the campaign.<sup>238</sup> Nor was this the first time that the retinues of the two earls fought in collaboration. Both magnates were apparently involved in battle at Valenciennes in May 1340, where they defeated a force led by the duke of Normandy and count of Eu.<sup>239</sup> Both earls were also involved in raids through surrounding countryside during the siege of Vannes in 1342.<sup>240</sup> Aside from the expertise and familiarity that were internal to each following, there is little doubt that the veteran knights of Beauchamp and Bohun would have been acquainted with their counterparts in other retinues: if, during the fighting at Caen, the count of Eu could recognise and surrender to Sir Thomas Holland, whom he had met several years earlier in the Baltic crusades,<sup>241</sup> then knights who served under the banners of Warwick and Northampton, repeatedly and in close proximity, would have surely become known to each other. The fighting at Caen indicates just how important experience, trust, cohesion and rapport could be in the unfolding chaos of a battlefield; the household knights of Edward III's leading magnates possessed these qualities in abundance.

---

<sup>236</sup> *Acta Bellicosa*, p. 33; Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 114; Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 202-3; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 70.

<sup>237</sup> C 76/22.

<sup>238</sup> Further commentary on the roles of the army marshal and constable is provided below, p. 119, and in Chapter 3, p. 146.

<sup>239</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 221.

<sup>240</sup> Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 36; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 252; Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 154.

<sup>241</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 907.

Of course, in spite of this raids and skirmishes did not always go well, as evidenced in the second example from the campaign, when Beauchamp's following was involved in unsuccessful fighting along the Somme.<sup>242</sup> Early in the morning of 22<sup>nd</sup> August Edward sent his two marshals, Beauchamp and Godfrey de Harcourt, to scout for a much-needed crossing over the river; with them were roughly a thousand men-at-arms and two thousand mounted archers.<sup>243</sup> This in all likelihood included Beauchamp's own personal retinue, meaning that Chasteleyn, Herle, Lucy, Pecche and the others were with him for the action that followed. The scouting force descended twice on the heavily defended bridge at Pont-Remy but were unable to gain control of the crossing.<sup>244</sup> Nor did they have better luck elsewhere: every potential crossing was heavily guarded by French troops, and after raiding and burning the villages of Fontaine-sur-Somme and Longpré, the scouting force rejoined the main English war host.<sup>245</sup>

However, on the following day Bohun and his men fared better in similar action. It was the earl of Northampton, along with royal household knight Reginald Cobham, who led a remarkable operation at the river ford of Blanchetaque. The two men led a small body of troops across the water at low tide, fighting back the more numerous French forces on the opposite bank so that the rest of the English army could make the crossing safely.<sup>246</sup> The crossing of the Somme at Blanchetaque was almost certainly a turning point for Edward III's military fortunes. If the king and his troops had remained trapped on the south side of the Somme, weary and low on supplies with unfavourable terrain, they would have been at the mercy of the pursuing Philip VI of France and his vast army.<sup>247</sup> Edward's death or capture would not only have been a military disaster for England; it would have doubtless led to large financial and territorial concessions to Valois France.<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>242</sup> After the victory at Caen and before the battle of Crécy, Edward III's situation took a brief turn for the worse; running low on supplies and with Philip VI's vast army suddenly in close pursuit, the English needed to get across the river before they were caught between the coast, the Somme marshlands and their advancing French foes: Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 114; Le Bel, *Chronicles*, pp. 176-7; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 276-7; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, pp. 235-8; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 236-7; Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 206.

<sup>243</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 206-8; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 926; Ayton, 'English Army', p. 89.

<sup>244</sup> Ayton, 'English Army', p. 89.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 277; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 105-6; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, p. 263.

<sup>247</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 276-7; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 236; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 238.

<sup>248</sup> Graham Cushman, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 92-3. Long-standing disputes over English-held territory in France, particularly the duchy of Aquitaine, was at the heart of the Hundred Years War. See Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 6-11; Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years' War 1337-1453* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002); Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 146-51; Maurice Keen, *England in the Late Middle Ages: A Political History*,

It is perhaps no exaggeration then to say that the feat of Bohun, Cobham and the men under them saved the English campaign. Here as elsewhere, the experience and comradeship of the knightly household in particular must have played a vital role in the success of the endeavour. The men probably with Bohun at the time – his brother Oliver, Corbet, Denton, Favelore, Manteby, Mandeville, John and Hugh Neville, Tallemache and Wyderyngton – were very familiar with his command and each other, having each campaigned in the earl's retinue on at least three previous occasions.<sup>249</sup> The skill and military cohesion this would have afforded them goes some way to explaining how the English detachment was able to maintain a beachhead on the opposite riverbank. Yet it is also worth noting here that the ties between the men went beyond individual and collective campaign experience. They were each other's friends and neighbours, associates in business and legal endeavours, and fellow knights of William Bohun's household. This in turn benefited their performance in combat: strong social and personal bonds between comrades not only helped to mitigate the fear of battle but also motivated them to fight harder.<sup>250</sup> In his treatise on chivalry and the proper conduct of knights, Geoffroi de Charny remarked on the 'enduring fearful physical perils and the loss of friends' that men-at-arms experience in their military careers.<sup>251</sup> This is significant not only for highlighting the mental strain that soldiers experienced, but also the motivation they must have had to fight for the sake of their comrades. Moreover, fighting alongside friends, neighbours and kin 'inherently strengthened the motivational powers of glory and shame'.<sup>252</sup> In sum, many of the successes enjoyed by English forces in the Edwardian phase of the Hundred Years War, great and small, were at least in part due to a powerful combination of tactical and psychological factors that can be seen at play among the household knights of prominent commanders like Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun.

In contrast, household knights do not seem to have improved English fortunes with regards to sieges. The capture of Calais in 1347 was a major success, but this required a vast amount of time and effort.<sup>253</sup> Earlier in 1333, the peaceful surrender of Berwick was largely facilitated by a resounding English victory at the battle of Halidon Hill.<sup>254</sup> Other sieges did not go so well. In the Scottish campaign of 1335, Beauchamp and Grosmont were sent

---

2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 89-90 and 92-3; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 179-91; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 123-5.

<sup>249</sup> C 71/14; C 71/16; C 76/12; C 76/13; C 76/15; C 76/17; C 76/20; C 81/1734; C 81/1735; E 36/203, fol. 125r; E 36/204, fol. 86v; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 530-1.

<sup>250</sup> Stephen Morillo, 'Expecting Cowardice: Medieval Battle Tactics Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 4 (2006), 65-73 (p. 67); Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, p. 40.

<sup>251</sup> De Charny, *Chivalry*, p. 61.

<sup>252</sup> Rogers, *Soldiers' Lives*, p. 171.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8 and 292-3; Cushway, *War at Sea*, p. 125.

<sup>254</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 159-61.

with their retinues and a total of 800 men to assist the Anglo-Irish force besieging Rothesay Castle on the Isle of Bute; in the end, however, the castle remained untaken.<sup>255</sup> All three earls were present with Edward III for the short-lived siege of Tournai in 1340, but the Anglo-Flemish army was unable to capture the town and Edward had to accept the truce of Esplechin.<sup>256</sup> Two of Grosmont's household knights, Adam Everyngham and Hugh Meynill, were even captured during the siege and subsequently had to be ransomed.<sup>257</sup> This was followed in 1342 by a series of unsuccessful sieges in Brittany. Bohun's men were unable to capture Morlaix despite their remarkable success in battle near the town.<sup>258</sup> Meanwhile, Beauchamp nearly forced the surrender of Nantes, but Duke John of Normandy arrived just in time to relieve the siege, and so Beauchamp returned to the main English army at Vannes.<sup>259</sup> The three earls were all present with their retinues at Vannes, and this too was unsuccessful, leading to the truce of Malestroit at the start of 1343.<sup>260</sup> Similarly, the siege of Rheims during the 1359-60 campaign was short-lived; the English army moved on after five weeks in front of the city.<sup>261</sup> Generally speaking, it seems that English armies of the period were better suited to either swift, devastating surprise attacks and *chevauchées*, or fighting defensive battles where they could exploit the terrain and mixed ranks of dismounted men-at-arms and archers. It was in these circumstances that the skill and solidarity of household knights could be used to the greatest effect.

It was less common for the earls and their men to be involved in naval battles, but here they met with significantly more success. One example is the battle of Sluys in 1340, when much of the English nobility and their retinues engaged the concentrated power of the French navy, totalling well over 200 ships.<sup>262</sup> Precise details about how the battle commenced are not certain,<sup>263</sup> but it seems that the French ships initially decided to chain their ships together in a blockade; though this was soon removed, the English ships, freely

---

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., p. 168; Candy, 'Scottish Wars', p. 102.

<sup>256</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 225-7; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 122; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 179.

<sup>257</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 282.

<sup>258</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 712.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., pp. 406-7.

<sup>260</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 251-3.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., pp. 400-2.

<sup>262</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, pp. 108-9; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 60; Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 92-3 and 97; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 221-2; Susan Rose, *England's Medieval Navy 1066-1509: Ships, Men & Warfare* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2013), p. 132. See also Nicholas Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (London: Penguin, 2004) and Charles Stanton, *Medieval Maritime Warfare 1066-1509* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2015).

<sup>263</sup> Rose, *Medieval Navy*, p. 132; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 222-3. See also Kelly DeVries, 'God, Leadership, Flemings and Archery: Contemporary Perceptions of Victory and Defeat at the Battle of Sluys, 1340', *American Neptune*, 55 (1995), 223-42; Susan Rose, 'Reportage, Representation and Reality: The Extent to which Chronicle Accounts and Contemporary Illustrations of can be relied upon when discussing Tactics used in Medieval Galley Warfare', in *Boats, Ships and Shipyards: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of Boat and Ship Archaeology, Venice 2000*, ed. by Carlo Beltrame (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), pp. 228-32.

Table 2.2 – Known household knights with the earls of Warwick, Derby and Northampton for the battle of Sluys, 1340<sup>264</sup>

| Magnate                            | Knights   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick  | Ralph Basset of Sapcote, William Beauchamp, Gilbert Chasteleyn, Richard Edgebaston, Robert Herle, William Lucy, John Lysours  |
| Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby   | Roger Belers, John Bosun, Andrew Braunche, Hugh Hastings, Peter de la Mare, Nicholas de Ry  |
| William Bohun, earl of Northampton | Hugh Badewe, John Bardolf, Oliver Bohun, Robert Bourchier, Robert Corbet, Adam Everyngham, <sup>265</sup> Peter Favelore, John FitzWalter, William Giffard, William Ireland, Robert Manteby, Robert Marny, Thomas Mandeville, Hugh Neville, John Sutton, William Tallemache, Richard Totesham, Willian Trussebutt, Gerard Wyderyngton |

able to move, had the upper hand as they engaged the enemy.<sup>266</sup> The end result was a crushing victory for Edward III: the French casualties and loss of vessels were devastating.<sup>267</sup> All three earls were present at the battle; Bohun's ship was apparently one of the first to attack, while Jean le Bel's account claims that Grosmont among others performed splendidly in the fighting.<sup>268</sup> From the protection warrants recorded in chancery, we can infer some of the earls' household knights who were with them for the naval engagement, summarised in Table 2.2 above.

Sluys may be the most obvious example, but it is not the only one of relevance. As noted earlier, Grosmont and his knights were involved in naval action in Spain in 1343. The earl and his knights met with Genoese captain Egidio Boccanegra, then in the employ of Castile and commanding its fleet at the siege of Algeciras, and joined him in an attack on

<sup>264</sup> C 76/15. Beauchamp's men had their letters of protection and attorney already confirmed at Westminster at the end of March, while those for Bohun and Grosmont's retinue were confirmed at the coastal town of Shotley in Suffolk on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> June, the same day that Edward's fleet put to sea: Ormrod; *Edward III*, pp. 221-2.

<sup>265</sup> It is an anomaly that Everyngham was recorded in Bohun's retinue, as he was more often associated with Grosmont. See Chapter 5, pp. 213-4 for more links across different retinues.

<sup>266</sup> Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 96-7; Rose, *Medieval Navy*, p. 132; Roger, *Safeguard of the Sea*; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 222-3. See also Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 65-6.

<sup>267</sup> Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, pp. 105-7; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 60-1; Gray, *Scalacronica*, pp. 108-9; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 580-5; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 223-4.

<sup>268</sup> Le Bel, *Chronicles*, p. 86; Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 28-9; Cushway, *War at Sea*, p. 97; Ormrod; *Edward III*, p. 222.

the Moroccan coast.<sup>269</sup> Later in June 1347, Bohun was part of an English fleet that attacked and scattered a French convoy trying to deliver supplies to the besieged defenders at Calais.<sup>270</sup> There was also the strategically unimportant but much-reported sea battle of Winchelsea in 1350, in which Edward III and many of the English nobility, including Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun, fought against a fleet of Castilian ships returning home from Flanders.<sup>271</sup> Things did not go smoothly for the English at the beginning. The Castilians reportedly made difficult opponents, the height of their ships made it easy for them to cast missiles down on their enemies, and some of the English tactics could be described as reckless: Edward himself ordered his ship *Cog Thomas* to ram the much larger vessel leading the Castilian fleet, causing the *Thomas* to spring several leaks, and when the Black Prince's ship did likewise it promptly began to sink; the prince and his men were only saved because Grosmont's ship came to their aid.<sup>272</sup> Yet in spite of this, and the vast size of the Castilian galleys, Edward's forces were again victorious.

A number of variables combined to produce these English naval victories. Seamanship was of course a vital and increasingly recognised factor – medieval naval technology was limited and guns or other artillery were not yet of great consequence, meaning the ability to 'lay one vessel alongside another and then to draw off if necessary' was essential for attacking and boarding actions.<sup>273</sup> Yet it is worth noting here that even the knights and men-at-arms on board were likely to have a hand in the running of the ship, as well as the regular sailors; Froissart for instance repeatedly makes mention of knights baling water from leaking vessels and throwing out hooks to grapple with the enemy.<sup>274</sup> This, coupled with the risk of drowning and inability for individuals to flee, meant that combat at sea involved slightly different dynamics compared to what most household knights were generally used to.

---

<sup>269</sup> J. A. Robson, 'The Catalan Fleet and Moorish Sea-Power (1337-1344)', *EHR*, 74 (1959), 386-408; Rose, *Naval Warfare*, pp. 117-8; O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar Crusade*, pp. 194-7; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 54. For Henry's negotiations with Boccanegra for the use of his galleys, see *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 456 and Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 162-4.

<sup>270</sup> Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 127-8; Stanton, *Maritime Warfare*; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 1021.

<sup>271</sup> Despite efforts at an alliance in the preceding years, relations between England and Castile had soured, and now Edward was reportedly keen to exact vengeance on the Spanish for attacks they had made on nearly a dozen English vessels sailing from Aquitaine: Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 114-5; Knighton, *Chronicle*, pp. 108-9; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 95; Rose, *Medieval Navy*, p. 133; Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 137-8; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 154-5, 162-4 and 389-90; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 263 and 327-8.

<sup>272</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 115-7; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 95-6; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*; Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 138-40.

<sup>273</sup> Ian Friel, 'Winds of Change? Ships and the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 183-94 (pp. 186 and 193); Rose, *Navy*, p. 134.

<sup>274</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, pp. 115-6.

The size and height of ships above the water level was also significant, the former because it meant more capacity for fighting men in boarding actions, and the latter because it made it easier to rain down missile fire on the crew of enemy ships.<sup>275</sup> In this regard, the smaller English vessels were often at something of a disadvantage compared to the galleys typically used by the French, Genoese and Castilians. However, as on land, the expertise of English and Welsh longbowmen also made a great impact. Compared to the crossbows favoured by the French and the Genoese, their superior range and rate of fire meant that English forces could dominate the contest of missile weaponry, inflicting heavy casualties and pinning their enemy counterparts behind cover.<sup>276</sup> Yet the final, and in some ways decisive factor, was the armour and fighting prowess of the men-at-arms that were packed onto English ships for these engagements. This meant that once the English fighting crews were finally able to board the ships of their enemies, the result was usually very one-sided.<sup>277</sup> In a sense, the English were fortunate that they were able to transfer their skill and experience with infantry warfare on land to the setting of naval battles. It was in this way that the household knights of the leading magnates were really able to make a difference in military engagements on the sea; as with the land battles and skirmishes described above, their extensive campaign experience as individuals and as collective retinues made them the most effective close combat troops in English armies of the mid-fourteenth century.

#### 2.2.5 Garrison and Leadership

Household knights were sometimes needed to undertake specific duties for the organising of castle and town garrisons, or for an army in the field. For instance, the reliable Thomas Cok was one of the army marshals for Grosmont during the first Aquitaine campaign in 1345.<sup>278</sup> We also know that for the Crécy campaign Adam Swynbourne was William Bohun's under-constable.<sup>279</sup> The duties of the marshal and constable of an army could be flexible and overlapping, but broadly speaking they were responsible for much of the army's management: ordering the troops if the army commander was not present, maintaining order within the ranks, dealing with any problems of discipline, leading reconnaissance parties, attending war councils and overseeing the arrangements for billeting or setting up camp.<sup>280</sup> Cok is also known to have been responsible for the mustering of troops at Southampton

---

<sup>275</sup> Friel, 'Winds of Change', pp. 184 and 190; Cushway, *War at Sea*, p. 138; Stanton, *Maritime Warfare*; Rose, *Navy*, p. 134.

<sup>276</sup> Cushway, *War at Sea*, p. 97; Stanton, *Maritime Warfare*; Rose, *Navy*, pp. 132 and 134.

<sup>277</sup> Le Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 96; Cushway, *War at Sea*, pp. 97-8; Rose, *Navy*, p. 132; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 223.

<sup>278</sup> E 159/123; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 231.

<sup>279</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 487.

<sup>280</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 172-4; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 35.

ahead of the Aquitaine expedition.<sup>281</sup> By 1345 he had been in Grosmont's service for almost a decade, and was clearly a man of considerable talent.<sup>282</sup> Cok's previous service in the retinue and appearance in charter witness lists indicate that he was a frequent and trusted presence in Grosmont's life.<sup>283</sup> The earl must have been very familiar with his abilities, and was therefore confident in delegating such an important military office to the man.

More often though, the knights acted as town captains and castle constables. Cok fulfilled this role too, governing the town of Villefranche in Aquitaine following its capture by Grosmont's forces.<sup>284</sup> The following year, Hugh Meynill and Richard Hebden were in charge of the defence of Aiguillon when John, duke of Normandy and son of Philip VI, laid siege to it in late March.<sup>285</sup> It was apparently Meynill's idea to demolish a nearby monastery in order to reuse the stone for bolstering the town's defences.<sup>286</sup> Their efforts to hold Aiguillon were helped by the arrival of several hundred reinforcements led by Cok, Richard Rawcliffe, Frank Van Halen and Robert Neville; these were able to enter the town because its position between the Lot and Garonne rivers made it difficult for John of Normandy to set up a closed siege.<sup>287</sup> Together with other forces under Grosmont who regularly harassed the besiegers, they were able to keep the town until August when the duke was summoned north to help his father confront Edward III's invasion force.<sup>288</sup> Here again we have an example of Grosmont deputising his household knights, entrusting them with important tactical responsibilities. Sometimes this required them to operate at different locations, and their ability to break off from the main army and reform with it when necessary made them a highly effective and versatile force.<sup>289</sup>

Two of William Bohun's men, Thomas Dagworth and Richard Totesham, were similarly instrumental for the defence of La Roche-Derrien in Brittany in 1347. Edward III had made Bohun his lieutenant in the duchy, but in 1347 the earl was at the siege of Calais, having been summoned to join up with Edward's invading army following the king's landing in July 1346.<sup>290</sup> Dagworth was left with command in Brittany as Bohun's deputy, while

---

<sup>281</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 274.

<sup>282</sup> The first record of him in Grosmont's retinue dates from 1336; he subsequently served the earl on at least three more occasions before the Aquitaine expedition: E 101/15/12; C 76/12; C 76/17; *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 18.

<sup>283</sup> Instances of him witnessing charters for Grosmont can be found in: DL 25/248; DL 25/1846; DL 25/2182; DL 25/2302; DL 25/2303; DL 42/1, fol. 197v.

<sup>284</sup> Le Bel, *Chronicles*, pp. 160-2 Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 712-3; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 130.

<sup>285</sup> Le Bel, *Chronicles*, pp. 162; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 713-4; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 136.

<sup>286</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 136. The defenders apparently also packed stones into barrels to supplement the limited building material.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>290</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 268 and 271.

Totesham was serving as captain of La Roche-Derrien; he had apparently settled there with his wife and a young child after initially coming to Brittany with Bohun in the 1345 invasion.<sup>291</sup> By late May Charles of Blois, the French-backed claimant to the duchy, besieged the town with an army numbering a few thousand men.<sup>292</sup> In comparison, Dagworth had only a few hundred troops in the field, but undertook to relieve the siege nonetheless. A distraction plan and an attempt to approach the besieging army undetected both failed, but Dagworth proceeded with a pre-dawn attack, concentrating on the section of the camp where Charles was located.<sup>293</sup> Despite Dagworth himself being initially captured, the Anglo-Breton forces were remarkably successful. Pivotal in the victory were two factors: Totesham making a timely sortie from La Roche-Derrien with the garrison and a few hundred townspeople to take Charles's division by surprise, and the other three divisions of the French army surprisingly holding position instead of engaging the enemy. Presumably they were following Charles's orders to the letter to not be taken in by any distractions and only fight if attacked. As a result, they were defeated one-by-one by the Anglo-Breton forces. Dagworth was rewarded £,3500 by Edward III for the capture and transfer of Charles and other prisoners taken in the battle.<sup>294</sup>

Though the engagement had no strategic significance in the course of the war, it serves as an example of how important the earls' household knights could be in the execution of military plans.<sup>295</sup> They were not simply needed to make up the numbers of fighting men or to protect the body of their lord; they acted as useful cogs in the English war machine. Bohun's familiarity with Dagworth and Totesham, his bond with them and knowledge of their abilities, made it easier for the earl to make informed decisions about choosing them for important leadership roles in his absence.

Even if they were not leading the defence, household knights still had an important role to perform in the defence of strategic locations. One interesting example is Thomas Beauchamp's occupation of Southampton in 1339, following French raids on the southern coast during the previous year.<sup>296</sup> The earl of Warwick was contracted by the young Black Prince and his advisory council, acting as stewards of the realm while Edward III was abroad, to assemble a small army, protect the town and see to the repair of its defences.<sup>297</sup> The clerk Nicholas atte Magdalene was subsequently ordered to spend £40 for making the

---

<sup>291</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 1016; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 268.

<sup>292</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 1016, pp. 1016-7.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1017-8.

<sup>294</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 289.

<sup>295</sup> Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 124.

<sup>296</sup> Michael Hughes, 'The Fourteenth-Century Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 121-43; Hewitt, *Organisation of War*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>297</sup> Southampton Archives Office SC 13/3/2.

changes to Southampton advised by Beauchamp, and to deliver 'engines, springalds, bows, crossbows, lances, targets' to the earl there.<sup>298</sup> Evidently, the earl had surveyed the strategic situation at Southampton and made a set of recommendations based on this. Foremost among the troops with him at the time were the knights Thomas Asteleye, John Leukenore, John Golafre, Nicholas Charneles, Nicholas Burneby and John Lysours.<sup>299</sup> As Beauchamp's close associates, and the soldiers closest to him in social and military rank, they no doubt had a substantial role to play in the planning and organisation of the town's defence. In the overall scheme of the Hundred Years War the defence of Southampton was not very significant, but it indicates the importance that a commander's household knights could have in achieving strategic aims. We may well suppose that the teamwork at Southampton was replicated many times by the followings of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun in the various war theatres and operations they were involved in.

### *Conclusion*

An investigation into the lives and military careers of fourteenth-century household knights reveals a number of significant points. Firstly, as some of the foremost warriors and commanders that Edward III had to call upon, Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont needed to staff their household and military retinues with like-minded, capable fighting men.<sup>300</sup> The military duties of the earls' household knights bears comparison with those of the knights who served Edward III directly. Edward's own knights were particularly significant in sieges and naval warfare, if less so in pitched battles, and made effective captains for the completion of smaller-scale operations like raids on towns.<sup>301</sup> The evidence from this chapter suggests that the knights of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were highly valuable military assets, especially in naval warfare, skirmishes and pitched battles. Moreover, they too could be trusted with specific responsibilities: we have seen how men like Richard Totesham, Hugh Meynill, Thomas Cok and Thomas Dagworth were deputised as the commanders of garrisons or smaller field armies. One difference was that as members of the king's household, Edward's knights were more regularly involved in military administration such as commissions of array.<sup>302</sup> The household knights of the earls were also called upon for such

---

<sup>298</sup> *CCR*, 1339-41, pp. 161 and 180.

<sup>299</sup> Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1. Another knight named John le Botiller was also there, but le Botiller is otherwise obscure: no other instance in the historical record can be found of him in connection with Beauchamp.

<sup>300</sup> Again, the magnates' need to have knights in their service who were highly skilled fighters is suggested in the treatise of Geoffroi de Charny when he says 'good warriors are honored by the great lords for their prowess': de Charny, *Chivalry*, p. 59.

<sup>301</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 138-9 and 154.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-122.

tasks, but this was in their capacity as subjects of the king: it did not strictly form one of their duties to the magnate they served.

Secondly, the level of military involvement varied from one household knight to the next, and a select few like Beauchamp's John Leukenore and Grosmont's Hugh Berewyk were conspicuous in their lack of military participation. However, it was generally expected that knights would accompany their lord on campaign while they remained bachelors in his household. Indeed, some knights like John Folville were notably consistent in their choice of retinue commander, even if they had no personal association beyond campaigning. Others still are remarkable for combining an extraordinary military record with enduring personal loyalty: figures like John Lysours, Theobald Trussel, Nicholas de Ry and William Tallemache stand out as some of their masters' most prolific campaigners and closest associates. A detailed examination of the military lives of these men confirms the truth of George Holmes's oft-quoted observation that there existed a 'sea of varying relationships' between the higher nobility and the knights in their service.<sup>303</sup>

Thirdly, the nature of this military service was no less varied. Fighting in large-scale pitched battles using the newly developed 'English style' of mixed ranks in defensive positions would have been quite different from naval combats, or indeed skirmish raids on towns and other fortified positions. Moreover, the household knights discussed in this study engaged in warfare across a broad range of territories, covering not only France and Scotland but also the crusading frontiers of Southern Spain and Prussia, as well as potentially any location in between – even on diplomatic expeditions where combat was not ostensibly the objective, the knights of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun had to be prepared to defend themselves and their lord. Their combat experience thus saw them facing a variety of opponents, including the knights and infantry of France and Scotland, mercenaries from Genoa, Aragon and other parts of Europe, and Moors and pagan warriors on the Prussian frontier. Though there was no doubt considerable overlap in how these foes were confronted, we can be sure that they were not uniform in the challenges they presented.

Furthermore, the examples that have been illustrated here should serve to show that any military engagement was a dynamic and unpredictable scenario, subject to change in the course of events or as new information surfaced: a town could prove to be more heavily fortified and defended than expected; a contingent of the enemy force might make a serious blunder, opening up an opportunity for those resourceful enough to take it; a strategic diversion or other scheme might fail in its aim; the disposition of enemy forces in the field or surrounding region might necessitate fast action, or a change in plans. In light of this, it is

---

<sup>303</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79.

worth emphasising the degree of skill, initiative, implicit trust and cooperation that must have existed between knights within the Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun households in order for them to confront the diverse challenges they experienced in war, and to contribute as they did to the remarkable English endeavours of the period.

Much of scholarship to date has explored English armies in the fourteenth century at the level of the military retinue, with the understanding that it overlapped with the great household, local social ties and a magnate's wider 'affinity'. From this has emerged an appreciation for the stability, cohesion and military experience of English forces, particularly in the middle decades, but the knightly household was an even greater contributing factor to this than has hitherto been realised. The evidence collected indicates that their overlapping bonds of county community, chivalric fraternity, household and retinue service made a substantial difference to English military efforts during the first phase of the Hundred Years War. This is apparent in engagements like the attack on Caen in 1346, which saw the retinues of Beauchamp and Bohun heavily involved in the fighting. It was evident as well in the assault on the ford of Blanchetaque, where Bohun's men were instrumental in holding the far bank of the Somme against a blocking French force, buying the rest of the English army time to cross the river and escape the pursuit of Philip VI's war host. It was also evident during the 1345 battle of Auberoche, in which Henry of Grosmont's victory was largely secured through the discipline, training and cohesion of his household knights. The three magnates were consistently at the heart of English military enterprises in the period; wherever they went, there followed a group of skilled and dedicated men who together could shift the fortunes of war in England's favour, and by extension the fate of the realm.

### Non-Military Life and Duties

As noted by Green, a lord's retinue 'was not a single homogenous group; certain individuals were more important than others'.<sup>1</sup> We have already explored how household knights differed in their social provenance and pathways into the household, as well as their level of military participation. We will see here that the non-military duties of household knights also reflected a variety of different relationships they could have with their lord. The evidence explored below suggests that some of these men were highly competent and trustworthy figures, relied upon for a number of responsibilities, while others were not employed in any special capacity, remaining instead as a supportive presence in their lord's household following. The following chapter therefore makes three assertions. Firstly, that simply attending on a magnate was one of the fundamental non-military duties of household knights; this attendance within the realm is reflected in their witnessing of the lord's charters, while evidence for their attendance on diplomatic missions indicates that it was also necessary for knights to accompany their liege abroad on expeditions that were primarily non-military in function. Secondly, that there were various other types of non-military service; some of these were more common than others, not all household knights were involved in them, and the extent of their involvement also depended on the choices of the magnate they served. Thirdly, that the relationship between lord and knight existed within a broader context of service and social connections, with intersecting responsibilities to lords, personal acquaintances and the crown; these obligations could often overlap, and while household knights led full and busy lives independent of their lords, their membership in a magnate's following formed an important, sometimes connecting element in their complex social network.

#### *3.1 Peacetime Attendance at Home and Abroad*

One of the most common requirements of household knights was to come when called upon and attend their lord. This is made apparent in the Robert Herle indenture with the earl of Warwick, stating that in both war and peace Herle should 'daler p[or] tout la ou le corps le count irra' and referring to the 'heure q[ue] le dit counte lui ad maunde'.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, Grosmont's indenture with Edmund Ufford makes reference to the 'heure q'il soit par nous maunde'.<sup>3</sup> This kind of phrasing is significant, because it indicates that household knights in the fourteenth century were not literally attendant on their lords at all times but rather were

---

<sup>1</sup> Green, 'Household', I, pp. 16-7.

<sup>2</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>3</sup> DL 27/155; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 63-5.

summoned when needed, suggesting that they may have served on a kind of rotational basis.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, magnates like Warwick and Lancaster would have required the company of sufficient retainers, of sufficient status, to support their dignity, either in everyday activities or at various public events, including parliaments, tournaments and diplomatic conferences taking place in England or abroad.<sup>5</sup> As such, it can be expected that being present in their lord's company when called upon was a fundamental duty for household knights.

One obvious and useful marker of their presence is their appearance in witness lists for their lord, though this cannot be treated as a rigid rule, partly because the haphazard survival of evidence can distort the overall picture,<sup>6</sup> and partly because it is apparent that some important and trusted knights are not found very often in witness lists.<sup>7</sup> As mentioned earlier, witnesses were also not always present together on the day the charter was actually dated.<sup>8</sup> However, although witness data for the earls may not be perfectly accurate, it can still provide some indication of who enjoyed a greater level of responsibility, trust or closeness to their lord, and approximate times when they were present in the household.

For the earl of Warwick there exists a useful body of witness data, mainly thanks to the volume of charters transcribed in British Library manuscript Additional 28024, typically known as the 'Beauchamp Cartulary'. This data is summarised in Table 3.1 below. Though it represents only a fraction of the charters composed in Beauchamp's lifetime, it gives at least some impression of when and where his household knights joined him, and how frequently. The witness data for Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun is unfortunately less substantial, as there does not exist the same collection of charters in a single manuscript for these lords as there does for Beauchamp. Nonetheless, the findings for each are presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

As is apparent from Table 3.1, for some knights like Charneles, Montfort, Stafford, Breton, Clinton and the Bassets there is only limited evidence of them acting as witnesses for the earl of Warwick's charters,<sup>9</sup> while others like John Pecche, the older William

---

<sup>4</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179. See also Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 209; idem., *English Nobility*, p. 88; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 43 and 90.

<sup>5</sup> Coss, 'Military Community', p. 35; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 139-40 and 142-4; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> In particular, *CCR, 1346-49*, pp. 74 and 80 includes a cluster of enrolled charters from 1346, all dated at Porchester just before the parties embarked for France, which slightly skews some of the figures.

<sup>7</sup> Ralph Basset of Sapcote, for instance, does not appear frequently as a witness in the Thomas Beauchamp charters tallied here, even though it is clear that his service was of considerable value to Warwick: see below, pp. 125 and 144-5.

<sup>8</sup> Given-Wilson, 'Witness Lists', pp. 38-44; Green, 'Household', I, p. 12. See Introduction, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 76r (Charneles); fols. 15r-15v (Montfort and Stafford); fol. 110v; *CCR, 1360-64*, p. 550 (Breton); *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, A. 7203; BL MS Add. 28024 fols. 104v and 149

Table 3.1 – Most frequent household knights of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, among his charter witnesses<sup>10</sup>

| Name                    | Total              | Dates (Sources) <sup>11</sup>   |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---|
| John Leukenore          | 16                 | March 1339 (x5), April 1339, Sept 1339 (x2), March 1340, May 1340, Aug 1342 (x2), April 1343, April 1344 (x2), Jan 1349 |
| Robert Herle            | 12                 | March 1339 (x5), Sept 1339, April 1344 (x2), June 1344, April 1347, 1350, Aug 1355                                      |
| William Lucy            | 9-10 <sup>12</sup> | March 1337, March 1340, May 1340, April 1342, Aug 1342, June 1342, June 1346 (x4)                                       |
| Thomas Asteleye         | 9                  | March 1339 (x5), June 1346 (x4)   |
| Nicholas Pecche         | 9                  | April 1339, Sept 1339, April 1342, Aug 1342, June 1342, June 1346 (x4)  |
| Gilbert Chasteleyn      | 6                  | Oct 1346, April 1347, Nov 1358, 1349 (x2), 1350   |
| John Lysours            | 6                  | March 1339 (x5), March 1340   |
| John Pecche             | 4                  | June 1346 (x4)  |
| Ralph Bracebrugge       | 4                  | June 1346 (x4)  |
| William Beauchamp       | 3                  | April 1343, Aug 1344, Oct 1346  |
| John Botetourt          | 3                  | June 1346 (x3)  |
| John Beauchamp          | 3                  | Sept 1332, Aug 1344, April 1347   |
| Ralph Basset of Sapcote | 2-3 <sup>13</sup>  | April 1347, Aug 1355, Nov 1358  |
| William Breton          | 1                  | March 1366  |
| Peter Montfort          | 1                  | Aug 1344  |
| John Clinton            | 1                  | 1344  |

Beauchamp, Botetourt and Bracebrugge acted in this capacity with moderate frequency.<sup>14</sup>

This leaves a significant number of knights who were present very often: Asteleye, Leukenore, Lysours, Nicholas Pecche, Herle, Lucy and Chasteleyn were all witnesses six

(Bassets); fol. 106 (Clinton). The limited evidence for Clinton is quite likely because he was a minor until approximately 1348.

<sup>10</sup> BL MS Additional 28024, fols. 9r, 11v, 15r-16v, 19v, 36r, 54r, 73r-75r, 76r-77v, 78v-78r, 80v, 97v, 104r, 105v, 106r, 110v, 148v-148r, 161v-161r, 174v, 179r and 189v; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 436; 1345-48, p. 288; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80; 1360-64, p. 550; A.7203, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds: Volume 4*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: H. M. Stationery, 1902), p. 133; Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3.

<sup>11</sup> Months are provided where known, but not all charters specify any more than the year of writing.

<sup>12</sup> The ambiguity over William Lucy is due to the entry of one 'Lord le Lucy' on fols. 73v-74r.

<sup>13</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 288 mentions a Ralph Basset, but does not specify if he was of Sapcote or of Drayton.

<sup>14</sup> Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80 (Pecche); BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 15r-15v, 78v-79r and 161v-162r (Beauchamp); *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80 (Botetourt); Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80 (Bracebrugge).

times or more.<sup>15</sup> On this point it is rather telling that the earl's most frequent witnesses were a mixture of the most upstanding and administratively competent – Asteleye, Leukenore, Herle and Chasteleyn<sup>16</sup> – and some of the most dedicated soldiers in his military retinue – Pecche, Lysours, Lucy.

Though the data is less reliable for the other two lords, a similar tendency can be seen for the knights of Grosmont and Bohun, as shown in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 below. We might expect to find more instances of Lymbury, Seyton, Meynill or Walkyngton acting as Lancaster's witnesses, or Favelore and Dengayne for Northampton, but this is more likely a reflection of the limited data sample available. In both cases, their most frequent witnesses were generally knights who stood high in their favour, prominent in military service or non-military service to the earls. The importance of Cok and the de la Mares in Grosmont's service has already been attested,<sup>17</sup> and the importance of Hugh Berewyk is explored below.<sup>18</sup> The most frequent witnesses for Bohun – Tallemache, Badewe, Bouchier and John Neville – were either frequent or very frequent members of the earl's military retinue,<sup>19</sup> and Bouchier must have been regarded as a capable administrator considering his appointment as chancellor in 1340.<sup>20</sup> It is consequently tempting to suppose that the witness data for the earls is a reflection of which knights may have had some input on the legal details involved,<sup>21</sup> as well as which were especially close to their lord and dedicated to his service.

Also of note is the timing of most charters. For Grosmont and Bohun, it is interesting to see that the same or different knights could bear witness to deeds dated within a few days of each other. Even if we consider the possible disconnect between the precise date of a charter being drawn up and when the named witnesses were actually present together, we are left with the impression of the earls hosting their knights for at least several days at a time, with some arriving to replace others departing. The months of the charters also warrant some consideration. There is no notable trend in the months of the Bohun charters, but for Grosmont there appears to be a preponderance of deeds dated in either March or the midwinter period of late December to early January. Looking at the entries from Beauchamp, in particular those given when the earl was at home in his 'country', more than half are dated in the spring, from the Annunciation in late March to the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle in the middle of May. A second, albeit smaller, group of charters are concentrated from late

---

<sup>15</sup> Reference to these knights can be found in: Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/3; BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 9r, 11v, 19v, 36r, 54r, 73r-76v, 78v-79v, 97v, 149r, 161v-162r, and 179r; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, A.7203; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 436; 1345-48, p. 288; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 74 and 80.

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 130-1, 140 and 155; Chapter 4, pp. 164-5, 167 and 178.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 128, 131, 142, 148, 150-1 and 155.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>20</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 234.

<sup>21</sup> See below, pp. 130-1.

Table 3.2 – Most frequent household knights of Henry of Grosmont among his charter witnesses<sup>22</sup>

| Name                            | Total | Dates (Sources)  |
|---------------------------------|-------|--|
| Robert Hungerford               | 4     | 29 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1337, Jan 1338, Dec 1339, Aug 1344                    |
| John Twyford <sup>23</sup>      | 4     | Sept 1333, 28 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1337, Jan 1338, Dec 1339                   |
| Robert de la Mare               | 4     | Aug 1344, Aug 1349, 24 <sup>th</sup> and 27 <sup>th</sup> March 1356       |
| Edmund Trussell                 | 4     | 29 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1337, Jan 1338, Aug 1344, 24 <sup>th</sup> March 1356 |
| Hugh Berewyk                    | 4     | Feb 1350, 24 <sup>th</sup> March 1356, May 1356, June 1359                 |
| Thomas Cok                      | 3     | 29 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1337, Aug 1344, May 1345                              |
| Peter de la Mare                | 3     | 29 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1337, Feb 1348, Nov 1348                              |
| Hugh Hastings sr. <sup>24</sup> | 2     | Aug 1344, April 1347   |
| John Walkyngton                 | 2     | Aug 1344, Aug 1349   |
| William Scargill                | 2     | April 1347, Aug 1347   |
| John Blount                     | 1     | Aug 1344   |
| Hugh Meynill                    | 1     | July 1360  |
| Edmund Ufford                   | 1     | Feb 1348   |
| Reginald Mohun                  | 1     | March 1347   |
| John Seyton                     | 1     | March 1347   |
| Richard Rawcliffe               | 1     | March 1347   |
| Philip Lymbury                  | 1     | Feb 1359   |
| Hugh Camoys                     | 1     | Feb 1359   |
| Adam Everyngham                 | 1     | 24 <sup>th</sup> March 1356  |
| Thomas Florak                   | 1     | 24 <sup>th</sup> March 1356  |

August – around the feasts of Saints Bartholomew and Augustine – to mid-September – around the Nativity of Mary and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Again, this may be a distortion caused by the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but it otherwise suggests that

<sup>22</sup> DL 25/1222; DL 25/1846; DL 25/248; DL 25/1860; DL 25/2182; DL 25/2302; DL 27/155; DL 27/234; DL 42/1, fols. 66v, 76v-77r, 89r-91r and 196v-197r; *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 19 and 469; 1354-58, p. 381; 1358-61, p. 242; *CCR, 1349-54*, p. 372; Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/1/11; *John of Gaunt's Register*, I (London: Office of the Society, 1911), pp. 267-8; A. H. Thompson, *The History of the Hospital and New College of the Annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester* (Leicester: Leicester Archaeological Society, 1937), pp. 29-30.

<sup>23</sup> Witness lists do not always specify if this is John Twyford or his son of the same name.

<sup>24</sup> DL 25/2302 does not specify Hugh Hastings the elder, but the younger Hugh's earliest connection to Grosmont was otherwise not until 1355; in 1344 Hastings junior was probably still too young to be a feasible charter witness.

Table 3.3 – Most frequent household knights of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, among his charter witnesses<sup>25</sup>

| Name                       | Total | Dates (Sources)  |
|----------------------------|-------|--|
| William Tallemache         | 4     | Dec 1344, July 1355, April 1358, Aug 1358                              |
| John Neville <sup>26</sup> | 4     | 24 <sup>th</sup> and 30 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1343, Dec 1344, July 1346    |
| Robert Bouchier            | 4     | 30 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1343, Dec 1344, July 1346, Feb 1347 <sup>27</sup> |
| Hugh Badewe                | 4     | Feb 1347, Aug 1358, June 1359, Feb 1360                                |
| Thomas Mandeville          | 3     | April 1358, Aug 1358, June 1359  |
| John Coggeshale            | 3     | July 1346, Aug 1358, Feb 1360  |
| John Sutton <sup>28</sup>  | 3     | 30 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1343, April 1358, Aug 1358                        |
| Oliver Bohun               | 2     | 1333, 24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1343  |
| William Giffard            | 2     | March 1336, Sept 1340  |
| Peter Favelore             | 1     | Oct 1344   |
| John Dengayne              | 1     | June 1340  |
| John Verdoun               | 1     | March 1336   |
| Geoffrey de Say            | 1     | Feb 1347   |

when other duties and demands on their time did not preclude it, Beauchamp and Grosmont had a preference for conducting some of their estate business within specific parts of the calendar. In light of the above, it is not difficult to imagine the magnates hosting some of their household knights for a number of days around particular liturgical feasts in the season, and also using the opportunity to finalise and confirm certain grants and quitclaims regarding the family holdings.

