

# The service patterns and social-economic status of English archers, 1367-1417: The evidence of the muster rolls and poll tax returns

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## Abstract

This thesis is a study of the men who served as archers in the armies of the English kings between 1367 and 1417. However, the focus is not the archers in their military capacity, but the motivations behind their service and their position in late medieval English society.

Increasing usage of indentures, recorded in muster rolls, to recruit soldiers for English armies in this period provide historians with rich resources for the study of the military community. Previously this has focused on those of higher socio-economic backgrounds, serving mostly as men-at-arms, and not on those who served as archers. However by combining this muster roll data with information on residency, wealth, and occupations from the poll tax returns of 1377, 1379, and 1381 in a relational database the backgrounds and service links of the archers could be explored.

There is a clearly identifiable group of archers whose service was not significantly motivated by political or social obligations and represents a shift towards military service as a 'free market', driven by economic considerations. This was apparent in the connections between archers and captains and in the patterns of service they followed, with the more professional archers ranging more widely in both the location and type of military service they performed. Despite this, it is evident that the archers were embedded within society and did not differ greatly in terms of occupation or wealth from their non-military peers. The difference between the careerist and 'amateur' archers was more subtle, with 'amateur' archers appearing in a wider range of economic backgrounds.



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## Author's declaration

I, **Samuel John Gibbs**, confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Signed: .....

Date: .....



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# Chapter 1: Introduction: Historiography, sources, and method

## 1.1 Introduction

The Hundred Years War, in particular the part played by the English military, is a popular subject. The enduring legacy of the English victories at Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt has ensured that this period continues to be of great fascination. The English archers who fought in these battles have attracted a great deal of interest and are seen as a personification of the almost legendary English yeoman; strong, sturdy, honest, trustworthy and expert in archery. This has led to some rather extravagant appraisals of the English archers from both contemporary and modern writers. The extract below, written by Thomas Walsingham in his account of 'Despenser's Crusade' of 1383 is an example of such opinions;

it was our archers who on that day deserved praise and glory. For they sent such a rain of flying arrows upon the enemy that at the end of it no more armed warriors were still on their feet than if the very arrows had been piercing bare bodies. Such was the density of the flying arrows that the sky grew dark as if from a black cloud, and such was the frequency with which they were loosed that the enemy dare not lift up their faces.<sup>1</sup>

Mid-twentieth-century views can be found that are equally admiring;

at some time in their history nearly every race on earth has used bow and arrow, but nowhere did they reach the pitch of skill and perfection as in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries... The triple victories of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt stoked up fires of national consciousness to forge a pride that has never left these shores.<sup>2</sup>

Assessments of the role archers played in English victories have been influenced by generations of propaganda, which have had a lasting effect on English culture, most notably through the portrayal of English arms seen in Shakespeare's plays. Perhaps more specific to the individual archer is Chaucer's depiction of the Yeoman carrying;

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*, J. G. Clark (ed., intro. and notes), D. Preest (trans.) (Woodbridge, 2005) p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Featherstone, *The Bowmen of England* (Barnsley, 1968), p. 9.

A sheef of pecok arwes, bright and kene,  
Under his belt bar ful thriftily  
(Wel koude he dresse his takel yemanly;  
His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe),  
And in his hand he baar a mighty bowe...  
Upon his arm he baar a gay bracer,  
And by his syde a swerd and bokeler,  
And on that oother syde a gay daggere<sup>3</sup>

The description of the Yeoman has been linked to a variety of roles and duties including that of lawman and retainer. However, it is probable that he also represented a soldier and that the literary portrait encompassed a 'consummate bowman, well equipped to provide service in both peace and war.'<sup>4</sup> However, despite this the men themselves remain somewhat shadowy figures. As a corps of men, their exploits, technology and tactics have been extensively debated, yet as individuals they are often unknown and unidentified.