Lastly, there is the matter of what the witness data for Warwick indicates about the tenure of some household knights. For six of the seven most frequent knights among Beauchamp's witnesses – Asteleye, Leukenore, Herle, Lucy, Chasteleyn, Pecche – the time span of their charter witnessing correlates closely with the apparent time span of their membership within the Warwick following.<sup>29</sup> For instance, it is intriguing that Leukenore's

<sup>25</sup> DL 10/276; DL 25/32; DL 25/34; DL 25/1521; DL 25/1525; DL 25/1591; DL 25/1932; DL 25/1956; DL 25/1960; DL 27/139; DL 27/174; E 40/13922; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 236; *CCR*, 1343-46, pp. 230, 238 and 487-8; 1346-49, pp. 236-7; 1354-60, p. 212.

<sup>26</sup> In one instance the witness lists specify John Neville of Essex, but otherwise this is left unspecified.

<sup>27</sup> The February 1347 indenture was actually a charter of Bohun's brother Humphrey, earl of Hereford and Essex. It has been included here as a point of interest that some of Bohun's knights were employed in the service of other family members.

<sup>28</sup> As with Neville, which John Sutton is never specified.

<sup>29</sup> In most cases the time span of witnessing also correlates fairly well with the time span of each knight serving in Warwick's military retinue, or in the case of Herle as his general attorney while abroad on campaign.

witnessing was very frequent and closely spaced until the final example from January 1349, which was after he became steward of Queen Philippa's household.<sup>30</sup> It appears that he had ceased to be in regular contact with the Beauchamp household, but his appearance as a witness again at the start of 1349 demonstrates that the connection was not severed. A similar observation can be made for Herle. He too became important in the service of the crown, and the final instance of him acting as a witness comes five years after the previous, only one year before the last found evidence of his association with Beauchamp.<sup>31</sup> Yet it would be rash to assume that relations between these men soured. Rather, it seems that the nature of their relationship with the earl had changed, turning them from regular knights of the household to something resembling 'alumni'. Greater responsibilities and opportunities had called them away from service within Warwick's household, but this did not eradicate their existing friendships and acquaintances with the earl and the rest of the following.

Related to the duties of attending a lord and witnessing his charters is the question of who formed part of each lord's household council. Generally speaking, it was the function of the council to advise a lord in various matters pertaining to his estates and other interests. For instance, in the wake of a crime wave in Lancashire Grosmont's council recommended that the matter be dealt with via a general judicial commission, requested from the chancellor, rather than the commission of oyer and terminer already secured.<sup>32</sup> There were also cases where Grosmont's council is explicitly mentioned as having influenced decisions on which manors should be included in his grants.<sup>33</sup> Given what we have observed about the charter witnesses of Thomas Beauchamp, it seems reasonable to suppose that men like John Leukenore, Thomas Asteleye and Robert Herle also had some input on the exact parameters of the earl's charters. Each of these knights were certainly well respected in their time,<sup>34</sup> and their frequent involvement in judicial cases implies they possessed a legal knowledge that would have been highly valuable for informing Beauchamp's estate transactions.<sup>35</sup>

It is, unfortunately, difficult to verify which household knights would have formed part of the council, as there is little if any explicit mention of the council's membership in documentary evidence. As with other aspects of non-military service explored in this chapter, an earl's household council would have certainly been composed from a cross-section of his most competent and loyal followers, including a mixture of knights, esquires

---

<sup>30</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 93 and 106. See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion on the 'post-Beauchamp' careers of Leukenore and Robert Herle.

<sup>31</sup> See below, p. 150.

<sup>32</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 731.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Leukenore, Asteleye and Herle are mentioned repeatedly in the rest of this chapter. See also Chapter 4, pp. 178-80 for details on the esteem that other lords must have had for them.

<sup>35</sup> See below, pp. 138-45.

and clerks.<sup>36</sup> Writing about the council of Henry of Grosmont, Fowler has remarked that 'The council is elusive, but if we conceive it in a loose form as the most important members of his entourage, we might re-construct its composition from witnesses to his charters'.<sup>37</sup> If we combine this approach with other considerations about who was prominent in the earls' service more broadly, we can be reasonably sure that household knights who served in Grosmont's council at various times included the de la Mares, the elder Hugh Hastings, Thomas Cok, Robert Hungerford, the elder John Twyford and Hugh Berewyk. Analogues for William Bohun would have likely included William Tallemache, Robert Bouchier and Hugh Badewe. Despite their low number of appearances in witness lists, Peter Favelore and John Dengayne were almost certainly councillors for Bohun as well, given their ubiquity in the earl's service.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, likely knights in the council of Thomas Beauchamp were John Leukenore, Thomas Asteleye, Robert Herle, Gilbert Chasteleyn and William Lucy. As brothers and known associates of the earls, John Beauchamp and Oliver Bohun may have also been occasional councillors to Warwick and Northampton respectively.

Yet it was not only within the kingdom that a magnate had need of household knights to attend on him. When the earls went abroad in non-military capacities, either for administrative posts or to go on diplomatic missions, it was important for them to be accompanied by an appropriate number of their followers. As some of the foremost magnates of their time, each of the three earls were involved in important diplomatic meetings in Scotland, Spain, France and the Low Countries, and with representatives of the papal court.<sup>39</sup> As has been noted by Fowler regarding extensions to the truce of Calais, 'there can be no doubt that the various embassies arrived with large retinues' and it 'is not altogether impossible to determine who these men were'.<sup>40</sup> Though we do not have a complete picture of which household knights attended Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun on such non-military excursions, we can discern enough of them to draw some conclusions.<sup>41</sup>

The presence of household men on these expeditions was not only a case of the aforementioned protocol of the lords maintaining their social dignity, but a very practical matter of personal safety: even on diplomatic expeditions where combat was not ostensibly the objective, the knights of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun had to be prepared to defend themselves and their lord. Parker has rightly pointed out that diplomatic missions were no leisurely excursion but challenging and potentially dangerous endeavours, as there was

---

<sup>36</sup> See below for example the discussion on attorneys, feoffees and executors, pp. 148-53.

<sup>37</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 733.

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 89-91, and below, pp. 142-3 and 148-51.

<sup>39</sup> See for instance Matthew Raven, 'Diplomacy, Counsel and the Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England: The Diplomatic Service of Edward III's Earls, 1337-60', *JMH*, 47 (2021), 62-88.

<sup>40</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 315-6.

<sup>41</sup> An overview of the movements of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun throughout their lives, in military, administrative and diplomatic endeavours, is provided in Appendix A.

always a risk of being attacked while travelling,<sup>42</sup> and the danger that could befall even men of great status is reflected in a number of examples from the period. In April 1340 William Montague and Robert Ufford were surprised and captured during an attempted reconnaissance of Lille, possibly because they had not been sufficiently cautious, travelling with only a small retinue or straying too close to the enemy positions.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, Henry of Grosmont and his men were ambushed in 1351-52 when they were on their way to crusade in Prussia.<sup>44</sup> The treasury travelling with Grosmont was apparently looted by a group of Westphalian knights, and Henry and his men were not released until they paid ransoms.<sup>45</sup> Travelling abroad was therefore not necessarily a safe undertaking, and men of high status in particular had much to lose if they fell into enemy hands.

Some limited examples can be found for Thomas Beauchamp. The earl was involved in several military engagements abroad in the spring and summer of 1340, but initially King Edward called upon him to travel overseas and negotiate the release of Ufford and Montague, who had had to surrender themselves as hostages for the king's debts.<sup>46</sup> Judging from the Chancery Roll for the year, among those travelling with Beauchamp for an extended stay on the Continent were Ralph Basset of Sapcote, William Beauchamp, Gilbert Chasteleyn, Robert Herle, William Lucy and John Lysours, as well as more temporary followers like Adam Asshehurst and Richard Edgebaston.<sup>47</sup> Given the mounting tensions which must have arisen from the problem of Edward's continental debts at the time, it was arguably more important than ever for Warwick to travel with a sizeable bodyguard of armed retainers. Indeed, the potential for overlap between diplomacy and warfare is evidenced in the earl's subsequent fighting at Valenciennes, Sluys and the siege of Tournai later that year.<sup>48</sup>

Beyond this, evidence for Beauchamp's involvement in diplomatic expeditions, and household knights going with him on these occasions, is rather limited. In October 1366, protection was issued to John Beauchamp while going to Ireland in the company of the earl, though the purpose of Warwick's journey is unclear.<sup>49</sup> In December of the same year the agents of the exchequer were ordered to liaise with the earl to account for his travel

---

<sup>42</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 181-2.

<sup>43</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 548-9.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 223; *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 343; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 133. Though Beauchamp was apparently not successful in securing the freedom of his fellow earls, they must have been released at some time before their subsequent capture by the French at Lille in April.

<sup>47</sup> C 76/15. The earl and his retinue initially had letters of protection up to the feast of St Peter in Chains, 1<sup>st</sup> August.

<sup>48</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 221-2 and 226-7; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 45.

<sup>49</sup> *CPR*, 1364-67, p. 323. This was possibly John Beauchamp of Hache; the earl's brother John Beauchamp had already died in 1360.

expenses during a diplomatic mission to Flanders, but it is unknown who may have gone with him.<sup>50</sup> Overall, it appears that Beauchamp's involvement in diplomatic expeditions was relatively small, especially compared to William Bohun and Henry of Grosmont. Whether it is a reflection of his abilities, temperament or both, it seems that Beauchamp was not one of Edward's regular choices for a negotiator throughout the reign. His chief talents lay in warfare and command, and his household knights had less need to join him on missions abroad except on military campaigns.

One of Bohun's earliest diplomatic roles was in the autumn of 1337, when he was part of an embassy to the Low Countries to negotiate the details for Edward's coalition against Philip VI of France.<sup>51</sup> Bohun initially brought with him forty men-at-arms and twenty seven archers, staying with him from November 1337 to April 1338, but in three months the earl was back in the Low Countries again with a larger retinue, this time comprising one banneret, as well as an additional six knights and thirty one more men-at-arms.<sup>52</sup> Curiously, a long list of protections for the men who departed with Bohun was recorded in the Patent Rolls for this particular journey. The names mentioned include virtually all of Bohun's most recognisable household men, both those who were already knights or those set to become one: Peter Favelore, William Ireland, John FitzWalter, Hugh and John Neville, Robert Marny, Hugh Morriceby, Bohun's brothers Oliver and Edmund, William Tallemache, Adam Swynbourne, Gerard Wyderyngton, Thomas Dagworth, Richard Denton, Hugh Badewe, Robert Corbet, John Verdoun, John Walton, Thomas Belhous, William Giffard, William Trussbut, and Thomas Bosehale, as well as Ralph Spigurnel in the sub-retinue of John Tybbetot.<sup>53</sup> It is unclear why such an extensive set of protections were enrolled for this mission and not others, but it nonetheless provides a valuable glimpse into the makeup of Northampton's retinue, even when embarking on a journey where warfare was not the main or initial objective.

Yet of the three magnates analysed here, Grosmont was the most prominent in diplomatic work. On each of these occasions it is possible to discern at least some of the household knights who accompanied him, and this is presented in Table 3.4 below.<sup>54</sup> Regrettably, the list of the knights on each mission is incomplete; we can be reasonably sure that more of his men went on these embassies, but we are generally limited to those for whom surviving protection letters have been found in the Chancery Rolls or enrolled in the

---

<sup>50</sup> *CCR, 1364-68*, p. 258.

<sup>51</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 110; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 196-8; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 12.

<sup>52</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 108 and 110.

<sup>53</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, pp. 505 and 530-1.

<sup>54</sup> Note, however, that neither his 1343 journey to Spain nor his lieutenancies have been included, as these were always intended to serve an important military function as well. In addition, only knights with a traceable connection elsewhere to Henry's household have been included in the table.

Table 3.4 – Household knights of Henry of Grosmont who joined or may have joined him on major diplomatic missions

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1344 – Avignon <sup>55</sup>    | James Audley, Richard Bastreville, John Bosun, Thomas Cok, Stephen Cosington, John Dalton, Adam Everyngham, Ralph Hastings, John Lovel, Philip Lymbury, William Marmyon, Hugh Meynill, Reginald Mohun, Robert Neville, John Norwich, Richard Rawcliffe, Nicholas de Ry, John Seyton, Edmund Ufford, William la Zouche of Totteneys |
| 1348 – Boulogne <sup>56</sup>   | Alex Auncel, Richard Carlisle, Adam Everyngham, John Grey of Codnore, John son of John Grey, John son of Richard Grey, Philip Lymbury, Roger Lestraunge, Theobald Trussell   |
| 1352 – Paris <sup>57</sup>      | Thomas Cok, Stephen Cosington, Niel Loring, Walter Pavely  |
| 1354-55 – Avignon <sup>58</sup> | Alex Auncel, Walter Birmingham, Bernard Brocas, Gervase Clifton, John Grey of Codnore  |

lists of Letters Patent. In May or June 1344, Grosmont journeyed to the papal court at Avignon for talks about a lasting Anglo-French peace.<sup>59</sup> Henry and his knights were already on the Continent at the time, holding letters of protection for a year in order to cover Grosmont's lieutenancy in Aquitaine. Despite the apparent secrecy of his negotiations with Pope Clement, we may well suppose that several of Henry's men journeyed with him to the papal curia. In September 1348 Grosmont headed an embassy to Northern France, sent with the aim of extending the truce of Calais agreed the previous year and also of establishing an alliance with the count of Flanders.<sup>60</sup> Grosmont's retinue alone apparently reached a total of 204 men, and we know of several household knights who went with Grosmont for the negotiations.<sup>61</sup> In 1354-55 the duke led another important English embassy which also contained the earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, sent for negotiations at Avignon to extend the Calais truce and seek an enduring Anglo-French peace.<sup>62</sup> This was a follow-up to preliminary talks held at Guînes in 1353, at which Grosmont was also present.<sup>63</sup> Henry took an entourage of ninety with him to the meeting at Guînes, including one banneret and

<sup>55</sup> C 76/19; C 81/1724.

<sup>56</sup> C 76/26.

<sup>57</sup> C 76/29; *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 179.

<sup>58</sup> C 76/32.

<sup>59</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 165-7; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 260-1.

<sup>60</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 324; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 341, 343-4 and 348.

<sup>61</sup> E 101/312/22; E 372/193; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 315-6.

<sup>62</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 339-41; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 310.

<sup>63</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 336; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 424-8.

five knights, but the names of these are not apparent.<sup>64</sup> For the major summit at Avignon the following year, we know the names of five of the knights with Grosmont. However, seeing as he had a total of over three hundred men in his personal entourage for the mission, many more of his household knights must have joined him as well.<sup>65</sup>

The case of the duke's journey to Paris in December 1352 is rather different, as the purpose was to settle a personal quarrel with duke Otto of Brunswick. In the wake of his ambush on the way to Prussia, Grosmont accused Otto of orchestrating the attack, and in the ensuing quarrel the two lords arranged for a duel of honour to settle the dispute, with King John of France acting as arbitrator.<sup>66</sup> Henry reportedly went with an entourage of no fewer than fifty knights.<sup>67</sup> We might well assume that many of these were household men who stood close to Henry, but specific names on this occasion are sorely limited. We do, however, know that Henry was preceded by Thomas Cok, Stephen Cosington and one Stephen Rumbellow, sent to represent him in negotiations with John and Otto about how to settle the matter.<sup>68</sup> Rumbellow is obscure, but it is intriguing that the bannerets Cok and Cosington, two of Henry's most consistent and effective soldiers and administrators, were trusted enough to represent his personal will in debate with such eminent and powerful figures on the European stage.

Taken together, the data can offer a few pertinent insights. Firstly, that Henry's stay abroad in 1344 provides a fuller picture of the knightly contingent that would travel abroad with him for various purposes; this included some of his most consistent followers such as Everyngham, Lymbury, Cok and de Ry, as well as more transitory members like Neville and Bastreville. Secondly, that attending Grosmont abroad was probably a staple requirement for knights of his household, as evidenced by the presence of more fleeting members: Dalton appears to have only served from 1344 to 1346,<sup>69</sup> Bastreville from 1344 to 1347,<sup>70</sup> Pavely from 1349 to 1352,<sup>71</sup> and Birmingham likewise for only a few excursions in the 1350s.<sup>72</sup> Thirdly, it is evident that, here as in several other duties, Cok and Cosington proved to be among Grosmont's most consistent and reliable knights. Given what else we know about their service under Henry,<sup>73</sup> it is plausible that they were not brought along on embassies

---

<sup>64</sup> E 372/197.

<sup>65</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 315.

<sup>66</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 317; Le Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 103 and 105; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 553, 545-6 and 712-3.

<sup>67</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 555; Knighton, *Chronicle*, p. 115.

<sup>68</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 553-4.

<sup>69</sup> C 76/19; E 101/25/9.

<sup>70</sup> C 76/19; E 101/25/9; C 76/25.

<sup>71</sup> C 76/29; E 404/508; E 403/355.

<sup>72</sup> C 76/32; C 76/33; C 76/38.

<sup>73</sup> See below, pp. 145-6.

merely to provide protection and support their lord's dignity, but also possessed a shrewd mind and could offer Grosmont valuable counsel during the course of negotiations.

In sum, it was a fundamental duty for the household knights of a particular magnate to attend on him when called upon, both within the kingdom of England and abroad. On the former occasions, this not only functioned as a way of representing the personal magnificence that men of such standing were expected to display in public, but probably also provided the lords with valuable counsel in the managing of their personal affairs. No doubt it also functioned on a more personal level, allowing the likes of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun to strengthen the bonds between themselves and their knightly retainers, many of whom were surely counted among their friends. Representing social dignity and military might was no less important when the magnates took their knights abroad with them for diplomatic endeavours, both to maintain face when meeting foreign powers and to offer some protection from physical attack. It also seems likely that some knights trusted to provide household counsel back in England could be similarly valued on the international stage, offering advice to their masters as they handled negotiations with foreign powers.

### *3.2 Special Forms of Non-Military Service*

Aside from attending their lord and acting as his witnesses, the knights were also called upon for other duties, though the extent of this varied between each knight and the lord he served. This might include working in the legal and administrative role of a county sheriff, serving on judicial commissions, or managing the lord's affairs as a steward, attorney or feoffee. Alternatively, it could mean assuming 'military adjacent' roles, such as constabships for castles in England, or working abroad as a seneschal, sub-lieutenant or other representative of the magnate. Lastly, there was also the solemn responsibility of acting as one of the lord's executors, a duty that generally involved at least one or two household knights, among other family, friends and followers.

#### *3.2.1 In Justice – Shrievalty and Judicial Commissions*

One responsibility was to work in a judicial role, including as an undersheriff. Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun all had at least one of these county offices in their keeping. Nominally, the sheriff for these counties was therefore the earl himself, but in reality he was free to have another man assume the responsibilities as his deputy or 'undersheriff'. In 1347 the shrievalty of Rutland was delivered to William Bohun,<sup>74</sup> though information on his chosen undersheriffs is limited. Grosmont held the shrievalty of Staffordshire from 1345 when it was

---

<sup>74</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 342; *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 526-7.

split from a joint shrievalty with Shropshire, the latter going to the earl of Arundel.<sup>75</sup> We know that Grosmont entrusted the office to his household knight John Blount who held the position in and around 1350.<sup>76</sup> William Scargill was Grosmont's sheriff for the duchy of Lancaster during the same period.<sup>77</sup> Beauchamp held the shrievalty of Worcestershire by heredity,<sup>78</sup> and John Golafre served as his sheriff for the county in 1336 and 1337.<sup>79</sup> In 1344 Beauchamp was also granted the joint shrievalty of Warwickshire-Leicestershire for the term of his life,<sup>80</sup> and Gilbert Chasteleyn was his choice for the office in and around 1351.<sup>81</sup>

The responsibilities of the sheriff were varied. By the fourteenth century the powers of the office had been reduced by the introduction of other, lesser positions, but the sheriff nonetheless remained important.<sup>82</sup> In essence he was the king's chief agent in local administration, responsible for executing royal orders and accounting at the Exchequer for all fines and rents within his area of authority.<sup>83</sup> The length of their tenure could vary, but in general their term in office lasted for roughly two years.<sup>84</sup> Within the justice system, the sheriff managed subordinates such as constables and bailiffs and presided over the county court. This typically arbitrated over small property suits, as well as the relatively minor crimes of 'trespass', including assault, breaking into houses and carrying away goods.<sup>85</sup> Infrequently, at the king's command or on his own initiative, the sheriff might make an arrest or pursue outlaws, but aside from this his primary judicial responsibility was to facilitate the work of visiting justices: summon defendants, confiscate their lands, empanel juries and other such arrangements.<sup>86</sup> Appointments for undersheriff were therefore a way for the earls to delegate responsibilities and ensure that a trustworthy figure was in control of the county administration, as well as another means by which they could exercise patronage and reward their followers.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 591. Blount had also been the undersheriff for Grosmont's father in 1342, and before that his brother William had held the same position in Lancashire: Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 356-7.

<sup>77</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 361 and 363.

<sup>78</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, p. 167.

<sup>79</sup> *CPR 1334-38*, p. 372; *CCR, 1337-39*, p. 286. He was styled thus in 1336 when he and three others were appointed by the king and council to arrest John de Rudyng, his brothers and sons for repeatedly trespassing in queen Philippa's park at Fakenham.

<sup>80</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, p. 167.

<sup>81</sup> C 131/8/27; C 131/9/9; E 40/60-69.

<sup>82</sup> Helen M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), p. 186; Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>83</sup> A. L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England 1272-1461* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), p. 54; Jewell, *English Local Administration*, p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, p. 38.

<sup>85</sup> John Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 33.

<sup>86</sup> Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, pp. 84 and 92; Jewell, *English Local Administration*, pp. 186-7.

<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 4 for more about the mechanisms of reward.

However, it is apparent that only a handful of household knights were ever appointed to shrieval office under the earls. It is, for instance, unclear whether Bohun ever bestowed the Rutland shrievalty on his knights. The only name that can be readily retrieved is William Overton, the sheriff of Rutland at the time of Bohun's death, and it is doubtful whether Overton was a knight or indeed a regular member of the earl's household. Similarly, there is no evidence to suggest that Bohun pulled strings to have his men occupy the shrievalty of Essex, where most of his landed interests and contacts were concentrated.<sup>88</sup> This echoes the practice of King Edward himself, who likewise only occasionally placed his household knights in shrieval office.<sup>89</sup> While it may have been occasionally useful for to have a trusted knight fulfilling the role of sheriff, it appears that the position could be something of an obstacle to their main function as military men and defenders of their lord's personal interests.<sup>90</sup> This is also reflected in the 1338 grant of respite to Richard Denton from accounting at the Exchequer as sheriff of Cumberland, because he was away on campaign in Bohun's retinue.<sup>91</sup> Thus, it appears that shrieval office was not an ideal role for household knights if it interfered with military service they would otherwise provide. It might be supposed that age was sometimes a factor in shrieval appointments; something of an age divide has been observed in county knighthood, with older knights taking up office when their military campaigning days were over. This was the case for instance with Nicholas Burneby, who served in his teens and twenties with the earl of Warwick before undertaking an administrative role in his native Northamptonshire in the 1350s.<sup>92</sup> However, other household knights noted here had not retired from soldiering when they took up their shrieval offices: as noted, John Golafre was Beauchamp's undersheriff of Worcestershire in 1336, but later served on military campaign in 1337, 1339 and 1345-46;<sup>93</sup> John Blount still campaigned after his first term as Grosmont's undersheriff of Staffordshire in 1342;<sup>94</sup> likewise, William Scargill still fought under Grosmont in the 1350s after serving as undersheriff at the start of the decade.<sup>95</sup> Overall, it is apparent that the duties of a sheriff and a household knight could sometimes overlap and coexist, but more often than not shrieval duties would rule a household knight out of retinue service during his time in office.

A far more common responsibility was for household knights to act on peace commissions and commissions of oyer and terminer. These warrant some explanation. Commissions of this sort were sometimes issued *en masse* by the crown as part of larger

---

<sup>88</sup> Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', pp. 686 and 688-9.

<sup>89</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 229-32.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 232-3

<sup>91</sup> *CFR*, 1327-37, p. 381; *CCR*, 1337-39, pp 412 and 629.

<sup>92</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 141-2.

<sup>93</sup> E 101/20/17; SC 13/3/1; C 76/20.

<sup>94</sup> E 101/25/9.

<sup>95</sup> C 76/34.

law enforcement drives, such as the mass appointments in 1328, 1331 and 1340,<sup>96</sup> and often occurred immediately before or after the king had been abroad, which were notable periods of increased criminal activity in the realm.<sup>97</sup> At other times, commissions of oyer and terminer were issued by the king and council to deal with isolated cases. These procedures were devised as a relatively flexible measure that eventually replaced the general eyre, and were intended as a way of using the landed interests of local nobility and gentry to help maintain social order.<sup>98</sup> The judicial panels assembled typically included three or four men, though sometimes more, and were a combination of justices from the courts of King's Bench or common pleas, along with trusted royal servants and gentry local to the county in trouble.<sup>99</sup> Consequently, just as the distribution of a magnate's estates affected the geographical makeup of his household knights, it could also affect his level of influence in different counties: it was easier for the earls to protect their interests and seek legal redress in regions where they had loyal and capable followers with local influence.

After beginning their work, the commissioners would hold their own inquests, drawing what information they could from the local people, including bailiffs, clerks and constables who had useful knowledge about the locality.<sup>100</sup> Most of the records for the sessions held by commissioners are now lost, but those which survive indicate that common law procedure was typically followed, including the use of a twelve-strong elected jury, who were normally men of some local importance themselves.<sup>101</sup> They would obtain information about the crime through a mixture of personal knowledge about the events and character of the people involved, as well as details provided by the reeve or bailiff in addition to any local word of mouth.<sup>102</sup> Peace commissioners had the authority to pursue and arrest suspected criminals, but usually only justices of oyer and terminer were empowered to determine guilt.<sup>103</sup> They were to receive indictments brought before them and record breaches of the peace, but the indictments themselves were either sent on to justices of assize in the case of land disputes

---

<sup>96</sup> Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 49. See also Anthony Musson, 'Second "English Justinian" or Pragmatic Opportunist? A Re-Examination of the Legal Legislation of Edward III's Reign', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by James Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 69-88.

<sup>97</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 44; Richard Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice? England's Local Officials in the Later Middle Ages', in *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c. 1066–c. 1600*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 55-74 (pp. 72-3); Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 199.

<sup>98</sup> Ormrod, *Political Life*, p. 112; *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272-148*, ed. by Ronald H. Fritze and William Baxter Robison (Westport: Greenwood, 2002); Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict*, p. 35; Walker, 'Order and Law', p. 94.

<sup>99</sup> Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 99.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*; Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice', p. 60.

<sup>101</sup> Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 783-9 and 754; Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 112.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 50-1.

or determined in sessions of gaol delivery.<sup>104</sup> The peace keepers were occasionally granted limited determining powers themselves, but it was not until the mid-fourteenth century onwards that this was developed further when the role gradually evolved into that of justice of the peace.<sup>105</sup>

Magnates themselves were sometimes appointed to lead judicial commissions in relevant counties. When Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were involved in these blanket appointments, knights of their household were often named along with them. This was the case in 1344 when Beauchamp, Ralph Stafford, Peter Montfort, Richard Whitacre and others were required to investigate reports of 'armed disturbers of the peace' killing and mutilating people at Weethley in Warwickshire,<sup>106</sup> and when Grosmont was named to a 1342 peace commission for West Yorkshire, along with two of his knights Hugh Hastings and William Scargill.<sup>107</sup> Other examples include Robert Parvyng on commissions with William Bohun,<sup>108</sup> and John Grey of Codnore, Hugh Meynill, Roger Belers and John Cockayne with Grosmont.<sup>109</sup> Beauchamp was named to numerous commissions, mainly in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, along with Thomas Asteleye, Ralph Basset, Nicholas Charneles, William Beauchamp, William Lucy, John Botetourt, Gilbert Chasteleyn, Baldwin Freville, Fulk Birmingham and John Clinton.<sup>110</sup> Although these commissions were set up by the crown and the magnates in question may have headed the panels in name only, it seems more than a coincidence that the appointments included so many of their own household knights. It is likely that the earls were involved in choosing the men for these commissions, especially as they were known to be trusted with issuing appointments, grants and pardons in the king's name.<sup>111</sup> In fact, such commissions are often stated as originating from the council, and given the earls' level of involvement in the royal council it is perhaps unsurprising that knights personally known to them were frequently named as justices. Thus, even for commissions not pertaining directly to their lord's private interests, it was not uncommon for

---

<sup>104</sup> Anthony Musson, *Public Order and Law Enforcement: The Local Administration of Criminal Justice, 1294-1350* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 60; Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 95; Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England*, p. 112.

<sup>105</sup> Bertha Putnam, 'The Transformation of the Keepers of the Peace into Justices of the Peace, 1327-80', *TRHS*, 12 (1929), 19-48; Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 95; Ormrod, *Political Life*, p. 112.

<sup>106</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 411.

<sup>107</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 546.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 111.

<sup>109</sup> *CPR*, 1361-64, p. 66.

<sup>110</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, pp. 259 and 296; 1340-43, pp. 180, 321, 411, 427-8 and 490; 1350-54, pp. 85-7, 284, 450 and 508; 1354-58, p. 62; 1358-61, p. 221; 1361-64, pp. 63-4 and 323; 1364-67, pp. 430-1 and 434; 1367-70, pp. 62 and 192-3.

<sup>111</sup> In 1348 Beauchamp appointed Geoffrey Saunderville to be keeper of the prison and marshalsea of the royal household (*CPR*, 1348-50, p. 64). There is also mention in 1342 of the chancellor Robert Parvyng passing on the great seal to Grosmont and Bohun who used it to confirm various pardons (*CCR*, 1341-43, p. 530). See also *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 623; 1364-68, p. 114; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 112.

knights to be called upon in helping Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun execute the business of the royal council, and administer justice in parts of the realm relevant to their own spheres of influence.

In addition to this, the knights could also be deployed on the earls' own personal commissions of oyer and terminer. These differed from centrally ordered commissions in the motivations behind them: the king and council's commissions were aimed at broadly maintaining social order across the realm and looking after the king's interests, whereas private suits were intended to address personal grievances. The process began with a plaintiff bringing a complaint before the court of the Chancery for special consideration; if the court decided that investigation was warranted, the plaintiff then paid an expensive fee, typically ten or twenty shillings or one mark, for the dispatch of justices to hear and determine the crime.<sup>112</sup> The fourteenth century saw an increase in 'consumer demand' for justice, and private commissions of oyer and terminer were a popular recourse for the gentry and nobility, often using these to address crimes that were particularly exotic or severe in nature.<sup>113</sup>

Private commissions followed largely the same pattern as those initiated by the crown, but the plaintiff was legally allowed to nominate justices to carry out their commission.<sup>114</sup> Requests for specific men were often detailed in petitions for a commission, and plaintiffs could be reasonably confident that their preferences would be met.<sup>115</sup> Private commissions were therefore popular during the first half of the century, as they were a formidable tool for those with the means to pay for them. Not only did they give aggrieved parties access to a judicial process that was relatively very swift, but the ability to appoint personal friends and associates on the case went a long way to ensuring legal satisfaction.<sup>116</sup> Few commissions failed to prosecute, and such was their effectiveness that even the commencement of an inquiry could force the plaintiff's adversaries into submission via an out-of-court settlement; either way, it meant the plaintiff could expect substantial amounts of money in compensation.<sup>117</sup>

This proved a very effective way for magnates to protect their landed interests, as oyer and terminer procedure was significantly faster than other legal channels and the

---

<sup>112</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 1; Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', p. 741; Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 136.

<sup>113</sup> Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict*, p. 15; Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 128; Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, p. 98.

<sup>114</sup> The practice of plaintiffs choosing their own justices was officially abolished in 1360, but it continued nonetheless: Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, p. 121.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*; Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 757-9 and 761.

<sup>116</sup> Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 762-3. See also Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 178.

<sup>117</sup> Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 755-6 and *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 178.

justices involved could choose a time and place for their hearings that would be especially inconvenient or dangerous for the defendants.<sup>118</sup> Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun did not always nominate their household knights for these commissions, but they often did. The military skills of their knights meant they would be more than capable of using the threat of force to impose their authority if necessary. Moreover, knights were typically attached to commissions in their own county where they could use their local knowledge and influence to ensure a more favourable outcome.<sup>119</sup>

The private commissions for Henry of Grosmont were often populated by his household knights. In September 1346 Peter de la Mare was one of the men he drew upon following a wave of trespasses on his properties in Derbyshire and Staffordshire.<sup>120</sup> The following year, Peter and Hugh Berewyk were appointed to hear and determine trespasses in the earl's forest of Pickering.<sup>121</sup> Elsewhere, Grosmont called on Hugh Meynill, John Cockayne, Nicholas Longford, John Cockayne, Richard Shulton and Richard Rawcliffe, as well as Berewyk again for incidents in Leicestershire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.<sup>122</sup>

Examples for William Bohun are noticeably more limited, though still apparent. In 1341, Richard Denton was among the commissioners making inquisitions about whether or not some of Bohun's other retainers were being unlawfully distrained by the keeper of Solway coast near Carlisle.<sup>123</sup> William Giffard assisted Bohun in 1343 when several named perpetrators took away goods belonging to the earl and assaulted his servants at Nedham Market in Suffolk.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, Robert Bouchier was nominated by the earl for a commission in Middlesex the following year,<sup>125</sup> and Peter Favelore was on the panel of justices to catch 'evildoers' who had caused 1000 marks of water damage to some of Bohun's land.<sup>126</sup> John Dengayne was also involved on two separate occasions.<sup>127</sup> The second of these is especially striking: Dengayne, royal justice Richard Knyvet and another Bohun knight Thomas Verdoun were charged with investigating whether William and John Brown, father and son, had 'scandalously uttered against' Bohun and implied that the earl 'had borne himself seditiously against the king'. Given what else is known about Bohun's service and relationship with King Edward it seems highly unlikely that the earl ever did so, but it is interesting to see how seriously the insinuation was taken, and that Bohun's own men were

---

<sup>118</sup> Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 754-7 and 762-3; *War, Justice and Public Order*, p. 178.

<sup>119</sup> Musson, *Public Order*, p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, pp. 186 and 230.

<sup>121</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 382.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 173; *1350-54*, pp. 30, 282, 449; *1354-58*, p. 453; *1358-61*, p. 410.

<sup>123</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 363.

<sup>124</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 181.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>126</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 310.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-2.

responsible for investigating the slander. The case demonstrates that household knights could be bound in a very serious way to upholding their lord's honour.

Various examples can also be found for the earl of Warwick. Richard Whitacre and Richard Stafford were on the panel of justices in 1348 when Beauchamp complained of people stealing his goods and assaulting his servants in Staffordshire.<sup>128</sup> A few years later, Nicholas Burneby was on the earl's commission touching a grievance that men had carried away his goods and livestock in Northampton.<sup>129</sup> This particular case came long after any other evident association between Burneby and the earl, suggesting either a trick of the surviving sources or that 'dormant' connections between a lord and his past retainers could be re-established at a later time. Gilbert Chasteleyn was also on a commission for trespass in Buckinghamshire.<sup>130</sup> Most notably, when problems arose on the earl's Warwickshire or Worcestershire lands, any combination of Chasteleyn, John Botetourt, Robert Bracy, Fulk Birmingham, Peter Montfort, Richard Whitacre, and William Breton could be involved in the case.<sup>131</sup>

Though it may be an illusion of the surviving evidence, it does appear that of the three lords, Beauchamp was inclined to use a wider range of household knights for his personal judicial commissions, and more frequently. Factoring in their primarily military role, their local authority and influence, and their loyalty to the earl, this may be an indication that Beauchamp preferred his commissions to be well stocked with men who could exert physical force if necessary. Evidence of the earl possessing a 'no-nonsense' attitude towards disobedience and wrongdoing against him can be seen in an incident from September 1337, when the sheriff of York was ordered to release William le Lount from imprisonment. Lount sought remedy from the king because the earl of Warwick, captain of the army in Scotland at the time, had ordered him to array troops in Holderness, and when Lount did not comply because he was busy executing orders from the king, he was imprisoned in York Castle 'as disobedient and a rebel to the earl'.<sup>132</sup> It may be then that Beauchamp took even less kindly to crimes against him than his fellow earls, and was therefore more willing to deploy bachelors of his household in the search for legal redress.

In short, though, each of the three followings contained at least some knights who were sufficiently competent, loyal and experienced enough in judicial process to protect their lords' personal interests in the official channels of the law. Within this, there are a few reasons why we seem to find household knights on judicial commissions more frequently

---

<sup>128</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 80.

<sup>129</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 84.

<sup>130</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 455.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239; *1348-50*, pp. 80, 311 and 321; *1350-54*, p. 146; *1361-64*, p. 210; *1364-67*, pp. 356, 359 and 367-8.

<sup>132</sup> *CCR, 1337-39*, p. 184.

than in shrieval office. Firstly, the spaces on peace commissions and commissions of oyer and terminer were simply more numerous than the positions for county sheriffs. Secondly, judicial commissions were less of a drain on a knight's time; whereas shrieval appointments tended to last for two years and involved accounting at the Exchequer every Easter and Michaelmas, judicial enquiries were more time-limited; special commissions of oyer and terminer could take place within mere days of the commission being secured.<sup>133</sup> Thirdly, the magnates usually initiated commissions of oyer and terminer after just returning from campaign or while they were abroad; in either case, the knights they nominated for the commission were not otherwise engaged in military service for their lord. Lastly, with the emergence of the esquire as a distinct social status during the mid and late fourteenth century, there was an apparent decline in the importance of local administration being run strictly by knights.<sup>134</sup> This then can explain why there was only a limited overlap between the office of sheriff and the duties of a magnate's household knights, particularly as the latter were normally geared towards military service.

### 3.2.2 'Military-Adjacent' Office – Constables, Lieutenants, Seneschals

There were a number of duties undertaken by household knights that were not directly military in nature, in the sense of warfare and campaigning, but were loosely related to military office. The role of castle constables in war theatres has been explored in the previous chapter,<sup>135</sup> but knights were also used as constables for castles in home territory as well. Edward III is known to have used his knights as constables of royal castles across the realm,<sup>136</sup> but only a few examples of this are evident for the three magnates here. One of the conditions in Robert Herle's indenture of retainer was that he would have the keeping of Barnard Castle near Durham, which was in the earl of Warwick's possession.<sup>137</sup> John Neville of Essex likewise kept the earl of Northampton's castle at Lochmaben.<sup>138</sup> Richard Denton may have also been Lochmaben constable for a time, as he and others were appointed by Bohun to receive seisin of it along with the lordship of Annandale in 1352.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, at the time of Grosmont's death in 1361 Robert Bertram was drawing a yearly pension of £20 for being the steward and constable of Dunstanburgh, also in Northumberland.<sup>140</sup> Bertram clearly gained something from the arrangement, but these posts were potentially rather

---

<sup>133</sup> Brown, *Governance of Late Medieval England*, p. 54; Jewell, *English Local Administration*, p. 186; Gorski, *Sheriff*, p. 38; Kaeuper, 'Order and Law', p. 754; Walker, 'Order and Law', p. 105.

<sup>134</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 90-7.

<sup>135</sup> See Chapter 2, 118-21.

<sup>136</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 233-4.

<sup>137</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>138</sup> DL 36/3; Parker 'Patronage', p. 46.

<sup>139</sup> DL 27/45.

<sup>140</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 101.

demanding. The Herle indenture makes it apparent that Barnard Castle would be staffed by Herle's own personnel, maintained at his expense and that he would be liable for any damage to the property.<sup>141</sup> It is also rather telling that all of these constablerships were located either in Northumberland not very far from the Scottish border, or in the case of Lochmaben actually in Scotland itself.<sup>142</sup> The resulting impression is that each of the earls were concerned with making sure that a reliable household knight was in charge of protecting their landed interests in a vulnerable area, where they could be damaged or captured by Scottish troops.

Another duty with a distinctly military dimension was that of horse valuations. It was not uncommon for the crown or recruiting retinue captains to offer recompense for any horses that men-at-arms lost during the course of a campaign, and lists of horse valuations survive from at least the reign of Edward I.<sup>143</sup> To this end, the value of soldiers' mounts were appraised at the start of or just before an expedition. Like many other details, information about valuations or who conducted them is unfortunately incomplete, though these were probably drawn up as part of the troop muster before being carried out by the army marshal, constable, or their lieutenants.<sup>144</sup> It is known that during Grosmont's first expedition in Aquitaine in 1345-46, horse appraisals were carried out by Ralph Stafford and Bernard Brocas – the seneschal and controller of Bordeaux respectively – along with Grosmont's knight Thomas Cok.<sup>145</sup> It is also known that in 1350 when Grosmont returned to the duchy, the horse valuations were carried out again by Cok, as well as his fellow household knights Robert de la Mare and Stephen Cosington.<sup>146</sup> It takes little imagination to suppose that, even with deputies or assistants involved, the task of inspecting hundreds or thousands of horses and recording their estimated worth would have required formidable organisation skills. It is hardly surprising that such an undertaking fell to the likes of Cok, Cosington and de la Mare – three of Grosmont's most reliable men, whose authority and military expertise meant they were well equipped to judge the value of campaign mounts, as well as manage both the horses and their owners.

Beyond this, there was the even more formidable responsibility of acting as a seneschal or lieutenant in one of the Anglo-French war theatres, in particular for Aquitaine

---

<sup>141</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>142</sup> Victory at Halidon Hill in 1333 led to great territorial gains in Southern Scotland for the English crown, which was subsequently distributed among Edward III's followers: Iain McInnes, 'To be Annexed Forever to the English Crown: The English Occupation of Southern Scotland, c.1334-1337', in *England and Scotland at War*, ed. by Andy King and David Simpkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 183-201; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 162-4.

<sup>143</sup> See for example C 47/2/2/19 (1283-84); C 47/3/48/16 (1288-89); E 101/8/23 (1299-1300); E 101/10/12 (1301-02).