So who were the men that served as archers and provided the key to English victories throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? What did they do outside of their military service? There was no standing army, so civilian employment must have been a necessity. What was the nature of their military service? Were they the 'victims' of a system which exploited formal and informal obligations of tenants to their social superiors? Or were they military professionals and careerists who saw service as an opportunity for gaining wealth or social status? Addressing these questions is the main purpose of this research. This chapter will cover three crucial elements of the project: historiography; sources; and method. These three intersecting elements provide the background to the thesis.

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<sup>3</sup> Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd Edition (Oxford, 1988), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth J. Thompson, 'Chaucer's Warrior Bowman: The Roles and Equipment of the Knight's Yeoman', *The Chaucer Review* 40 (2006), p. 387.

## **1.2 Historiography**

The first area for discussion is the historiography of the subject. The two main, albeit occasionally overlapping, themes of this research are the military and socio-economic strands. This overlap can be seen clearly if the context and style of warfare in the Hundred Years War is considered. Military activity required large amounts of money to fund. For the English Crown in the later fourteenth century this meant obtaining grants of taxation from parliament. Although the Crown could draw on other resources and prerogatives to raise funds, obtaining the consent of the realm, including the Church, nobility, and gentry, was crucial if government was to be effective. Military funding was dependant on the economic realities of Crown finance. In turn the Crown's resources were somewhat dependant on the social structures of the period which themselves had developed as a military necessity to enable the king to field armies. However for clarity this chapter will consider the historiography for each theme in turn before bringing them together to provide a comprehensive overview of the state of existing research.

Perhaps the most obvious theme is the military aspect of this investigation. This is a topic with a long historiographical tradition dating back to the sixteenth century, although the modern historiography dates from the later 1800s. Military history has long been of interest to many historians and there is a rich seam of written works to be analysed relating to campaigning, fighting, and military service and obligation. The second thread of literature connected to this thesis is the socio-economic history of England and its interactions with the rest of Britain and Europe, more specifically taxation, especially the poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, and the economic and social structures of different regions and counties across England. Also included in this theme is the historiography of personal affinities and both formal and informal service obligation, which will include a brief discussion of the concept of feudalism.

The first part of the military historiography to be addressed is the period between 1369 and 1391. This period has been somewhat neglected and it has not, until relatively recently, received the same level of interest that the earlier and later parts of the Hundred Years War had done. Though it lacks great battles such as Crécy and

Agincourt that the Hundred Years War is renowned for, it was by no means a period of tranquillity. When compared to the more famous Edwardian phase of the Hundred Years War, between 1337 and 1360, the fighting conducted in the later fourteenth century, mostly in the reign of Richard II, was 'unremitting' with only four years of truce out of twenty.<sup>5</sup> The unpopularity of Richard II and the lack of English military success are major factors in this, perhaps understandable, omission.<sup>6</sup> After all, it is worth noting that victories are usually more popular than failure! An example of this historiographical omission is aptly demonstrated in Charles Oman's *A History of the Art of War*, in which he dedicates only seven pages to these twenty years of history, with sixty-seven pages for the proceeding thirty.<sup>7</sup> Even more recent works, such as Clifford Rogers' *War Cruel and Sharp*, have focused on the successful periods of English military victories.<sup>8</sup> There has, however, been something of a revival of general scholarly interest in this period; prime examples of this include Chris Given-Wilson's work on the royal household in the period 1360 to 1413 as well as Nigel Saul's monograph on Richard II and his reign.<sup>9</sup>

The military historiography of the Hundred Years War has undergone a renaissance during the twentieth century, with new work into military service, obligation and the military community making enlightening discoveries, not only about the conduct of war but the people involved as well. Prior to the 1930s and 40s much of the scholarship was confined to often weighty and comprehensive narratives with little detailed analysis. This was due to a reliance on chronicle accounts, rather than documentary sources, which, combined with the limitations of technology, prevented meaningful data analysis from being attempted. A narrower field of historiography also