<sup>144</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>145</sup> E 159/123; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 231.

<sup>146</sup> E 404/508; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 711-2.

and Brittany. Seneschals of the duchies functioned in much the same way as the stewards of great households, working as the chief administrative officer of the region. When Grosmont assumed his lieutenancy of Aquitaine in 1345 the seneschal was Ralph Stafford, but when the latter requested release from the office Grosmont obliged him and filled the position instead with the dependable Thomas Cok, who assumed the role from March 1346.<sup>147</sup> The office must have called for some personal sacrifice, as in February 1348 he was gifted £500 by Edward III in compensation for losses while in the king's service.<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, he must have proven himself worthy of the position, as he remained seneschal even after Grosmont departed from Aquitaine.<sup>149</sup> Another point of interest here is the multiplicity of household service it demonstrates. Cok's previous and future service shows that he was still very much Grosmont's man, but he was not perpetually bound to Grosmont's presence; he and other household knights could shift in their immediate responsibilities as their lords required, and in some sense we might consider that Cok was 'on loan' to the king as one of his ministers in Aquitaine while his immediate lord assumed duties elsewhere. It would certainly explain why Cok was not at Grosmont's side the following year when the latter travelled to Boulogne for an important diplomatic summit.<sup>150</sup>

Yet more important than the seneschal was the office of lieutenant. A lieutenant was essentially the king's proxy in the specified region, and as a result had far-reaching powers. Lieutenants were responsible for all military and administrative activity in the region and had authority over all other local offices, including the seneschal. Lieutenants could raise and lead armies, receive rebels against the king of France, grant pardons, lands and revenues, as well as appoint and dismiss officials within the duchy.<sup>151</sup> Even with a staff of capable assistants, succeeding in the office required considerable organisation, versatility and managerial competence, in addition to strategic and military prowess. By 1360 Robert Herle was lieutenant of Brittany; it appears that he was no longer in household service with the earl of Warwick by this stage, instead holding the office directly from the king.<sup>152</sup> Prior to this, the lieutenancy was held by Grosmont from 1355-58, with Thomas Uvedale, Philip Lymbury and Alexander Aunsel fulfilling the administrative duties of the office as his deputies.<sup>153</sup> As with Cok in his role of seneschal of Aquitaine, it is probable that Uvedale at least incurred significant personal expense in carrying out this office: after Grosmont's death Uvedale appealed to the duke's executors, explaining that he had lent money and rendered services

---

<sup>147</sup> C 61/59; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 231 and 712-3.

<sup>148</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 26; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 274.

<sup>149</sup> *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 435.

<sup>150</sup> See above, pp. 133-6.

<sup>151</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 59, 64, 69, 77-8 and 738.

<sup>152</sup> *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 479. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, pp. 174-6.

<sup>153</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 711 and 751-3; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 260 and 302.

to the duke which were not fully repaid; the executors for their part confirmed that Uvedale could have all right to 20,000 French crowns which had been made to Grosmont by several lords in Normandy.<sup>154</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that during the administrative or military upkeep of an entire duchy, the region's lieutenant or deputies might find it necessary to cover any unexpected shortfalls using money from their own pocket. Cok and Uvedale may have found themselves in just such a position. It is also of little surprise that Lancaster chose to delegate some of the responsibilities, and to some of his most reliable and competent men.

Earlier still, William Bohun was lieutenant for the duchy and deputised the office to his knight and brother-in-law Thomas Dagworth.<sup>155</sup> A Patent Roll entry from 1349 notes that Dagworth was 'supplying the king's place' in the duchy.<sup>156</sup> Though this might imply he was operating directly as Edward III's man, an indenture from January 1345 between Dagworth, Bohun and others states that Dagworth is 'demoure lieu tenant pour le dit' earl in Brittany, along with 15 knights, 65 esquires, 120 archers and 40 other soldiers labelled as 'bideuwers'.<sup>157</sup> This therefore reflects a similar relationship to that between Edward III, Grosmont and Thomas Cok: although Dagworth's immediate loyalty may have been to the earl of Northampton, the king's authority meant he could commandeer the service of any of his subjects, as is evident in the grants made rewarding men with exemption from being put on juries, assizes and other offices against their will.<sup>158</sup> Yet in the case of loyal and cordial supporters like Bohun and Grosmont, who were themselves so personally invested in Edward's endeavours, we may well suppose that they willingly donated some of their most effective household knights to the king's cause when necessary.

### 3.2.3 *Managing Affairs – Stewards, Attorneys and Executors*

A third category of specific duties involved acting as agents to help manage a magnate's estates in the event of his absence or death.<sup>159</sup> This sometimes involved acting as the attorney for the lord during an expedition abroad, which meant seeing to the continued upkeep of the lord's properties and in some cases pursuing his interests in the courts. The role was usually entrusted to senior clerks in the lord's following, but household knights were also occasionally among the appointees. Grosmont nominated the elder John Twyford as his attorney for his stay in the Low Countries in 1338.<sup>160</sup> In 1340 while Grosmont was standing

---

<sup>154</sup> *CPR, 1361-64*, pp. 495-6.

<sup>155</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 330.

<sup>156</sup> *CCR, 1349-51*, pp. 3-4 and 65.

<sup>157</sup> E 101/68/3/62.

<sup>158</sup> See for example *CPR, 1330-34*, p. 513; *1334-38*, p. 198; *1348-50*, p. 8; *1350-54*, p. 400.

<sup>159</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 75.

<sup>160</sup> C 76/12; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 659.

hostage for Edward III's debts, Peter de la Mare and Hugh Hastings senior were entrusted with his affairs; de la Mare served as Grosmont's attorney again in 1347.<sup>161</sup> A few years later in 1350 the role was entrusted to Hugh Berewyk, along with the clerk Henry Walton and the archdeacon of Richmond.<sup>162</sup>

Similarly, John Dengayne acted as William Bohun's general attorney in 1338 while the earl was away in the Low Countries.<sup>163</sup> Bohun also nominated his brother Oliver and Peter Favelore as his special attorneys while staying as a hostage for the king's debts.<sup>164</sup> At around the same time, he and his wife Elizabeth put Dengayne in place to pursue Elizabeth's share of the Badlesmere inheritance.<sup>165</sup> This proved to be a lengthy process, as in 1341 it was necessary for the couple to appoint Favelore and clerk William Dersham to continuing suing for Elizabeth's inheritance.<sup>166</sup> Dengayne acted as general attorney again in 1342, along with Favelore and Robert Parvyng, during the earl's first Brittany campaign.<sup>167</sup> Bohun nominated Dengayne for the responsibility again in 1345, 1347 and 1355, along with Favelore on the latter two occasions.<sup>168</sup>

A number of specific details survive about the activity of the earl's attorneys. In July 1342 Dengayne, Favelore and Dersham acknowledged a debt of £750 to the London merchant Andrew Aubrey, 'pepperer', to be levied out of Northampton.<sup>169</sup> A connection to Bohun is not specifically mentioned here, but the timing and people involved in the recognisance means that it is likely the three men took on the loan in their capacity as Bohun's attorneys, raising money on the earl's behalf to cover expenses in his role as lieutenant of Brittany. This is apparent again in a recognisance from June 1345, when Dengayne, Dersham and two other Bohun associates, Robert Teye and Richard Knyvet, acknowledged a debt of 2,000 marks; the timing happens to coincide with Bohun's second tenure as lieutenant of Brittany.<sup>170</sup> Also of note is an entry from August 1347, when the king granted that in the event of the earl's death, his attorneys would have free disposal of his lands and goods without interference from the crown.<sup>171</sup> Thus, serving as a magnate's attorney was no doubt a combination of carrying out the lord's wishes and exercising trusted personal discretion. Northampton's attorneys in 1347 had most likely been well informed by

---

<sup>161</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 685 and 733; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 37; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 281-2.

<sup>162</sup> CCR, 1349-54, p. 219.

<sup>163</sup> C 76/12; C 76/13.

<sup>164</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 41; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 180. Favelore was probably not yet a knight at this stage, but was important in Northampton's following.

<sup>165</sup> C 76/12; CCR, 1337-39, p. 519. His co-attorneys were Simon Drayton and Robert Teye.

<sup>166</sup> CCR, 1341-43, p. 242.

<sup>167</sup> C 76/17.

<sup>168</sup> CCR, 1343-46, p. 569; CPR, 1345-48, p. 369; 1354-58, p. 255.

<sup>169</sup> CCR, 1341-43, p. 636.

<sup>170</sup> CCR, 1343-46, p. 569.

<sup>171</sup> CPR, 1345-48, p. 369.

the earl how he wanted his possessions to be managed if he died on campaign, and during his two lieutenancies he must have kept in regular correspondence with his appointees, to inform them of his wishes and current needs in Brittany. Meanwhile, we may suppose that smaller details about the day-to-day running of the earl's estates was left to his attorneys' judgement.

The evidence for Thomas Beauchamp is somewhat more scattered, but a few examples are still apparent. The earl nominated John Leukenore as his attorney while abroad in the Low Countries and France in 1340.<sup>172</sup> During Warwick's stay in Aquitaine with the Black Prince in 1355-56, he selected Robert Herle for the office.<sup>173</sup> When Beauchamp was again in Gascony in the early 1360s his kinsman Roger acted as his attorney.<sup>174</sup> Beauchamp's choice of Leukenore and Herle is reflective of the faith he had in them and their reliability more generally, which is demonstrated in the other administrative positions they occupied throughout their careers.

Overall though, it seems that while the earls did occasionally appoint household knights to act as their attorneys, this tended to be the exception rather than the rule. They probably did not call upon their knights for the role more often because it could easily interfere with their participation in the earls' retinues, in a way that other non-military duties did not. Among Bohun's following, Dengayne was an infrequent military campaigner and though Favelore served several times in Northampton's military retinue, this predated most of his appointments as the earl's attorney.<sup>175</sup> Likewise, Beauchamp generally preferred to use trusted clerks as his attorneys, as his selection of Leukenore and Herle for the duty came at times after they had stopped campaigning in the earl's military retinue.<sup>176</sup> It also seems that by the time of Roger Beauchamp's appointment in the 1360s, Warwick had fewer household knights around him and was relying more on members of his own family for various responsibilities.<sup>177</sup>

It is also unlikely to be a coincidence that when Grosmont appointed knights as his attorneys, he chose men who also acted as his stewards, an office that warrants further exploration here. Although stewards of estates and stewards of the household can be regarded as separate positions, the sources do not always make the distinction clear. It is known that Ralph Hastings senior was serving as Grosmont's constable and steward for the honour of Pickering in 1334.<sup>178</sup> Peter de la Mare was one of the stewards for the vast

---

<sup>172</sup> C 76/15.

<sup>173</sup> C 61/67; C 61/68.

<sup>174</sup> C 61/76.

<sup>175</sup> The latest found instance of him in Bohun's military retinue is 1345 (C 76/20).

<sup>176</sup> The latest found instance of Leukenore in Beauchamp's military retinue dates to 1339 (Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1); for Herle, it is 1346 (C 76/22).

<sup>177</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 36-7 and below, p.152.

<sup>178</sup> DL 42/1, fol. 192; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 356; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 292.

Lancaster estates in 1348, and the following year became Grosmont's chief steward.<sup>179</sup> In the 1350s Hugh Berewyk was operating as steward for various estates, including Grosmont's Leicestershire properties and Pontefract.<sup>180</sup> Edmund Ufford was at some point steward in Suffolk, while de la Mare's son Robert was also serving as steward in 1355.<sup>181</sup> There is little information about stewards for the earls of Warwick and Northampton, other than a chance mention in one of the former's witness lists that the clerk Richard Piriton was the earl's steward in 1355.<sup>182</sup> However, it has been noted elsewhere that it was often a lord's steward who was chosen to act as his attorney during his absence and that the steward naturally formed part of the household council,<sup>183</sup> which makes it plausible that Leukenore and Herle acted for a time as Thomas Beauchamp's steward, while Favelore and Dengayne may have fulfilled this office for William Bohun. This seems particularly likely in the case of Leukenore and Herle, given their roles as Warwick's attorney and the frequency with which they witnessed the earl's charters.

It was the duty of a steward to oversee the running of the household or estates. They supervised the accounting of income and expenditure within the purview of their office, appointed and dismissed other personnel as necessary, were responsible for maintaining discipline and acted as an intermediary between the lord and his servants.<sup>184</sup> It is therefore perhaps understandable that although there was sometimes overlap between campaigning and stewardship, it appears that the latter office was generally only taken on by household knights when they had ceased participating in the military retinue or had never campaigned much to begin with.<sup>185</sup> As with the responsibility of legal attorney, it appears that magnates only employed their household knights in this capacity if it did not prevent them from otherwise fighting on campaign with their lord. When knights were chosen for this role, it tended to be individuals from the same small group of exceptional men in each following, figures who possessed a remarkable administrative competence and in whom a great deal of trust was placed.

---

<sup>179</sup> DL 25/986; DL 25/3586; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 83, 88 and 362; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 685-6; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 222 and 303-4.

<sup>180</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 358; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 683-4.

<sup>181</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 360 and 363; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 304 and 330.

<sup>182</sup> *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, A. 7203.

<sup>183</sup> Noel Denholm-Young, *Seigneurial Administration in England* (London: Frank Cass, 1963), p. 72; Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 79 and 161-2.

<sup>184</sup> Denholm-Young, *Seigneurial Administration*, p. 74; Joseph Gies and Frances Gies, *Life in a Medieval Castle* (London: Abelard, 1975), p. 100; Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 76-7; Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 17 and 236.

<sup>185</sup> Peter de la Mare's service as attorney and steward began after the Aquitaine expedition of 1345-46, his final appearance in Grosmont's retinue. The limited military service of men like Hugh Berewyk, John Dengayne and John Leukenore has been discussed in the previous chapter.

A similar indication of trust involved those selected for enfeoffments-to-use, a measure used to safeguard the transference of a lord's estates in the case of his death.<sup>186</sup> Again, such roles usually involved a range of the magnate's close confidants, including some of his household knights. William Bohun made use of this on two occasions. In 1346 he enfeoffed the archbishop of Canterbury, Dengayne, Favelore, Oliver Bohun and William Penbrugge, as well as trusted clerks Robert Teye and William Dersham of various properties that the king had recently granted to him in the counties of Berkshire, Oxford, Lincoln, Nottingham, Gloucester, Essex and Sussex.<sup>187</sup> As this was only a recently-added fraction of the earl's estates, it is likely that Bohun had given the feoffees specific instructions about how he wanted these lands to be managed in the family inheritance. In October 1359, just under a year before his death, the earl paid £44 17s and 6 ¾d for licence to enfeoff Favelore, Ralph Spigurnel and others, with the surprise inclusion of Hugh Berewyk.<sup>188</sup> This time the feoffees were entrusted with parts of the Essex manor of Great Wakering, which appears to have been part of elaborate marriage negotiations between the Bohun and FitzAlan families. The land was to pass down to Bohun's son Humphrey and his wife Joan, daughter of the FitzAlan earl of Arundel, on the condition that they did not divorce and that Humphrey did not marry another; if this happened, the reversion would instead go to Arundel's son Richard.<sup>189</sup> However, it appears that the feoffees were also entrusted with other properties without record of it being enrolled in the Calendar of Letters Patent, as a charter survives from February 1360 in which the same trustees granted Bohun the Essex manors of Rochford, Foulness, Middlewick, Pole, Bernmarsh, South Fanbridge and Breton.<sup>190</sup> The aforementioned men were probably enfeoffed with a large amount of the earl's property in documents now lost, and these particular estates were regranted to Northampton as part of an agreement between himself and the trustees. Here again we have an instance of an earl's household knights being among those given the responsibility of managing his estates, though again it is a duty that only went to knights who were also either family members or thoroughly proven administrators.

For Thomas Beauchamp, no knights were involved in his 1344 enfeoffment, which saw him entrust his clerks John Melburn and Roger Ledbury with many of his holdings across several counties, with various reversions to himself, his wife and his sons.<sup>191</sup> However, in the following year an indenture confirmed in the Patent Rolls outlined that some

---

<sup>186</sup> J. M. W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), pp. 123-5.

<sup>187</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 143.

<sup>188</sup> *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 304.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> DL 25/1591.

<sup>191</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 251-2.

manors would be enfeoffed to Robert Herle, the aforementioned clerks and others of the Beauchamp affinity, in return for a yearly rent of £373 and with the added condition that if Warwick died within twelve years of the agreement, the feoffees would continue to hold the estates rent-free until £2,733 6s 8d had been levied for his daughters' dowries.<sup>192</sup> In July 1356, having acquired Swansea Castle and the lands of the Gower, Warwick enfeoffed these to Ralph Stafford, Herle and Beauchamp's steward Richard Piriton, again with reversion to himself, his wife and sons.<sup>193</sup> In 1361 the earl again made arrangements following the premature deaths of his sons Guy and Reynbrun, enfeoffing John Buckingham – the bishop of Lincoln and Beauchamp's former clerk – Ralph Basset of Sapcote, Piriton and others of the castle and shrievalty of Worcester, in addition to various manors across many counties, this time with reversion to himself and his remaining sons.<sup>194</sup> In each case it appears that Beauchamp was protecting the family inheritance using a cross-section of his most trusted companions and underlings, and the knights of his household formed part of this contingent.

In March 1361, not long before his death, Henry of Grosmont was granted licence to make a large enfeoffment entrusting the bishop of Lincoln, the earl of Arundel, Robert de la Mare and others with many of his estates across the counties of Lincoln, Lancaster, Sussex, Northampton, Norfolk, Stafford and Suffolk.<sup>195</sup> Lancaster was seriously ill at the time and had made his will only the day before the enfeoffment was granted, so his choice of feoffees is a reflection of whom he wanted to handle his estates when he passed away.<sup>196</sup>

Lastly, this brings us to the matter of knights acting as executors for the final will and testament of their lord. Understandably, this was another solemn duty undertaken by a cross-section of a magnate's trusted friends and followers, and household knights were represented among them. The executors named in Grosmont's will are almost identical to his aforementioned list of feoffees: the bishop of Lincoln John Gynewell, the abbot of Leicester William of Clowne, Grosmont's sister Blanche, William Walkyngton, Robert de la Mare, John Buckland, John Charneles, Walter Power, Simon Simeon and John Neumarche.<sup>197</sup> In addition to the executors, there is also a record of men appointed to act as guardians of the duke's lands. Most of the appointees were not knights, but of note is the choice of Grosmont's retainer Edmund Ufford to safeguard the estates in Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>198</sup> Another small but endearing example of posthumous knightly loyalty can be seen

---

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 517-8; Bean, *Decline of English Feudalism*, pp. 123-5; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 48.

<sup>193</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 416.

<sup>194</sup> *CPR*, 1361-64, p. 105.

<sup>195</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, pp. 575-6 and 580.

<sup>196</sup> Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster', *ODNB*.

<sup>197</sup> SC 1/51/32; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, pp. 65-6.

<sup>198</sup> *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 205.

in Sir Nicholas Gernoun. After the duke's death, Gernoun received licence from the king to remain as a companion for Grosmont's daughter Maud at the Minoreesses' convent of Bruisyard, Suffolk, 'as well that he may there serve God more quietly and more devoutly as for the consolation of the said kinswoman [Maud]'.<sup>199</sup>

We are missing evidence for William Bohun's final will, but we know that Ralph Basset of Sapcote was among the group chosen by the earl of Warwick to act as the executors of his will. Aside from Guy Brian and Ralph earl Stafford, Basset was the only knight chosen who was not a member of Beauchamp's family.<sup>200</sup> It is interesting that most of the men involved were the earl's remaining blood relatives, and carrying out the legal will of the departed must have been a grave and personal charge. The involvement of Basset and de la Mare among the executors was therefore a significant gesture of trust, as defending a lord's wishes could prove very difficult within the medieval legal system.<sup>201</sup> Here as in other contexts, a magnate's knightly following overlapped with other individuals of his acquaintance.

### *3.3 Household, Crown and Nobility – The Intersection of Service*

The previous sections have made it apparent that there were sometimes overlaps in a knight's service in the household and his service to the crown. Indeed, it is important to see household service within the wider context of a knight's life. Even the most steadfast figures in a magnate's following typically had busy lives outside of their lord's household, belonging as they did to a variety of social circles, and exploring the personal backgrounds of these men reveals the extent to which many of them were called upon in the service of the realm or personal acquaintances.

A number of household knights were appointed to offices by the crown in circumstances that appear unrelated to their association with a magnate. In the case of the shrievalties, this was sometimes because the appointments were in counties beyond the magnate's chief areas of influence: John Leukenore was sheriff of Oxford and Berkshire in 1333, and in 1338 when Richard Denton was abroad in William Bohun's service, he was given respite from rendering account as sheriff of Cumberland.<sup>202</sup> In other cases, the appointments came before or after any known connection between the knights and the earls. A number of men with ties to Bohun were sheriffs at various points: Dengayne in Cambridge and Huntingdon, Hugh Morrisby in Cumberland, John Coggeshale in Essex and Guy St

---

<sup>199</sup> *CPR, 1367-70*, p. 219; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 29.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>201</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 66.

<sup>202</sup> *CFR, 1327-37*, p. 381; *CCR, 1337-39*, pp 412 and 629. Denton was sheriff of Cumberland again in 1350, as well as the constable of Carlisle: *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 588-9.

Clare also in Cambridge.<sup>203</sup> Previously Beauchamp's sheriff of Worcester, Golafre was made sheriff of Berkshire in 1346, then three years later served as sheriff in Glamorgan and Morgannogh.<sup>204</sup> Among Grosmont's household knights, Ralph Hastings was sheriff of Yorkshire in the late 1330s, Robert Bertram served for Northumberland and Gervase Clifton held the joint shrievalty of Derby and Nottingham.<sup>205</sup> Though there is no direct evidence, it is possible that the earls had some involvement in shrieval appointments such as these, in their capacity as companions of the king and members of the royal council.<sup>206</sup> If so, the earls' motivation may have been to provide a gift or reward to their associates, or to ensure the position was held by a sympathetic figure who could keep their lord's interests in mind as they carried out their office. Equally, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the magnates actively sought to exploit having some of their knights as sheriffs in these counties.<sup>207</sup>

Crown appointments of household knights sometimes extended to more uncommon or unusual orders. Gilbert Chasteleyn and others were enlisted on a commission *de walliis et fossatis* in 1355, when the overflowing waters of the River Humber were damaging pastures in the area due to the walls and dykes of Holderness being neglected.<sup>208</sup> The justices were consequently ordered to make enquiries into who was responsible for the negligence, see to their punishment and make arrangements for the problem to be remedied. The Humber side dilemma became something of a saga for Chasteleyn and his colleagues, as they were called upon to address the overflowing river yet again one year later.<sup>209</sup> Alternatively, Richard Totesham and Robert Bouchier, both knights of the Bohun following, were appointed to participate in diplomatic embassies,<sup>210</sup> and in 1348 during his lieutenancy in Brittany, Thomas Dagworth and his wife Elizabeth were commanded to 'be attendant upon' the son and heir of the king's uncle Edmund, earl of Kent.<sup>211</sup>

More typically, knights often served in the collection of taxes or on judicial commissions independent from any patron, especially commissions of array, peace commissions and commissions of oyer and terminer. Judicial commissions were ideally staffed by a combination of lawyers and judges from the central courts and prominent

---

<sup>203</sup> SC 8/77/3812 (Morrisby); E 358/1 (St Clare); CPR, 1338-40, p. 357 (Coggeshale); E 358/2; E 358/5; CCR, 1327-30, p. 437; 1346-49, p. 6 (Dengayne).

<sup>204</sup> CFR, 1337-47, pp. 490-1; 1347-56, p. 168.

<sup>205</sup> CPR, 1345-48, p. 45; CCR, 1343-46, p. 617; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 272-3 and 292.

<sup>206</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, p. 68.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>208</sup> CPR, 1354-58, p. 237.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>210</sup> E 101/313/2; E 101/313/32; CPR, 1345-48, p. 562; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 311; Green, 'Household', II, p. 145.

<sup>211</sup> CCR, 1346-49, p. 472.

members of the local gentry, the better to make use of their local knowledge and authority.<sup>212</sup> However, it is apparent that the knights themselves often had practical experience of correct judicial process as well.<sup>213</sup> Hugh Berewyk must have been one such man, because before entering the service of Grosmont he was extremely busy carrying out appointments for both the crown and private plaintiffs.<sup>214</sup> Other knights of Grosmont involved in county law enforcement included Bertram, Clifton, Cok, Edmund Everard, John Grey of Codnore, Hugh Meynill and Nicholas de Ry.<sup>215</sup> Among Bohun's men, Gerard Wyderyngton was a man of some importance in his native Northumberland. In the early 1330s he assisted the prior of Tynemouth with two commissions of oyer and terminer, and despite being granted exemption from appointment to office without his consent in 1333, proceeded to take on at least seven further commissions over the next two decades; he was also kept on retainer by the king specifically for war service on the Scottish Marches.<sup>216</sup> In the mass judicial appointments of 1332, Nicholas Charneles and Thomas Asteleye became keepers of the peace for Leicestershire and Warwickshire respectively; the two men were even appointed together as keepers for Leicestershire in 1340 and were on the same peace commission again in 1343.<sup>217</sup> Both men had ties to both counties, and they also knew each other through their membership in the earl of Warwick's household. John Leukenore, another of Beauchamp's household knights, was well known to royal government. In addition to John Sturmy, he was one of the knights called upon in January 1337 to attend the royal household in its travels and to collaborate with the marshals in hearing and determining any trespasses committed by its members.<sup>218</sup> He reprised the role in October, and the following year was carrying out the same duty in the Black Prince's household.<sup>219</sup> Leukenore seems to have been a rather stern and effective enforcer. It is clear that he was highly valued for such judicial work, for he had a long record of service in various important roles: he was appointed marshal of the royal household in 1338, was the steward of Queen Philippa's household a decade later, and along with fellow Beauchamp retainer John Golafre, was periodically sought to investigate crimes ranging from murders to trespasses in the royal

---

<sup>212</sup> Coss, *Knight*, p. 113; Musson, *Public Order*, p. 51.

<sup>213</sup> Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 55-7.

<sup>214</sup> SC 8/51/2523; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 204, 500 and 574; 1338-40, pp. 70-1, 187, 192, 351-3, 363, 368, 529 and 531; 1340-43, pp. 89-90, 413, 424, 430, 585-7 and 590; 1345-48, pp. 186, 230, 318, 382, 393 and 396; 1348-50, pp. 60, 67 and 71.

<sup>215</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 448; *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 244; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 272-4, 281-2, 288-9, 305-6 and 318.

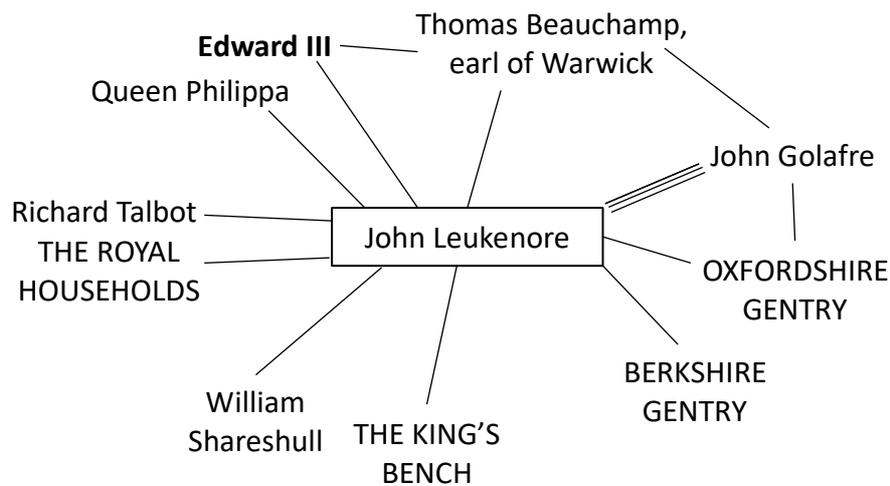
<sup>216</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, pp. 389, 416-7 and 443-4; 1334-38, pp. 296-7 and 510; 1338-40, p. 481; 1345-48, p. 459; 1354-58, pp. 65, 120 and 613-4; E 101/68/3/55.

<sup>217</sup> *CPR* 1330-34, p. 294; 1340-43 p. 102; 1343-45 pp. 177-8.

<sup>218</sup> *CPR* 1334-38, p. 378. He was chosen again to investigate oppressions by purveyors in the households of the royal family and magnates in 1346 and 1347: *CPR*, 1345-48, pp. 99, 113 and 465.

<sup>219</sup> *CPR* 1334-38, p. 575; *CPR* 1338-40, p. 144.

Figure 1: Personal connections and various social spheres of Sir John Leukenore



parks and surveys of royal estates.<sup>220</sup> Throughout their lives, both men were popular choices of the crown and their own personal associates for a range of commissions in Oxfordshire and beyond, sometimes together on the same commission.<sup>221</sup>

The ties of Golafre and especially Leukenore provide a fitting example of how a knight's social world could be complex and varied, and this is illustrated above in Figure 1. Leukenore was a friend and associate of William Shareshull and other justices of the central courts via the multitude of judicial commissions he served on. His various appointments to hear and determine trespasses by royal ministers meant that he also knew the king's steward Richard Talbot and many other officials within the households of the royal family. As her steward, Leukenore was known personally to Queen Philippa, and probably to Edward III given his other duties for the royal household. He was a prominent member of the gentry in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, acting as a charter witness and creditor for men in those counties,<sup>222</sup> as well as a justice on their commissions of oyer and terminer. Furthermore, he was of course well acquainted with John Golafre: as a fellow household knight of the earl of Warwick, as a fellow justice on commissions, and as a fellow member of the gentry in Oxfordshire; both men stood witness for the same charters of their county peers on at least one occasion.<sup>223</sup>

All of the above should demonstrate that the service of a magnate's household knights had to fit into a complex network of other ties and responsibilities, not least to the demands of the crown. However, this includes two caveats. First, it should be noted that Edward III was

<sup>220</sup> *CCR* 1337-39, p. 79; *CPR* 1343-45, pp. 278 and 285; 1348-50, p. 93.

<sup>221</sup> This includes but is not limited to: *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 511; 1338-40, p. 68; 1343-45, pp. 407-8 and 576; 1345-48, p. 33; 1350-54, pp. 78, 446 and 453; 1354-58, pp. 64 and 67.

<sup>222</sup> *CCR*, 1327-30, pp. 518-9; 1337-39, pp. 518 and 522; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 586.

<sup>223</sup> *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 106.

prepared to compromise on orders issued to the household knights of other lords, particularly those who stood high in his favour and were prosecuting the wars with Scotland and France. Such was the case in 1339, when Hugh Neville was excused from arraying men for coastal defence in Kent because he was abroad in the retinue of William Bohun.<sup>224</sup> Second, it is possible that a knight's association with a magnate could actually be a useful expedient in their service to the crown. In 1337 Gilbert Chasteleyn and the king's segeant-at-arms William Eyete were appointed to apprehend William Hagon, William atte Mille and others then deliver them to the Tower of London. However, in July this was superseded by an order of mainprise, which indicated that the suspects were currently being imprisoned at Warwick Castle.<sup>225</sup> While it is not certain that Chasteleyn was already in Beauchamp's service at this stage, it is at least possible that Gilbert, in need of a temporary holding place for his suspects, relied upon his connection with Warwick to have them imprisoned at the earl's chief residence. If so, it demonstrates that multiple lordship and service could be cooperative and complementary instead of conflicting.

As a final point, we should note that it is probably no accident that many of a magnate's most prominent knights were also individuals of some consequence and responsibility in their home counties. We cannot be sure whether magnates deliberately sought the service of a county's most industrious, honourable and socially eminent knights, or if prominence in public service merely made them more likely to come to a magnate's attention. However, it seems likely that although the best and brightest of household knights were not always beyond moral reproach, their record of service more broadly could have sometimes recommended them as useful candidates for a lord's following.

### *Conclusion*

There are a number of significant similarities in the positions and circumstances of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun, such as their positions as essential military commanders and their keeping of various shrievalties. These in turn led to similarities in how they deployed their household knights, in both military and non-military roles. Many of the non-military duties they required involved a cross-section of their respective followings, including trusted esquires, clerks and household officials. Household knights were one contingent of those who fulfilled important non-military duties, but they were used more for some roles than for others. Sometimes they acted as undersheriffs, feofees, executors, stewards or legal attorneys, but more typically they undertook duties that either required them to be in the magnate's presence, or which generally did not detract from

---

<sup>224</sup> CCR, 1339-41, p. 223.

<sup>225</sup> CCR, 1337-39, p. 141.

their role in the military retinue. Attending on the lord in question, forming part of his household council, bearing witness for his charters and accompanying him on missions abroad all involved the personal presence of the earl's bachelors. In particular, it is quite remarkable to think that a magnate's household knights, with their comparatively humble composite of county ties, mutual acquaintance and shared loyalty, could find themselves present on the grand stage of European high politics when they accompanied their master on important diplomatic expeditions, there to stand ready as his bodyguard and represent his personal greatness.

The criteria of personal presence and not preventing military service helps to explain other non-military duties. Judicial commissions tended to be issued either in the wake of magnates returning from travel overseas, or were issued to followers who for whatever reason were staying within the realm. Likewise, a lord would not need a military retinue when he was dead, so household knights were suitable choices as feoffees or executors. Serving as a castle constable on the Scottish Marches was something of an exception, but this still involved protecting the lord's private interests, and could be carried out by subordinates without the knight having to stay rooted to the castle. Acting as an earl's seneschal or deputy lieutenant in a foreign duchy was also an exception, as they could continue in the office after their immediate lord had departed. We may regard these as instances of a knight temporarily serving 'on loan' to the king.

Indeed, as part of the complexities of late medieval lordship, knights' duties to their masters had to coexist with the demands of the crown, as well as the knight's relationship with other personal associates. There are many examples of dedicated and highly trusted household knights fulfilling appointments given by the king and council, meaning there was a practical limit on what they could do and when they were able to serve a magnate. However, some of their appointments in the service of the realm may actually have been made on a lord's recommendation, or even by the lord himself, as Grosmont, Beauchamp and Bohun were at times entrusted with the powers of government.<sup>226</sup>

Despite the similarities, a few subtle differences can also be discerned in the way the three lords used their household knights in non-military contexts. It seems that Grosmont's bachelors were more likely to work his as stewards, perhaps a reflection of the vast Lancastrian inheritance, though for this he still chose knights who were not presently active in his military retinue. Yet despite the wealth of talent at Grosmont's disposal, relatively few of his household knights were involved in his commissions of oyer and terminer; aside from a few isolated appearances, these tended to involve only Peter de la Mare and Hugh

---

<sup>226</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 64; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 623; 1341-43, p. 530; 1364-68, p. 114; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 112.

Berewyk, again men who were prominent administrators in the Lancaster following. In contrast, Thomas Beuachamp nominated a range of household knights for such appointments, invariably in counties where the men had influence. From this and other details, the earl cuts a rather stern and uncompromising figure in the historical record; though it would be rash to suggest that he tyrannised his area of personal influence, it appears that he came down hard on those within his authority if they displeased him. Bohun had a noticeably narrower 'core' of dedicated household knights, meaning that he relied on a smaller group of men for duties outside of campaign service. It is not certain whether this was due to personal preference, or if the lifespans of his closest men were simply close enough to his own that Bohun had little need to draw other people into his circle of trust. Given the limited involvement of Bohun's household knights in his private commissions of oyer and terminer, it seems likely that the earl was not inclined to employ them in such ways.

Finally, it is evident that as with military duty, there were degrees of gradation in non-military service. The duties of knights still tended heavily towards the military sphere, but some men like John Leukenore, Hugh Berewyk, John Dengayne and Robert Hungerford served infrequently if at all in their lord's retinue abroad. Instead, they were exceedingly important in the domestic administration of the three magnates. The frequency with which some names appear in association with the earls indicates their probable closeness to them, giving us some sense of who formed the knightly 'inner circle' around Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun. Some of these, like Herle, Cok, Cosington, Chasteleyn and Dengayne were given very important duties and were clearly very capable individuals. Yet there were also those who were distinctly more humble in their non-military roles: men like Lucy, Lysours and Tallemache. These were not given such prestigious responsibilities, but were hardly less consistent and dedicated in their service.

### Rewards, Benefits and Multiple Lordship

Having explored the various aspects of duty that they could perform in both military and non-military contexts, it is necessary to discuss what household knights stood to gain from their service to a magnate. This can be divided into rewards that magnates consciously bestowed on their followers and benefits that ensued incidentally from being part of a lord's household. This consideration of patronage also necessitates an examination of how knights often enjoyed the support of more than one master. Sometimes this was a case of one knight being associated with different magnates at the same time, and sometimes knights transitioned from the households of the earls to serve in a yet greater capacity, usually for the Black Prince or Edward III, or for the office of the crown. Consequently, this chapter contains two contentions. First, that there were common themes in the rewards and benefits available to the household knights of different magnates, although again we can discern some subtle differences in this. Rewards could vary in type and frequency, and an overview of this patronage can give some insight into the 'policy' of the earls when it came to their household knights. Secondly, that in the complex milieu of late medieval lordship, the 'career' of household knights could take different forms and develop in different ways: some remained 'exclusive' in their service to one magnate; some were affiliated with different lords at the same time; some transferred laterally from serving one lord to another of roughly similar status; and some men, apparently very capable and highly favoured, went from the households of the earls to enjoying patronage and service from the royal family directly.

#### *4.1.1 Typical Forms of Direct and Indirect Reward*

A sensible point of departure is to consider what advantages were outlined in the indentures contracted between knights and the lords they served. Though indentures of retainer were not necessarily common,<sup>1</sup> the conditions stipulated in them provides some idea of what benefits were generally considered typical for bachelors of the household. William Bohun's 1340 indenture formally retaining William Tallemache provides relatively few details; the charter is primarily a grant from Bohun to Tallemache of the manor of Lashley in Essex, with a later clause mentioning that as a condition of the grant Tallemache is staying with the earl for the term of his life.<sup>2</sup> Tallemache had already been in Bohun's following for at least a

---

<sup>1</sup> Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', p. 61; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 12-3; Coss, *Knight*, p. 116; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 9; Ayton, 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 20-1; Holmes, *Estates*, p. 69; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 9; Green, 'Complement and Characteristics', p. 366; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 156-60.

<sup>2</sup> DL 25/32.

couple of years, so by 1340 the terms of service between them must have been mutually understood. It was probably deemed unnecessary to stipulate them here. In this instance it would seem that the indenture was not strictly a means of recruitment but rather a confirmation and consolidation of an existing agreement.

More can be gleaned from Grosmont's indenture to retain Edmund Ufford in 1347. Ufford was to be provided with mounts for himself and his men, including provisions for the horses, with nine pages and a chamberlain allowed to join Ufford eating in Grosmont's hall.<sup>3</sup> The value of the horses was to be fairly appraised, so that reasonable compensation could be paid if they were lost during campaign. Ufford was also to receive any grants of robes and saddles whenever these were made to other knights.<sup>4</sup> As with Tallemache, the contract was a confirmation rather than a gateway into the earl's service, and the Ufford indenture further states that the knight will receive an annuity of 40 marks out of the rent from Grosmont's Northamptonshire manor of Higham Ferrers, specifically 'for the good and pleasing service Sir Edmund has done for us before now, and also for the good service he will do in the manner outlined'.<sup>5</sup> This reflects that Edmund was already in Grosmont's service when the formal indenture of retainer was written. It also indicates the earl's inclination to use annuities as a way to reward some of his most favoured followers, something which will be returned to below.

The indenture between the earl of Warwick and Robert Herle in 1339 contained similar terms. It outlined *bouche de court* for the knight and his companions when attending the earl's person, meaning that they would be provided with food and dining in the earl's hall.<sup>6</sup> Wages were also to be given for his servants, as well as provisions for their mounts. Beauchamp also paid financial compensation for his retainers' lost horses.<sup>7</sup> Curiously, the Herle contract does not explicitly state that the knight will receive wages or Warwick's livery. Nonetheless, wages may well have been an understood part of the agreement. Widely acknowledged conditions were not always specified, and it is apparent from the royal wardrobe accounts that the knights of the king at least received daily wages, 2s during peace and 18d in times of war.<sup>8</sup> The granting of robes was also most likely understood as a given and therefore not stated in the terms. Many lords used the distribution of robes as part

---

<sup>3</sup> DL 27/155; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 63-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Translation by author P. Gaité.

<sup>6</sup> Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', p. 23. The indentured retainers of the Black Prince were also granted this privilege: Green, 'Household', I, pp. 262-3. Dining in the lord's hall had been an understood benefit of household service since at least the reign of Edward I: Simpkin, *Aristocracy at War*, pp. 117-8.

<sup>7</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r; E 36/204, fol. 88r.

<sup>8</sup> Norwell, *Wardrobe Book*, pp. 325-60; Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp. 207 and 207; Walker *Lancastrian*, p. 9. It is also understood that John of Gaunt's bachelors were entitled to wages: Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 28.

of their recruitment, something that was often specified in indentures,<sup>9</sup> and as the Herle agreement does specify livery for horses it would be strange if this was not extended to the man himself. While earlier indentures normally stipulated such items, by the end of the century they had ceased to be mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the default benefits of service typically described in indentures, there were a variety of ways that magnates could bestow more particular rewards on their household knights. One practice specific to Grosmont was the use of annuities; among Henry's many annuitants, at least twenty two were knights of his following.<sup>11</sup> Some of these are readily recognisable as prominent names in Grosmont's service. At the time of Henry's death in 1361, Robert Bertram drew a yearly pension of £20 for being the steward and constable of Dunstanburgh Castle in Northumberland, as well as £66 13s 4d 'by the hands of the bailiff and receiver of the barony'.<sup>12</sup> Niel Loring received £20 from the manor of Gimingham in Norfolk and John Seyton drew the same from Higham Ferrers.<sup>13</sup> Grosmont's sometime sub-lieutenant and creditor Thomas Uvedale was granted £40 out of Methwold in Norfolk, while Reginald Mohun and Frank van Halen both had £20 from Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire and King's Sombourne in Hampshire respectively.<sup>14</sup>

However, annuities were also given to men who did not feature as prominently in Grosmont's military and non-military service. Thomas Hereford and Thomas Metham served in Henry's retinue for a few campaigns each but were otherwise not very active in his service; they were both nonetheless in receipt of annuities.<sup>15</sup> This also included the kinsmen of better-known household knights. John of the Hastings family received 10 marks from the Leicestershire town of Hinkley, and Edmund Ufford's relative Thomas received the yearly rent from Thoresby manor in Lincolnshire, which Grosmont was given licence to charge at 100 marks.<sup>16</sup>

Alternatively, evidence for some annuities comes to us through enrolled pardons in the king's Letters Patent. In 1349 John Walkyngton was officially forgiven for acquiring 40

---

<sup>9</sup> For example, Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 23-4, 37-8, 40, 42, 44-5, 47-50, 52-3; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 30-1, 264; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 234.

<sup>10</sup> Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 23-4.

<sup>11</sup> These were: Robert Bertram, John Blount, Bernard Brocas, Thomas Florak, Nicholas Gernoun, Frank Van Halen, John Hastings, Ralph Hastings, Thomas Hereford, Thomas Metham, Reginald Mohun, Edmund Perpoint, Richard Shelton, John Seyton, Alured Sulny, John Twyford jr., Edmund Ufford, Thomas Ufford, Thomas Uvedale and Thomas Verdoun, John Walkyngton. A useful summary of annuitants that includes most of these men can be found in Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 315-20 and Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>12</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, pp. 92-116; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>13</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 702; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 321.

<sup>14</sup> DL 41/10/34; *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 95.

<sup>15</sup> DL 29/288/4719; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, p. 315; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>16</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 16.

marks of rent from Grosmont in Rolleston, Staffordshire, without proper licence.<sup>17</sup> Similar entries reveal Thomas Florak receiving 10 marks from Colyngbourne in Wiltshire, Bernard Brocas taking £20 from the honour of Pontefract and Reginald Mohun's kinsman Harvey receiving £10 from 'Kenemasford'.<sup>18</sup> It is very likely that Grosmont also helped to secure the pardons.<sup>19</sup> These examples illustrate that rewards of money, or indeed land, could be given freely or purchased from a magnate. Even in the latter case this was arguably still an important benefit, as magnates like Grosmont were not obliged to sell land or rent to particular individuals. Being in household service therefore meant that a knight was better placed to do favourable business with an important lord, and we might well suppose that Florak and the others were able to purchase their rents at more generous rates because they were known to Grosmont and in his service.

Two oddities arise from an inspection of these knightly annuitants. Firstly, it is striking that several of Grosmont's most important and consistent bachelors – Thomas Cok, Stephen Cosington, Adam Everyngham, Alexander Aunsel, Hugh Berewyk and Nicholas de Ry – do not appear among his annuitants. It is of course possible that at least some of these also received fees and that any recording of it has simply been lost, but the absence of annuities for so many dedicated followers nonetheless raises questions. One explanation may be that the donee's wishes were also taken into consideration; some of Grosmont's men may have been allowed to express a preference in the patronage they received. It would certainly make sense for Uvedale to desire a sizeable annuity given how anxious he was to receive compensation for outstanding debts following the duke's death.<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, Grosmont's frequent use of smaller annuities to reward some of his followers, including less prominent ones, warrants further consideration. This usage might lead us to suppose that what we see in Grosmont's following an early form of the 'Lancastrian affinity' as it existed under John of Gaunt. The latter also tended to make use of annuities as a form of recruitment and reward, possessing wealth that allowed him to be particularly generous in this regard, more so than his predecessor.<sup>21</sup> However, it would be rash to take the notion of a Lancastrian 'proto-affinity' too far. Walker concludes that the Lancastrian affinity expanded as it did under Gaunt because of particular circumstances: by the late fourteenth century it was increasingly difficult for retainers to profit from the fortunes of war directly, meaning that generous payments for war service became an increasingly important inducement; moreover, the compensation Gaunt received for renouncing his claim

---

<sup>17</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 282.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370; 1350-54, p. 8; 1358-61, p. 20. 'Kenemasford' is most likely to signify Kempford, Gloucestershire.

<sup>19</sup> See below, pp. 168-71.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 22, 42-43, 79 and 91.

to the throne of Castile in 1388 provided him with even greater funds with which to expand his following and use estate offices as a way of rewarding his military men.<sup>22</sup> These were not circumstances that applied to Grosmont, and though the latter did reward some of his household knights with estate roles,<sup>23</sup> this was not on the same scale as Gaunt.

As an instrument of reward, grants of land were far more common across all three lords. Sometimes these took the form of block grants to multiple recipients. In 1344 the earl of Warwick also issued a block grant to several followers, including Thomas Ferrers and Robert Herle, of the castle and manor of Elmley along with several other properties in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Warwickshire; a subsequent charter confirmed that the grantees would render £373 to the earl in return.<sup>24</sup> The earl of Warwick's inquisition post mortem further reveals that he had enfeoffed various lands to a combination of his brother John, the bishop of Lincoln John Buckingham, Ralph Basset of Sapcote, Robert Herle and others, including manors and land in Wiltshire, London, Warwickshire, Surrey and Kent.<sup>25</sup> As a means of ensuring the safekeeping and succession of the earldom's estates, the enfeoffments were primarily a responsibility, but in practical terms the aforementioned grantees were free to enjoy any incomes and services that accrued from the properties in the meantime. The same can be found for William Bohun's men. In 1345 he named John, archbishop of Canterbury, Bartholomew Burgersh, John Dengayne and William Scott as donees.<sup>26</sup> A similar grant was made the following year, to John Dengayne, Oliver Bohun and Peter Favelore, as well as the clerks Robert Teye, William Dersham and William Penbrugge, releasing to them all his goods and mobile chattels in the Suffolk and Essex manors of Elmsett, Offton, Somersham and Rothing.<sup>27</sup>

More typically, grants were awarded to individuals or married couples. Beauchamp granted Peter Montfort the manor of Tamworth in 1348, in return for a yearly rent of 10 marks.<sup>28</sup> The date and content of the grant suggests this was a gift rather than a retaining inducement. Likewise, by the time of Warwick's death in 1369, Montfort held his Nottinghamshire manor of Gunthorpe for life.<sup>29</sup> Beauchamp's Oxfordshire manor of Spelsbury, inherited following his father's death, was later in the possession of John Leukenore; the latter released it back to the earl in 1344, and a year later Beauchamp granted it to his son William instead.<sup>30</sup> The timing of the original grant is unknown, so the gift

---

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 167-73.

<sup>24</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 15r-15v.

<sup>25</sup> *CIPM*, 1365-70, pp. 303-12.

<sup>26</sup> DL 25/1466.

<sup>27</sup> DL 25/1960.

<sup>28</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 217.

<sup>29</sup> *CIPM*, 1365-70, p. 307.

<sup>30</sup> *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 24; BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 14r-14v.

of Spelsbury to Leukenore may have been used as a means of initial recruitment into the household,<sup>31</sup> or as a reward for past and future service similar to Edmund Ufford's annual receipt of 40 marks from Grosmont.

Regarding the earl of Northampton's knights, in 1346 William Ireland received half of an Essex manor named Margaret Roding.<sup>32</sup> A dozen years later Bohun confirmed a grant to John Neville and his wife Alice of land in Langham, also in Essex.<sup>33</sup> The surviving evidence appears to confirm that Peter Favelore was one of the earl's most favoured men, for he was given the manors of Gussage, Mashbury, Bucknell, Tong and Newton in Dorset, Essex and Shropshire.<sup>34</sup> In 1354 he was also pardoned for acquiring the Oxfordshire manor of Binghull from Bohun without licence.<sup>35</sup> Another, quite remarkable grant was made in 1348 when Bohun gave various lands in Brittany to his sister Eleanor and Thomas Dagworth, the earl's brother-in-law and sub-lieutenant in the duchy.<sup>36</sup> These initially came into the hands of duke John Montfort, the English-backed contender in the Breton Civil War.<sup>37</sup> In turn, Montfort presumably gave them to his close collaborator Bohun in gratitude for his support as Edward III's lieutenant in the duchy. It therefore makes sense that the earl gave these to Dagworth and Eleanor, partly as reward for Dagworth's service in the Breton war theatre and partly to better support the couple in their continued stay there. It is worth emphasising again here just how prominent land grants seemed to be in the lordship practices of Beauchamp and Bohun instead of annuities.<sup>38</sup> Whereas the inquisition post mortem and other sources reveal several annuities being drawn by Grosmont's followers, no similar arrangements can be found in the inquisitions for the earls of Warwick or Northampton; the same is true for John de Vere, the earl of Oxford.<sup>39</sup>

Though Henry of Grosmont frequently used annuities with his men, there are several examples of the knights receiving land from him, either by purchase or gift. In the Patent Rolls alone, there are several cases of household knights or their kin receiving pardons for acquiring land from him without licence, and licence to keep the acquisitions. In 1349 Peter de la Mare received the manors East Garston and Staple Lavington, while his son Robert was given the manor of Berwick.<sup>40</sup> Peter presumably did not keep East Garston for long, as

---

<sup>31</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 73.

<sup>32</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 70.

<sup>33</sup> DL 25/1521.

<sup>34</sup> DL 36/1; DL 36/3; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 104.

<sup>36</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 71-5 for more discussion on the types of grants that the magnates used for retaining purposes.

<sup>39</sup> *CIPM, 1352-61*, pp. 513-30; *1365-70*, pp. 303-12.

<sup>40</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 261 and 268. East Garston is located in Berkshire; the Berwick mentioned is that of Wiltshire. Staple Lavington is also in Wiltshire, now known as Market Lavington: *VCH Wiltshire*, 10, p. 82.

in 1351 Hugh Berewyk was also pardoned for acquiring it without licence, along with Lavington Chaworth.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, John Walkyngton acquired the Wiltshire manor of Stanton and Edmund Ufford acquired Passenham in Northamptonshire.<sup>42</sup> As mentioned above with the annuities, it is probable that Grosmont helped secure the pardons as well, and that even the opportunity to purchase from Henry was a benefit in itself. Grosmont's inquisition post mortem reveals other land grants to his household knights. Robert de la Mare still held Berwick manor; Hugh Berewyk also held half a knight's fee at West Hildsley and Friddlesham in Berkshire; John Grey of Rutherford had a knight's fee near Henley, Oxfordshire; Huch Camoys likewise had the manor of 'Langstoke' in Hampshire.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, Stephen Cosington and Frank van Halen held the Hampshire manors of Hartley Winchfield respectively for the term of their lives.<sup>44</sup> Here as elsewhere, the munificence of Grosmont can perhaps be explained by a combination of extensive landed wealth and a personal inclination to remarkable generosity.

Other rewards and benefits enjoyed by household knights were more indirect, and most typically this took the form of magnates interceding to secure special licences or appointments for their men. In 1338 William Bohun requested that Hugh Morrisby and his heir be granted £10 a year from the income of Culgaith in Cumberland, and in 1343 he requested licence for Roger Beauchamp to enfeoff John Dengayne of the manor of Eton, also paying the required fine of £10.<sup>45</sup> Henry of Grosmont petitioned the pope so that Thomas Verdoun could have plenary indulgence when he was near death in 1348.<sup>46</sup> Various examples can be found for Thomas Beauchamp and his men. In 1339, he paid the necessary fine for Ralph Basset of Drayton to enfeoff Robert Herle's father William and the parson Thomas Radcliff.<sup>47</sup> A remarkable charter from 1345 also declared that Beauchamp had placed Robert Herle as his lieutenant in the office of marshal of the king's household, further stating that Herle and Beauchamp's other sub-officers in the royal household will receive his wages for as long as they remain in post.<sup>48</sup>

A few other instances involving Warwick's men do not explicitly mention his influence, but we are nonetheless left with cause to suspect that Beauchamp was involved. In January 1347 Gilbert Chasteleyn was given licence to crenelate his chief dwelling at

---

<sup>41</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 146.

<sup>42</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 366 and 542.

<sup>43</sup> *CIPM*, 1361-65, pp. 92-116. 'Langstoke' may refer to either Langstone or Laverstoke.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 108; 1343-45, p. 7. There are, however, more numerous examples of Bohun interceding for people who were not household knights: *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 144, 269, 304-5, 451, 520, 527 and 535; 1345-48, p. 295; 1348-50, p. 3. It may be that Bohun's men were less likely to seek or need such support from him.

<sup>46</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 331.

<sup>47</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 213.

<sup>48</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 16v.

Kingham, Oxfordshire, as well as licence of alienation in mortmain for four virgates of land and 100 shillings' rent.<sup>49</sup> The impetus for this may have come from Beauchamp; Chasteleyn was still one of the earl's most active knights at this time, and although Gilbert went on to provide important service to the crown, at this stage he had not yet done anything that may have warranted this generosity.<sup>50</sup> A decade earlier, John Leukenore received a royal grant 'of special grace' for his demesne lands in Hethrop, Wodemondesle, Shireburn and Attyngdon in Oxfordshire.<sup>51</sup> John Golafre received the same in 1335 for four manors across the counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.<sup>52</sup> The location of Roxburgh for the latter grant in particular indicates this may have been a reward for military service in Scotland. It is apparent that Edward III occasionally entrusted Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun with making official appointments and grants from the crown,<sup>53</sup> and magnates may sometimes have acted as unseen 'middle-men', leaving no trace in the historical record except perhaps where a phrase like 'of special grace' is used. Bothwell has noted that the phrase probably indicated that the knight had petitioned for the grant,<sup>54</sup> and it is not guaranteed that Chasteleyn, Leukenore and Golafre's rewards derived from Warwick's influence or that they had been campaigning with him immediately before. However, given their record of service – as well as Beauchamp's frequent involvement in the royal council and his good relationship with the king – it is not an unreasonable possibility.

#### *4.1.2 The Benefits of Office, Protection from the Law and Bending Justice*

Magnates could reward their men and show favour through appointments to judicial and administrative positions, or through securing official pardons for any crimes they had committed. In both cases, there are wider implications pertaining to the corruption of medieval justice that need to be addressed. First, there is the matter of shrieval appointments.<sup>55</sup> In addition to being a responsibility, appointment to shrieval office could also function as a reward. Chasteleyn's appointment as Beauchamp's sheriff of Warwickshire-Leicestershire came after having provided a long record of military service to the earl.<sup>56</sup> John Blount and William Scargill were Grosmont's undersheriffs for Staffordshire and Lancaster respectively; both men had served Henry in war and peace for a number of years, and came

---

<sup>49</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, pp. 218 and 228.

<sup>50</sup> See below, pp. 181-2.

<sup>51</sup> *CChR, 1327-41*, p. 387.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 141 and below, p. 186.

<sup>54</sup> Bothwell, *English Peerage*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>55</sup> Details about the actual role of the sheriff are given in Chapter 3, pp. 137-8.

<sup>56</sup> He is listed as an esquire for the earl's occupation of Southampton in the summer of 1339 (SC 13/3/1-3). For his military service as a knight, see C 76/15; C 76/17; C 81/1742; *CPR 1345-48*, p. 495. See also Gorski, *Sheriff*, p.142.

from families with a tradition of service to the house of Lancaster.<sup>57</sup> While we cannot discount the administrative ability and inclination of these men, it is probable that these shrieval tenures were a way for the lords to reward those who were loyal supporters, providing them with a post that brought with it social status and also, less officially, a chance to make some underhand profit from their duties. Sheriffs were well known to take some liberties in the course of their tenure, often rapacious ones, and as an intended safeguard it became increasingly necessary for them to hold office only temporarily, and only in areas where they held substantial land.<sup>58</sup>

Acting on a commission panel also served as a significant benefit for retainers. As with the sheriffs, it is apparent that the men Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun nominated for their commissions of oyer and terminer were chosen primarily for their influence in the locality and their ability to carry out the commission. However, being a justice also provided an opportunity to make money 'on the side',<sup>59</sup> as they stood to make financial gains not only from the plaintiff enlisting them but also from extorted juries and defendants, as well as receiving a fraction of any final settlement paid.<sup>60</sup> A telling example of this can be seen in the friendly correspondence between John Monington, abbot of Glastonbury, and the royal justice William Shareshull. Surviving letters from the 1350s reveal that Monington made generous arrangements for Shareshull's impending visit to the area, reciprocated through Shareshull's legal advice and influence in getting the abbey's charter of franchises approved.<sup>61</sup> One letter was even sent to John Leukenore, beseeching the knight's help as well and referring to Shareshull as Leukenore's 'good liege and especial friend before others'.<sup>62</sup> It was thus commonplace for plaintiffs to compensate their justices, albeit unofficially, through gifts and generous hospitality like that alluded to between Monington, Shareshull and Leukenore. While this behaviour was not exclusively the preserve of magnates, we might expect that they had the wealth and resources to be particularly generous to their commissioners, especially those who were also knights of their household.

The bending of local justice is also evidenced in the granting of pardons, another commonplace reward that applied to figures at all levels of a magnate's following, including household knights. It is apparent that these could sometimes be issued directly by the earls, as in 1342 when Bohun and Grosmont were delivered the great seal and used it to confirm

---

<sup>57</sup> Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 356-7, 361 and 363.

<sup>58</sup> Gorski, *Sheriff*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>59</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 269.

<sup>60</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', pp. 50 and 52; Kaeuper, 'Law and Order', pp. 757 and 761.

<sup>61</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 52. See also BL MS Arundel 2, fols. 5v and 9v.

<sup>62</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 53.

various pardons.<sup>63</sup> Yet generally, these were given by the king 'at the instance' of a particular magnate, or on their testimony of the recipient's good service on campaign. A swathe of such pardons were enrolled in chancery following the triumph at Crécy in 1346. Among those receiving pardons at Calais was Thomas Beauchamp himself, and the earl testified for the pardons of Gilbert Chasteleyn, Ralph Basset of Sapcote, John Lysours, Almeric St Amand, Ralph Lovel and Walter Dastyn, as well as several others.<sup>64</sup> John Leukenore and Nicholas Burneby also received military pardons, though these do not mention Beauchamp's involvement.<sup>65</sup> It is unlikely that Leukenore was in Warwick's company during the Crécy campaign, but it is known that Burneby fought in the first division with Beauchamp and the Black Prince; it was the latter who testified for Burneby's pardon, and he may have been lent or transferred to the prince's retinue from Warwick. In addition to the grantees of Grosmont mentioned previously, knights of the Lancaster following who received pardons included Richard Haveryng, the banneret John Norwich, Robert Darcy and John Grey.<sup>66</sup> Out of William Bohun's men, Hugh Morrisby received pardon for the death of Thomas Thorneby in 1345, and a year later John Dengayne was forgiven for a debt of £40 he owed in lieu of providing the equivalent value in men-at-arms, hobelars and archers.<sup>67</sup>

Here as elsewhere, a magnate's support could extend to other members of a household knight's family. Thus in 1356 Richard Tallemache, kinsman of the Bohun devotee William, received pardon at the earl's request for the death another man.<sup>68</sup> Likewise, Nicholas Gernoun's kinsman Richard was pardoned at Calais in 1347 at the request of Grosmont, and Edmund of the de la Mare family received the same in 1344.<sup>69</sup> Bohun also secured pardon for John FitzWalter in particular for military service.<sup>70</sup> Most significant of all is a case involving the de Ry family. In 1345, Grosmont's man Sir Nicholas initiated a commission of oyer and terminer in complaint against his step-mother Elizabeth, claiming that she and John Roos, a debtor of Nicholas, raided his property at Gosberton, Lincolnshire, along with several others.<sup>71</sup> Five years later, Grosmont secured pardon for Elizabeth, of 'all homicides, felonies, robberies and trespasses'.<sup>72</sup> Such wording seems to imply that Elizabeth de Ry was involved in various other crimes, but it is tempting to surmise

---

<sup>63</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 530; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 112. It is worth noting that these pardons were explicitly granted without being recorded in chancery; we therefore have no record of who the recipients were, indicating that many pardons issued to a lord's followers remain unknown to us.

<sup>64</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, pp. 394-6 and 520.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 482 and 549.

<sup>66</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, pp. 271 and 281; 1343-45, p. 528; 1358-61, pp. 463 and 503.

<sup>67</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 446; 1345-48, p. 202.

<sup>68</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 350.

<sup>69</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 214; 1345-48, p. 534.

<sup>70</sup> Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', p. 692.

<sup>71</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 493.

<sup>72</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 597.

that Grosmont's intervention here is a sign of him stepping in to resolve the de Ry family conflict. Just as a magnate could offer some protection from legal punishments or personal enemies, their support may have also helped to mediate disputes and bring them to an end.

Consequently, the granting of pardons was a commonplace means of rewarding soldiers for military service, and could even form part of resolving gentry disputes. However, it is also apparent that as an instrument of lordly patronage it could be abused. Having a magnate as a friend or ally meant that men sometimes acted with impunity in the knowledge that their masters would see them escape any serious consequences.<sup>73</sup> Examples of this among the king's own associates and courtiers have been well documented. Sir Thomas Bradeston was denounced in a petition from the 1330s in which the people of King's Barton in Gloucestershire stated that he behaved like a 'little saint' at court but a 'rampant lion' in his home county, and that only his connection to the king prevented 'a thousand petitions' being brought against him.<sup>74</sup> Another egregious case involves John Molyns, a royal household knight and justice during the 1330s who was guilty of many abuses, including a number of homicides and thefts, and maintaining a private band of armed thugs to attack people on his orders.<sup>75</sup> Molyns was eventually disgraced when his corruption came to light in the overhaul of government in 1340-41.<sup>76</sup> However, he was eventually readmitted to judicial service, working with John Leukenore and others on a number of commissions in the 1350s, albeit never regaining the level of influence he held previously.<sup>77</sup> It is clear then that some knights in lordly followings could behave with impunity, confident that their connections to powerful masters would shield them from any serious consequences.

This appears to be the case with at least some of the household knights in this study as well. We might suppose that on at least some occasions, the men indicted were deserving of the pardons they received: some perhaps were completely innocent, or the victims of unfortunate circumstances not recorded in the context of their pardons. In many cases, however, this was probably not so. The pardon for Robert Darcy in 1360, for example, reveals very detailed and deliberate misdeeds: in collaboration with one Robert Fishburn and others, the knight stole large quantities of wheat, extorted sums usually of 10 marks from various individuals, tyrannised the Lincolnshire town of Louth and extorted protection money from its merchants, aided three men guilty of murdering the town constable, beat and murdered a number of individuals, assaulted and threatened the royal

---

<sup>73</sup> Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, pp. 2 and 23; Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict*, p. 51; Keen, *English Society*, pp. 20-1; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 103 and 150-1; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 273.

<sup>74</sup> Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 266-7; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 244.

<sup>75</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 244.

<sup>76</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 47; Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', pp. 86-7.

<sup>77</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, pp. 336-7, 390, 448 and 459.

justice William Skipwith while the latter held session in Louth, and extorted the men of Lindsey over a period from 1328 to 1355, extracting from them a further total of £200.<sup>78</sup>

Although specific details remain a mystery, there appears to have been a clearer case of collusion between the earl of Warwick and Robert Herle. In September 1343 Herle was pardoned of all homicides, felonies, robberies and larcenies, with the letter patent being sealed in the presence of both the king and the earl of Warwick.<sup>79</sup> It seems all but certain that Beauchamp had lobbied Edward III on behalf of his most favoured household knight. This was followed in February 1345 by a somewhat ominous commission to Beauchamp, Herle, Peter Montfort and others for the county of Warwick, noting that they must notify the king of any who leave the county because they are 'not willing to be judged by them'.<sup>80</sup> Further details of the case remain unclear, but such behaviour by the county population appears to reflect a supreme lack of confidence in the fairness of these justices, and perhaps also desperation to escape from judicial enquiries which they knew were dominated by the earl and his companions. It is apparent then that, though perhaps not a frequent occurrence, Warwick and some of his men were sometimes keen to dominate local affairs, albeit on this occasion the king was indifferent to any resulting grievances.

In sum, there was a complicated relationship between household knights, lordly patronage and the system of medieval justice. On the one hand, it will be evident from the details covered here that opportunities for abuse were available. Magnates could support and reward their household knights through office appointments, pardons and judicial commissions, and use them as instruments to exert a powerful influence on certain counties, especially where the lord's men held shrieval office or other local positions.<sup>81</sup> This certainly fed into the pervading contemporary opinion that crime and abuse of power to be rife throughout the kingdom.<sup>82</sup> The general population complained about endemic corruption, particularly in pleas to the king and council, as well as in petitions in parliament.<sup>83</sup> The problem was that such abuses were impossible to eradicate because they were too deeply woven into the social fabric. The exchange of favours between magnates and retainers holding office, or biased justices and friendly plaintiffs, were not purely transactions between unscrupulous businessmen but rather an extension of amicable relationships between

---

<sup>78</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 463. The entry does not specifically state that Grosmont made the request, but it was issued for 'good service done in the war of France in the company of Henry, duke of Lancaster'.

<sup>79</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 118.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

<sup>81</sup> Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order*, pp. 2 and 23; Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict*, p. 49; Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice', p. 68.

<sup>82</sup> Walker, 'Order and Law', p. 93; Ormrod, *Political Life*, pp. 125 and 128; Harris, 'Organised Crime', p. 65.

<sup>83</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', pp. 42-3; Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, pp. 135-6, 175 and 183.

neighbours, colleagues and comrades.<sup>84</sup> The practice of this involved even the king, for Edward III 'seems to have regarded it as a duty of office to intervene personally in the courts on behalf of members of his household'.<sup>85</sup> Favours were thus a fundamental part of judicial infrastructure, and for the people involved this was perhaps less a corporate exercise in impersonal corruption and more of an implied social contract that existed between friendly associates.

On the other hand, it is important not to overemphasise any heavy-handedness by the great lords in local law and politics, or to regard the activity of household knights in county justice as never more than legalised bullying. It is probable that the actions of frequent lawmen like John Leukenore, John Dengayne and Hugh Berewyk were reprehensible on occasion, as demonstrated by a hint of dishonesty in Leukenore's old age, when his 1371 commission of oyer and terminer was thrown out because the king and council came to believe the accusations made were actually false.<sup>86</sup> However, it is worth remembering that the justices, like everyone else, were operating in a deeply flawed system, one where the label of 'corruption' is almost redundant because biased practices were a part of assumed social protocol.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, any blemish in Leukenore's record stands in contrast with his otherwise robust career of thirty-three judicial appointments; we might well question how dishonest a man could have been when he was so frequently tasked by the king and private plaintiffs to investigate claims of power abuse, negligence and other grievances. Although loyalty was ultimately more important than having a 'lily-white reputation',<sup>88</sup> it appears that a law-abiding trustworthiness and recognised competence were also seen as valuable traits for household knights to possess.

Regarding the magnates themselves, it is worth remembering that in any given county only a fraction of the knights and esquires were bound in any significant way to a higher lord, meaning that a magnate's influence was never absolute and could often be opposed.<sup>89</sup> Even in places where magnates could hold great sway, such as Beauchamp in Warwickshire or Bohun in Essex, the earls themselves were not necessarily interested in total control over all local affairs.<sup>90</sup> They were individuals of national importance, who 'would

---

<sup>84</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 48; Coss, *Origins*, p. 159; Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order*, pp. 174-5; Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law*, p. 80.

<sup>85</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>86</sup> *CCR 1369-74*, pp. 276-7. Dengayne and Berewyk landing in trouble for their actions is covered in Chapter 1, pp. 60-1.

<sup>87</sup> Maddicott, 'Law and Lordship', p. 1; Coss, *Origins*, p. 159.

<sup>88</sup> Candy, 'A Growing Trust', p. 56.

<sup>89</sup> Keen, *English Society*, p. 21; Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice', p. 69; Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 97-8; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 164-5.

<sup>90</sup> Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', p. 693. Raven also points out that the crimes of Essex men like John FitzWalter indicates a genuine 'inability of the magnates to regulate local affairs and to control men' (pp. 690-1).

not wish to enmesh themselves in the affairs of the many localities ... until it became an unavoidable part of their duties'.<sup>91</sup> Given the extent to which they were involved in the royal council, the king's wars and foreign affairs more broadly, they had little time keep any corner of the realm perpetually oppressed via their household knights and other servants, especially when the former were usually needed for retinue service on campaigns; this is evidenced by the fact that we do not have more examples like the one for Warwickshire in 1345.

To do so would in any case have been counterproductive. The furthering of Edward III's military aims meant increasing demands on the kingdom in terms of manpower, resources and taxes, which could only be granted with the assent of the commons in parliament, and this in turn was contingent on addressing grievances about rampant lawlessness. Total disorder within the realm would also have exacerbated the challenges of arraying troops and organising military logistics. Thus, it was not in the interests of the king and his commanders to completely disregard concerns about justice in the shires, or to have magnates abusing judicial process to their own ends; rather, they were meant to act as local 'aides' for the king, with an increased responsibility to keep the peace and ensure the overall smooth running of the counties.<sup>92</sup> This was almost certainly the rationale behind Edward III bestowing the shrievalties of Rutland, Warwickshire-Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Shropshire on Bohun, Beauchamp, Grosmont and Richard FitzAlan in the first place. Despite a certain low-level but widespread corruption in county administration, for the most part the earls were probably only involved in influencing local justice as far as they needed to be: to protect their own landed interests, to ensure that overall order in the county was more or less maintained, and to support or reward the men of their following, particularly their most important household knights.

#### *4.1.3 Infrequent Benefits – Marriage and Loans*

Although it was the king who possessed supreme authority over marital politics,<sup>93</sup> there is evidence to suggest that magnates could influence some matches, providing another means of showing favour. Neither of Henry of Grosmont's daughters married knights of his following: Blanche married Grosmont's successor John of Gaunt, while Maud was initially to wed Ralph Stafford junior.<sup>94</sup> However, the Beauchamp and Bohun followings do provide some examples. Thomas Dagworth was in Bohun's service by at least 1337 when he joined

---

<sup>91</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 63. See also Parker, 'Patronage', p. 211.

<sup>92</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 44-5 and 48-9.

<sup>93</sup> Scott L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 10, 70-1, 191; Hefferan, 'Household Knights of Edward III', pp. 257-8.

<sup>94</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 384; *1364-67*, p. 327.

the earl on campaign in the Low Countries, and was married to the earl's sister Eleanor, widow to the earl of Ormond James Butler, no later than 1344, when the couple were ordered to return Ormond's young son and heir to London for the council to decide on his wardship and marriage.<sup>95</sup> Meanwhile, the earl of Warwick's daughters Joan and Margaret married respectively the elder Ralph Basset of Drayton and Peter Montfort's son Guy, while Beauchamp's niece was wedded to John Clinton of Maxstoke.<sup>96</sup> As well as bringing added social advancement to these men, such unions bound them more tightly within the threads of the respective affinities because they created an additional connection to the lord and his associates.<sup>97</sup>

Another, less obvious benefit was the fact that magnates could be a source for valuable loans to their men. This too encapsulated a range of their followers, including knights of the household. For William Bohun, examples more typically involved loans to esquires, churchmen and other acquaintances,<sup>98</sup> or the earl himself borrowing sums.<sup>99</sup> However, in 1352 Thomas Beauchamp lent £20 to John Ardern, who served in the earl's military retinue a number of times between 1356 and 1360.<sup>100</sup> A decade later he lent no fewer than 2,000 marks to his kinsman Roger Beauchamp.<sup>101</sup> Henry of Grosmont was more generous. Between 1344 and 1354 he lent £100 to John Grey of Codnore, 50 marks to William Scargill, £1,000 to Robert Bertram and the astonishing sum of £10,000 to Roger Lestraunge.<sup>102</sup> In 1341 he also caused Richard Haveryng to have respite from paying £7 3s 4d, a fine he was charged with by Thomas Wake and other justices determining cases in Hertfordshire.<sup>103</sup> In addition to receiving specific rewards for service, magnates could thus provide financial sanctuary for their men, as well as a physical one.

As a final point, it should be noted that lords and their families could also receive grants and loans from household knights. In 1349 Gilbert Chasteleyn granted all his land and tenements in Swinbrook, Oxfordshire, to his son John and John's wife Isabel; the reversion of the land, in the case that Gilbert had no other legitimate heirs of his body, was to go to Thomas Beauchamp's son Reynbrun.<sup>104</sup> Ten years later, John Botetourt and Beauchamp's steward Richard Piriton lent the earl and Ralph Basset of Sapcote 350

---

<sup>95</sup> *CPR*, 1334-37, p. 531; *CCR*, 1343-46, pp. 300 and 491.

<sup>96</sup> *CPR*, 1361-64, p. 111; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 78; Gundy, *Rebel Earl*, p. 55; Carpenter, 'Fourteenth-Century Warwickshire', p. 31.

<sup>97</sup> The matter of household service broadening a knight's social world and creating new opportunities is covered in Chapter 5, and will be discussed in more detail there.

<sup>98</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, pp. 230 and 250; 1346-49, pp. 137 and 141; 1349-54, p. 271; 1354-60, pp. 394, 492 and 625.

<sup>99</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 230; 1346-49, pp. 589 and 615; 1354-60, p. 633.

<sup>100</sup> C 61/68; C 76/37; C 81/1750; *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 465.

<sup>101</sup> *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 400.

<sup>102</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 467; 1346-49, pp. 202 and 548; 1354-60, p. 84.

<sup>103</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 271.

<sup>104</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 189v.

marks.<sup>105</sup> Beauchamp also held Budbrook and La Grave in Warwickshire from John Clinton for the term of his life,<sup>106</sup> and the feoffees mentioned in his inquisition post mortem also granted him various properties in Surrey, Wiltshire, Warwickshire and the Marches.<sup>107</sup> Henry of Grosmont received a third part of the Yorkshire manor of Burley from John Blount in 1337.<sup>108</sup> Robert Neville likewise released the Lancaster manors of Hornby and Melling to the duke in 1351.<sup>109</sup> Grosmont was also lent money by Thomas Uvedale, and still had outstanding debts to the knight when he died.<sup>110</sup> Meanwhile, William Bohun was granted the reversion of Wethersfield and Little Hallingbury by John Neville of Essex when the latter enfeoffed the lands to various men, including the earl's secretary Robert Teye.<sup>111</sup> Bohun also originally held the reversion of the Essex manor of Mashbury, held by Robert Marny for the life of William Butevyleyn, but in 1344 Marny surrendered the manor outright to Bohun and his wife.<sup>112</sup> The above should serve as a reminder that the benefits of household service did not only go one way. While household knights were not necessarily obliged to make these offerings, it is certainly the case that magnates also stood to gain from the relationship in ways that extended beyond the typical service their men provided.

#### *4.2 Multiple Lordship: 'Shared' Bachelors and Promotion to Greater Service*

As already evidenced in this chapter and previously, patterns of lordship operated within a broader framework of royal authority and patronage in late medieval England.<sup>113</sup> Examining the service of various household knights, and how they were rewarded, makes it apparent that a significant number of them were either associated with multiple lords or eventually found their way into greater service: after initially being in the household of one of the earls, they undertook important offices in the service of the realm or royal family, usually becoming closely associated with the king or Black Prince.

Sometimes, the element of multiple lordship was kept within the family. Among the witnesses of a 1347 land grant between Sir John Pultney and the earl of Hereford and Essex, William Bohun's brother Humphrey, were Geoffrey de Say, Robert Bouchier, Hugh Badewe, John Northwood and William de la More.<sup>114</sup> The latter two may be regarded as knights on the periphery of Earl William's following, while the first three were certainly

---

<sup>105</sup> *CCR, 1354-60*, p. 645.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *CIPM, 1365-70*, pp. 303-12.

<sup>108</sup> DL 25/2182.

<sup>109</sup> *CCR, 1349-54*, p. 372.

<sup>110</sup> *CPR, 1361-64*, pp. 495-6.

<sup>111</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 607.

<sup>112</sup> *CCR, 1343-46*, pp. 487-8.

<sup>113</sup> Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 185 and 189; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 48. See also Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 107-9; Gorski, *Sheriff*, p. 28; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 71.

<sup>114</sup> *CCR, 1346-49*, pp. 236-7.

prominent knights of his household. Although Humphrey Bohun was too infirm to lead a retinue on military campaign,<sup>115</sup> it seems that household knights were sometimes shared between the brother earls for non-military purposes. A similar observation can be made about Grosmont and his father. Several knights of the household were attached to both men while Henry senior was still alive: between 1333 and 1344 William Walkyngton, the Blount brothers John and William, John Twyford senior, Robert Hungerford, Edmund Trussell, Hugh Hastings, Thomas Cok and Robert de la Mare all acted as witnesses to the elder Henry's charters, including some between father and son.<sup>116</sup> Just as family members could act as knights within a magnate's household, so too could knights also serve in the household of a magnate's family members. The overlap of service was also no doubt facilitated by family traditions of service to particular earldoms and households, as well as the geographical influence of these lords.

The role of landed interests and regional influence in multiple lordship can be seen in other cases. For instance, a number of knights associated with William Bohun also had ties to John de Vere, the earl of Oxford. John Sutton of Wivenhoe was in Oxford's retinue for Scotland in 1336; Richard Cornwall served for the Crécy campaign in 1346; John Coggeshale fought under de Vere in 1355-56, while John Sutton was the earl's attorney.<sup>117</sup> De Vere also had John Dengayne involved in judicial commissions in 1347 and 1351.<sup>118</sup> Yet by far the most curious example comes from September 1340, when John Segrave complained that the earl had led a group of men trespassing on his park at Great Chasterford, Essex, taking away game and assaulting his servants.<sup>119</sup> Among the named perpetrators were several knights closely associated with William Bohun: John FitzWalter, Robert Bouchier, William Giffard, Robert Manteby, William Tallemache, Adam Swynbourne, Hugh Badewe and John Dengayne. It is unclear whether de Vere targeted Segrave's property out of convenience or as part of a private conflict between the men, though Matthew Raven has noted that Segrave had recently inherited the manor of Heydon via his marriage to the earl of Norfolk's daughter, and suggests the crime was intended as a warning or reminder of Segrave's place within the social order of the county.<sup>120</sup> In any case, the incident is striking for a number of reasons. Several of the knights mentioned had been campaigning in the earl of Northampton's retinue in the Low Countries and France earlier in the year: the earl apparently saw action at Valenciennes in May before participating in the

---

<sup>115</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 223.

<sup>116</sup> DL 25/2084; DL 25/2302; DL 27/192; DL 27/212; DL 42/1, fols. 74r, 76v-77r and 197v-198r.

<sup>117</sup> C 61/67; C 71/16; C 76/20.

<sup>118</sup> CPR, 1345-48, p. 399; 1350-54, p. 159.

<sup>119</sup> CPR, 1340-43, pp. 96-7.

<sup>120</sup> Raven, 'The Earls of Edward III', p. 690.

naval battle of Sluys in June and the siege of Tournai in late July and early August.<sup>121</sup> Bohun's movements for the rest of the year are not certain, but he appears to have re-entered custody as a hostage for Edward III's debts from August until the following April.<sup>122</sup> Although a handful of Northampton's men reportedly stayed abroad with him,<sup>123</sup> the rest were probably back in England by the beginning of September and at their leisure. This would explain their absence from Bohun's side and perhaps also their involvement in criminal activities with de Vere: while military campaigns could certainly involve long spells of inactivity, they must nonetheless have offered a sense of anticipation and adventure, and for some of the knights the trespass on Segrave's property may have been motivated by a desire to recapture some of that excitement.

As stated, the reason for the de Vere connection can be explained in terms of landed property and regional influence, though the two earls were also veteran campaigners together.<sup>124</sup> The inquisition post mortem for de Vere in 1360 reveals that he held a substantial amount of land in a number of counties where Bohun's knights were prominent, especially Essex, varying in size from castles and manors to fractions of knight's fees.<sup>125</sup> At the time of his death, John Sutton held the Cambridgeshire manors Swafham and Saxton which de Vere had transferred to him and others; John Dengayne held a knight's fee of the earl in Pappeworth Anneys, Huntingdonshire; in Essex, John St Clare held part of a knight's fee at Beaumont, Robert Bouchier's kinsman John held the manor of 'le Vaux' in Belchamp Otten and part of a knight's fee at Halstead, while de Vere held land in Bures Giffard from John of the Giffard family.<sup>126</sup> Given the volume of de Vere's estates in Essex and neighbouring counties, it is quite possible that other landed connections existed between him and Bohun's men in earlier years. Most of the knights mentioned here, particularly the likes of Bouchier and Dengayne, were primarily connected to the earl of Northampton's household. However, it is evident that the potential overlap in magnates' areas of influence and the complexities of land ownership, with various properties held of or by different figures, could lead to a similar overlap in the social connections, patronage and service between knights and different lords.

---

<sup>121</sup> C 76/15; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 221-3 and 226-7. Among the perpetrators named above, FitzWalter, Bouchier, Giffard, Manteby, Tallemache and Badewe are recorded in Bohun's retinue from 21<sup>st</sup> June, just before Edward III's forces set sail for Flanders.

<sup>122</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 179-80; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 55.

<sup>123</sup> The knight John Podenhale and a few others apparently acted as representatives of the earl for the debt owed to the townspeople of Louvain: Parker, 'Patronage', p. 179.

<sup>124</sup> They served together in France in 1340 and 1342: Ayton, 'Aristocracy', p. 179; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', pp. 689-90.

<sup>125</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, pp. 517-8 and 521-3. The inquisition specifies a number of these lands as parcel of the earldom of Oxford.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 518-9 and 521.

Similar evidence can be found for the knights of Thomas Beauchamp and William Clinton, the earl of Huntingdon. John Botetourt, Baldwin Freville, John Pecche and Fulk Birmingham, along with some of Birmingham's kin, were in Clinton's military retinue from 1345 and 1346.<sup>127</sup> In 1340 the earl requested Ralph Basset of Drayton be assigned to a commission of oyer and terminer investigating a trespass at his park of Alton, and in 1350 the crown named Clinton at the head of a murder investigation in Warwickshire along with Botetourt, Birmingham and others.<sup>128</sup> In 1346 Clinton secured Freville the right to enfeoff one Baldwin Wittenev of his castle at Tamworth,<sup>129</sup> and he loaned various sums to men of the Warwick following: £100 and £160 for Thomas Asteleye in 1336 and 1343 respectively, plus £6 for John Pecche and £80 for Gilbert Chasteleyn in 1354.<sup>130</sup> Several knights also acted as witnesses for Huntingdon's charters: Asteleye, Ralph Basset and Richard Whitacre in 1340, Asteleye, Whitacre and Ralph Bracebrugge in 1343, and Asteleye again in 1346.<sup>131</sup> Clinton was even a witness for at least one of Asteleye's own charters in 1341.<sup>132</sup>

As with Bohun and de Vere, the element of multiple lordship here can be explained in terms of overlapping territorial influence. Maxstoke in Warwickshire was the chief seat of Clinton's parents and subsequently his nephew John, and the earl had retained a number of landed interests in the county by the time he died in 1354; this included land in Nether Whitacre held of Baldwin Freville, as well as several lands and manors held of John Clinton.<sup>133</sup> It would be rash, however, to assume the social ties between Beauchamp, Clinton and local knights represented a jostling for position as the foremost magnate and patron in the West Midlands, or that it was a source of acrimony between the earls. Clinton was on Beauchamp's tournament team at Dunstable in 1334, and he still held property in Nether Whitacre and Kynesbury of the earl of Warwick at the time of his death.<sup>134</sup> Clinton's nephew John also grew up as a ward under Beauchamp's care, eventually becoming one of Warwick's own household knights.<sup>135</sup> Nor is there reason to suppose there were bad relations between the uncle and nephew: In 1345 Huntingdon secured licence to crenellate Maxstoke manor, and a year later John enfeoffed his uncle of the manor of Shustoke.<sup>136</sup> It seems the local affiliations of both earls were more cooperative than competitive, and many

---

<sup>127</sup> C 76/20; C 76/22.