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<sup>5</sup> John Joseph Norman Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Before Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), there were only two other biographies of the king written in the 20th century, Anthony Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), which was roundly criticised and Bryan Bevan, *King Richard II* (London, 1990). See G.B. Stow, 'Review of Saul N., *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997)', *Speculum* 74 (1999), pp. 493-496. For the Hundred Years War up to 1369 see Jonathon Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990) and Jonathon Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999). Also Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (London, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*

<sup>9</sup> Saul, *Richard II* and Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (New Haven, 1986). The interest in the military history of this period has also been studied in more depth, for example Adrian Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004). However, the military historiography is discussed in greater detail below.

limited the scope of in depth research in this field. That said, narratives are important foundations in historical study as they provide the framework upon which more complex and analytical hypotheses can rest. Even contemporary historians will write a narrative if the extant historiography calls for it and a recent paper by Guilhem Pepin 'The French Offensives of 1404-1407 against Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine' is an example of this. Pepin admits that 'the building of a full chronology of these eventful years [1404-1407] has not allowed much focus on the men who were behind the Anglo-Gascon resistance to the French offensives.'<sup>10</sup> However, as the editors point out, this paper sheds light on a 'topic which has hitherto escaped detailed scrutiny'.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the elementary importance of these narratives, they nonetheless limit our understanding of the past, an issue further exacerbated by the historiographical focus on large battles and neglect of the much more common and representative skirmishes, sieges, naval actions and chevauchées. Analysis of the structure of the military community and the nature of individuals' service were also lacking.

There was a watershed moment in this field in the 1930s with the publication of three papers by A. E. Prince on the organisation of English armies in the reign of Edward III.<sup>12</sup> In these papers Prince formalises a trend that had seen historians, notably Sir James Ramsey, John Morris, and T. F. Tout, put more emphasis on the use of the available records, rather than relying on the chronicle evidence, which was frequently inaccurate.<sup>13</sup> This new approach was used, for example, to investigate the neglected fights between Crécy and Poitiers, which are not covered by the chroniclers, possibly as they were too common and therefore unremarkable and unworthy of coverage.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately this leaves the modern historian without a contemporary view of a

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<sup>10</sup> Guilhem Pepin, 'The French Offensives of 1404-1407 Against Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 9 (2011), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Anne Curry and Adrian Bell, 'Preface', *Journal of Medieval Military History* (2011), p. vii.

<sup>12</sup> A. E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *English Historical Review* 46 (July 1931), pp. 353-71, and: A. E. Prince, 'The Indenture System Under Edward III', in: J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (eds.), *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 283-97, and: A. E. Prince, 'The Payment of Army Wages in Edward III's Reign', *Speculum* 19 (1944), pp. 137-60.

<sup>13</sup> J. H. Ramsay, 'Chroniclers' Estimates of Numbers and Official Records', *English Historical Review* 18 (1903), p. 625.

<sup>14</sup> T. F. Tout, 'Some Neglected Fights between Crécy and Poitiers', *English Historical Review* 20 (1905), pp. 726-30.

military engagement outside of the large scale 'headline' battles. Prince demonstrates how the use of such records can be used to ascertain or approximate the numbers and types of soldiers fighting for the Crown, by using financial records such as those kept by the Keeper of the Wardrobe, Richard Ferriby, from July 1334 to August 1337. These records detail payments made by the King's Household for the winter campaign of 1334-35, and provide a detailed enumeration of the retinues involved in the campaign.<sup>15</sup> Prince also discusses the methods of recruitment and terms of service using previously neglected documentation provided by the indentures, and deals comprehensively with these documents, examining their form, function, and place as a 'potent factor in the passing of the feudal system and wardrobe war-financing'.<sup>16</sup>

There are some omissions in Prince's studies, in both research and theoretical terms. J. W. Sherborne highlighted these in his work in the 1960s, noting that although Prince had explored the character of the indenture system and the strength of Edward III's armies, he had not considered the retinues themselves in much depth.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Sherborne suggested that although Prince was of the opinion that little information had survived from the early 1360s to the end of Edward's reign, more had survived than Prince believed.<sup>18</sup> By making use of the Exchequer records, including muster and retinue rolls, he was able to show that it was possible to use records to investigate the English military in the 1360s and '70s in some detail, showing the breakdown of individual retinues for many campaigns in the period and naming the captains that led them. Sherborne also begins to demonstrate that the basis of military service was not necessarily obligation, 'for a few men the war occupied a great deal of their time, but for many it was only an occasional occupation, limited perhaps to one or two campaigns'.<sup>19</sup> He concludes that soldiers' military service was rarely constrained by obligation or tradition and that they had the opportunity to volunteer under freely negotiated contracts.<sup>20</sup> The value of his method was shown a few years later when Sherborne investigated the naval side of the conflict. By accessing the unpublished

<sup>15</sup> Prince, 'Strength of English Armies', p. 354.

<sup>16</sup> Prince, 'Payment of Army Wages', p. 160.

<sup>17</sup> J. W. Sherbourne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *English Historical Review* 79 (October 1964), p. 718.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 718.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 741.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 746.

records he was able to provide a detailed insight into the structure and numbers of those who comprised the retinues that fought in the war at sea. Importantly this tested the method on a connected topic which had been largely neglected by academia in favour of the war on land.<sup>21</sup>

The late twentieth century saw further innovations in this field of research. Michael Prestwich used very early muster rolls from the 1220s to look at continuity of service in the royal military household.<sup>22</sup> Of more direct relevance is the work by Andrew Ayton and Anne Curry who have both developed the record based method discussed above, refining it to suit their own particular research interests, Ayton on the early Hundred Years War, with Curry focusing on the fifteenth century. Ayton's work on the military community is of significant importance. It covers the period that saw the formalisation and increase of the professionalism of English armies, especially in the government mechanisms that allowed sustained fighting against a larger and wealthier neighbour, France, and on more than one front, as well as increasing the opportunity for individuals to undertake military careers. Using nominal record linkage, where names of individuals are matched across different yet complementary sources, to analyse muster rolls, letters of protection and *restauro equorum* accounts, among others, Ayton was able to build up career profiles of soldiers and demonstrate that service was rendered by gentry as part of their public duty alongside their involvement in local governance.<sup>23</sup> Ayton also deals with another issue which had not been previously discussed in great depth — the reliability of the records. He demonstrates different ways in which a variety of records can be used to support each other, such as comparing extant muster rolls with the enrolled protections and attorneys, and that they can be used to study the rank and file of English armies. Although Ayton is cautious in his approach and focuses on those serving as men-at-arms, he is able to demonstrate that the use of record sources can reliably identify the careers of

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<sup>21</sup> J. W. Sherbourne, 'The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', *Past & Present* (July 1967), p. 163.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (London, 1996), p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 156-69.

soldiers.<sup>24</sup> He expands this approach in his article on 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England'.<sup>25</sup> This article takes the analysis of service and recruitment further, especially concerning soldiers of gentry rank. Here Ayton makes a strong case for the existence of the 'gentleman military careerist'<sup>26</sup>, highlighting the changes that appeared in the fourteenth century, namely that there was a break away from the traditional focus of military service with a regional lord or supra-regional magnate, instead an increasingly flexible market arose with the gentry associating freely with sub-genteel professionals.<sup>27</sup> However, it must be noted that the majority of soldiers from gentry backgrounds did not wholly abandon the more traditional approach to military service, instead interspersing royal service with wider ranging opportunities for a military career. This supports the theory of an increasing level of military professionalism through the late fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

Anne Curry's work is contemporary to Ayton's but focuses on the fifteenth century, including the Agincourt campaign and the occupation of Normandy, rather than the fourteenth. Curry also highlights the issues that arise from the use of records noting that;

although extensive, the sources are not without their problems. Only when account books exist can we gain something approaching a comprehensive picture of the military position in English-held territories. Such books are

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<sup>24</sup> Andrew Ayton, 'Edward III and the English Aristocracy at the beginning of the Hundred Years War', in: Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Harlaxton Medieval Studies* (Stamford, 1998), p. 206. In this paper Ayton uses the example of Norwich's 1337 retinue to Gascony to demonstrate how men can be traced. He identifies up to a dozen men who were veterans of the Scottish wars, and a few who had fought in the War of St Sardos. He also asserts that the actual total must have been higher than that.