<sup>128</sup> SC 8/245/12236; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 529.

<sup>129</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 128.

<sup>130</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, CR0457/44/6; *CCR*, 1333-37, p. 652; 1343-46, p. 255; 1354-60, pp. 69 and 73.

<sup>131</sup> Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/T103/2; *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 436; *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 644; 1346-49, pp. 80-81

<sup>132</sup> Warwickshire Record Office, CR0136/C761a.

<sup>133</sup> *CIPM*, 1352-61, p. 175.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*; Long, 'Dunstable', pp. 394-5.

<sup>135</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 525.

<sup>136</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 444; 1345-48, pp. 94 and 113; *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 80 and 84-5.

knights were clearly able to accommodate service to multiple masters within their lives.<sup>137</sup> This was technically true by default of all household knights; as noted in the previous chapter, their service to any magnate was typically punctuated by spells away from the lord's person, and any service they provided also needed to coexist with the demands of the king and crown.<sup>138</sup>

Beyond this, there are many notable cases of household knights going on to greater roles, providing simultaneous or later service in the households of the royal family, or undertaking offices of great importance to the realm. Richard Totesham is the clearest example from the knights of William Bohun. Totesham was serving in the earl of Northampton's military retinue from at least 1336 when he accompanied Bohun for the campaign in Scotland.<sup>139</sup> He remained in the earl's service for subsequent campaigns in the Low Countries and France.<sup>140</sup> When Bohun's man Thomas Dagworth took over the lieutenancy of Brittany, Totesham also remained in the duchy as the captain of La Roche-Derrien.<sup>141</sup> It was thanks to the help of Totesham and his garrison that Dagworth and the other Anglo-Breton forces were able to defeat and capture Charles of Blois, the French-backed claimant to Brittany, at the battle of La Roche-Derrien in May 1347.<sup>142</sup> Totesham's capabilities clearly did not go unnoticed, for in 1350 he was also sent on diplomatic mission to Flanders and in 1358-59 he was again involved in peace talks in France and Normandy.<sup>143</sup> After Bohun died in 1360, Totesham came into the service of the Black Prince, undertaking important offices in the prince's administration in Aquitaine. He was initially made governor of La Rochelle and seneschal of Saintonge; in 1361 he was one of the men put in charge of receiving forfeited French territories into English control; in 1363 he was the steward of Bigorre and the following year was recorded as giving homage to the prince at Poitiers.<sup>144</sup> It may be that Totesham was appropriated directly from Bohun's service by the crown, as he does not seem to have campaigned again with Northampton after the 1340s, but in any case he clearly found an important place in the Black Prince's following in the wake of Bohun's death.

Similar cases can be found among Henry of Grosmont's knights. Some of these were on a relatively small scale, such as Ralph Ferrers and Richard la Zouche. Both campaigned with Grosmont in Aquitaine, and later entered the service of the Black Prince and Edward III

---

<sup>137</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 36.

<sup>138</sup> See Chapter 3, pp.153-7.

<sup>139</sup> E 101/19/26.

<sup>140</sup> C 76/12; C 76/15; C 81/1734; C 81/1735; E 36/304; *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 531; *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 278.

<sup>141</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 1016.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1016-18; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 289.

<sup>143</sup> E 101/313/2; E 101/313/32.

<sup>144</sup> Green, 'Household', II, p. 145.

respectively.<sup>145</sup> Ferrers received various gifts from the prince in the 1350s, including a silver cup, furs and gold cloth.<sup>146</sup> La Zouche was granted 40 marks a year from the issues of Northamptonshire in 1359, 'for his stay with the king'.<sup>147</sup> William Trussell was in Grosmont's retinue in 1341 and the Aquitaine expedition of 1345-46 but during Henry's lifetime Trussell became associated with the Black Prince: he was in the prince's retinue for the French expedition of 1355, and in 1358 requested payment for horses lost on campaign.<sup>148</sup> Grosmont's dependable banneret Philip Lymbury received a gift of silverware from the Black Prince in 1348.<sup>149</sup> The even more loyal Thomas Cok received the Oxfordshire manor of Aston Rohand from the prince, performing homage for it in February 1351.<sup>150</sup>

However, the most striking examples are certainly Stephen Cosington and Niel Loring. Cosington was part of the following from at least 1344 when he accompanied Grosmont's retinue to France.<sup>151</sup> However, he was considered useful enough for the Black Prince to also recruit him. In 1348 the prince gifted him a set of harnesses decorated with Cosington's arms.<sup>152</sup> By 1351 he was on the prince's council, participated in the Poitiers campaign and was even the prince's bodyguard during the battle itself.<sup>153</sup> This was followed by the reward of a £100 annuity.<sup>154</sup> He became the prince's marshal in 1367, and worked as an ambassador in France and the Low Countries in the same decade.<sup>155</sup> He still held a tenurial connection to Grosmont at the time of the duke's death, being in possession of the Hampshire manor of Hartley.<sup>156</sup>

Loring's situation was somewhat different, as he was never exclusively Grosmont's man. He received an annuity of £20 from the king as a reward for distinguishing himself at the battle of Sluys in 1340. He joined Grosmont's expedition to Aquitaine in 1345-46 and was in Henry's retinue again from 1349 to 1352.<sup>157</sup> In addition, he was in receipt of a £20 annuity from Grosmont's manor of Gimingham in Norfolk; in 1352 the duke also granted him 50 marks yearly for his good service.<sup>158</sup> However, he was also made a founding member of the Order of the Garter, occupying the tenth stall on the Black Prince's side rather than

---

<sup>145</sup> E 101/25/9.

<sup>146</sup> *BPR*, III, pp. 99 and 229; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 283.

<sup>147</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 94.

<sup>148</sup> C 71/21; E 101/25/9; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 36 and 71; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 29.

<sup>149</sup> *BPR*, IV, pp. 68 and 73; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 302.

<sup>150</sup> *BPR*, IV, p. 2; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, p. 274.

<sup>151</sup> C 76/19; C 81/1734.

<sup>152</sup> Green, 'Household', II, p. 42.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *BPR*, IV, pp. 178-9; Green, 'Household', II, p. 42.

<sup>155</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', pp. 695, 711-2 and 726-7; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 29; Green, 'Household', II, pp. 42-3.

<sup>156</sup> *CPR*, 1364-67, pp. 327-8; *CIPM*, 1361-65, p. 95.

<sup>157</sup> C 76/20; C 76/27; E 101/25/9; SC 8/302/15096; *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 179; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 703.

<sup>158</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 352; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 702.

joining the king's as Grosmont did.<sup>159</sup> From 1351 onwards Loring served as the prince's chamberlain and councillor, receiving a further annuity of £20 from the prince.<sup>160</sup> He again distinguished himself during the 1356 *chevauchée* and like Cosington was one of the prince's bodyguards at the battle of Poitiers, for which he was rewarded with an additional £83 6s 8d a year.<sup>161</sup> Loring continued to serve in the prince's household through the 1350s and 60s, as well as embarking on diplomatic missions for the crown.<sup>162</sup> Considering their service to and reward by Grosmont, the Black Prince and the king, it is evident that Loring and Cosington were highly prized retainers.

Similarly prominent examples can be found under the earl of Warwick. It appears that Richard Stafford's link to Beauchamp and the Black Prince began at roughly the same time,<sup>163</sup> though his association with Beauchamp was limited to the 1340s and he was more prominent in the prince's service.<sup>164</sup> Ralph Basset of Drayton and Baldwin Freville also became valued members of the Black Prince's following in the years following the Poitiers campaign.<sup>165</sup> Freville proved especially popular; he was retained for life by the prince at £40 yearly, continued to fight under the prince's banner and also became seneschal of Saintonge and Poitou.<sup>166</sup> Beauchamp and the Black Prince were military comrades on a number of occasions, most notably on the Crécy and Poitiers campaigns, during which Warwick was constable of the prince's army.<sup>167</sup> It is hardly surprising then to find cases of 'cross-pollination' of knights within their households; some of Beauchamp's men well have caught the attention of Prince Edward, and were propelled into his service on the earl's recommendation.

Beauchamp's three most reliable and effective knights outside of standard military service, John Leukenore, Gilbert Chasteleyn and Robert Herle, were also men who found promotion into the service of the crown and royal family. Leukenore seems to have left regular service to the earl by the mid 1340s; the last known example of him acting as one of Beauchamp's witnesses comes from 1344, and although Carpenter claims he was in Beauchamp's retinue for the siege of Calais, Wrottesley placed Leukenore in the king's division for the preceding campaign.<sup>168</sup> Leukenore had already been known to the crown

---

<sup>159</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>160</sup> *BPR*, II, p. 61; Green, 'Household', II, p. 97.

<sup>161</sup> *BPR*, II, p. 136; Green, 'Household', II, p. 97. This was modified to the rounder figure of £80.

<sup>162</sup> Green, 'Household', II, p. 97; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>163</sup> C 76/17; C 81/1750; Green, 'Household', II, pp. 133-4.

<sup>164</sup> Green, 'Household', II, pp. 133-6.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12 (Basset), 69-71 (Freville).

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>168</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 36r; Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais*, pp. 37 and 184; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 32.

since the 1330s,<sup>169</sup> but by 1348 he had transferred from Warwick's service to Queen Philippa's household, acting as her steward until at least 1351.<sup>170</sup> Even after this he was involved on several judicial commissions on the queen's behalf, investigating trespasses on her estates and against her servants from 1352-54.<sup>171</sup>

Likewise, Chasteleyn was still in Beauchamp's service at the start of the 1350s, executing one of the earl's commissions of oyer and terminer in 1351, in addition to being his undersheriff for Warwickshire-Leicestershire in the following two years.<sup>172</sup> However, during the same period he balanced his responsibilities with several judicial commissions undertaken directly for the crown. He was appointed to at least nine of these between 1351 and 1355.<sup>173</sup> Chasteleyn presumably fulfilled his duties well, as in 1355 he was given a grant for life of £40 yearly out of the the shrieval issues from Warwickshire and Leicestershire.<sup>174</sup> In the same year, he and his heirs were also granted free warren for his Gloucestershire manor of Charingworth and his chief seat of Kingham in Oxfordshire.<sup>175</sup> In the following year, he was acting as the steward and attorney for the king's daughter Isabel, holding the office until some time before May 1362.<sup>176</sup> In 1357 he was then granted a further £60 per year from the issues of Warwickshire-Leicestershire, beyond the £40 initially given, specifically in recompense for his expenses in the king's service.<sup>177</sup> In spite of this, Chasteleyn apparently still overspent; by the time of his death in or around 1368, orders were issued to make enquiries about his wealth and goods, as he had died owing the king various debts.<sup>178</sup> It is worth noting that as his activity for the crown and royal family increased, Chasteleyn's service to the earl of Warwick appeared to taper off: he participated in a number of peace commissions under Beauchamp's nominal lead from 1351 to 1354, but he does not seem to have campaigned after the siege of Calais and he cannot be found as one of the earl's witnesses after 1350.<sup>179</sup>

In addition to his service to Warwick, Robert Herle began to rise in royal favour during the 1340s. In 1345 he was guarding the void bishopric of Durham, and in 1348 he was paid £100 by Edward III for delivering to the king the Scottish knight William Vaux, reportedly taken prisoner at the Battle of Neville's Cross two years previously.<sup>180</sup> More

---

<sup>169</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 154-7.

<sup>170</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, pp. 93, 106 and 272; 1350-54, p. 122.

<sup>171</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, pp. 288, 336-7, 390, 448, 459; *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 20.

<sup>172</sup> C 131/8/27; C 131/9/9; E 40/60-69; *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 158.

<sup>173</sup> *CPR*, 1350-54, pp. 87, 390, 450-1, 508 and 513; 1354-58, pp. 59, 62 and 228.

<sup>174</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 193.

<sup>175</sup> *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 147.

<sup>176</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 451; *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 286; 1360-64, p. 334.

<sup>177</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58

<sup>178</sup> E 156/28/27.

<sup>179</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 9r.

<sup>180</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 473; 1348-50, p. 110. Herle is recorded in Beauchamp's retinue for the Crécy campaign, so if he fought at Neville's Cross as well then he must have travelled swiftly back to the

favours were to follow: in February 1350 he received a yearly grant of £100 to remain at the king's disposal with one knight and eight esquires, and by August the same year he was made captain of Calais.<sup>181</sup> In the following years Herle seemed to acquire some measure of personal influence himself, as in 1353 he was able to secure a life exemption from offices and commissions for the lawyer Simon Pakeman, another Beauchamp loyalist.<sup>182</sup> By 1354 he was also steward of the lands and households of the royal princes John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, as both were still underage.<sup>183</sup> He was no longer captain of Calais by 1355, but was still the princes' steward in 1356, the same year Beauchamp enfeoffed him and others with Swansea Castle and the lands of the Gower.<sup>184</sup> Herle seems to have excelled; he was pardoned two debts to the king of £65 and £100 because of his good service to Edward III and John of Gaunt.<sup>185</sup> By 1359, Herle was captain of Brittany; a year later he was made the king's lieutenant in the duchy.<sup>186</sup> The following year he was also made admiral of the south, north and west, and was granted Dover Castle and Cinque Ports for life following the death of their previous holder – the earl of Warwick's brother John Beauchamp.<sup>187</sup> None of these roles were sinecures, as Herle was kept busy during his tenures: securing safe conducts for merchants and pardons for soldiers' good service,<sup>188</sup> undertaking judicial commissions within his regional jurisdiction,<sup>189</sup> and executing orders sent by the king.<sup>190</sup> One such order from June 1363 states that Herle should assemble troops in the Cinque Ports, 'as he loves the king's honour and the defence of his country'.<sup>191</sup> It seems then that Herle proved himself to be a highly capable, energetic and zealous asset of the crown, serving as a soldier and commander until his death in 1364.<sup>192</sup>

In sum, there was a definite trend for some household knights of these earls, particularly those who were highly valued by the earls and entrusted with important duties, to be appropriated into the service of the Black Prince, Edward III or the realm more broadly. Yet this does not necessarily mean that the royal appropriation of household knights from

---

north of England, or departed from France before the campaign was over. As a native of Northumberland with landed interests there, he may have heard report of the Scottish incursion and been anxious to participate in the northern defence.

<sup>181</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, pp. 492 and 590.

<sup>182</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 400. For example, Beauchamp issued a grant to 'his yeoman' Simon Pakeman in 1355 for helping him recover the lands of the Gower in the law courts: *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, A.7203.

<sup>183</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, pp. 105, 137, 154 and 461.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 416 and 451. He was also guardian of Prince John's person for a period of one year and served on judicial commission at Gaunt's request: *Ibid.*, p. 458.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 432 and 441.

<sup>186</sup> *CPR, 1358-61*, pp. 181 and 479.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 519 and 531.

<sup>188</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, pp. 628 and 628; *1358-61*, pp. 181, 479, 542, 525, 527 and 562.

<sup>189</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 610; *1358-61*, pp. 484 and 584-5; *1361-64*, pp. 63, 150, 287 and 293.

<sup>190</sup> *CCR, 1360-64*, p. 237, 256, 265, 270, 405 and 422.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 536.

<sup>192</sup> *CIPM, 1361-65*, pp. 449-51.

the earls was a cause for ill feeling between the magnates. It is possible that there was some bitterness when the earl of Gloucester withdrew a land grant worth £100 to retain Robert Bouchier because Edward III had chosen to retain Bouchier instead.<sup>193</sup> This should not, however, be taken as a given: it could easily be that Gloucester taking back his £100 of land was merely sensible and necessary, with no hard feelings towards Bouchier or the king because this was part of an accepted status quo. On this matter, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, a treatise from the twelfth century written about the proper functioning of the Exchequer, makes a pertinent observation: 'the king's prerogative as chief of the executive that any man in the kingdom, if the king need him, may be freely taken and assigned to the king's service, whose man soever he be, and whomsoever he serves in war or in peace'.<sup>194</sup> That this was an accepted prerogative in the twelfth century indicates that it was probably still an accepted dynamic of lordship and kingship in the reign of Edward III; nor can it be taken for granted as a particular feature of bastard feudalism, let alone one that contributed to destabilising society. As noted by Christine Carpenter, it was probably common for magnates to recommend their personal associates to the crown 'so that the king was well served at a time when the requisite expertise was still in short supply'.<sup>195</sup> In such circumstances, there is little reason to suppose that the earls nurtured any resentment to the crown or their former retainers.

Even with 'alumni' bachelors who went on to serve the crown or royal family, it is worth remembering that if they were no longer formally retained by a magnate, they could still remain a part of his following. Thomas Cok still represented Grosmont in his dispute with Otto of Brunswick, travelling to Paris in 1352 as an envoy of Grosmont, even though he had been officially retained by Edward III as seneschal of Aquitaine since 1348.<sup>196</sup> Hugh Meynill appears to have ceased campaigning under Grosmont after 1346 and the two had little if any interaction in the 1350s, but were associated again in 1360 when Meynill witnessed one of the duke's charters and served on a commission of oyer and terminer for him; the following year they were also placed on the same peace commission for Derbyshire.<sup>197</sup> For William Bohun, John Coggeshale campaigned in the earl's retinue and witnessed one of his charters in 1346, then after a gap of twelve years can be found acting as a witness again in 1358 and 1360.<sup>198</sup> In the interim he was still connected to others of the Bohun affinity, acting for instance as a witness for one of Robert Bouchier's charters in 1347.<sup>199</sup> Likewise, the

---

<sup>193</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 61.

<sup>194</sup> Richard FitzNeale, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Course of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. by Charles Johnson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p. 84.

<sup>195</sup> Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', p. 86.

<sup>196</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 23; Fowler, 'Grosmont', p. 553.

<sup>197</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/1/11; *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 410; 1361-64, p. 66.

<sup>198</sup> DL 25/1960; DL 25/34; DL 25/1591.

<sup>199</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 359.

earl's connection to Thomas Mandeville seemingly went dormant after 1345, but Mandeville then witnessed a number of the earl's charters in 1358 and 1359.<sup>200</sup> Similarly, Baldwin Freville's promotion with the Black Prince did not stop him from continuing to associate with Thomas Beauchamp, his son and successor, or the other knights of their following.<sup>201</sup> Robert Herle leaving Wariwck's regular service did not stop him being included in the earl's 1356 enfeoffment.<sup>202</sup> John Leukenore stood witness for one of Gilbert Chasteleyn's charters in 1349, which granted reversion to Beauchamp's son Reynbrun.<sup>203</sup> In 1363 Beauchamp granted £40 yearly to his cousin Roger, levied out of lands enfeoffed to Herle, Ralph Basset and others, with their agreement.<sup>204</sup> There was also an apparent reconnection with Nicholas Burneby when the latter was nominated for Beauchamp's 1351 Northamptonshire commission of oyer and terminer,<sup>205</sup> long after any other trace of his membership in the household. Rather than assuming all ties were eventually cut we might consider that there was merely a change in relationship, with a knight leaving regular service but maintaining some level of amicable contact and cooperation.

Yet equally, it is important to note here that where 'alumni' bachelors still had amicable contact with a magnate, this did not necessarily reflect badly on their loyalty to their current lord. We need not assume that conflicts of interest regularly arose, or that allegiances to a new employer were hollow. As noted above, Herle's continued good relations with Beauchamp and the Warwick following did not prevent him from giving exemplary service to Edward III and the realm; there was no need for an entry in the Close Rolls to remark that Herle 'loves the king's honour and the defence of his country' if there was no truth in it.<sup>206</sup> Walker has also noted that the majority of Lancastrian retainers were not in the employ of multiple lords, and that despite a few examples of 'elastic loyalty' among those who did, it was generally accepted that men were free to serve other masters if it did not impact on their duties; indeed, it was sometimes the case that multiple lordship 'added to, rather than detracted from' the cohesion of the affinity'.<sup>207</sup> In the case of the three magnate followings investigated here, it certainly seems to be that most of a knight's time was spent serving their current master, and contact with their previous lord was more intermittent. It is also worth remembering the good relationship that the likes of Edward III and the Black Prince had with Grosmont, Beauchamp and Bohun. Given that their interests were usually so closely aligned, conflicts of interest among their knights were unlikely to

---

<sup>200</sup> DL 25/1521; DL 25/34; DL 25/1932.

<sup>201</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 104; *CPR 1358-61*, p. 221; *CCR 1369-74*, p. 430; E 326/2261.

<sup>202</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 590; *1350-54*, p. 357; *1354-58*, p. 416.

<sup>203</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 189v.

<sup>204</sup> *CCR, 1360-64*, p. 510.

<sup>205</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 84.

<sup>206</sup> *CCR, 1360-64*, p. 536.

<sup>207</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 103, 107 and 109-110.

arise. In this context, 'fluidity' of service among the great did not mean fickleness, but rather the versatility of serving the same or similar causes under different – but closely aligned – masters. If the social dynamics between gentry and nobility in the mid fourteenth century can be validly labelled 'bastard feudalism', then it cannot be said that this particular manifestation of it was destabilising for society. The circumstances of Edward III's reign, and his relationship with his leading magnates and military commanders, made multiple lordship a useful asset, a flexible joint in the mechanisms of government, service and society.

### *Conclusion*

Household knights could enjoy a variety of direct and indirect benefits for their service to the earls of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton. Some of these were a fundamental part of their role as bachelors of the household: receiving the lord's livery, *bouche de court* for themselves and their sub-retinue, provision of mounts and compensation for horses lost on campaign. The indentures made with William Tallemache, Robert Herle and Edmund Ufford reveal that payment in the form of land or money could also be part of the agreement. These could be granted to a knight as a recruiting inducement but were also the most common way for the earls to exercise patronage and reward their men for subsequent service. However, the use of annuities appears to have been the preserve of the royal family and the house of Lancaster; although Grosmont, the king and Black Prince granted a number of these during their lives, no evidence has been found that this was practised by the earls of Warwick or Northampton. Instead, the latter pair seem to have primarily used land grants as a mechanism for recruitment and reward.

Another common reward was the granting of pardons. The earls usually requested these of the crown on behalf of their men, but it is apparent that Edward III trusted Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun enough to delegate the choice of appointments and use of the great seal to them on occasions; thus, the earls themselves could sometimes issue pardons directly as they saw fit. Their close relationship with the king also meant they were well positioned to secure various licenses for the knights: free warren and alienation in mortmain for their lands, permission to crenelate their main residence, and licence to enfeoff their own trusted associates. Less frequently, the earls could influence marriage matches for their men and their extensive resources made them a useful source for loans when needed.

The matter of lordly patronage, and in particular the securing of pardons, does raise questions about the involvement of magnates and their household knights in the administering, and abuse, of the realm's justice. It is apparent from the evidence that the earls could, and sometimes did, exploit the judicial system with or for their household men. There existed here a tension between the need to maintain the king's peace and satisfy the commons on the one hand, and to support loyal retainers by shielding them from at least

some of the consequences of misdeeds they committed. Yet although some egregious examples are apparent, as evidenced in the people of Warwickshire fleeing from the judgement of Beauchamp, Montfort and Herle, or in the actions of the king's knight Thomas Bradeston, crimes and corruption were generally of a smaller scale and did not prevent the running of the realm. From a purely practical standpoint, the earls of Lancaster, Warwick and Northampton were far too involved in international politics to dedicate much time to the oppression of their localities; as some of Edward III's most capable commanders and friends, they were deeply and almost constantly engaged in war and diplomacy across Scotland, Spain, France, the Low Countries and the Holy Roman Empire.

Another matter closely entwined with the patronage of household knights is the issue of multiple lordship. A number of men had simultaneous ties to different magnates. Thus, John Botetourt, Thomas Asteleye and Ralph Bracebrugge were familiar with both the earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, while the earl of Oxford John de Vere was connected to several of William Bohun's closest followers. More strikingly though, service as a household knight under Beauchamp, Grosmont or Bohun was often a gateway to greater success. Those men who proved themselves to be uniquely capable in important military and administrative roles often transitioned into service for the realm or royal family. Certainly, knights like Totesham, Cosington, Loring, Leukenore, Herle and Chasteleyn must have been highly competent and dependable individuals, given not only the place they held in the earls' followings but also their receipt of appointments and rewards from the Black Prince and Edward III himself. Considering the earls' close connections to the prince and king, we can be reasonably sure that on most occasions the knights went with the blessing and recommendation of their master, contributing to an overall 'fluidity of service' between the followings of the great.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> Green, 'Politics and Service', p. 60.

### Confraternity in Context: Links Within and Across the Knightly Households

The preceding three chapters have focused primarily on the relationship between lord and knight, specifically how different individuals served in the households of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun. However, the knights of these men were not isolated in their service and membership: they would have regularly gathered and interacted with other contingents of the household, as well as each other, and the priority of this chapter will be to explore the relationship dynamics that existed between the knights themselves. As such, there are three contentions in this chapter. Firstly, that the knights of these three magnates were very likely conscious of their common bond and collective identity as members of his household. In such a heavily militarised following as these, the bonds created by shared experience in the household, as well as tournaments and warfare must have made a strong impression in how the knights saw themselves. Secondly, that this resulted in a mutual trust, cooperation and fellowship *intra familias*, between the knights of any one given household, and that this manifested in various ways, including marriage ties, charter witnessing and legal assistance. Thirdly, that a multitude of ties also existed *inter familias*, connecting the knightly households of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton with each other and the rest of the nobility. A close analysis of these social threads can thus provide a detailed insight into how the chivalry of fourteenth-century England was broadly interconnected, but also that these ties were more concentrated between the knights in specific noble households.

#### *5.1.1 Self-Conscious Brotherhoods*

The first contention for discussion is that the household knights of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun identified themselves as a distinct and exclusive group of men, bound by their common membership in the institution of knighthood and their sworn loyalty to their lord. It is apparent from the wording of contemporary indentures that the concept itself existed; the Robert Herle and Edmund Ufford contracts signify staying with their specified lord, and the Herle document mentions being a bachelor of the household.<sup>1</sup> We might therefore consider that in some sense, household membership was another iteration of the chivalric bond of loyalty and companionship, not unlike those found in the secular orders of chivalry or the agreements of brotherhood-in-arms that knights sometimes formed.

Maurice Keen has written in some detail on the compact of brotherhood-in-arms, which was essentially a formal demonstration of very close friendship between two military

---

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 71.

men.<sup>2</sup> The typical characteristics of these relationships were as follows: a formal initiation, even religious ceremony, in which reciprocal oaths were sworn; the brothers-in-arms agreed to support each other in all endeavours, creating a bond that took precedent over all other loyalties except that owed to blood kin and liege homage; they normally shared each other's financial burdens and rewards, including spoils of war and ransom expenses; this extended to all matters of honour and personal troubles, and brothers-in-arms acted as members of each other's personal council; it could even be a legally binding obligation, enforceable in the courts. As with indentures of retainer, they could be made for life, but this was not necessary; French knight Bertrand du Guesclin is understood to have sworn finite oaths of brotherhood-in-arms with Olivier de Clisson, Louis de Sancerre and Englishman Hugh Calverley. However, it was not a form of vassalage between lord and servant, but rather a bond of equals.

Keen also draws parallels between these agreements and the secular fraternities or orders of chivalry that became prominent in the Late Middle Ages, citing the common involvement of oaths, sealed letters, semi-legal dimensions and imperatives of loyalty and aid: 'the relationship between members of an order of chivalry should prove on examination to be of the same close, familial type as that between brothers-in-arms. The order constituted a kind of affinity or family in chivalry'.<sup>3</sup> This latter analogy comparing secular orders to a lord's personal affinity deserves further consideration, as a number of parallels become apparent.

Three examples worth mentioning here were formed by Karoly I of Hungary (1288-1342), Alfonso XI of Castile and Edward III's own Order of the Garter. Karoly's Fraternal Society of St George was formed in 1326, ostensibly to combat pagan threats but in practice functioned more as a way for Hungary's new king to consolidate his support base in the realm. Karoly offered membership to figures in the nobility, allowing him to form comradesly bonds with them through martial pursuits and a shared chivalric identity. He also used the order as a vehicle to exercise patronage, bestowing generous membership benefits on member knights.<sup>4</sup> This was counterbalanced by some notable demands on the members, such as requiring them to meet frequently, have meals together every Monday evening

---

<sup>2</sup> For what follows, see Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 43-59. See also Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, 2nd edn. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. 43; Peter Coss, *Origins*, pp. 216-17; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 36; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 55. For comment on the cohesion and interconnectedness of a magnate's following, see Ayton, 'English Army', pp. 209, 211 and 227; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 173-4.

<sup>3</sup> Keen, *Knights and Men-at-Arms*, pp. 51-2 and 57-9.

<sup>4</sup> D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 27-37; Simpkin, 'Chivalric Society', p. 43; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 346-8.

during periods when they were assembled, and follow the king in all of 'his knightly pursuits'.<sup>5</sup>

Alfonso of Castile also placed great emphasis on military activity in his Order of the Sash, established in 1332. Prowess and personal loyalty were considered the cardinal virtues for the order, and it was intended to form an elite bodyguard around the king in times of war.<sup>6</sup> Tournament participation was again mandated; the statutes declared that the member knights would meet once a year at Whitsun to hold a tournament, and were obliged to attend any tournaments within thirty miles of their current location.<sup>7</sup>

Closer to home, there was Edward III's Order of the Garter. The three magnates under investigation here were of course each Knights of the Garter, Beauchamp and Grosmont as founder members and Bohun as one of the first replacements. The order formed a smaller, much more select group than the previous examples, with the membership formed into two sides of a dozen, one headed by the king and the other by the Black Prince.<sup>8</sup> Again, the selection criteria for the order was predicated on personal loyalty and association with the king, as well as dedicated military service in Edward's wars.<sup>9</sup> It has been suggested that the order was structured into two even sides, specifically to form teams for jousts and tournaments.<sup>10</sup> However, Richard Barber has cast doubt on this, observing that evidence is limited for tournaments being a regular feature in the order's meetings, instead regarding the Garter as a primarily religious foundation.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, given Edward III's evident enthusiasm for chivalric events,<sup>12</sup> it would be unsurprising if the Garter knights did engage in such pursuits together.

All of the details outlined here are similar to what we have observed for membership in the households of Beachamp, Grosmont and Bohun: that they promoted support for their personal lordship by forming bonds with their most socially eminent followers, and patronised them through the granting of lands, protection and the incidental benefits that could follow from having influence with the king. The obligations also resemble those of

---

<sup>5</sup> Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 36-7 and 41-2; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 182; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 348-9.

<sup>6</sup> Jesús D. Rodríguez-Velasco, *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile*, trans. by Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 36 and 137-9; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 50, 52-4 and 84; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 179; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 361-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> David Green, 'The Secular Orders: Chivalry in the Service of the State', in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. by Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 57-68 (pp. 58 and 60-1); Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 115-7 and 128-9; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 300-2.

<sup>9</sup> Green, 'Secular Orders', pp. 58 and 61; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 128-9 and 149; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 302-6.

<sup>10</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 76-91; Barker, *Tournament*, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 281-3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9 and 283.

household knights in England; we need only remember some of the stipulations of the Robert Herle indenture, which detailed that Herle would come to the earl of Warwick whenever the latter had need of him, would be granted *bouche de court* for himself and his companions while attending the earl, and that he would join Warwick for tournaments.<sup>13</sup> To some extent, the households of such warlike magnates formed their own informal secular orders of chivalry.<sup>14</sup> The orders listed above were formed by monarchs rather than magnates, hence their larger scale and more official status, but this does not mean that the knights of Edward's leading commanders did not enjoy their own sense of confraternity and group identity. Given the aforementioned emphasis placed on tournament engagement, it is worth keeping in mind the grant of a licence to Grosmont in 1344 to set up a jousting society meeting at Lincoln every year.<sup>15</sup> We might well regard this as some evidence for an unofficial chivalric society revolving around the earl, particularly given the strength of Grosmont's knightly following in Lincolnshire.<sup>16</sup>

While it is faintly possible that either Karoly's or Alfonso's orders were known to people in England and had an influence on the development of Edward III's Order of the Garter,<sup>17</sup> the point here is not that the emergence of these secular orders of knighthood directly affected social and relationship dynamics in the households of English magnates. Rather, it is to indicate that they shared a common essence of lordship, chivalry and confraternity. Without taking anything away from Barber's observation that there were important religious motivations and causes for the origins of secular orders of chivalry in the fourteenth century,<sup>18</sup> it is also worth noting that the social dynamics and conventions of these orders were in a number of ways similar to those we can see in the households of great military men like the earls of Warwick, Lancaster and Northampton. The point of the analogy is to illustrate that the elements of group identity, chivalric aspiration and brotherhood, which can be readily recognised in the official status and statutes of secular orders, was also likely to exist between the household knights of the English magnates investigated here, particularly considering how heavily militarised their followings were.

In sum, the concept of household knights was a familiar one in the mid fourteenth century, and very much in keeping with the proliferation of orders, societies and fraternities during the period. David Simpkin has recently observed that 'For medieval rulers whose lands were widely spread and disconnected, orders of chivalry could be all the more

---

<sup>13</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 179r.

<sup>14</sup> Green, 'Politics and Service', p. 62; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 196 and 379.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> The friar Walter atte Moore visited Hungary in 1346 and may have learned of Karoly's order while there: Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 349-50. Meanwhile, the English embassy that Grosmont led to Castile in 1344 almost certainly would have encountered Alfonso's Order of the Sash.

<sup>18</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 343, 346-348, 351 and 360.

important for fostering a sense of shared allegiance and common loyalty'.<sup>19</sup> A body of household knights could function in very much the same way for the English earls, given the scattering of their estates across the realm.<sup>20</sup> If the knightly contingent of a lord's household can be regarded as similar to an order or family of chivalry, then the question of precisely how else, in addition to tournament involvement, the conditions of household membership could foster such a sense of exclusivity and comradeship warrants closer investigation. This investigation will be divided here into common gathering, crusading and other campaigning, and lastly trends in religious patronage and devotion.

### 5.1.2 Common Gathering, Crusade and Military Participation

Among the general ties of comradeship, jousts and tournaments were occasions when a magnate's household knights could converge and participate together in chivalric culture, helping to foster a greater *esprit de corps* between them.<sup>21</sup> As occasions with such overtly martial and chivalric significance, it stands to reason that prominent military leaders like Bohun, Grosmont, and Beauchamp would require their household knights to accompany them for tournaments and jousts, and that the shared experience would help to strengthen the relationships between the men.<sup>22</sup> We noted in Chapter 1 that mention of livery is curiously limited in the surviving indentures of retainer between the earls and their knights, but given its widespread use it would be surprising if this was not also a factor in helping to shape a common identity.<sup>23</sup> Retainers enjoying the privilege of *bouche de court* together could also contribute to this.<sup>24</sup> It also stands to reason that a magnate such as Warwick, Lancaster or Northampton would require a suitably dignified retinue for public events, especially when they themselves were so tied to chivalric and martial culture.<sup>25</sup> In such a context, the notion of a team identity under any of the earls' banners could hardly be avoided, and this must have been particularly true for those men who served closely and consistently under the earl. Other forms of common gathering and martial pursuit were also potent forgers of brotherhood. Shared military service fighting alongside each other would

---

<sup>19</sup> Simpkin, 'Chivalric Society', p. 50. See also Allmand, *Society at War*, p. 21; Caudrey, *Military Society*, pp. 65-6.

<sup>20</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 173-4 makes much the same point about lordship: 'That disparate and heterogenous elements came together on regular occasions in household, entourage, tournaments and retinue of war and on infrequent ceremonial occasions, gave them further common interest in service of a particular lord and commitment to him'.

<sup>21</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 73.

<sup>22</sup> The significance of tournaments in the lives of household knights has been explored in greater detail in Chapter 2, pp. 95-9.

<sup>23</sup> Green, 'Complement and Characteristics', p. 371.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, p. 43; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 139-40, 142-4; Coss, *Origins*, pp. 216-7; *idem.*, 'The Military Community', p. 35; Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 26-7; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 58; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 83.

have also forged bonds between the men.<sup>26</sup> Beauchamp's 1339 garrisoning of Southampton is a particularly interesting case because as a smaller scale military operation, the knights who were there under him must have worked closely together as his lieutenants for the defence and organisation of the town.<sup>27</sup> Thus, military experience could not have failed to impress a group identity on the knights, particularly when repeated on many occasions and in other contexts.

Next, we should consider the potential influence of crusading on the development of confraternity between household knights. Direct, tangible evidence that crusading strengthened bonds between the men in these followings is limited, but there is good reason to suppose it may have had this effect. Crusading created a symbiosis of chivalry and spiritual devotion, making it an appealing undertaking for men-at-arms, and potentially a powerful group bonding exercise.<sup>28</sup> The significance of crusading to men-at-arms and the institution of knighthood was passionately articulated by contemporary knight Geoffroi de Charny, whose writings not only venerated martial prowess but also framed crusading as the ultimate chivalric undertaking.<sup>29</sup> Again, it is not possible to reconstruct the magnates' crusading retinues in their entirety, but a number of important figures can be identified. William Bohun does not seem to have ever embarked on crusade, though his son Humphrey did,<sup>30</sup> but information can be found on crusading knights with Beauchamp and Grosmont.

In 1343 Grosmont and the earl of Salisbury William Montague journeyed to Spain for the dual purpose of a diplomatic mission to Alfonso XI of Castile and to crusade against the Moors.<sup>31</sup> Decisive evidence for which knights went with him is limited to Thomas Cok, Edmund Everard and Henry's own brother-in-law Thomas Wake of Lidell.<sup>32</sup> However, there is good reason to suppose that in addition to these, Grosmont was joined by John Bosun, Andrew Braunche, Adam Everynham, Theobald Trussell, the elder Ralph Hastings, Hugh Meynill, Reginald Mohun, Richard Rawcliffe, John Seyton, Edmund Ufford and John Walkyngton. Braunche had campaigned with Grosmont consistently since 1338; all of the rest were likewise regular in their retinue service both immediately before and after the

---

<sup>26</sup> Ayton 'English Army', pp. 206-7; idem., 'Dynamics of Recruitment', pp. 15-6; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 35-7; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 306 and 352.

<sup>27</sup> Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1 and SC 13/3/3. The knights with Warwick for the occupation were Thomas Asteleye, John le Botiller, Nicholas Burneby, Nicholas Charneles, John Golafre, John Leukenore, John Lysours and Nicholas Pecche. Ralph Basset, William Lucy and Gilbert Chasteleyn were also there as esquires.

<sup>28</sup> Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 394-5 and 397-9; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 240-1.

<sup>29</sup> Ian Wilson, *The Book of Geoffroi de Charny: With the Livre Charny*, ed. and trans. by Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2021), pp. 45 and 51.

<sup>30</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 388-9.

<sup>31</sup> For more background on the earls' crusading activity, see Chapter 2, pp. 107-10.

<sup>32</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, p. 16; *CCR, 1343-46*, p. 159; *CFR, 1337-47*, p. 338.

Spanish expedition.<sup>33</sup> For most of the men this included Grosmont's mission to Avignon the following year.<sup>34</sup> Given their otherwise consistent service during this period, it would be a rather conspicuous omission if they did not also join Grosmont on crusade in Spain. In 1351-52 Grosmont again went on crusade, this time to Prussia, and it is apparent that Nigel Loring, Nicholas de Ry, William Bernak and William lord Greystock went with him.<sup>35</sup> Other regulars of the Grosmont following may also have gone: Alex Aunsel and Bernard Brocas were both campaigning regularly with Grosmont before and after the expedition, as was Theobald Trussell.<sup>36</sup>

Beauchamp's crusading efforts occurred in the 1360s. The earl journeyed to Prussia in the summer of 1365, the 1365-66 winter season and again in 1367-68.<sup>37</sup> The makeup of his retinue on each occasion is unclear, but for his initial plans in 1364 Beauchamp's petitions to the papal court mention several figures who were closely associated with him: Ralph Basset of Sapcote, Beauchamp's son William, another kinsman named John, William Breton, Robert Tuchet and Nicholas Golafre, who was still an esquire at the time and probably the son of John Golafre.<sup>38</sup> Thus, while we cannot know the full membership of Warwick's crusading retinues, it appears that several of the knights still in his household at the time joined him for these excursions. For Beauchamp and Grosmont, there was a natural overlap between the retinues for secular military campaigns and the more religious pursuit of crusading. Consequently, the knights of their households were not only united by common gathering and campaigning together, but several of them also had shared experience of a spiritual undertaking in the form of crusade.

### 5.1.3 Shared Devotion, Religious Patronage and Monumental Effigies

This leads on to considering other spiritual contexts, as a sense of household unity and cohesion could also be fostered through the religious devotion and patronage of the magnates and their knights.<sup>39</sup> In some sense, a magnate 'had some responsibility for the spiritual needs of his servants and retainers', as Green has noted for the Black Prince, and

---

<sup>33</sup> C 76/12 (1338-39); C 76/15 (1340); C 71/21 (1341); C 76/17 (1342-43); *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 18 and *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 338 (1343); C 76/19 (1344).

<sup>34</sup> C 76/19; C 81/1724.

<sup>35</sup> *Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348-58*, ed. by T. de Limburg-Stirum, I, pp. 383-4; *CPR*, 1350-54, p. 179; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 548; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-5.

<sup>36</sup> C 76/26 (1348); C 61/62, C 76/27, E 404/508 and E 403/355 (1349-50); Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-5 (1351-52); C 76/32 (1354-55); C 76/33 (1355); C 76/34 and *CPR* 1358-61, pp. 225 (1356-58).

<sup>37</sup> Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 74-7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124. The John Beauchamp mentioned cannot be the earl's brother because the latter died in 1360.

<sup>39</sup> Green, 'Household', I, p. 211; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 99.

evidence for this is apparent with the earls in this study.<sup>40</sup> During Beauchamp's crusade plans in the 1360s he petitioned the papal court specifically for the right to let his household use his own personal confessor.<sup>41</sup> In doing so Warwick was looking after the spiritual wellbeing of his followers, making sure that they would not die improperly confessed if they met their end during their expedition. At various other times, Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun all petitioned for the right to use portable altars and to hear mass before daybreak while abroad on campaign.<sup>42</sup> The practicality of this for soldiers on campaign is clear: the need to move quickly through enemy territory, sometimes in secrecy, necessitated some flexibility in when and where religious observance was held. It may be that this was something that each man-at-arms had to organise for himself, but it would make sense if the licences also applied to the men around the earls. It is not implausible that, in practice, groups of men would hear mass together while on campaign, particularly with their retinue captains. Moreover, for many of the knights Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun were also their lords and close associates back home in England. As such, on days when knights were summoned to attend on the earls, it makes sense that they would hear mass together with the rest of the assembled household.