<sup>25</sup> Andrew Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England', in: Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, Adam Chapman, Andy King, and David Simpkin (eds.), *A Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> Ayton makes use of the term 'socially embedded' to describe service undertaken in a more traditional, 'feudal' or 'bastard feudal' manner, with the link to an existing lord through tenancy or land-holding one of the motivators of military service. However, this thesis employs this term in a different manner, following Stephen Morillo's 'Typology of Military Service' discussed below. See Stephen Morillo, 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia: Towards a Cross-cultural Typology of Military Service', in: John France (ed.), *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008).

thin on the ground, but we are fortunate that those which survive for the 1420s happen to be for years when there were key campaigns.<sup>29</sup>

She also demonstrates how the nominal evidence from the records can be used to investigate the military community. In her monograph, *Agincourt: A New History*, Curry provides a comprehensive analysis of a campaign and a complete transcribed list of the men-at-arms and archers known to have served in the English army, totalling 6,538 names.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly this book also draws heavily on the available chronicle evidence alongside the documentary records. Although the majority of other texts on the Hundred Years War will reference some of the chronicles at some point, Curry's integration of the chronicles and records strengthens the evidentiary value of both.

Adrian Bell's work on two well documented naval expeditions of 1387 and 1388 utilises these foundations and methods to provide a detailed overview of the military community connected with these two expeditions. The author acknowledges his debt to past historiography, relying on previous work on military organisation, and does not cover the naval personnel, for whom no muster rolls survive. However this in depth study shows exactly how an investigation of records such as muster rolls and protections can reveal very detailed pictures of English military activity and the military community. Bell's research has demonstrated that;

careful examination of the surviving sources... together with the analysis made available by the computer database, can extend the knowledge of the men who served in the expeditions of the earl of Arundel. The great bulk of the soldiers, the ordinary esquires and archers... have remained unnamed and uncharacterised. We have shown that by gathering together the source materials...portraits can be drawn to illustrate the careers of the lives of these previously neglected members of the English military community.<sup>31</sup>

Another work concerning military service which is of great relevance to this thesis is Stephen Morillo's paper 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia: Towards a Cross-cultural Typology of Military Service'. Although not directly discussing patterns of service in the

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<sup>29</sup> Anne Curry, 'The Organisation of Field Armies in Lancastrian Normandy', in: Matthew Strickland (ed.), *Harlaxton Medieval Studies* (Stamford, 1998), p. 207.

<sup>30</sup> Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 282-300.

<sup>31</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 225.

English military in the fourteenth century, the paper does consider how different types of military service can be defined. Importantly, he develops a typology which distinguishes between the varieties of paid and unpaid military service, employing a limited and consistent set of variables to ensure that this model can be applied cross-culturally.<sup>32</sup> This is a key issue when considering the professionalisation of the English soldiers, as we need to consider the variations between different types of service. For example, what is the difference between a contract soldier in the style of the late fourteenth century English armies and a mercenary? Morillo identifies some of his own previous work where, although valid for the narrow context of Anglo-Norman warfare he was discussing, he equated 'mercenary' with 'paid professional', and acknowledges that this does not usefully separate different types of troops with different employee to employer relations.<sup>33</sup> To overcome this issue Morillo identifies two continuums that, when positioned on intersecting axes, produce a distribution field in which any military service can be plotted. The first axis considers a soldier's service in terms of its embeddedness within the contemporary social fabric.