If we examine the religious patronage of the magnates and their knights, some observations can be made about devotional behaviour and ties within households, though these are not extensive. Walker claims that Grosmont's 'spiritual concerns created a tradition of genuine Lancastrian piety', but there is little evidence for this among the knights of his household.<sup>43</sup> As with Edward III, Grosmont appears to have been particularly devoted to the cult of the Virgin, though this was far from unusual for the period.<sup>44</sup> Ministers at the college of St Mary at the Newarke at Leicester were bound to daily say the mass for the Blessed Virgin Mary, except on her feast days, when high mass would be celebrated in her honour instead; Grosmont also founded a chantry dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Liverpool; he granted land for the enlargement of the church of St. Mary's in the Strand; he requested licence for the abbess and sisters of the Blessed Mary at Aldgate to acquire land and rent in mortmain; he did the same for brethren of the hospital of St. Mary in Pontefract; he was an

---

<sup>40</sup> Green, 'Household', I, p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> Graham St John, 'War, the Church, and English Men-at-Arms', *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 73-94 (pp. 82-3).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-82.

<sup>43</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 99.

<sup>44</sup> The Cult of the Virgin grew popular from the Early Middle Ages, and it was not unusual for Mary to be invoked for safety when crossing the sea or to act as intercessor in some manner: Michael P. Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 4-5; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 272 and 279-90; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009). For Edward III's dedication to the Virgin Mary, see Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 100, 253, 299, 310-1 and 405.

alderman of the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary; furthermore, he aided his sister Maud with organising her affairs, including the foundation of a chantry in the chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary at Campsey Priory.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Grosmont's greatest gesture of religious patronage was the re-founding of the college of St Mary in the Newarke at Leicester, 'which was intended as a chantry for the whole Lancastrian affinity'.<sup>46</sup> Grosmont also requested that his body be interred there following his death.<sup>47</sup> It seems then that dedication to the Virgin Mary featured strongly in Grosmont's religious practices, but it is unclear how far his particular inclinations extended among the knights of his following, even if they must on occasion have celebrated mass in his company.

Devotional trends in the Beauchamp following are also difficult to ascertain. We know that the earl of Warwick himself used some of the spoils from the war with France to rebuild the parish church of St. Mary's in Warwick.<sup>48</sup> Beauchamp's banneret Thomas Asteleye was also a patron of Marian establishments. In 1334 he set up a chantry at St. Mary's in Hillmorton, and in 1338 he established another at St. Mary of the Virgin in Astley.<sup>49</sup> Beyond this, however, there is little to discern. More can be said about the Bohun family and following, in which there was a noticeable interest in particular orders and regional institutions. The earl himself showed particular favour to Prittlewell Priory and Walden Abbey in Essex; he secured a number of licences and pardons for the establishments, as well as the alienation of a manor and advowson for the abbey.<sup>50</sup> His brother Humphrey and son Humphrey supported the abbey as well.<sup>51</sup> The earl's wife Elizabeth and brothers Humphrey and Oliver were also patrons of the Austin Friars.<sup>52</sup> These, then, could have been influences on the devotional tastes of the Bohun following. Devotion to the cult of the Holy Cross appears a number of times among the earl of Northampton's knights, though again this was not uncommon. Both Peter Favelore and John Dengayne patronised Waltham Abbey, which was dedicated to the Holy Cross. Favelore lent £1,000 to the abbot in 1340, while Dengayne granted the abbey land and rent in 1357.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, there was a curious instance in 1350 when the abbot of Lesnes was granted a plot of land at the site where another Bohun knight Robert Bouchier was killed, specifically to build a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary and

---

<sup>45</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, pp. 283 and 449; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 559, 563, 571 and 590-1.

<sup>46</sup> Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 97-8. The college was initially founded by Grosmont's father as a hospital in 1331, but this was re-founded by Grosmont in the 1350s: Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster', *ODNB*.

<sup>47</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 65.

<sup>48</sup> Barber, *Triumph of England*, p. 336.

<sup>49</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 560; 1338-40, p. 162.

<sup>50</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 390; 1343-45, pp. 62 and 408; 1348-50, p. 5; *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 262.

<sup>51</sup> Jeremy Catto, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. by Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009) pp. 112-25 (p. 116).

<sup>52</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 418; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> C 143/326/7; *CPR*, 1354-58, p. 540; *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 465.

Holy Cross.<sup>54</sup> There is no way of knowing whether this reflected Bouchier's own religious preferences, but it seems probable that the chapel and its dedication were deliberately chosen in Bouchier's memory.

Finally, church and funeral monuments, and other religious artefacts, can sometimes indicate ties to the great households. The fourteenth century saw an increasing interest in parish churches as a locus for patronage and burial, leading to the creation of elaborate tomb monuments for local knights and heraldic displays of their social ties.<sup>55</sup> Surviving evidence of this for Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun is sorely limited, though not completely absent. One interesting detail involves the surviving psalters of Bohun's son Humphrey. These include the later addition of different coats of arms, reflecting past and present family allegiances, and prominent among these are the arms of John Neville of Essex, one of Earl William's household knights, who remained 'a close friend and benefactor' of Humphrey and his wife after William's death.<sup>56</sup>

A couple of details for the Beauchamp following pertain to funeral effigies. Thomas Asteleye was buried at the Warwickshire church of St Mary the Virgin in Astley, and a remaining fragment of heraldic glass shows three gold crosses on a red field, quite likely a depiction of the Beauchamp arms: gules, a fess between six crosses crosslet or.<sup>57</sup> The same is true for Basset of Drayton, whose tomb also depicts the Beauchamp crest among a variety of feudal and military connections.<sup>58</sup> In each of these cases, it is apparent that a knight's longstanding association with a lord could be reflected in various religious objects, even many years after formal membership in the household had terminated, and that shared religious observance could also have helped to bring the household closer together.<sup>59</sup>

All of the general ties that have been explored here would have helped to form a shared *esprit de corps*.<sup>60</sup> Though not as formalized as the Order of the Garter, the retinue was something of a 'chivalric and military order' in itself,<sup>61</sup> and so we might well suppose that the knights of the Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun households perceived themselves as members of a brotherhood, bound together as they were in the service of one of England's leading military figureheads. In light of the above factors, we can be confident that in the households of important military men like these earls, knights did indeed see themselves as a distinct chivalric following. Having a shared *esprit de corps*, particularly one that had been

---

<sup>54</sup> *CPR, 1350-54*, p. 7.

<sup>55</sup> Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 222; Coss, *Foundations*, pp. 163, 165-6 and 175.

<sup>56</sup> Catto, 'Prayers of the Bohuns', p. 119.

<sup>57</sup> *VCH Warwick*, 6, pp. 15-22.

<sup>58</sup> Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 220.

<sup>59</sup> Coss, 'Military Community', p. 34.

<sup>60</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 36.

<sup>61</sup> Green, 'Politics and Service', p. 62.

formed in the trying conditions of warfare, would certainly have made it easier for such men to put their trust in each other. The great household thus functioned as a collective that could provide new connections in the social network of household knights, as well as reinforce existing ones. It is to these specific connections that we will now turn.

### *5.2 Specific Connections between Knights of the Same Household*

There were many different types of specific connection that could exist between household knights, including marriage agreements, loans and property grants, charter witnessing, acting as a legal attorney and working as justices on private judicial commissions. A number of marriages and kinship ties bound the household knights to their lord and to each other. Within the Warwick household, there was a marriage connection between Beauchamp's sister Elizabeth and the banneret Thomas Asteleye,<sup>62</sup> while the earl's daughter Margaret was wedded to Guy, the son of Peter Montfort.<sup>63</sup> Baldwin Freville's son of the same name also married successive daughters of John Botetourt, Elizabeth and Joyce.<sup>64</sup> In Henry of Grosmont's following, Adam Everyngham's son William married Alice, the daughter of John Grey of Codnor, while Everyngham's daughter Elizabeth was married to Richard Rawcliffe.<sup>65</sup> A tie of kinship also existed between William Bohun's men Gerard Wyderyngton and Adam Swynbourne. In 1358, Wyderyngton was granted the restitution of certain lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, formerly belonging to Swynbourne, as one of his heirs and relatives.<sup>66</sup>

Another common connection among the knights was their collaboration as charter witnesses for each other, or sometimes for a mutual acquaintance, independent of their lord's presence. There are various examples of this for the household knights of Thomas Beauchamp. In July 1338, John Golafre and Nicholas Burneby were witness to a grant in Northamptonshire, despite Golafre having little or nothing to do with that county.<sup>67</sup> Almost thirty years later, Golafre was also one of the witnesses for Fulk Birmingham's quitclaim of a Berkshire manor.<sup>68</sup> Nicholas Pecche stood as a witness for his fellow Warwickshire knight William Lucy when the latter leased lands in Charlecote to his son Roger.<sup>69</sup> In 1347, John Clinton of Maxstoke made a grant to the prior and convent of Maxstoke in exchange for the manor of Shustoke; aside from Beauchamp himself and John's uncle William, the earl of

---

<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 55.

<sup>63</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 78; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 31.

<sup>64</sup> Green, 'Household', II, p. 70.

<sup>65</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 207 and 282.

<sup>66</sup> *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 141.

<sup>67</sup> Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM/B/2/6/2; *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 119.

<sup>68</sup> *CCR, 1364-68*, pp. 396-7.

<sup>69</sup> Warwick, Warwickshire County Record Office, CR4141/2/13.

Huntingdon, the witnesses included Baldwin Freville and Ralph Bracebridge.<sup>70</sup> Bracebridge and John Botetourt were also witnesses for the charter between John Clinton and his uncle in 1346 at Portsmouth, just before embarkation on the Crécy campaign.<sup>71</sup> A few years later, John Leukenore was the first witness for Gilbert Chastleyn's charter to his own son John.<sup>72</sup> In 1354 Clinton again confirmed a grant of frank almoin from his uncle to the prior of Maxstoke, with Asteleye, Freville and John Pecche among the witnesses.<sup>73</sup> Fulk Birmingham and Ralph Basset of Sapcote were witnesses when fellow Beauchamp knight Baldwin Freville received a quitclaim from John Dymmok in 1361.<sup>74</sup> On another occasion, Freville received a quitclaim with Birmingham, John Pecche and William Breton among the witnesses of the grant.<sup>75</sup> Robert Herle and Nicholas Charneles acted as witnesses for a another agreement in 1344 between two parsons from Leicestershire.<sup>76</sup> Likewise, John Leukenore and John Golafre were among the witnesses for Hugh Blount, John Alvetone and his wife Nichola when Blount released one of his Oxfordshire manors to them.<sup>77</sup> This kind of collaboration persisted after Beauchamp's death in 1369: John Pecche, Birmingham and William Breton witnessed another quitclaim to Freville in 1372, and the following year Freville and Birmingham witnessed an indenture between members of the Lestraunge family.<sup>78</sup>

Similar links can be found for the knights of William Bohun and Henry of Grosmont. Henry's man Alured Sulny received a quitclaim from his kinsman William in 1337, with Hugh Meynill among the witnesses.<sup>79</sup> Hugh Badewe witnessed a 1342 grant to John Sutton.<sup>80</sup> In May 1347, Bohun's John Coggeshale was one of the witnesses for Robert Bouchier's grant to one John Bockyng of twenty marks from the manor of Stansted.<sup>81</sup> In the following year, another Bouchier charter was witnessed by Coggeshale and John Sutton.<sup>82</sup> Another charter in 1349 saw Thomas Mandeville, Hugh Badewe and John Hevenyngham acting as witnesses when Robert Marny received a grant from Mary, the widow of Thomas Fabel.<sup>83</sup> Mandeville and Badewe were witnesses together for at least five other charters, including

---

<sup>70</sup> Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR18/10/86/1/2.

<sup>71</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, pp. 80-1.

<sup>72</sup> BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 189v.

<sup>73</sup> E 326/2261.

<sup>74</sup> *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 381.

<sup>75</sup> *CCR*, 1369-74, p. 430.

<sup>76</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, p. 289.

<sup>77</sup> *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 106.

<sup>78</sup> *CCR*, 1369-74, pp. 430 and 602-3.

<sup>79</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D5236/4/19.

<sup>80</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 478.

<sup>81</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 272. Coggeshale witnessed a quitclaim to Bouchier only a month later: *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 359.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.

<sup>83</sup> C 146/1255.

another of Mary's and one of her son William's.<sup>84</sup> Badewe, Hugh Blount and John Haveryng witnessed another grant by Thomas Belhouse and others, while John Neville, Mandeville and Peter Favelore were among the witnesses to another Essex charter.<sup>85</sup> Additionally, Hevenyngham, John Neville of Essex and sometime Bohun associate Edward FitzSymond were witnesses to a grant received by the earl of Northampton's veteran clerk William Dersham.<sup>86</sup> Badewe and Marny were among the witnesses when John Sutton of Wivenhoe received all of Ralph Fylliol's right and claim to the manor of Little Okle in Essex.<sup>87</sup>

Evidence for this participation in the witnessing of charters overlaps with evidence that the knights in each following trusted each other enough to do business together. This was clearly the case with the knights of William Bohun, who continued to collaborate even after the earl's death. In 1365, Mandeville made a demise and grant to Marny of lands, rents and services in the Essex village of Horndon, with Badewe and Belhouse among the witnesses.<sup>88</sup> At the same time, Marny made a quitclaim to Mandeville of the manor and advowson of Falkebourne, as well as lands, rents and services in Falkebourne, Witham, Fairstede and several other places in Essex; this time, John Sutton and two of his kinsmen were among the witnesses.<sup>89</sup> A few years later, Sutton was also the witness for a charter granting Badewe and others the remainder of manor of Morehall in Essex.<sup>90</sup> Overall, it suggests that the knightly following of William Bohun was, perhaps more so than others, tightly woven into other existing circles, especially those of county society. The strong Essex character of these overlapping connections between the knights is certainly difficult to ignore. The county was one of the Bohun family's traditional areas of influence,<sup>91</sup> and although Earl William would have already been reasonably wealthy by the time his comital creation in 1337, the majority of his estates were concentrated in that county.<sup>92</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that much of the interaction between his household knights occurred within the borders of Essex.

Similar dealings can also be found among the earl of Warwick's household knights. One isolated but intriguing detail for the Beauchamp household comes from the will of Ralph IV Basset of Drayton, mentioning that his heir will inherit all of his plate, which had once belonged to Baldwin Freville.<sup>93</sup> We cannot know if this exchange between Basset and

---

<sup>84</sup> C 146/1246; C 146/1252; *CCR*, 1349-54, pp. 269-71; 1369-74, pp. 98-9.

<sup>85</sup> C 146/1250.

<sup>86</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 270.

<sup>87</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 478.

<sup>88</sup> *CCR*, 1364-68, pp. 197.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *CCR*, 1364-68, p. 488.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 44-54 for more discussion on the regional character of the knightly followings.

<sup>92</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 238 and 256.

<sup>93</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, pp. 125-6.

Freville was out of friendly affection or part of a business agreement, but in either case it points to a certain level of trust and cooperation between the men. More conventional examples include John Clinton quitclaiming the Warwickshire manor of Kingshurst to Peter Montfort in 1354,<sup>94</sup> and at the time of Clinton's death he held lands of Ralph Basset of Drayton, William Beauchamp and the heirs of John Pecche.<sup>95</sup> Ralph II Basset of Drayton enfeoffed Robert Herle's father William and a parson Tom Radcliff of four manors across the counties of Buckingham, Northampton and Stafford, the fine of 20 marks being paid by the earl of Warwick himself.<sup>96</sup> Gilbert Chasteleyn and his wife granted to John Beauchamp the Worcestershire manor of Frankley, along with two carucates, four acres of meadow, three of woodland and a watermill.<sup>97</sup> In 1344 Chasteleyn also released all right and claim to the manor of Aspley to Fulk Birmingham.<sup>98</sup> In this last case, it is not apparent that Birmingham was one of the earl's household knights at the time, as the earliest found association between them is 1355, when Birmingham joined Warwick's retinue for the expeditions in Aquitaine.<sup>99</sup> It may be that the two were in fact associated earlier, or that Chasteleyn's own connection to the earl naturally brought him into contact with other members of the Warwickshire gentry.

Business between knights of the same household could sometimes take the form of loans, either with each other or a third party. In this too we have evidence of Fulk Birmingham having dealings with the Warwick following prior to 1355: ten years earlier he owed the earl's brother John Beauchamp 200 marks to be levied out of Warwickshire.<sup>100</sup> In 1354 Chasteleyn also owed a debt to John Beauchamp, this time of 500 marks to be levied out of Oxford.<sup>101</sup> In February 1361 Fulk Birmingham and Ralph Basset of Sapcote jointly acknowledged a debt of £600 to Sir John Dymmok to be levied out of lands and chattels in Lincolnshire, though Dymmok later released all claims against them.<sup>102</sup> John Botetourt and Chasteleyn likewise owed 50 marks to Richard Thoresby in 1353, while in 1359 Basset of Sapcote and Earl Thomas himself acknowledged a debt of 350 marks to Botetourt.<sup>103</sup>

Lastly, there is the curious instance in July 1357 of three knights of the Beauchamp following – Chasteleyn, Robert Hildesle and the banneret Almeric de St Amand – taking out a loan together of £300 from William Bohun, with the equivalent to be levied from goods and

---

<sup>94</sup> E 42/492.

<sup>95</sup> *CIPM*, 1392-99, pp. 410-17.

<sup>96</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 213.

<sup>97</sup> Bothwell, 'John Beauchamp', pp. 256-7.

<sup>98</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 365. It is unclear if the manor in question was in Nottinghamshire or possibly Warwickshire.

<sup>99</sup> C 61/67.

<sup>100</sup> *CCR*, 1343-46, p. 660.

<sup>101</sup> *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 312.

<sup>102</sup> *CCR*, 1360-64, p. 385; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR10/2039.

<sup>103</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 604; 1354-58, p. 645.

chattels in Berkshire if they defaulted on payment.<sup>104</sup> It is unclear why these men would have established such an agreement with the earl of Northampton, particularly when they had no other apparent connection with him, but some subsequent details indicate that it may have been part of a wider set of legal and business obligations. Later the same month, St Amand departed to Ireland at the king's behest to take up a position as justiciar, and nominated Chasteleyn as his attorney while away.<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile, Chasteleyn was probably still the steward and attorney of Princess Isabel, having been mentioned in that office the previous November.<sup>106</sup> At around this time he acknowledged debts to several other figures, including £80 to Edward III and £200 to Edward Despenser, and also lent various sums to others.<sup>107</sup> It is therefore probable that the joint loan from the earl of Northampton was a means to the end of whatever personal agendas and responsibilities the three knights held. Decisive evidence is lacking that the trio were still members of Beauchamp's household in the mid 1350s. However, it is worth noting that all three served on campaign with Warwick in 1346-47, and it is likely that this is how their acquaintance began.<sup>108</sup> Evidently, inclusion in a magnate's household could significantly broaden a knight's social horizons, especially with fellow retinue members he campaigned with; this kind of group fraternity and shared military experience formed a bond of trust that could last for many years, and was strong enough for knights to take on responsibilities together.

This is reflected equally well in the legal assistance they provided for each other. In 1338, John Neville of Essex nominated his fellow Bohun stalwarts William Tallemache and the clerk Robert Teye as his attorneys while joining the earl of Northampton abroad in the Low Countries.<sup>109</sup> Basset of Drayton, probably Ralph IV, nominated Robert Herle to act as his general attorney while Basset was abroad on the Poitiers campaign fighting under Warwick and the Black Prince.<sup>110</sup> In 1365 Freville likewise nominated Fulk Birmingham and a clerk John Tamworth to be his attorneys and pursue his legal claims to certain advowsons following the deaths of Philip Marmyoun, Joan Morteyn and Joan Freville.<sup>111</sup> Chasteleyn was likewise the attorney for John Beauchamp while the latter was abroad in 1340; the king had granted John the right to lade his own sacks of wool to Flanders in aid of his expenses, and therefore ordered these delivered back to Chasteleyn as John's attorney when the wool was mistakenly arrested by purveyors in London.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 312.

<sup>105</sup> *CPR*, 1354-58, pp. 587 and 624.

<sup>106</sup> *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 286.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 325, 429, 494, 500, 504 and 510.

<sup>108</sup> C 76/22.

<sup>109</sup> C 76/12.

<sup>110</sup> C 61/67.

<sup>111</sup> *CCR*, 1364-68, p. 169.

<sup>112</sup> *CCR*, 1339-41, p. 569.

Shared service on judicial commissions was further common ground for many household knights. Several of Grosmont's men were still working together in this capacity, year's after the duke's death: John Grey of Codnore, Adam Everyngham, Roger Belers and Gervase Clifton were all on a commission of array for Nottinghamshire in February 1367.<sup>113</sup> Within the same month, the king appointed John Clinton, Fulk Birmingham and William Breton among others to apprehend two individuals charged with misdeeds against the crown and 'the royal dignity'.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, two of William Bohun's men, John Dengayne and Guy St Clare, were nominees for a 1357 commission of oyer and terminer ordering them to apprehend one Simon Sagio 'for misdeeds in subversion of the king and crown'.<sup>115</sup> Another example from 1343 involved Robert Bouchier and John Neville taking part in a commission for John FitzWalter's complaint about many perpetrators trespassing on some of his Essex property.<sup>116</sup>

The presence of fellow household knights in cases like these, either as current or former members, seems more than coincidental. Private commissions like the latter example typically involved the plaintiff freely nominating the individuals who would act on the panel of justices, and as such their appointment was largely due to personal connections.<sup>117</sup> In the case of the royal commissions, how individuals were appointed could vary. Suitable candidates would have been known to the crown through the communication networks of local and central government administration, while the knight's legal expertise and local knowledge and influence were also important factors.<sup>118</sup> However, another factor which cannot be ignored is the influence that magnates and fellow knights may have brought to bear in the selection. It was normal for commissioners to have a common background in the county of their commission, as was the case with Clifton and Everyngham in Nottinghamshire, or Dengayne and St Clare in Essex, but it is difficult to ignore that these men were also well acquainted with each other from shared household and retinue membership. In light of this, it seems likely that the appointment of some men on royal commissions could be due to 'backstage influences', such as a magnate or fellow appointee putting forward recommendations for who should staff a particular judicial commission.<sup>119</sup> At the very least, the personal familiarity and knightly brotherhood between many of these men must have helped to make a judicial panel more effective in its task, just as it did when the knights fought together on campaign.

---

<sup>113</sup> *CPR, 1364-67*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>115</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, pp. 496-7.

<sup>116</sup> *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 98-9.

<sup>117</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 139-44.

<sup>118</sup> Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice', p. 64; Coss, *Knight in Medieval England*, p. 113; Musson, *Public Order*, p. 51.

<sup>119</sup> Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, p. 116.

More significantly, the knights were often chosen for each other's private commissions of oyer and terminer.<sup>120</sup> One rather dramatic example of this involves the feud between the Nowers and Chasteleyn families in Oxfordshire. In August 1336 Gilbert Chasteleyn was one of the two appointed by the council to apprehend several people, including Roger Nowers and his sons Richard and Roger, before imprisoning them in the Tower of London; seven days later the order was adjusted and the commissioners were instead ordered to deliver them on bail to Richard Williamscoote and Thomas Langley.<sup>121</sup> This was followed by an apparent act of vengeance, because next May Gilbert's father Ralph sought a commission of oyer and terminer complaining that Nowers, his wife, four of their sons and another two companions, assaulted him at the Chasteleyn *caput* of Kingham; John Leukenore and John Golafre, both already having ties to Beauchamp, were among the justices Ralph nominated for the case.<sup>122</sup> Then in August 1338, John Golafre was one of three men appointed for the arrest 'wherever found' of Roger's sons Richard and John, Hugh le Pope and his wife Matilda for having killed Ralph Chasteleyn; the action was specifically taken after Gilbert arraigned the perpetrators before the king and justices.<sup>123</sup> The fact that the commission's jurisdiction extended beyond Oxfordshire is a further indication that this was not merely Gilbert calling on a reputable county neighbour, but rather a friend seeking help in the wake of tragic circumstances. Hunting down such a group 'at large' must have been a formidable and dangerous undertaking for justices, especially when the perpetrators were 'notoriously suspected of other felonies and misdeeds'.<sup>124</sup> It says something about Golafre's friendship or sympathy for Gilbert, and perhaps his personal character, that he was prepared to accept this undertaking; it is unlikely that he would have been put on the commission in the first place if he had not approved of Chasteleyn nominating him.

The chronology of Chasteleyn's connection with Golafre and Leukenore, and the connection of all three with Thomas Beauchamp, is not altogether certain. Golafre was in the earl's employ in 1336 as his undersheriff for Worcestershire,<sup>125</sup> but Chasteleyn may not have been connected with Warwick before 1339, when he was an esquire in the earl's Southampton retinue.<sup>126</sup> It may therefore be that Chasteleyn and Golafre's personal association predated their fellowship in Beauchamp's household. There is little doubt that

---

<sup>120</sup> For more discussion of the mechanics of judicial commissions, see Chapter 3 pp. 139-44.

<sup>121</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 360; *CCR, 1333-37*, p. 698.

<sup>122</sup> *CPR, 1334-38*, p. 508.

<sup>123</sup> *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 145.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 138.

<sup>126</sup> Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1.

such overlapping bonds would have been mutually reinforcing, and the tie to Golafre may have even been how Chasteleyn originally came to the earl of Warwick's attention.

However, this was not the end of the Nowers saga. In 1342, the earl of Arundel initiated a commission of oyer and terminer because a group led by the Nowers brothers Richard and John had assaulted two of his servants at Cornwell in Oxfordshire; one of the victims was named Ralph Chasteleyn.<sup>127</sup> Even if Golafre's presence on this commission could be explained away as the activity of family friend or a judicially-minded knight local to the county, it would not explain why John Peyto and Richard Stonely, both Warwickshire men closely connected to Thomas Beauchamp, would be serving on a commission in Oxfordshire.<sup>128</sup>

A number of pertinent observations can therefore be made from this episode. First, if we are right to assume that Ralph and Gilbert were kinsmen, as seems likely from their shared surname and Oxfordshire provenance, it is noteworthy that family members were not necessarily all beholden to or sought service from the same lord; service to either Warwick or Arundel was not a given in the Chasteleyn clan but rather seems to have come about from an established personal relationship between the two relatives and their respective earls.

Second, and more significantly, the whole episode reveals a complex chain of social ties, as can be seen in Figure 2 below. The precise way or order in which these connections were activated cannot be known, but some possibilities are as follows: Ralph Chasteleyn is assaulted; he either complains to his master Arundel, or the latter takes the initiative himself in seeking redress; as an earl, Arundel has the social standing and close ties with the king that make it easy to secure a special commission of oyer and terminer; Arundel certainly has ample connections of his own to staff the panel of justices, so the idea to involve some of the Warwick servants quite likely comes from Gilbert or Ralph; one or both of the Chasteleyns then beseech the sympathetic Golafre, also an Oxfordshire native who has a history with the family; either he or Gilbert seeks out other men of the Warwick household who are willing to assist in the matter. It is unclear whether Warwick's approval was sought or given at any point, but it seems less likely given that the commission was not initiated and paid for by him but by Arundel.

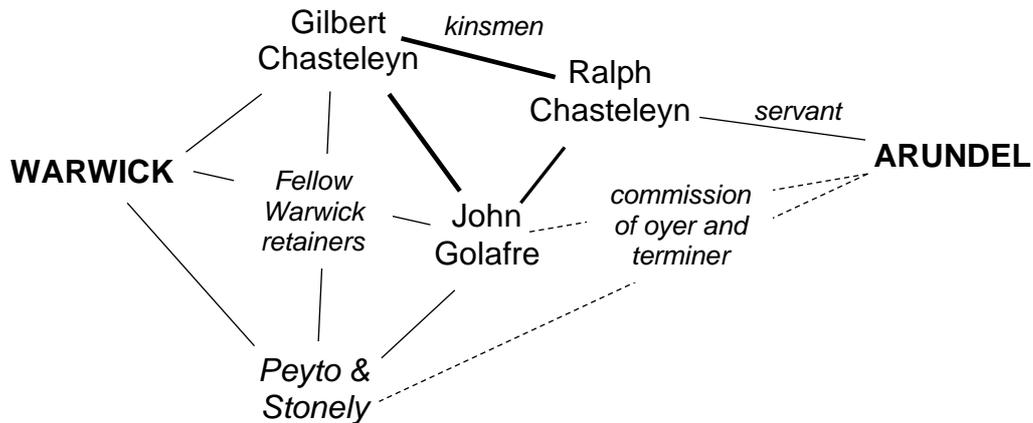
Third, and perhaps most intriguing of all, is how several men of a particular following, including fellow knights, could be mobilised in this way to obtain justice, and perhaps

---

<sup>127</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 447.

<sup>128</sup> Stonely was in fact Beauchamp's seneschal at Warwick: BL MS Add. 28024, fol. 75r. There are ample examples of Stonely and the Peyto family's connection with Beauchamp and the rest of the earl's following. To give a few examples: BL MS Add. 28024, fols. 9v, 15r-15v, 54r, 73r-75r, 76r-76v, 97v; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR18/10/86/1/2; Berkeley Castle Muniments, BCM/D/5/1/15; *CPR, 1338-40*, p. 436; *CCR, 1346-49*, p. 80.

Figure 2: Social ties involved in the earl of Arundel's commission of oyer and terminer, February 1342<sup>129</sup>



personal retribution, either for one of their own or even that fellow's relative. A question then arises as to why Gilbert himself was not on the commission, or why Peyto and Stonely were involved, and not other knights or esquires of the Beauchamp household. There can be little certainty in this, but it may have been simply a matter of who was or wasn't available to act at a given time. United as they often were, members of a magnate following had their own lives to lead, and other duties or responsibilities to fulfil. Stonely and Peyto may have been the most available among the acquaintances of Golafre and Chasteleyn, or the first to respond to a call for help, or indeed the most sympathetic to the situation. Whatever the case, it is striking that bonds within one lordly household could be called upon to address a grievance that only affected the servants in another following, thanks to the ties of kinship, a shared past and fellow household membership.

Further examples can be found of judicial assistance between knights of the same household. In less dramatic circumstances, Golafre was again one of the men Chasteleyn nominated for a commission of oyer and terminer in 1349, this time in Gloucestershire touching a complaint that numerous individuals had carried away his goods and assaulted his servants.<sup>130</sup> Freville nominated Birmingham for his commission of oyer and terminer in 1348 touching the same crimes.<sup>131</sup> This last example again predates any found connection between Thomas Beauchamp and either of the two men. It thus appears to be another

<sup>129</sup> An estimate of the relative strength of the ties is shown by the type of line. Gilbert and Ralph were almost certainly relatives. Golafre was clearly a friend, ally and county neighbour of the Chasteleyns; he and Gilbert also both shared a bond through membership in Warwick's household. They were consequently both connected to Peyto and Stonely, and all four with Warwick himself. Ralph was Arundel's servant, and a dotted line connects the latter with Golafre, Peyto and Stonely to reflect his nomination of them in the commission of oyer and terminer.

<sup>130</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 387.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

instance of an existing association and friendship, one which may have been the vehicle for their recruitment into the Beauchamp household, and which enhanced the bonds that were formed by shared service. John Clinton in turn nominated Freville for his 1357 commission to prosecute men for theft, assault and breaking the walls of his castle and houses at Maxstoke.<sup>132</sup> There is also the fascinating example of a commission of oyer and terminer 'at the instance' of Grosmont for the sake of his knight Hugh Meynill, in which many named individuals were accused of stealing his property and assaulting his servants in Derbyshire. The judicial panel was staffed by several men, including Meynill's fellow household knights Nicholas Longford and John Twyford senior, as well as Ralph Basset of Drayton.<sup>133</sup> The inclusion of Basset may seem incongruous for a judicial inquiry instigated and staffed by the Grosmont following, but Basset was acquainted and on good terms with Meynill.<sup>134</sup>

There was also an extraordinary commission at the start of July 1347, when John Leukenore, William Beauchamp and Peter Montfort were appointed with numerous others, including the sheriffs of Worcester, Warwick, Oxford and Gloucester.<sup>135</sup> This arose after William's previous commission to hear and determine a trespass against John Beauchamp went seriously awry; William and his fellow justices attempted to hold session in the Warwickshire village of Treadington, but were prevented from doing so by an aggressive crowd who violently disrupted the proceedings and occupied the building where the sessions were going to be held. The follow-up commission involving Leukenore and Montfort was therefore tasked with ascertaining the identity of all people involved in the disorder, as well as those who abetted them, and transporting them to gaol. There are any number of ways that staff might have been chosen for such a large-scale commission against civil disturbance. The date of the commission is of particular note, as most of England's finest chivalry – including Thomas Beauchamp and his household knights – were still overseas at the siege of Calais. This might then explain why the sheriffs from several counties over and their associates were required to address the problem at home. It would also explain why more of the Warwick following, quite often active in the policing of the county, were not on the commission.<sup>136</sup> Considering that Leukenore and Montfort were available to look after county affairs when much of English knighthood was present for a landmark military engagement abroad, this also increases the likelihood that they were less interested in warfare, as noted earlier regarding the levels of military participation of household knights.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> *CPR, 1354-58*, p. 651.

<sup>133</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, p. 311.

<sup>134</sup> See below, pp. 211 and 215-7.

<sup>135</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, pp. 386-7.

<sup>136</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 143-4.

<sup>137</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 78-94.

Taken together, actions like these suggest that the knights of a magnate's household were certainly willing to protect each other's landed interests through the official channels of the law, and enjoyed a level of mutual friendship and trust between each other. In other ways, however, the connections between members of the household could be less honourable or amicable. One unsavoury incident in 1329 involved members of the Lancaster following. A number of men including Alex Auncel and John Lymbury, who was probably the father or the better-known Philip, were accused by Robert Darcy of stealing timber and breaking some of his houses at Scott Willoughby in Lincolnshire.<sup>138</sup> The same men were accused by John Spanneby of more property damage in Scott Willoughby, as well as stealing goods and driving away two horses.<sup>139</sup> Relations between the Darcy and Lymbury families otherwise appear to have been amicable,<sup>140</sup> so their targeting of Darcy's holdings in the area may have simply been expedient rather than personal. It is not clear whether Auncel and Lymbury were closely associated with Henry of Grosmont yet, but they were more generally supporters of the Lancaster lords. As with more productive and respectable enterprises, criminal complicity could also draw on the personal ties of locality or household service.

Another noteworthy example involved John, the son of William Bohun's knight John Hotham of Bondeby. The younger John appears to have been running rampant during February 1350, when he was the perpetrator named in separate judicial commissions. In one instance, two other Bohun followers, John Dengayne and John Verdoun, were among those nominated for a commission of oyer and terminer by Richard Knyvet, keeper of Queen Philippa's forest of Clyve, who complained that he had been assaulted by Hotham junior and others.<sup>141</sup> In the same month, Dengayne was again nominated for a commission against Hotham, this time on complaint by one Robert Basset that the said John Hotham and others had assaulted him at Writthorpe, Northamptonshire, and cut off his left hand.<sup>142</sup> Dengayne and Verdoun may well have been familiar with Hotham from their household service. It is possible then that Knyvet and Basset nominated Dengayne and Verdoun not only due to acquaintance with the knights and their prominence in the relevant counties, but because the perpetrator's father – and maybe the perpetrator himself – was already known to them.

However, there is a yet more scandalous example for the Bohun following from 1342. In March of that year, Earl Humphrey of Hereford and Essex initiated a commission of oyer and terminer nominating Richard Kelleshell, William Scot and Robert Teye. The latter was

---

<sup>138</sup> *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 475-6 and 564; Gribit, *Henry of Lancaster*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR, 1327-30*, p. 564.

<sup>140</sup> Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>141</sup> *CPR, 1348-50*, p. 515.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 518.

one of the most valued Bohun family clerks alongside William Dersham, while the former two were justices frequently employed in Bohun judicial commissions.<sup>143</sup> Earl Humphrey complained that trespassers had broken several of his parks in Essex, hunted and carried away deer there, and assaulted his servants.<sup>144</sup> The first two perpetrators named were Robert Marny and Hugh Badewe, two knights affiliated with his brother William Bohun's household. It is unclear what could have motivated the pair to trespass against the brother of a magnate they were so often in service with, or what William Bohun's reaction may have been to the incident. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that neither Marny nor Badewe appear to have been in William's retinue when he departed for his first Brittany campaign only a few months later.<sup>145</sup> Badewe at least was later associated again with Northampton, and thus seems to have been forgiven, but Marny's allegiance apparently switched, as he is afterwards found serving in Grosmont's retinue.<sup>146</sup> What started as a piece of ill-judged connivance involving fellow household retainers therefore seems to have precluded Badewe and Marny from joining Northampton in Brittany, either as a punishment for their crime or because answering the charges made it unfeasible for them to go overseas, and it may have resulted in a rift that saw Marny leave the Bohun allegiance for good.

Based on the individual ties outlined here, it should suffice to say that while a household knight's relationship with their lord could vary from one man to the next, being part of that lord's household expanded their social horizons and led to the forming of new bonds of fellowship. To a certain extent these ties overlapped with those of the knights' localities, and these may well have facilitated the recruitment of new knights into a magnate's following. It provided them with new companions and family connections through marriage, as well as legal allies. As is evident from the examples discussed above, these bonds could provide immensely valuable support in carrying out obligations to crown and kin, protecting landed interests, and giving succour in the wake of injurious attacks on family, property and servants.

### 5.3 *Links across the Households*

The final point of this chapter is that there were numerous links *inter familias*: the knights in this study were part of an even larger conglomerate of chivalric followings and social circles, including a mixture of regional and family ties. We have already seen in the previous chapter how some individuals like John Leukenore and Robert Herle were seemingly plucked from their immediate household service and given greater responsibilities in service to the crown

---

<sup>143</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 181, 319, 324, 408 and 502; *1345-48*, p. 310; *1348-50*, p. 171.

<sup>144</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, pp. 446 and 450.

<sup>145</sup> C 76/17.

<sup>146</sup> He served in Grosmont's retinue a few times in the 1350s: C 76/33; C 76/34; C 76/37; C 76/38.

and royal family. Moreover, examples from earlier in this chapter have included overlaps in the form of Grosmont's familiarity with both Meynill and Basset of Drayton, a number of Beauchamp followers owing money to William Bohun, and the involvement of Warwick servants in the earl of Arundel's commission of oyer and terminer via the family and household connections of Gilbert and Ralph Chasteleyn. Many such links are evident between the followings of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun, but also involved a number of other important lords of the period. However, ties between the great households ran at various levels, and as is apparent from some of the preceding examples, the household knights themselves were inextricably entwined with these connections above and below them. Before looking specifically at links involving the knights, therefore, it will be useful to establish a broader picture of how members of the higher nobility and their followings could be connected.

### 5.3.1 *Marriage, Kinship and Military Service*

This is certainly apparent in some of the marriage and family links between the great houses. For example, Bohun and Grosmont had links across the Irish sea: Bohun's sister Eleanor was married to the earl of Ormond James Butler,<sup>147</sup> and Grosmont's sister Maud was initially married to the earl of Ulster William de Burgh, apparently a childhood friend of Henry's.<sup>148</sup> However, a much larger matrix of personal connections can be reconstructed within England. Thomas Beauchamp and William Bohun, aside from being co-commanders on the Crécy campaign who were repeatedly engaged in battle close together,<sup>149</sup> were also associated by marriage via the Mortimer family. Beauchamp was married to Roger V Mortimer's daughter Katherine while the two were still very young.<sup>150</sup> Meanwhile, Bohun was married to Elizabeth Badlesmere, the widow of Mortimer's son, Edmund II. Elizabeth already had a son by this first marriage, also named Roger, though relations between the earl of Northampton and Roger junior were apparently very good.<sup>151</sup> In short, this made Beauchamp the uncle by marriage to Bohun's fond stepson. Another series of marriages connected Beauchamp and Grosmont through the Stafford family: Grosmont's daughter Maud was married to Ralph Stafford's son of the same name, while Beauchamp's daughter Philippa married his other son Hugh Stafford.<sup>152</sup> It is also pertinent here to mention that Ralph earl Stafford was himself the maternal grandson of Ralph, first lord Basset of Drayton, whose

---

<sup>147</sup> DL 25/1984.

<sup>148</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 449; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 589-90.

<sup>149</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 111-3.

<sup>150</sup> Tuck, 'Thomas Beauchamp', *ODNB*.

<sup>151</sup> *CFR*, 1337-47, p. 239; Parker, 'Patronage', pp. 35-7.

<sup>152</sup> *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 78; Rawcliffe, 'Stafford', *ODNB*; Barber, *Triumph of England*, pp. 312-3; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, p. 4.

male descendants and namesakes were also tied to the Beauchamp household. Moreover, we have also seen how Stafford's younger brother Richard was, for at least a brief time, also a knight of the Warwick following.<sup>153</sup> We could add further to this, mentioning that another Beauchamp daughter Elizabeth was married to Thomas Ufford,<sup>154</sup> younger brother of Robert the earl of Suffolk, who in earlier days had served as a banneret in the royal household alongside William Bohun.<sup>155</sup> One of Suffolk's other brothers, Ralph, was the second husband of Grosmont's sister Maud,<sup>156</sup> while another sister Eleanor's second marriage was to the earl of Arundel Richard FitzAlan; apparently, the couple were even in an open affair before their marriage.<sup>157</sup> What is more, Edmund Ufford, apparently another of Suffolk's kinsmen, was one of Grosmont's indentured retainers.<sup>158</sup> Lastly for this body of examples, Alesia, widow of Ralph III Basset of Drayton who was linked to Warwick following, married a second time to a prominent figure in Grosmont's household, Hugh Meynill.<sup>159</sup>

Taken all together, it is possible to reconstruct a very intricate, if still simplified and incomplete, network of the links between the magnates in this study, their family, peers and some of their household knights, as seen in Figure 3 below. Any human society inevitably produces complex webs of associations like this one, but depicting the ties in this way helps to encapsulate the intricacy of these networks, as well as which specific historical figures were connected with whom. These relationships were a kind of social glue that had many benefits and could produce new associations; but they were the cause of some conflict as well, as will be seen.<sup>160</sup>

The diagram is of course not representative of all of the connections between these people. It does not show the marriage links of Thomas Asteleye and Thomas Dagworth to Beauchamp and Bohun respectively, via their marriages to the sister of each earl.<sup>161</sup> Nor does it depict the marriage between Joan, the daughter of Richard FitzAlan, and Humphrey, the son of William Bohun.<sup>162</sup> Yet more lines could be drawn between the likes of Beauchamp, Grosmont, Bohun and FitzAlan as regular participants together in the royal council.<sup>163</sup> Nonetheless, it is useful to be aware of these primary, secondary and tertiary connections, as demonstrated by Figure 2 and the example of the Arundel commission. This gives a better understanding of the social world of household knights, how they acted and

---

<sup>153</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 35.

<sup>154</sup> Green, 'Household', II, p. 13.

<sup>155</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 9.

<sup>156</sup> *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 449; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 589-90.

<sup>157</sup> Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*, p. 36.

<sup>158</sup> DL 27/155.

<sup>159</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 12.

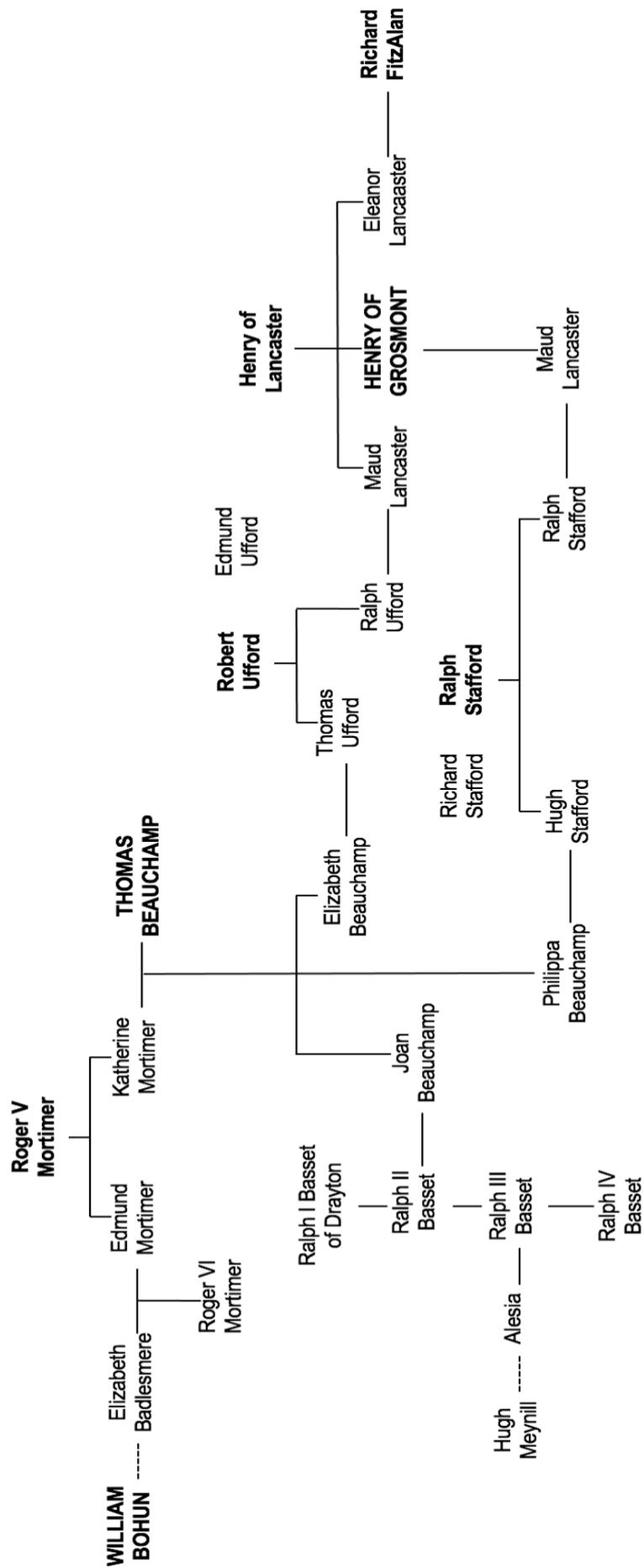
<sup>160</sup> See below, pp. 216-7.

<sup>161</sup> For the Asteleye and Dagworth connections, see Chapter 1, pp. 63-4.

<sup>162</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 304.

<sup>163</sup> Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 243, 379, 463; Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, p. 852.

Figure 3: Family trees of magnates and household knights



why, and how their legal knowledge, fighting skills and regional influence could be brought to bear for a range of different people. All of these ties were not necessarily 'active' at all times. Many of the people directly linked in Figure 3 did not see each other on a frequent basis, but that does not mean the connection was severed or irrelevant. In the case of Grosmont, while he did not see much of his sisters following their marriage, there remained correspondence and support between the siblings, as when his sister Eleanor accompanied him and her second husband-to-be FitzAlan to Spain in 1342, and also when Grosmont aided his sister Maud in the managing of her affairs.<sup>164</sup> Meanwhile, it is apparent that Bohun kept in contact with his own sister Eleanor after she became countess of Ormond, as indicated by a letter to her from July 1342, which included a receipt for certain jewels.<sup>165</sup> This should serve to demonstrate, as with the FitzAlan commission discussed above, that in the associations described here there could be significant stretches of time between interactions, but that these connections were very much kept alive. The nobility of England, and by extension the household knights who served them, were therefore joined by a multitude of threads to a multitude of their nearest social peers. This is important because it illustrates the vast array of possible interactions between different figures due to the number and variety of their mutual acquaintances.

Many more examples of 'cross-pollination' exist across the military retinues for various campaigns. As discussed above, Robert Marny's early military career involved consistent service with William Bohun, going with the earl on campaign several times from 1337 to 1341.<sup>166</sup> However, in 1355-56 and the 1359-60 he was in the retinue of Henry of Grosmont.<sup>167</sup> Conversely, Geoffrey de Say served under Grosmont in 1338-39, but served a number of times in Bohun's retinue in the 1340s.<sup>168</sup> Other Grosmont retainers were acquainted with other prominent commanders. Edmund Ufford initially served under Bohun in 1339 and Richard FitzAlan in 1340;<sup>169</sup> Adam Everyngham was also in Bohun's retinue for the 1340-41 campaign;<sup>170</sup> Andrew Braunché was actually with Thomas Beauchamp for the Crécy campaign, even receiving pardon at Calais on Warwick's testimony.<sup>171</sup> The Black Prince's man Miles Stapleton occasionally campaigned with Beauchamp and Bohun.<sup>172</sup> Richard Stafford also became better known for his service with the prince, but before that we have noted his connection to Beauchamp. The latter's brother John was of course prominent

---

<sup>164</sup> Fowler, 'Grosmont', I, pp. 588-91.

<sup>165</sup> DL 25/1984.

<sup>166</sup> C 76/12; C 76/13; C 76/15; C 81/1734; C 81/1735; *CPR*, 1334-38, p. 530.

<sup>167</sup> C 76/33; C 76/37; C 76/38.

<sup>168</sup> C 76/12; E 36/203, fol. 126r; C 76/17; C 76/20; C 81/1734.

<sup>169</sup> C 76/12; C 76/15; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 111.

<sup>170</sup> C 81/1734; C 76/15.

<sup>171</sup> C 76/20; C 76/22; *CPR*, 1345-48, p. 495.

<sup>172</sup> C 76/38; C 81/1750; C 81/1734.

in the household of Edward III,<sup>173</sup> while his son William, briefly a knight of his own household, went on to serve with both the Black Prince and John of Gaunt.<sup>174</sup> Lastly, Bohun's banneret John FitzWalter was in William Clinton's retinue for the occupation of Calais in 1352.<sup>175</sup>

### 5.3.2 Landed Property and Legal Aid

Likewise, business endeavours and legal activity also created links between household knights in different followings. Bohun's brother John, for a while the earl of Hereford and Essex, held the manor of Doune in Middlesex by grant of Beauchamp's associate Ralph Basset of Drayton 'by service of a rose yearly'.<sup>176</sup> In 1347, Bohun follower Robert Bouchier owed Thomas Beauchamp's brother John 400 marks to be levied out of Essex.<sup>177</sup> Gilbert Chasteleyn owed a debt of £100 to the earl of Arundel in May 1342.<sup>178</sup> This was a few months after the earl's commission discussed above, which may have been how he became acquainted with Chasteleyn, if he was not already. Many years later in 1358, Grosmont's associate Robert Bertram owed Chastleeyn £200, to be levied from Northumberland.<sup>179</sup> John Dengayne was also involved in a series of loans. Like Chastleyen, he too acknowledged a debt, of £200, to the earl of Arundel in 1342, to be levied out of goods in Northamptonshire in default of payment.<sup>180</sup> He owed Grosmont's knight Roger Belers a further £100 in 1353.<sup>181</sup> However, this was counterbalanced by a debt of 600 marks owed to Dengayne in 1351 by the earl of Devon Hugh Courtenay.<sup>182</sup>

These interconnections were also manifest in legal support and collaboration, usually in the forms of charter witnessing, judicial commissions and operating as legal attorneys. In 1337, Grosmont's knight Alured Sulny received a quitclaim from his kinsman William; among the witnesses were not only fellow Grosmont supporter Hugh Meynill but also William Ireland, one of Bohun's closest men.<sup>183</sup> A Northumberland grant in May 1343 involved local county knights Robert Bertram, Richard Denton and Hugh Morrisby; while Bertram was one of Grosmont's men, Denton and Morrisby were two of Bohun's more prominent followers.<sup>184</sup> In July 1338, John Tybetot and his wife Margaret, one of the co-heiresses of Giles

---

<sup>173</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 71 and 77.

<sup>174</sup> Green, 'Household', I, pp. 60 and 243; II, pp. 13-4.

<sup>175</sup> E 101/26/16.

<sup>176</sup> *CIPM*, 1336-47, p. 25.

<sup>177</sup> *CCR*, 1346-49, p. 417.

<sup>178</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 528.

<sup>179</sup> *CCR*, 1354-60, p. 500.

<sup>180</sup> *CCR*, 1341-43, p. 552.

<sup>181</sup> *CCR*, 1349-54, p. 611.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>183</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D5236/4/19.

<sup>184</sup> Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/21/98.

Badlesmere, put men in charge to secure Margaret's share of the Badlesmere inheritance; they chose Grosmont's knight Hugh Berewyk and Bohun's John Dengayne, both individuals of extraordinary ability in legal affairs and estate administration.<sup>185</sup> John Coggeshale, another knight who fought under Bohun, witnessed his charters and had a background in county administration, was chosen as the general attorney of the earl of Oxford while the latter campaigned in Aquitaine in the mid 1350s.<sup>186</sup> There is also the matter of Bohun's 1359 enfeoffment, in which he entrusted parts of the Essex manor of Great Wakering to loyal servants Ralph Spigurnel and Peter Favelore, but also to the reliable Hugh Berewyk.<sup>187</sup>

However, the most evidence can be found in judicial commissions. After William Ireland was assaulted at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk in 1334, it was not Bohun who helped instigate the commission of oyer and terminer to address the matter, but the earl of Huntingdon William Clinton.<sup>188</sup> A few years before he assisted on the Meynill commission, Basset of Drayton was one of the justices nominated by Grosmont to hear and determine a different case, in which many perpetrators damaged his property, stole £40, carried away livestock and assaulted his servants.<sup>189</sup> In 1341, around the same time he was part of the Beauchamp household, Nicholas Charneles was associated on a peace commission for Leicestershire along with the earl of Northampton's John Dengayne.<sup>190</sup> Dengayne was also a popular choice among the earls for their private commissions of oyer and terminer. He was nominated in 1343 by the earl of Pembroke Laurence Hastings, who complained that perpetrators in Huntingdonshire had carried away goods and assaulted his servants, and in 1351 the earl of Oxford chose Dengayne and others to investigate similar crimes in Buckinghamshire.<sup>191</sup> Likewise, Hugh Berewyk was frequently sought for his legal aid by a range of important figures. In 1342 he was on Beauchamp's commission of oyer and terminer following damage to his property at Quarrendon in Buckinghamshire and assault on his servants there.<sup>192</sup> It is possible that the earl was acquainted with Berewyk from August the previous year, when they were both appointed by the crown to a commission of oyer and terminer, along with Ralph Basset of Drayton, Nicholas Charneles and others, to prosecute a case of incompetence by some of the king's foresters of Rokyngham, Sausse and Whitlewode.<sup>193</sup> It has been noted that magnates did not necessarily participate on such

---

<sup>185</sup> The competence of Dengayne and Berewyk is covered in Chapter 3, pp. 142-3, 148-51 and 154-5.

<sup>186</sup> C 61/67; C 61/68.

<sup>187</sup> *CPR*, 1358-61, p. 304.

<sup>188</sup> *CPR*, 1330-34, p. 582.

<sup>189</sup> *CPR*, 1338-40, p. 145.

<sup>190</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 214.

<sup>191</sup> *CPR*, 1343-45, pp. 168-9; 1350-54, p. 159.

<sup>192</sup> *CPR*, 1340-43, p. 589.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-2.

commissions assigned by the crown,<sup>194</sup> but there may still have been some initial meeting or correspondence between the justices so chosen. In any case, Beauchamp's selection of him made sense in that Berewyk was highly effective in such affairs, and prominent in Buckinghamshire in a way that none of Warwick's own household knights were.<sup>195</sup>

Lastly, there were also further occasions of criminal collaboration across different household followings. One remarkable case from 1340 involved John Segrave complaining that John de Vere had led a large gang of perpetrators in breaking Segrave's park at Great Chesterford, Essex, carrying away game and assaulting his servants; among the earl of Oxford's confederates were a surprising number of William Bohun's men: John FitzWalter, Robert Bouchier, William Giffard, Robert Manteby, William Tallemache, Adam Swynbourne, Hugh Badewe and John Dengayne.<sup>196</sup> Many of Bohun's closest associates were Essex natives, where de Vere was also a prominent landholder; he had also campaigned alongside Bohun and the two earls were brothers-in-law, both being married to daughters of Giles Badlesmere.<sup>197</sup> However, it remains unclear why so many of them would have trespassed against Segrave. The saga of Meynill versus Basset is less perplexing, and appears to have a more positive ending. As addressed earlier, Ralph III Basset of Drayton's widow Alesia remarried, Hugh Meynill being her second husband. This, however, led to a legal dispute between Meynill and Joan, the earl of Warwick's daughter and Ralph II Basset of Drayton's widow, regarding Nottinghamshire land in the Basset family.<sup>198</sup> When Joan did not get her way in the dispute, she led 'reprisal attacks' on some of Meynill's property in Leicestershire while he was abroad in Gascony, causing Meynill to seek a commission of oyer and terminer against her.<sup>199</sup>

It certainly appears that Joan was a strong-willed individual, determined on asserting her rights, as evidenced by her energetic petitions to the king a couple of years earlier, seeking remedy regarding land that was supposed to be part of her dowry.<sup>200</sup> These were owned by her late husband's grandson by a previous marriage, Ralph IV, still a minor whose body and lands were in the wardship of Joan's own father the earl of Warwick. Beauchamp, for his part, claimed he could take no action without consulting the king, as it was by the king's commission that he held the Basset wardship.<sup>201</sup> It is perhaps less surprising then that Joan was prepared to pursue the inheritance dispute with Meynill so vigorously, even to the point of seeking criminal revenge. Although it is not apparent what happened in the years

---

<sup>194</sup> Musson and Ormrod, *English Justice*, pp. 70-1.

<sup>195</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 45-54.

<sup>196</sup> *CPR, 1340-43*, pp 96-7.

<sup>197</sup> *GEC*, I, pp. 372-3; Harris, 'Organised Crime', p. 70.

<sup>198</sup> *CCR, 1341-43*, pp. 33-4; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 305-6.

<sup>199</sup> *CPR, 1345-48*, p. 183; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 305-6.

<sup>200</sup> *CCR, 1343-46*, pp. 248, 264-5, 411, 444, 568, 656.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

immediately following this conflict, it appears that in 1358 any hostility between the families was laid to rest. By this point Ralph IV was of full age; Meynill and Alesia surrendered the manor of Shawes to him, which was of Ralph's inheritance but held by the couple for the duration of Alesia's life. This was legally an action of trespass, but Ralph himself paid a fine of 13s 4d for Meynill and Alesia to be pardoned for it.<sup>202</sup> We cannot know what manner of negotiations may have taken place between the two parties outside of the courts, but fact that Basset paid for a legal pardon so that Meynill and Alesia could prematurely return a manor to him seems to suggest this was something of a final peace offering that would resolve any remaining bad blood between them.

In short, the social ties of household knights were certainly not restricted to other men of the same lordly affinity. Rather, these followings were part of a greater and even more complex web of interpersonal connections – networks within networks. These could be affected by overlaps in the regional influence of different lords, by collaboration between them as military commanders, or by a variety of other circumstances not immediately visible to us in the surviving evidence. Exploring the examples outlined here gives us a greater appreciation for the complexity of the social world of the nobility and gentry, for the knightly household was both the origin of and a conduit for many different interactions. The social ties born from and reinforced by household service could thus be the source of much opportunity, as well as some strife, both for the knights of a particular following and the nobility they were associated with.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has explored some of the reasons the household knights of men like Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun had for regarding themselves as knightly confraternities, at least loosely synonymous with the compacts of brothers-in-arms and the secular orders of chivalry. When largely the same men fought together consistently under the same commander across many years and campaigns, assembled in their lord's presence at home in times of peace, wore his livery together, shared *bouche de court* under his roof, engaged in shared religious devotion, and joined him at jousts and tournaments, there can be little doubt that they were regarded by themselves and others as 'his' men.

The truth of this is clearly born out in the historical record, in which we have a great many instances of knights witnessing charters for each other, granting lands and rents, lending and borrowing money either together or to and from each other, serving on the same judicial commissions or staffing the panel of justices for each other's private commissions. Nor can the association of these men be explained away as cooperation between members

---

<sup>202</sup> CPR, 1358-61, p. 12.

of the same county community, for many of the examples discussed either involve a discernible chain of social connections that went beyond shared county origins, or were between men from disparate localities who were unlikely to be acquainted if not for their shared membership in a lord's household. It is important to appreciate the symbiotic nature of these social dynamics: by joining a magnate's household, the knights themselves could benefit from the chance to form new links in their personal network, but equally it was possible for the lords in question to make use of pre-existing acquaintances in the recruiting of suitable men for their following.

In addition to the connections within each household, there were also many examples of collaboration across different followings. This was sometimes because the figures involved shared any number of mutual acquaintances, or because one was a former knight of the same household and still maintained ties with his previous fellows. In this sense, it is noteworthy how the choices of magnates, as retinue commanders and leading nobles, could have a knock-on effect on the fate of their household knights. What lords and co-commanders they chose to closely associate with could influence whom their followers were more likely to come into contact with. This is perhaps seen most clearly in the households of Thomas Beauchamp and the Black Prince; the two enjoyed a long and successful military partnership, and consequently a number of knights were associated with both of them, either successively or simultaneously. Ultimately, the evidence presented here should serve as ample proof that what we typically refer to as a 'household knight' was still a recognised and recognisable identity for men of the gentry during the reign of Edward III. However, the lives, responsibilities and acquaintances of these men indicate that this was but one of many identities comprising their existence, and that they lived within a matrix of social ties so vastly complex that it is difficult to represent more than a fraction of it at one time.

## Conclusion

The findings of this study demonstrate that research on household knights is a useful vehicle for investigating the various spheres of medieval warfare, law and justice, locality and lordship. The household knights of William Bohun, Thomas Beauchamp and Henry of Grosmont came from a variety of social backgrounds: some were highly respected bannerets with interests spanning across a number of counties, while others were of very modest means, barely within the economic bracket of knighthood. Most were from typical knightly families, but a few came from less conventional backgrounds as lawyers or merchants. Some were even linked to the magnates by blood or marriage. At any given time, they ranged in age from freshly knighted young men to far more senior figures with decades of experience. Indeed, the next generation of household knights were often already present in the following as young esquires.

Household knights were primarily military men. Their level of participation in military campaigns could vary from one individual to the next, and there were one or two exceptions who rarely if ever campaigned. However, their foremost duty overall was to participate in the lord's retinue in times of war. Yet non-military duties could also be a factor in a household knight's service. This was less uniform than military participation, with different men undertaking different types and levels of responsibility: attending on the lord in private and public; bearing witness for his charters; providing legal aid as attorneys or justices; working as a castle constable or sub-lieutenant; serving as members of the lord's household council, acting as his feoffees and as the executors of his final will.

The rewards and benefits of service were equally varied. Magnates ensured that their knights were provided for with grants of land or money for past and future service, compensating the loss of horses on campaign, and providing food, lodging and equipment when the knights attended them. They also typically interceded with the crown to secure royal grants and pardons for their men. Some men remained dedicated and exclusive followers throughout their knightly careers. In contrast, Elements of multiple lordship are apparent in the careers of other knights: sometimes they were associated with more than one magnate at the same time, but more often they went from the household of one lord to entering the service of either the king or Black Prince.

This is not to suggest, however, that loyalty to one lord, or a household group identity, did not exist. The household of a magnate could form its own kind of knightly fraternity. Shared service in war, tournament participation and common gathering in the lord's household all created additional bonds between the knights of a particular following. The proof of these ties can be found in myriad connections between the knights: shared religious patronage and the bonds displayed on funeral monuments; marriage between their

families; acting as witnesses alongside or for each other; serving on each other's commissions of oyer and terminer; lending or borrowing money, either together or from each other; acting as each other's attorneys. Looking more broadly, each following was also part of a larger, more complex web spanning the kingdom and linking many of the great households together in multiple ways. The knightly households of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun all had demonstrable ties to each other, but also to those of Edward III, the Black Prince, and the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Pembroke and Huntingdon.

As such, the study provides additional insight into what it meant to be a household knight in the mid fourteenth century. Household knights have been only vaguely and imperfectly understood within scholarship of the period, and do not seem to fit altogether comfortably into the 'concentric circles' model of household, retinue and affinity that has often been employed in scholarship about magnate followings in late medieval England.<sup>1</sup> Even if it is generally understood that these circles could overlap and that servants could fluctuate between the groupings over their careers,<sup>2</sup> this leaves household bachelors hovering awkwardly between the categories. Instead, the findings of this present study have confirmed and elaborated on Holmes's identification that there was a 'sea of varying relationships' between lords and their followers.<sup>3</sup> This has been distilled from observing the patterns of service among the many knights in the service of Warwick, Northampton and Lancaster, indicating the different duties and levels of proximity these knights had with their masters.

A number of benefits come out of this investigation. As mentioned at the outset, household knights in fourteenth-century England reveals they were closely involved in military, political, judicial and social activity, and so research into their role within the reign of Edward III can further inform us on a variety of topics in historiography: the origin, nature and duration of bastard feudalism; whether the latter construct was stabilising or destabilising; trends of militarisation and professionalism; the concept of 'county community' among the gentry; the extent of magnate power and influence in the localities; the power dynamics between the crown and nobility, and the fundamental role of kingship in the Middle Ages.

Historians have proposed various dates of origin for bastard feudalism, ranging from the twelfth century to the late fourteenth, largely because it has been characterised in a number of ways: as the practice of retaining men for service in war and peace through cash, payment in kind or written contract; as an attempt by the magnates to control local politics

---

<sup>1</sup> Parker, 'Patronage', p. 83; Green, 'Household', I, pp. 8 and 14-5; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 8; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 1-2; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>2</sup> Green, 'Household', I, pp. 14-5.

<sup>3</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 79.

for their own ends by retaining county officials and compromising the judicial system; as a social dynamic whereby the magnates assembled a political affinity by granting their livery to a great many followers.<sup>4</sup> Inevitably, having a multitude of definitions complicates the historical debate, something which caused Bean to remark that 'feudalism' and 'bastard feudalism' are 'encumbrances that stand in the way of a sound understanding of the nature of power in medieval England'.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, what is more important than 'bastard feudalism' is the complex web of relations and model of society that the term is intended to describe, and in this regard the study of household knights can contribute to our understanding.

It has been well established that written contracts and the payment of fees were already in use during the Anglo-Norman period, alongside the more recognised system of service in return for land tenure.<sup>6</sup> It has also been made clear by Ross that although feudalism did wane in the Late Middle Ages, it did not outright perish and could still be a factor in the makeup of a magnate's affinity.<sup>7</sup> What we see, then, is an overlap in 'feudal' and 'bastard feudal' practices through much of the medieval period. This is certainly reflected in the recruitment and retaining of household knights in the fourteenth century. Chapter 1 demonstrated how land tenure remained a less prominent but still relevant social bond for Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont. The 1334 Dunstable Tournament and the list of knight's fees contained in the Beauchamp Cartulary indicate that the magnates drew upon tenurial connections in order to find some of the knights for their retinue, particularly in the early 1330s when they were still relatively young and had not yet fully established their followings.<sup>8</sup>

It also seems that grants of land continued to feature significantly in how the earls, particularly Beauchamp, recruited knights to their household. We have evidence for both Warwick and Northampton securing men in their service through land grants. However, aside from a mention of rent as well as land in a grant from Beauchamp to Robert Herle, there is no evidence for either earl employing their knights using annuities. The inquisitions post mortem for them and for the earl of Oxford John de Vere make no mention of annual fees being drawn from any of the manors they held. Though it is possible the inquisitions

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 80 and 83-4; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 5-6; Keen, *English Society*, pp. 20-1; Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract', pp. 813 and 817; idem., 'English Feudalism', p. 50; Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 27-30; Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp. 168, 172 and 182-4; Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', p. 179; Walker, *Lancastrian*, pp. 26-7; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 72-3; Jones and Walker, 'Private Indentures', pp. 14-5; Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', p. 75; idem., 'Warwickshire', pp. 61-2; Bellamy, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law*, pp. 2, 9-11 and 143; Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 102 and 108; Ross, 'Mesne Feudalism', p. 1027; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', p. 703; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp. 167-8 and 172; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 5-6; Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract', p. 833; Burt, 'William and Guy Beauchamp', pp. 160-1.

<sup>7</sup> Ross, 'Mesne Feudalism', pp. 1056.

<sup>8</sup> Ayton, 'Aristocracy', pp. 185-6.

failed to record the total holdings of the earls, this nonetheless stands in contrast to Grosmont, whose inquisition post mortem includes a number of annuities. The reason for the difference may have been down to the magnates' own personal preference or that of their retainers, or the advice of their council and estate stewards. Alternatively, it might be a reflection of their level of wealth: while land may have been generally preferable to a cash payment, Grosmont's more frequent use of annuities may reflect having a greater number of dependents to provide for, and therefore a need to be more sparing with the estates at his disposal.

All three lords did make use of indentures for retaining some of their men, but it appears unlikely that these were used with all of their knights. Even allowing for the likelihood that other indentures existed but have not survived the centuries, we might well have expected more than a single example to remain for each of the earls if this was a common practice in their lordship. Moreover, given the evident continuation of more typically feudal practices, it is possible that a verbal agreement and in-person demonstration of homage may well have sufficed in many cases. Thus, among the household knights of the three earls we can discern a hybrid of recruiting and retaining practices, in which the tenurial bond had not completely given way to cash fees and written contracts. The exact balance between 'feudal' and 'bastard feudal' practices depended not only on the stage of a magnate's life but also his personal circumstances, and quite possibly his individual preferences. This differs slightly from their successors, John of Gaunt, Humphrey Bohun and the younger Thomas Beauchamp, whose retaining leaned further still in the direction of annuities over land tenure.

What, then, was the nature of gentry-nobility relations in this period, and to what extent had it changed from earlier times? A number of historians have highlighted continuity in social organisation; although the legal form of social relations had undergone change, this did not alter the quintessential character of the bond between lords and men.<sup>9</sup> The data for household knights supports this case for superficial change and essential continuity. It is clear that the social, financial and military importance of feudal dues and obligations gradually became less prominent compared to other forms of retaining. Yet we cannot ignore the level of continuity in the service of household knights compared to earlier centuries. In commenting on the household knights of the Norman kings, John Prestwich noted how the Anglo-Norman *familia* was heterogenous in its social and geographical makeup, but homogenous in its loyalty, and that 'ties of loyalty and even friendship bound these men to the kings they served'.<sup>10</sup> His observations are no less relevant for the

---

<sup>9</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 83; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, p. 234; Crouch and Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 168; Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract', p. 833.

<sup>10</sup> J. O. Prestwich, 'Military Household', p. 118.

household knights of Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont. Over the preceding centuries England had inevitably witnessed significant social, constitutional and legal changes, but not to the extent that these transformed or erased the fundamental character of lordship: 'the grouping of servants and followers, household and retinue, noble and servile dependents, around the great estate, supported and attracted by its wealth and influence'.<sup>11</sup>

To what extent were magnates able and willing to exert their will over the localities? There are a couple of threads to this. First, it is now apparent that 'county community' was a valid contemporary political concept,<sup>12</sup> and county roots could certainly form part of an individual's identity. In the loose sense of a 'community of the mind', this could overlap with the bonds between household knights and facilitate recruitment into the household, with some men apparently entering the service of the earls via the horizontal ties of county neighbours who were already part of the lord's following. However, the notion of 'county community' does not automatically mean that the shires were run by gentry oligarchies resistant to the earls' influence. It was not practically possible for them to retain all of the gentry in their followings, but being part of an earl's household did not mean the knights were not independent.<sup>13</sup> Household knights had their own lives outside of their lord's following, with kin, neighbours, acquaintances and responsibilities separate from their association to one of the earls.

Second, if 'bastard feudalism' is taken to mean the ability of the magnates to exert absolute control over county justice and society, then this study suggests that bastard feudalism was not operational in the reign of Edward III.<sup>14</sup> Admittedly, the earls could and did pull strings to secure benefits for the knights and their kin, or to shield them from legal punishment. It is clear that many household knights, even those who were especially distinguished in their service, ended up in trouble with the law at some point during their lives. There appears to have often been a fine line between justice and injustice, and it must have been difficult for men and women of the localities to always avoid being victims or perpetrators within a system that was so readily and easily abused. However, Bohun's social eminence and influence in Essex did not give him the power to prevent crime within the county, even by knights of his own following, sometimes directed at Bohun family interests.<sup>15</sup> We have a hint in the 1340s of people in Warwickshire complaining that Beauchamp and his men had a stranglehold on county justice,<sup>16</sup> but this is an isolated case and it is noteworthy

---

<sup>11</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, p. 83.

<sup>12</sup> Dodd, 'County and Community', pp. 803-5.

<sup>13</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 72-4.

<sup>14</sup> This conclusion has been reached in other recent studies: Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 61-2; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', p. 703; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 222-4.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 208-9.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 171.

that Edward III sided with his earl on this occasion. It seems that Edward was more concerned with justice being carried out effectively rather than punctiliously, and trusted Beauchamp to do so.

There are a number of reasons why Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont were not deeply involved in managing the politics of the localities. Firstly, they had far more pressing concerns: aside from being some of the busiest military commanders of their time, all three were active participants in the royal council, assisting Edward III in the great task of ruling, and were sometimes entrusted with using the great seal at their own discretion.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, even if the earls had wanted to keep the localities closely under their control, there remain significant doubts that they could have done so, as evidenced by the Essex example above. Thirdly, the relationship between the earls and the crown was fundamentally one of friendship and cooperation. It is clear that the earls worked in tandem with the crown in the organising of the shires.<sup>18</sup> It was normal for the household knights of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun to be active in commissions of oyer and terminer, either for their lords, other private plaintiffs or at the behest of the crown. They were also frequently named on commissions of peace or array, which were often headed by their lord. Several of the earls' best and brightest knights ended up in service directly to the king or members of the royal family, or took positions as diplomats, admirals, lieutenants or the captain of Calais. In all of this, it is very likely that the knights were recommended by the earls as trustworthy men capable of fulfilling the task in question. Thus, far from jostling for control over the running of the localities, it is evident there was something of a 'bonding' mechanism operating between the crown, magnates and their knights.<sup>19</sup> Putting all of this together, we see further confirmation that county social relations involved a combination of both 'horizontal' ties among the local gentry and 'vertical' ties of lordship, which encompassed both comital influence and the royal authority it supported.

It is quite likely that this dynamic began to alter from the 1360s and 70s. This was when the advent of dedicated justices of the peace marked a significant change in the way that county justice was administered, and when the decreasing intensity of English military campaigning may have led magnates to take a more active interest in local political dominance.<sup>20</sup> This happens to coincide with a decline in household knights after 1360. These were gradually replaced in the household of Edward III by chamber knights,<sup>21</sup> but the trend is apparent in the Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont followings as well. The latter two

---

<sup>17</sup> *CPR*, 1348-50, p. 64; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 623; 1341-43, p. 530; 1364-68, p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 63; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', pp. 702-3.

<sup>19</sup> Coss, *Knight*, p. 114; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> Carpenter, 'Bastard Feudalism', p. 75; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', p. 704.

<sup>21</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 204-11; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 39-45.

died in 1360 and 1361 respectively; they were two of Edward's foremost military commanders, and their passing may well have reflected the end of an era in this regard. Beauchamp lived until 1369, but there were noticeably fewer knights on campaign with him in the 1360s. As a result, it does seem that in the second half of the century the role of the household knight was beginning to fade from social and military spheres, in line with the development of chamber knights and a more recognisably 'bastard feudal' society.

This leads to one final consideration: what does this tell us about the nature of power and the fundamental relationship between the crown and nobility in medieval England? Scholarship has sometimes framed the crown and nobility as being in opposition by default: expansions of royal authority and the reach of central government has been seen as a threat and imposition on the dominance that magnates expected to enjoy in their areas of influence.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, other historians have contested that the king and magnates were not natural adversaries.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, whether relations between the crown and the nobility would be cooperative or competitive must surely have depended on the personalities involved, as well as the prosperity of the realm. This likewise depended on a range of factors: the competence of the king in military and administrative affairs; his personal temperament and rapport with the leading magnates, as well as their level of ambition; the influence of circumstances relating to plague, trade, famine and war. However it is defined, 'bastard feudalism' was not by nature a destabilising social ill; much depended on the competence of the king ruling at the time,<sup>24</sup> but also the circumstances with which he was faced.

The present research on household knights, with the matrix of ties, social circles and aspects of medieval life in which they were involved, should demonstrate that dichotomies like 'feudal' or 'bastard feudal', 'horizontal' or 'vertical', central or local, crown versus nobility, competition or cooperation, do not represent the full complexities of medieval England. They serve as markers in the scholarly landscape, but not as advanced navigation tools. For a king like Edward III who cultivated positive relationships with his leading magnates, noble authority became an extension of royal authority; this is clearly seen in the way that the household knights of Beauchamp, Bohun and Grosmont carried out duties for the crown under the leadership of their lord, and sometimes as direct royal agents themselves. Household knights were vital cogs in the machinery of government, warfare, local administration and justice. They were a part of the culture of the court. This echoes

---

<sup>22</sup> Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 41; Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract', p. 816; Castor, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp. 19, 306 and 312; Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, p. 438.

<sup>23</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, pp. 103-5; Bean, *From Lord to Patron*, pp. 189 and 236; Carpenter, 'Warwickshire', pp. 47-9 and 60-3; Hefferan, 'Household Knights', pp. 220-1 and 227; Raven, 'Earls of Edward III', p. 703.

<sup>24</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 120; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 83-4; Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, pp. 220-1; Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship*, pp. 101-2 and 170-1; Simpkin, 'Chivalric Society', p. 55; Caudrey, *Military Society*, p. 130.

Hefferan's conclusions about Edward III's knights as useful 'middle managers' whom Edward counted on for integral tasks, including command appointments and the recruitment and provisioning of armies.<sup>25</sup> Thus, if Edward III was fortunate to have a coterie of loyal and able friends among the ranks of his nobility, friends he could trust with the administration of government, pivotal diplomatic missions and the execution of military strategy, the king and lords were also fortunate to have at their disposal a set of household knights to which they could delegate many vital responsibilities.

---

<sup>25</sup> Hefferan, 'Household Knights', p. 285.

Appendix A

Overview of Campaigns and Expeditions Abroad<sup>26</sup>

**TB** = Thomas Beauchamp

**HoG** = Henry of Grosmont

**WB** = William Bohun

| Date                | Location              | Commander      | Notes  |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--|
| June 1333           | Scotland              | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; Siege of Berwick; battle of Halidon Hill        |
| 1334-1335           | Scotland              | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; siege of Roxburgh                               |
| June-Sept 1335      | Scotland              | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b>   |
| 1336                | Scotland              | HoG            | <b>TB/WB</b>   |
| 1337                | Scotland              | TB             |  |
| Nov 1337-April 1338 | Low Countries         |                | <b>WB</b> ; diplomatic mission                                     |
| July 1338           | Low Countries         |                | <b>WB</b> ; diplomatic mission                                     |
| June-July 1339      | Southampton           | TB             | Defence/fortifying town  |
| Sept-Oct 1339       | Cambrésis & Thiérache | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; siege of Cambrai; aborted battle at Buironfosse |
| May 1340            | France                |                | <b>TB/WB</b> ; battle of Valenciennes                              |
| June 1340           | Sluys                 | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; naval battle                                    |
| July-Aug 1340       | Low Countries         | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; siege of Tournai; truce of Esplechin            |
| 1340                | Low Countries         | TB             | diplomatic mission; negotiating release of Ufford and Montague     |
| 1341                | Scotland              | HoG            |  |
| July-Oct 1342       | Brittany              | WB             | lieutenancy; battle of Brest; siege & battle of Morlaix            |
| Oct 1342-Jan 1343   | Brittany              | Edward III     | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; siege of Vannes; truce of Malestroit            |
| 1343                | Spain                 | HoG / Montague | crusade/diplomatic mission; siege of Algeciras                     |
| 1344                | Avignon               | HoG            | diplomatic mission   |

<sup>26</sup> Information compiled from: *CPR*; *CCR*; Fowler, 'Grosmont'; Parker, 'Patronage'; Ormrod, *Edward III*; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*; Livingstone and Witzel, *Road to Crécy*; Wagner, *Encyclopedia*; Franke, 'Robert Ufford'; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*.

| Date                | Location         | Commander     | Notes  |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------|--|
| Jun 1345-July 1346  | Brittany         | WB            | lieutenancy; capture of La Roche-Derrien; Thoams Dagworth left in charge |
| Aug 1345-Jan 1347   | Aquitaine        | HoG           | lieutenancy; battles of Bergerac & Auberoche; defence of Aiguillon       |
| July-Aug 1346       | France           | Edward III    | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; Crécy campaign  |
| Sept 1346-Aug 1347  | France           | Edward III    | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; siege of Calais                                       |
| May-June 1347       | Brittany         | Dagworth      | battle of La Roche-Derrien   |
| 1347-48             | Calais, Flanders | HoG           | diplomatic missions  |
| 1349-50             | Aquitaine        | HoG           | lieutenancy  |
| August 1350         | Winchelsea       | Edward III    | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; naval battle  |
| 1350s               | Scotland         | WB            | wardenship   |
| 1352                | Prussia          | HoG           | crusade  |
| 1352                | France           | HoG           | diplomatic mission; resolving quarrel with Otto of Brunswick             |
| Oct-Nov 1355        | France           | Edward III    | <b>HoG/WB</b> ; Picardy campaign   |
| Dec 1355-Jan 1356   | Scotland         | Edward III    | <b>HoG/WB</b>  |
| Sept 1355-July 1358 | Normandy         | HoG           | <b>WB</b> ; lieutenancy  |
| Sept 1355-Sept 1356 | Aquitaine        | Black Prince  | <b>TB</b> ; battle of Poitiers; capture of John II                       |
| Nov 1359-May 1360   | France           | Edward III    | <b>TB/HoG/WB</b> ; Rheims campaign; treaty of Brétigny                   |
| 1363-1364           | Aquitaine        | Black Prince  | <b>TB</b>  |
| 1365                | Prussia          | TB            | crusade (vow commuted)   |
| 1365-1366           | Prussia          | TB            | crusade  |
| Oct 1366            | Ireland          |               | <b>TB</b>  |
| Dec 1366            | Flanders         |               | <b>TB</b> ; diplomatic mission   |
| 1366-1367           | Prussia          | TB            | crusade; <b>WB</b> 's son Humphrey joining                               |
| July-Sept 1369      | France           | John of Gaunt | <b>TB</b>  |

## Appendix B

### Household Knights of Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Grosmont and William Bohun

The following pages provide an overview of knights in the households of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun, divided by each magnate. There remains a level of uncertainty in some places because if more than one man has the same name, it is not always clear which one is being referred to in the sources. There are also some cases where a knight's military participation is mostly found in undated protection warrants, so the listed details are not necessarily the full extent of each knight's involvement with the earls. Similarly, they do not necessarily represent the sum total of all knights that were ever considered 'of the household'. Where there are only one or two instances of a connection between a knight and one of the earls, this has not been taken to reflect a significant relationship between them. Ergo, men who merely served in the military retinue once or twice many years apart have not been included in the list, except where some other detail of interest is apparent. The same applies for other connections, such as acting as a charter witness.

What remains is a picture of the most significant knights in the followings of Beauchamp, Grosmont and Bohun, at least according to the sources consulted.<sup>1</sup> The

---

<sup>1</sup> To avoid the tables becoming too cluttered with footnotes, sources used are listed here: C 61/67; C 61/68; C 61/76; C 61/77; C 71/14; C 71/15; C 71/16; C 71/17; C 76/12; C 76/13; C 76/15; C 76/17; C 76/18; C 76/19; C 76/20; C 76/22; C 76/33; C 76/37; C 76/38; C 76/52; C 81/1724; C 81/1730; C 81/1734; C 81/1735; C 81/1742; C 81/1750; C 143/290/2; DL 10/276; DL 25/32; DL 25/34; DL 25/248; DL 25/1210; DL 25/1418; DL 25/1466; DL 25/1521; DL 25/1525; DL 25/1567; DL 25/1591; DL 25/1602; DL 25/1624; DL 25/1628; DL 25/1846; DL 25/1860; DL 25/1932; DL 25/1956; DL 25/1960; DL 25/2083; DL 25/2084; DL 25/2182; DL 25/2302; DL 25/2303; DL 25/2182; DL 27/119; DL 27/139; DL 27/174; DL 27/155 DL 27/192; DL 27/195; DL 27/212; DL 27/234; DL 42/1; E 36/203; E 36/204; E 40/13922; E 101/15/12; E 101/19/36; E 101/20/17; E 101/25/9; E 101/68/3; Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/1/11; Southampton Archives Office, SC 13/3/1; BL MS Add. 28024; *CPR*, 1334-38, pp. 236 and 530-1; 1338-40, pp. 101 and 145; 1340-43, p. 311; 1343-45, pp. 18, 181 and 408; 1345-48, pp. 58, 96, 143, 186, 230, 310, 318, 369 and 560; 1348-50, pp. 19, 60, 80, 171-3, 207-8, 217, 311, 321, 469 and 591; 1350-54, pp. 16, 84, 146, 282, 352 and 449; 1354-58, pp. 241 and 416; 1354-58, pp. 255, 381 and 453; 1358-61, pp. 242, 304, 410, 575-6 and 580; 1361-64, pp. 105, 210 and 495-6; 1364-67, pp. 323, 356, 359 and 367-8; *CCR*, 1337-39, p. 412; 1339-41, pp. 223 and 465; 1341-43, p. 242; 1343-46, pp. 230, 238 and 487-8; 1346-49, pp. 106, 236-7, 278-9, 548 and 573; 1349-54, p. 372; 1354-60, pp. 423 and 645; 1360-64, p. 400; *CFR*, 1337-47, pp. 327, 477 and 493; *CIPM*, 1352-61, p. 526; 1361-65, pp. 92-116; *John of Gaunt's Register*, I, pp. 267-8; *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, p. 80; Somerville, *Duchy*, I, p. 363; Fowler, 'Grosmont', II, pp. 242-63; Parker, 'Patronage', p. 179; Walker, *Lancastrian*, p. 28; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 124; Gribit, *Lancaster's Expedition*, pp. 258-338.

following tables include information that is pulled together from the whole of the thesis, and the footnotes on the next page reference the chapters and pages where the data from that column is discussed. This applies to all three magnate households.

## B.1 – Household knights of Thomas Beauchamp

| Name                           | Period of service <sup>1</sup> | Main county <sup>2</sup> | Campaigns and expeditions <sup>3</sup> | Witness <sup>4</sup> | Commissions of oyer and terminer <sup>5</sup> | Notes             |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Thomas Asteleye                | 34-46, 60s                     | Warks, Leics, N'hants    |  |                      |   | Banneret          |
| Ralph IV Basset of Drayton     | 43-56                          | Staffs, Warks            | 55-56                                  | 1-2                  |   | Ward              |
| Ralph Basset of Sapcote        | 37-69                          | Leics                    | 36, 37, 39, 40, 59-60, 63, 64, 69-70   | 2-3                  |   | Trustee; executor |
| John Beauchamp                 | 34-60                          | Worcs                    | 36, 37, 42                             |                      |   | Brother           |
| John Beauchamp (of Somerset)   |                                |                          | 59-60, 63, 64, 66                      |                      |   |                   |
| William Beauchamp              | 61-69                          |                          | 64                                     |                      |   | Son               |
| Fulk Birmingham                | 56-69                          | Warks                    | 55-56, 59-60                           |                      |   |                   |
| John (son of John) Botetourt   |                                |                          | 38, 42, 63                             | 3                    |   | Creditor          |
| John (son of Thomas) Botetourt |                                |                          | 55-56                                  |                      |   |                   |
| Ralph Bracebridge              | 45-46                          | Lincs                    | 45                                     | 4                    |   |                   |
| Robert Bracy                   | 42-66                          | Worcs                    | 42, 45                                 |                      | 1   | Tenant            |
| William Breton                 | 56-69                          | Warks                    | 55-56, 63, 64                          | 2                    | 1   |                   |
| Nicholas Burneby               | 35-51                          | N'hants                  | 35, 37, 39                             |                      | 1   |                   |
| Nicholas Charneles             | 36-42                          | Leics                    | 37, 39                                 | 1                    |   |                   |
| Gilbert Chasteleyn             | 39-56                          | Ox                       | 39, 40, 42, 46-47                      | 6                    | 3   | Sheriff           |
| Roger Clifford                 |                                |                          | 55-56                                  |                      |   | Ward              |
| John Clinton                   | 43-69                          | Warks, Kent              | 55-56, 69                              | 1                    |   | Ward              |
| John Folville                  | 42-56                          | Leics                    | 42, 45-47, 55-56                       |                      |   |                   |
| Baldwin Freville               | 55-56                          | Warks                    | 55-56                                  |                      |   |                   |
| John Golafre                   | 34-43                          | Ox                       | 37, 39, 42                             |                      |   | Sheriff           |
| Nicholas Golafre               |                                | Ox                       | 59-60, 64, 69                          |                      |   |                   |
| Robert Herle                   | 37-56                          | N'thumb, Warks           | 37, 40, 42, 45-47                      | 6                    |   | Attorney; trustee |

<sup>1</sup> Details and commentary are provided in Chapter 1, pp. 33-43.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 43-51.

<sup>3</sup> For military campaigns, see Chapter 2, pp. 73-89. For diplomatic expeditions, see Chapter 3, pp. 124-9.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 118-23.

<sup>5</sup> For commissions of oyer and terminer carried out by household knights specifically for their lord, see Chapter 3, pp. 132-6.

### B.1 – Household knights of Thomas Beauchamp

| Name                    | Period of service | Main county | Campaigns and expeditions    | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes            |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Robert Holland          | 42-46             | N'hants     | 42, 45                       |         |                                  |                  |
| John Leukenore          | 34-48             | Ox          | 39                           | 12      |                                  | Attorney         |
| John Lovel of Tichmarsh | 34-42             |             | 42, 45-47                    |         |                                  |                  |
| William Lucy            | 36-48             | Warks       | 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 45-47    | 9       |                                  |                  |
| John Lysours            | 34-61             | Warks       | 37, 39, 40, 42, 55-56, 59-60 | 6       |                                  |                  |
| Peter Montfort          | 36-48             | Warks       | 36                           | 1       |                                  | Trustee; grantee |
| John Pecche             | 36-46             | Warks       | 36                           | 4       |                                  |                  |
| Nicholas Pecche         | 36-47             | Warks       | 36, 37, 39, 42, 45-47        | 8       |                                  |                  |
| Robert Scales           | 46                |             | 46                           |         |                                  | Banneret         |
| Almeric St. Amand       | 42-47             |             | 42, 45-47                    |         |                                  | Banneret         |
| Richard Stafford        | 42-48             | Staffs      | 42                           | 1       | 1                                |                  |
| John Tuchet             | 2                 |             | 55-56, 59-60                 |         |                                  |                  |
| Thomas Ughtred          | 45-47             | Yorks       | 45-47                        |         |                                  | Banneret         |
| Richard Whitacre        | 46-48             | Warks       | 45                           |         | 2                                |                  |

## B.2 – Household Knights of Henry of Grosmont

| Name                 | Period of service   | Main county         | Campaigns                          | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes                        |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ralph Asteleye       | 42-46               | Norf                | 42, 45-46                          |         |                                  |                              |
| Alex Aunsel          | 45-60               | Lincs, Ox           | 45-46, 47, 48, 54-55, 56-58, 59-60 |         |                                  | Sub-lieutenant in Brittany   |
| Richard Bastreville  | 44-47               |                     | 44, 45-46, 47                      |         |                                  |                              |
| Roger Belers         | 40-60               | Leics               | 40, 42, 45-46, 47, 55, 59-60       |         |                                  |                              |
| Hugh Berewyk         | 49-61               | Bucks, Dev, Corn    |                                    | 3       | 4                                | Attorney; grantee; steward   |
| Walter Birmingham    | 54-60               |                     | 54-55, 55, 59-60                   |         |                                  |                              |
| Robert Bertram       | 47-61               | N'thumb             | 55, 56-58, 59-60                   |         |                                  | Debtor; constable            |
| John Blount          | 38-51               | Worcs               | 38, 45-46, 47                      | 3       | 1                                | Sheriff (Staffs.)            |
| John Bosun           | 40-46               | Notts               | 40, 42, 43, 44, 45-46              |         |                                  |                              |
| Andrew Braunche      | 38-49               | Soms, Surrey, Wilts | 38, 40, 42                         |         |                                  | Grantor                      |
| Bernard Brocas       | 49-58               |                     | 49-50, 54-55, 55, 56-58            |         |                                  | Grantee                      |
| Ralph Camoys         | 45-50               | Norf, Hamps         | 45-46, 47, 49-50                   |         |                                  |                              |
| Nicholas Cantilupe   | 34-39, 45-46, 51-52 | Notts, Lincs        | 34, 36, 38                         |         |                                  | Banneret                     |
| Gervase Clifton      | 45-55               | Notts               | 45-46, 54-55, 55                   |         |                                  |                              |
| Thomas Cok           | 36-50               | Ox, Leics           | 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45-46, 49-50   | 4       |                                  | Banneret; marshal; seneschal |
| Stephen Cosington    | 44-61               | Kent, Berks, Hamps  | 44, 45-46, 47, 49-50               |         |                                  | Grantee                      |
| Edmund Everard       | 37-61               | Dors                | 38, 42, 43, 45-46, 47, 59-60       |         |                                  |                              |
| Adam Everynham       | 42-61               | Notts, Yorks, Lincs | 42, 44, 45-46, 47, 48, 55, 59-60   |         |                                  | Banneret                     |
| Thomas Florak        | 49-61               |                     | 49-50, 56-58, 59-60                |         |                                  |                              |
| Nicholas Gernoun     | 36, 49-50           | Norf, Suff          | 36, 49-50                          | 1       |                                  | Grantee                      |
| John Grey of Codnore | 38-48, 54-55        | Derbs               | 38, 41, 45-46, 47, 48, 54-55, 55   |         |                                  | Debtor                       |

## B.2 – Household Knights of Henry of Grosmont

| Name                   | Period of service   | Main county          | Campaigns                              | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes                        |
|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--|---------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| William lord Greystock | 45-52               | Yorks                | 45-46, 49-50, 51-52                    |         |                                  | Banneret                     |
| Frank van Halen        | 45-61               | Brabant              | 45-46                                  |         |                                  | Banneret; grantee            |
| Hugh Hastings sr.      | 36-47               | Notts, Hamps         | 36, 38, 40                             | 3       |                                  | Councillor; debtor           |
| Hugh Hastings jr.      | 55-61               |                      | 55, 56-58, 59-60                       |         |                                  |                              |
| Ralph Hastings sr.     | 34-46               | Yorks                | 36, 42, 44, 45-46                      |         |                                  | Steward; debtor              |
| Ralph Hastings jr.     | 47-61               |                      | 47, 59-60                              |         |                                  |                              |
| William Hastings       | 36-46               | Berks                | 36, 38-39, 45-46                       |         |                                  |                              |
| Richard Haveryng       | 38-39, 45-46, 55-61 | Essex                | 38, 45-46, 55, 56-58, 59-60            |         |                                  |                              |
| Richard Hebeden        | 45-47, 55-61        | Lincs                | 45-46, 47, 55, 59-60                   |         |                                  |                              |
| Thomas Hereford        | 47-50, 56-58        |                      | 47, 49-50, 56-58                       |         |                                  | Grantee                      |
| Roger Lestraunge       | 47-48, 56-58        |                      | 47, 48, 56-58                          |         |                                  |                              |
| Nicholas Longford      | 34-36, 55-60        | Derbs                | 34, 36, 55-56, 59-60                   |         | 1                                |                              |
| Niel Loring            | 45-52               | Beds                 | 45-46, 49-50, 51-52                    |         |                                  | Grantee                      |
| Philip Lymbury         | 44-61               | Lincs, Camb          | 44, 45-46, 47, 48, 49-50, 56-58, 59-60 |         |                                  | Sub-lieutenant in Brittany   |
| Peter de la Mare       | 38-49               | Wilts, Herts, Gloucs | 38, 42, 45-46                          | 3       | 4                                | Attorney; steward councillor |
| Robert de la Mare      | 38-50, 56-61        | Wilts, Herts, Gloucs | 38, 44, 45-46, 47, 49-50, 56-58, 59-60 | 4       |                                  | Trustee; steward; executor   |
| Robert Marny           | 56-61               |                      | 55, 56-58, 59-60                       |         |                                  |                              |
| Thomas Metham          | 55-60               | Yorks, Notts         | 55, 59-60                              |         |                                  | Grantee                      |
| Hugh Meynill           | 34-48, 60-61        | Derbs                | 34, 36, 38, 42, 44, 45-46              | 1       | 2                                | Banneret                     |

## B.2 – Household Knights of Henry of Grosmont

| Name              | Period of service | Main county           | Campaigns   | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes   |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|---------|----------------------------------|---|
| William Meynill   | 42-50, 56-58      | Derbs                 | 42, 45-46, 47, 49-50, 56-58                           |         |                                  |   |
| Reginald Mohun    | 36-50             | Soms, Dors, Hunts     | 36, 38, 42, 44, 45-46, 49-50                          | 1       |                                  |   |
| John Mowbray      | 41, 56-58         |                       | 41, 56-58   | 1       |                                  |   |
| Richard Rawcliffe | 42-47, 56         | Yorks                 | 42, 44, 45-46   | 1       |                                  |   |
| Nicholas de Ry    | 40-61             | Lincs                 | 40, 42, 44, 45-46, 47, 49-50, 51-52, 55, 56-58, 59-60 |         |                                  |   |
| William Scargill  | 45-46, 56-58      |                       | 45-46, 56-58  | 2       |                                  | Steward; sheriff                              |
| John Seyton       | 36-47, 56         | Rutl, Leics           | 36, 38, 42, 44, 45-46, 47, 56                         | 1       |                                  |   |
| Richard Seyton    | 36-46             |                       | 36, 42, 45-46   |         |                                  |   |
| Richard Shelton   | 36-47             |                       | 36, 38, 42, 45-46, 47                                 |         |                                  | Grantee                                       |
| Alured Sulny      | 36-48             |                       | 36, 38, 45-46, 56-58                                  |         |                                  | Grantee                                       |
| Norman Swynford   | 45-47, 55-58      | Lincs                 | 45-46, 47, 55, 56-58                                  |         |                                  | Indentured retainer                           |
| Theobald Trussell | 36-61             | N'hants, Warks, Leics | 36, 38, 42, 45-46, 47, 48, 49-50, 55, 55-56, 59-60    |         |                                  |   |
| John Twyford sr.  | 36-41             | Derbs                 | 36, 38, 41  | 1-2     | 1                                |   |
| John Twyford jr.  |                   | Derbs                 | 36, 38  | 1-2     |                                  |   |
| Edmund Ufford     | 42-50, 56-61      | Suff                  | 42, 44, 45-46, 49-50, 56-58, 59-60                    | 1       |                                  | Indentured retainer; steward; grantee         |
| Thomas Uvedale    | 45-46, 56-61      |                       | 45-46, 55-56, 59-60                                   | 1       |                                  | Grantee; creditor; sub-lieutenant in Brittany |
| Richard Walkefare | 45-50, 56-58      |                       | 45-46, 49-50, 56-58                                   |         |                                  |   |
| John Walkyngton   | 36-50             | Wilts, Staffs         | 36, 38, 42, 44, 45-46, 47                             | 3       |                                  |   |
| William la Zouche | 42-48, 59-61      | Devons                | 42, 45-46, 47, 59-60                                  |         |                                  |   |

### B.3 – Household Knights of William Bohun

| Name                    | Period of service | Main county        | Campaigns                    | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes                                |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Thomas Ardern           | 37-39             |                    | 37, 38                       |         |                                  |                                      |
| Hugh Badewe             | 38-47, 58-60      | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40                   | 3       |                                  |                                      |
| John Bardolf            | 40-45             |                    | 40, 42, 45                   |         |                                  |                                      |
| Edmund Bohun            |                   |                    | 37, 40, 46                   |         |                                  | Brother                              |
| Oliver Bohun            |                   | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40, 45               | 2       |                                  | Brother; trustee                     |
| Thomas Bosehale         | 37-39, 59-60      | Berks, Ox, Soms    | 37, 38, 59-60                |         |                                  |                                      |
| Robert Bourchier        | 38-47             | Ex                 | 38, 40, 45                   | 4       | 1                                |                                      |
| John Coggeshale         | 41-46, 58-60      | Ex, Herts          | 45                           | 3       |                                  |                                      |
| Robert Corbet of Hadley | 34-41, 45         | Salop, Gloucs      | 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 45       |         |                                  |                                      |
| Thomas Dagworth         | 37-50             | Ex, Suff, Norf     | 37, 42, 45-47                |         |                                  | Brother-in-law; grantee              |
| John Dengayne           | 37-48, 55-60      | Camb, Hunts, Herts |                              | 1       | 1                                | Banneret; trustee; attorney; grantee |
| Richard Denton          | 37-45, 52         | Cumb, N'Thumb      | 37, 38, 45                   |         | 1                                |                                      |
| Peter Favelore          | 37-47, 54-60      | Ex, N'thumb        | 37, 38, 40, 45               | 1       | 1                                | Trustee; attorney; grantee           |
| John FitzWalter         | 37-60             | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40, 42, 55-56, 59-60 |         |                                  | Banneret                             |
| William Giffard         | 36-41             | Suff               | 37, 38, 40                   | 2       | 1                                |                                      |
| John Havenyngham        | 40-45             | Ex                 | 40, 45                       |         |                                  |                                      |
| John Hotham of Bondeby  | 42-45             | Lincs              | 42, 45                       |         |                                  |                                      |
| William Ireland         | 37-45             | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40, 45               |         |                                  |                                      |
| Thomas Mandeville       | 40-45, 58-60      | Ex                 | 40, 45                       | 3       |                                  |                                      |
| Robert Manteby          | 38-40, 45, 59-60  | Norf               | 37, 38, 40                   |         |                                  |                                      |
| Robert Marny            | 37-40             | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40                   |         |                                  |                                      |
| Hugh Morrisby           | 37-41, 45         | Cumb               | 37, 38, 45                   |         |                                  |                                      |
| John Neville of Essex   | 38-58             | Ex                 | 37, 38, 40, 45, 55-56        | 5       |                                  |                                      |
| John Neville of N'hants |                   | N'hants            | 37, 38                       |         |                                  |                                      |
| Hugh Neville            |                   | Ex                 | 37, 38, 39, 40, 45-46        |         |                                  |                                      |

### B.3 – Household Knights of William Bohun

| Name                    | Period of service | Main county  | Campaigns                    | Witness | Commissions of oyer and terminer | Notes            |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| John Rosce              | 40-58             | Ex, Herts    | 40, 45                       | 1       |                                  |                  |
| Geoffrey de Say         | 42-45             | Kent, Herts  | 42, 45                       |         |                                  |                  |
| Henry le Scrope         | 42-45, 55-56      |              | 42, 45, 55-56                |         |                                  |                  |
| Walter Selby            | 36-46             |              | 36, 40, 45-46                |         |                                  |                  |
| Ralph Spigournel        | 37-40, 59-60      | Ex           | 37, 40                       |         |                                  | Trustee          |
| John Sutton of Essex    |                   | Ex           | 55-56                        | (3)     |                                  |                  |
| John Sutton of Wivenhoe | 40-58             | Ex           | 40                           | (3)     |                                  |                  |
| Adam Swynbourne         | 37-45             | N'thum, Cumb | 37, 38, 45-46                |         |                                  | Deputy constable |
| William Tallemache      | 37-41, 45, 55-60  | Ex           | 37, 38, 40, 45, 55, 59-60    | 5       |                                  |                  |
| Richard Totesham        | 36-48             | Kent         | 36, 37, 38, 40, 47           |         |                                  |                  |
| William Trussebut       | 37-40, 45         | Notts        | 37, 38, 40, 45               |         |                                  |                  |
| John Verdoun            | 36-41             | N'hants      | 36, 37, 38, 55-56            | 1       |                                  |                  |
| Gerard Wyderyngton      | 36-46, 59-60      | N'thumb      | 36, 37, 38, 40, 45-46, 59-60 |         |                                  |                  |

## Bibliography

### **Unpublished Primary Sources**

#### The National Archives, Kew

- C 47 – Chancery Miscellanea
- C 61 – Chancery: Gascon Rolls
- C 71 – Chancery: Scotch Rolls
- C 76 – Chancery: Treaty Rolls
- C 81 – Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I
- C 131 – Chancery: Extents for Debts, Series I
- C 146 – Chancery: Ancient Deeds, Series C
- DL 10 – Duchy of Lancaster: Royal Charters
- DL 25 – Duchy of Lancaster: Deeds, Series L
- DL 27 – Duchy of Lancaster: Deeds, Series LS
- DL 36 – Duchy of Lancaster: Cartae Miscellanea
- DL 42 – Duchy of Lancaster: Cartularies, Enrolments, Surveys and other Miscellaneous Books
- E 36 – Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Miscellaneous Books
- E 40 – Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Ancient Deeds, Series A
- E 42 – Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Ancient Deeds, Series AS
- E 101 – King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various
- E 122 – King's Remembrancer: Particulars of Customs Accounts
- E 151 – Exchequer Inquisitions ad quod Damnum
- E 159 – Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls and Enrolment Books
- E 210 – Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Ancient Deeds, Series D
- E 326 – Exchequer: Augmentation Office: Ancient Deeds, Series B
- E 358 – Exchequer: Pipe Office: Miscellaneous Enrolled Accounts
- E 372 – Exchequer: Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls
- E 403 – Exchequer of Receipt: Issue Rolls and Registers
- E 404 – Exchequer of Receipt: Warrants for Issues
- SC 1 – Special Collections: Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer
- SC 8 – Special Collections: Ancient Petitions

#### Berkeley Castle Muniments, Berkeley

- BCM/B – The Lisle Estate
- BCM/D – The Mowbray Estate

#### Birmingham Archives, Heritage and Photography Service, Birmingham

- MS 3279 – Lyttleton Family (Viscount Cobham) of Frankley
- MS 3888 – Wingfield Digby family of Sherborne Castle, Dorset and Coleshill

#### British Library, London

- MS Additional 28024
- MS Arundel 2
- MS Cotton Otho D IV 92
- Sloane MSS 1301 257

#### Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock

- D258 – Gell of Hopton Hall: Medieval Deeds
- D5236/4 – Title deeds, mortgages and leases: Newton Solney and Repton

#### Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester

- D1086 – Hale Family of Alderley

Nottinghamshire Archives, Nottingham

DD/4P – Portland of Welbeck (4<sup>th</sup> Deposit): Deeds and Estate Papers

DD/SR – Savile of Rufford: Deeds and Estate Papers

Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-Upon-Avon

DR10/2039 – Gegory of Stivichall, Bonds & Receipts: Other Families

DR18/10 – Leigh of Stoneleigh: Deeds relating to the Warwickshire estates

Southampton Archives

SC 13 – Records relating to defence, including militia muster books and material pertaining to the royal garrison

Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick

CR0457 – Holdbech Family of Farnborough

CR4141 – Warwickshire and Northamptonshire deeds and papers

### **Published Primary Sources**

*Acta Bellicosa Edwardi Tertii*, in *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince*, ed. and trans. by Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 26-40

*Anonimale Chronicle 1333-1381: From a MS. Written at St. Mary's Abbey, York*, ed. by V. H. Galbraith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970)

Avesbury, Robert, *De Gestis Edwardi Tercii*, ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889)

Baker, Geoffrey le, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook*, trans. by David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012)

Bel, Jean le, *The True Chronicles of Jean Le Bel 1290-1360*, trans. by Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011)

*The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475*

*Calendar of Charter Rolls*

*Calendar of Close Rolls*

*Calendar of Fine Rolls*

*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*

*Calendar of Patent Rolls*

*Cartulaire de Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, 1348-58*, ed. by T. de Limburg-Stirum, 2 vols. (Bruges: De Plancke, 1898)

Charny, Geoffroi de, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*, ed. Richard Kaeuper, trans. Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds: Volume 4*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1902)

*English Historical Documents Volume 4*, ed. by Alec R. Myers (London: Routledge, 1969)

Froissart, Jean, *Chronicles*, ed and trans. by Geoffrey Brereton (London: Penguin, 1978)

Gray, Thomas, *Scalacronica: the reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, as recorded by Sir Thomas Gray*, trans. by Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: J. Maclehose, 1907)

*John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. by Sydney Armitage Smith, 2 vols (London: Offices of the Society, 1911)

Knighton, Henry, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

Lancaster, Henry of, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. by E. J. Arnould (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1940)

Murimuth, Adam, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889)

Norwell, William de, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. by M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H. S. Lucas and J. de Sturler (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1983)

*Register of Edward, the Black Prince*, ed. by M. C. B. Dawes, 4 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930-33)

*Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, etc. as well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families; from the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 2 vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1826)

## Secondary Sources

Agrait, Nicolas, 'The Experience of War in Fourteenth-Century Spain: Alfonso XI and the Capture of Algeciras (1342-1344)', in *Crusaders, Condottieri and Canon: Medieval Warfare in Societies Around the Mediterranean*, ed. by Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 213-237

Allmand, Christopher, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011)

—————, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

—————, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998)

Anglo, Sydney, 'How to Win at Tournaments: The Techniques of Medieval Combat,' *Antiquaries Journal: Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 68 (1988), 248-264

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

—————, 'Edward III and the English 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. Matthew Strickland (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1998), pp. 173-206

—————, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. by Clifford Rogers (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 303-20

—————, 'The English Army and the Normandy Campaign of 1346', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 253-268

—————, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 159-251

—————, 'Hastings, Sir Hugh (c.1310-1347)', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 81-104

—————, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', *JMH*, 43 (2017), 4-23

—————, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Adrian R. Bell and others (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 9-60

—————, 'Sir Thomas Ughtred and the Edwardian Military Revolution', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by J. S. Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 107-132

Baggs, A. P., D. A. Crowley, Ralph B. Pugh, Janet H. Stevenson and Margaret Tomlinson, *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 10*, ed. by Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1975), *British History Online*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol10>

Barber, Richard, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995)

—————, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London: Penguin, 2014)

—————, *The Reign of Chivalry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005)

Barker, Juliet, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986)

Bean, J. M. W., '“Bachelor” and Retainer', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 3 (1972), 117-32

—————, *The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968)

—————, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989)

Bell, Adrian R., *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004)

Bell, Adrian R., Anne Curry, Andy King & David Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Bellamy, John, *Bastard Feudalism and the Law* (London: Routledge, 1989)

—————, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973)

Bennett, Matthew, 'The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 1-20

Bothwell, J. S., 'Brother of the More Famous Thomas: John Beauchamp of Warwick (d. 1360), a Network of Patronage, and the Pursuit of a Career in the King's Service', *Medieval Prosopography* 24 (2003), 247-66

Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987)

Braasch, Ronald W. III, 'The Skirmish: A Statistical Analysis of Minor Combats during the Hundred Years' War, 1337-1453', *Medieval Military History*, 16 (2018), 123-57

Brown, A. L., *The Governance of Late Medieval England 1272-1461* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989)

Brown, R. Allen, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, 1 (London, 1963)

Burt, Caroline, 'A "Bastard Feudal" Affinity in the Making? The Followings of William and Guy Beauchamp, Earls of Warwick, 1268-1315', *Midland History*, 34 (2009), 156-180

Cam, H. M., 'The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism', *History*, 25 (1940), 216-233

Candy, Christopher, 'A Growing Trust: Edward III and his Household Knights, 1330-1340', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III): Further Considerations*, ed. by Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay, History of Warfare Series 85 (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 49-62

—————, 'The Scottish Wars of Edward III, 1327-1338' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Durham University, 2004)

Carpenter, Christine, 'Bastard Feudalism in Fourteenth-Century Warwickshire', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers* 52 (2016), 1-65

—————, '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. by Steve Boardman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 59-92

—————, 'Beauchamp, William, first Baron Bargavenny (1343-1411)', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR* 140, (1980), 514-32

—————, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994), 340-380

—————, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-99* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

—————, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437-1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Carroll, Michael P., *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1986)

Castor, Helen, *The King, The Crown, The Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power 1399-1461* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Catto, Jeremy, 'The Prayers of the Bohuns', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. by Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009) pp. 112-25

Caudrey, Philip J., *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry in the Age of the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019)

—————, 'War, Chivalry and Regional Society: East Anglia's Warrior Gentry before the Court of Chivalry', *Fourteenth Century England VIII*, ed. by J. S. Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), pp. 119-46

Cherry, Martin, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: The Formation and Disintegration of a Late Medieval Aristocratic Affinity', *Southern History* 1 (1979), 71-97

Chibnall, Marjorie, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I', in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 84-92

Christiansen, Eric, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 1997)

Church, S. D., *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Cokayne, G. E., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 2nd edn. 4 vols. (London: St. Catherine, 1910-16)

Coss, Peter, 'Andrew Ayton, Military Community and the Evolution of the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. by Craig L. Lambert, David Simpkin and Gary P. Baker (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), pp. 31-50

—————, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 125 (1989), 27-64

—————, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: The Multons of Frampton and Their World, 1270-1370* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

—————, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993)

—————, 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation', *TRHS*, 5 (1995), 155-178

- , *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- , Reply', *P&P*, 131 (1991), 190-203
- Crouch, David, *Tournament* (London, 2005)
- , *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 2002)
- Crouch, David and D. A. Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *P&P*, 131 (1991)
- Cushway, Graham, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011)
- Curry, Anne, *The Hundred Years' War 1337-1453* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002)
- DeVries, Kelly, 'God, Leadership, Flemings and Archery: Contemporary Perceptions of Victory and Defeat at the Battle of Sluys, 1340', *American Neptune*, 55 (1995), 223-42
- , *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996)
- Denholm-Young, Noel, *Seignorial Administration in England* (London: Frank Cass, 1963)
- Dodd, Gwilym, 'County and Community in Medieval England', *EHR*, 134 (2019), 777-820
- Ehlers, Axel, 'The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered', *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 21-44
- Fletcher, Richard, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)
- Fortescue, John, *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called the Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885)
- Fowler, Kenneth, 'Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster', 2 vols. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1961)
- , *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster* (London: Elek, 1969)
- Franke, Daniel, 'Beyond the Medieval Military Revolution: Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and the Wars of England 1298-1369' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Rochester, 2014)
- , '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 W. Kaeuper*, ed. by C. M. Nakashian and Dan Franke (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 62-84
- Friel, Ian, 'Winds of Change? Ships and the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 183-194

Gaite, Pierre, 'Exercises in Arms: The Physical and Mental Combat Training of Men-at-Arms in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 16 (2018), 99-122

Gies, Joseph and Frances Gies, *Life in a Medieval Castle* (London: Abelard, 1975)

Given-Wilson, Christopher, 'Late Medieval England, 1215-1485', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 102-136

—————, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1987)

—————, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016)

—————, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS* 37 (1987), 87-102

—————, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986)

—————, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists, 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography*, 12 (1991), 35-93

Gorski, Richard, *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003)

—————, 'Justices and Injustice? England's Local Officials in the Later Middle Ages', in *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c. 1066-c. 1600*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 55-74

Gravett, Christopher, *The Knight at Tournament* (Oxford: Osprey, 1988)

Green, David, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince', 2 vols. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1998)

—————, 'The Household of Edward the Black Prince: Complement and Characteristics', *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Christopher M. Woolgar (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2018), pp. 355-71

—————, 'The Military Personnel of Edward the Black Prince', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 133-52

—————, 'Politics and Service with Edward the Black Prince', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by J. S. Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 53-68

—————, 'The Secular Orders: Chivalry in the Service of the State', in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. by Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 57-68

Gribit, Nicholas, *Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345-46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016)

Guard, Timothy, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013)

Gundy, Alison, *Richard II and the Rebel Earl* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Güttner-Sporzyński, Darius von, 'Northern Crusades: Between Holy War and Mission', *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 144-162

Hamilton, J. S., *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004)

—————, 'Edward III and the "New Nobility": Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth-Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1129-33

—————, 'A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 47-72

Hanawalt, Barbara A., *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348* (London: Harvard University Press, 1979)

Hardy, Robert, 'The Longbow', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 161-82

Harris, Gloria, 'Organised Crime in Fourteenth-Century Essex: Hugh de Badewe, Essex Soldier and Gang Member', in *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Christopher Thornton, Jennifer Ward and Neil Wiffin (Hatfield: Essex Publications, 2017), pp. 65-77

Hefferan, Matthew, 'Edward III's Household Knights in War and Peace, 1327-1377' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2017)

—————, 'Edward III's Household Knights and the Crécy Campaign' of 1346', *HR*, 92 (2019), 24-49

Hewitt, Herbert James, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966)

Hicks, Michael, *Bastard Feudalism* (London: Longman, 1995)

*Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272-148*, ed. by Ronald H. Fritze and William Baxter Robinson, (Westport: Greenwood, 2002)

*A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 5*, ed. by L. F. Salzman (London: Victoria County History, 1949), *British History Online*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol5>

*A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 6*, ed. by L. F. Salzman (London: Victoria County History, 1951), *British History Online*, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol6>

Holmes, George, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957)

Hooper, Nicholas, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 1-16

Horrox, Rosemary, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Hoskins, Peter, *In the Steps of the Black Prince: The Road to Poitiers, 1355-1356* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011)

Housley, Norman, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996)

Hughes, Michael, 'The Fourteenth-Century Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 121-43

Ingamells, Ruth, 'The Household Knights of Edward I' (unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 1992)

Jewell, Helen M., *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972)

Jones, Michael and Simon Walker, 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War 1278-1476', *Camden Fifth Series*, 32 (1994), 1-190

Jones, Robert W., *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010)

Jotischky, Andrew, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2017)

Kaeuper, Richard, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999)

—————, 'Law and order in fourteenth-century England: the evidence of special commissions of oyer and terminer', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 54:4 (1979), 734-784

Keen, Maurice, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2005)

—————, 'Chivalry', in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 35-49

—————, *England in the Late Middle Ages: A Political History*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004)

—————, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (London: Penguin, 1990)

—————, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 43-59. See also Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995)

King, Andy, 'The Death of Edward II Revisited', in *Fourteenth Century England XIV*, ed. by Gwilym Dodd and James Bothwell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), pp. 1-22

—————, "'Pur Salvation du Roiaume": Military Service and Obligation in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 13-32

—————, 'Sir Henry Beaumont and his Retainers: The Dynamics of a Lord's Military Retinues and Affinity in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. G. P. Baker, C. L. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 77-104

Lewis, N. B., 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth-Century England', *TRHS*, 27 (1945), 29-39

Lightfoot, Kenneth W. B., 'The Household Knights of Henry III, 1216-1236' (unpublished PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2006)

Livingstone, Marilyn and Morgen Witzel, *The Road to Crécy: The English Invasion of France, 1346* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005)

Long, C. E., 'Roll of the Arms of the Knights at the Tournament at Dunstable', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* 4 (1837), 389-95

Maddicott, J. R., 'Law and Lordship: Royal justices as retainers in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England', *Past and Present Supplement* 4 (1978)

—————, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970)

Magee, James, 'Sir William Elmham and the Recruitment for Henry Despenser's Crusade of 1383', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999), 181-190

Marshall, Alison, 'An Early Fourteenth Century Affinity: The Earl of Norfolk and His Followers', *Fourteenth-Century England V*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 1-12

McFarlane, K. B., 'Bastard Feudalism', *BIHR*, 20 (1945), 161-180

—————, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: the Ford lectures for 1953 and related studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)

McInnes, Iain, 'To be Annexed Forever to the English Crown: The English Occupation of Southern Scotland, c.1334-1337', in *England and Scotland at War*, ed. by Andy King and David Simpkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 183-201

Mertes, Kate, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988)

Mitchell, Russell, 'The Longbow-Crossbow Shootout at Crécy (1346): Has the "Rate of Fire Commonplace" Been Overrated?' in *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas*, ed. by L. J. Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 213-232

Morillo, Stephen, 'Expecting Cowardice: Medieval Battle Tactics Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 4 (2006), 65-73

—————, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997)

Morris, J. E., *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Medieval Military History, Based on Original Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901)

Muhlberger, Steven, *Deeds of Arms: Formal Combats in the Late Fourteenth Century* (Highland Village, 2005)

—————, *Jousts and Tournaments: Charny and the Rules for Chivalric Sport* (Union City: Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002)

Murray, Alan V., 'The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 41 (2010), 413-429

Musson, Anthony, *Public Order and Law Enforcement: The Local Administration of Criminal Justice, 1294-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996)

—————, 'Second "English Justinian" or Pragmatic Opportunist? A Re-Examination of the Legal Legislation of Edward III's Reign', in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. by James Bothwell (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 69-88

Musson, Anthony and W. M. Ormrod, *Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999)

Myers, Alec Reginald, *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959)

Nicolas, Nicholas Harris, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. By Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas G.C.M.G., addressed to Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President; illustrated by the Accounts of the Great Wardrobe of King Edward the Third, from the 29th September 1344 to the 1st of August 1345; and again from the 21st December 1345 to the 31st January 1349', *Archaeologia*, 31 (1846), 1-163

O'Callaghan, *The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle of the Strait*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011)

—————, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)

Orme, Nicholas, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984)

Ormrod, W. M., 'Bohun, William de, first earl of Northampton (c.1312-1360)', *ODNB* (online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, 'Clinton, William, earl of Huntingdon (d. 1354), soldier and magnate', *ODNB* (online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, *Edward III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)

—————, 'Edward III and the Recovery of Royal Authority in England, 1340-60', *History*, 72 (1987), 4-19

—————, 'Henry of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], first duke of Lancaster (c.1310-1361)', *ODNB* (online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995)

—————, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990)

Parker, Jennifer Mary, 'Patronage and Service: The Careers of William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk and William Bohun, earl of Northampton' (unpublished Master's thesis, Durham University, 1985)

Prestwich, J. O., 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 92-127

Prestwich, Michael, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996)

—————, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988)

—————, 'The Enterprise of War', in *A Social History of England: 1200-1500*, ed. By Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 74-90

—————, 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: The Knight at War', *TRHS*, 5 (1995), 201-20

—————, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 2003)

—————, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972)

—————, 'The Unreliability of Royal Household Knights in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. by Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 1-12

Prince, A. E., 'The Indenture System under Edward III', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), 283-98

Ramos, Luis García-Guijarro, 'Christian Expansion in Medieval Iberia: Reconquista or Crusade?', in *The Crusader World*, ed. by Adrian J. Boas (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 163-178

Raven, Matthew, 'Diplomacy, Counsel and the Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England: The Diplomatic Service of Edward III's Earls, 1337-60', *JMH*, 47 (2021), 62-88

—————, 'The Earls of Edward III and the Polity: The Earls of Arundel and Northampton in the Localities, 1330-60', *HR*, 92 (2019), 680-704

Rawcliffe, Carole, 'Stafford, Ralph, first earl of Stafford (1301-1372), soldier and magnate', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

Robson, J. A., 'The Catalan Fleet and Moorish Sea-Power (1337-1344)', *EHR*, 74 (1959), 386-408

Rodger, Nicholas, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (London: Penguin, 2004)

Rodríguez-Velasco, Jesús D., *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile*, trans. by Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

Rogers, Alan, 'The Royal Household of Henry IV' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1966)

Rogers, Clifford J., 'The Development of the Longbow in Late Medieval England and "technological determinism"', *JMH*, 37 (2011), 321-41

—————, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. by Clifford Rogers (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 265-83

—————, 'The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War', *Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 241-78

—————, *Soldiers' Lives Through History: The Middle Ages* (London, 2007)

—————, 'Tactics and the Face of Battle', in *European Warfare, 1350-1750*, ed. by Frank Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 203-35

—————, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000)

Rose, Susan, *England's Medieval Navy 1066-1509: Ships, Men & Warfare* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2013)

—————, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (London: Routledge, 2002)

—————, 'Reportage, Representation and Reality: The Extent to which Chronicle Accounts and Contemporary Illustrations of can be relied upon when discussing Tactics used in Medieval Galley Warfare', in *Boats, Ships and Shipyards: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of Boat and Ship Archaeology, Venice 2000*, ed. by Carlo Beltrame (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), pp. 228-32

Ross, James, 'The English Aristocracy and Mesne Feudalism in the Late Middle Ages', *HER*, 133 (2018), 1027-59

Rubin, Miri, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009)

Saul, Nigel, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

—————, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981)

Schofield, Phillipp, 'Lordship and the Peasant Economy, c. 1200 – c.1400', in *P&P*, 195 (2013), 53-68

Sherborne, J. W., 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *EHR*, 79 (1964), 718-46

Simpkin, David, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008)

—————, 'The Organisation of Chivalric Society', in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. by Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 39-56

Sinclair, Alexandra, 'The Beauchamp Earls of Warwick in the Later Middle Ages', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics and Social Science, 1986)

Somerville, Robert, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster. Volume 1, 1265-1603* (London: Duchy of Lancaster, 1953)

Spencer, Andrew, 'The Comital Military Retinue in the Reign of Edward I', *HR*, 83 (2010), 46-59

—————, *Nobility and Kingship in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

St John, Graham, 'War, the Church, and English Men-at-Arms', *Fourteenth-Century England*, 6 (2010), 73-94

Stansfield, M. M. N., 'Holland, Thomas, earl of Kent (c.1315-1360)', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

Stanton, Charles, *Medieval Maritime Warfare 1066-1509* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2015)

Stubbs, William, *The Constitutional History of England, and its Origin and Development* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875)

Sumption, Jonathan, *The Hundred Years War Volume 1: Trial by Battle*, 2nd edn. (London: Faber and Faber, 2011)

Tebbit, Alistair, 'Household Knights and Military Service under the Direction of Edward II', in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, ed. by Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 76-96

—————, *The Household Knights of Edward II* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2006)

Thompson, A. H., *The history of the hospital and new college of the annunciation of Saint Mary in the Newarke, Leicester* (Leicester: Leicester Archaeological Society, 1937)

Tout, T. F., *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920-33)

Tuck, Anthony, 'Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh earl of Warwick (1313/14-1369), soldier and magnate', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

Vale, Juliet, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982)

Vale, Malcolm, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Verbruggen, Jan, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn., trans. by Sumner Willard and R. W. Southern (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997)

Wagner, John A., *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* (London, 2006)

Walker, Simon, 'Communities of the County in Late Medieval England', in *Political Culture in Late Medieval England: Essays by Simon Walker*, ed. M. J. Braddick (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) pp. 68-80

—————, 'Grey, John, third Baron Grey of Codnor (1305x11?-1392)', *ODNB* (Online edn.: Oxford, 2005), available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

—————, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990)

—————, 'Order and Law', in *A Social History of Medieval England, 1200-1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp. 91-112

Ward, Matthew, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016)

Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976)

Warner, Philip, *The Medieval Castle: Life in a Fortress in Peace and War* (London: Penguin, 2001)

Waugh, Scott L., *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

—————, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, 1988)

—————, 'Tenure to Contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth-Century England', *EHR*, 101 (1986), 811-39

—————, 'The Third Century of English Feudalism', *Thirteenth Century England VII*, ed. by M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 47-60

Whetham, David, 'The English Longbow: A Revolution in Technology?' in *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas*, ed. by L. J. Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 213-232

Wilson, Ian, *The Book of Geoffroi de Charny: With the Livre Charny*, ed. and trans. by Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2021)

Woolgar, Christopher, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)

Wright, Nicholas, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998)

Wrottesley, George, *Crecy and Calais: From the original records in the Public Record Office* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1898)