The terms of service of embedded soldiers arise out of the social structure of their society and reflect their social roles and status; the terms of service of unembedded soldiers ignore social relationships or even consciously set the soldiers apart from society in real and symbolic ways. The crucial distinction to be understood here is that a group of soldiers may be deeply embedded in the political structures of the state without being embedded in the social networks of the society the state governs.<sup>34</sup>

With this definition in mind, it might be expected that the majority of English fourteenth century service would have an element of social embeddedness. This is true of all social ranks in England due to the effects of legislation such as the 1285 Statute of Winchester which governed the duty of all men of the kingdom to equip themselves in readiness for military service, which could be considered a 'militia' in Morillo's model. Outside of this universal obligation, the land owning layers of society where intrinsically linked through their fiefs to military service. Feudalism and fiefs in

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<sup>32</sup> Morillo, 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia', p. 243.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p.245.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p.247.

the context of this thesis will be discussed in more detail below. However, fief-holding was socially embedded, both in terms of the elite social bonds formed and the local social and legal power exercised over the peasantry.<sup>35</sup>

The second axis considers the range of service motivations, from the exercising of state power or the authority that came from landholding and social status, to terms of service determined by the choices available to soldiers in a free market economy.

[Political terms of service] will tend to be instantiated in... formal state mechanisms and will often, *vis-à-vis* individual service, have a more or less compulsory nature... [they] also include arrangements in which obligations arising from social status gain the force of customary law... [and] of elite politics, as was the case for most military aristocracies.<sup>36</sup>

In contrast, economic service will usually mean mutually binding contracts, entered into voluntarily, whether as an individual or as a group. Revisiting the example mentioned previously, it is possible to suggest that the obligations of the Statute of Winchester were political in nature, the result of direct state legislation. This does not discount the possibility of reimbursement for service or other expenses, but the legal obligations enshrined in the Statute mean that this service was political, as well as socially embedded.<sup>37</sup> In comparison, the predominant form of military service in the later fourteenth century, the indenture, was highly economically driven as the principal motivation was wages agreed in a mutually binding contract not directly determined by political considerations.

Figure 1.1 below is a graphical representation of the axes proposed by Morillo. The examples discussed above can be seen in the 'Social' quadrant as socially embedded, political service. In the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the vast bulk of English military service was based around indentures, which can be seen in the socially embedded, economic, 'Stipendiary' quadrant, with 'professionals' appearing in the centre of the diagram. The triangle formed by 'militia', 'indenture', and 'professional' is the landscape within the typology in which the English archers should appear.

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<sup>35</sup> Morillo, 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia', p. 250.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 248.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 250.

Using Morillo's typology as a hypothetical model for the late fourteenth century English military provides a useful framework in which to discuss military service. The exact divide between political and economic terms of service is difficult to determine, especially as non-economic motivations for service can be impossible to identify for individual archers. Furthermore it is already apparent that all indenture service was at least partially motivated by economic considerations as this form of contract based recruitment placed finance at the heart of the official relationship between retinue captain and soldier. However, this thesis will still consider the extent of this economic determination of the terms of service by investigating the links between captains and archers and whether their service was influenced by the impact of local lordship stemming from a recruiting captain's landholdings.

Morillo's other axis, considering the level of social embeddedness demonstrated by different types of soldier, can also be used to frame the investigation into the archers' position in society. It would be expected that the bulk of soldiers serving in the English armies would have been deeply rooted in the society that produced them, and therefore socially embedded. It is likely that the level of embeddedness varied greatly between individual soldiers, and that some archers could be considered more mercenary than others, but the majority would undertake military service in a socially embedded fashion. Changes in the level of embeddedness were limited by the lack of permanent garrison or standing armies that constrained the opportunities for military service. This limited the scope for the development of a fully professional soldier. The present research will seek to explore whether archers were socially embedded or whether they differed greatly from the 'civilian' population.

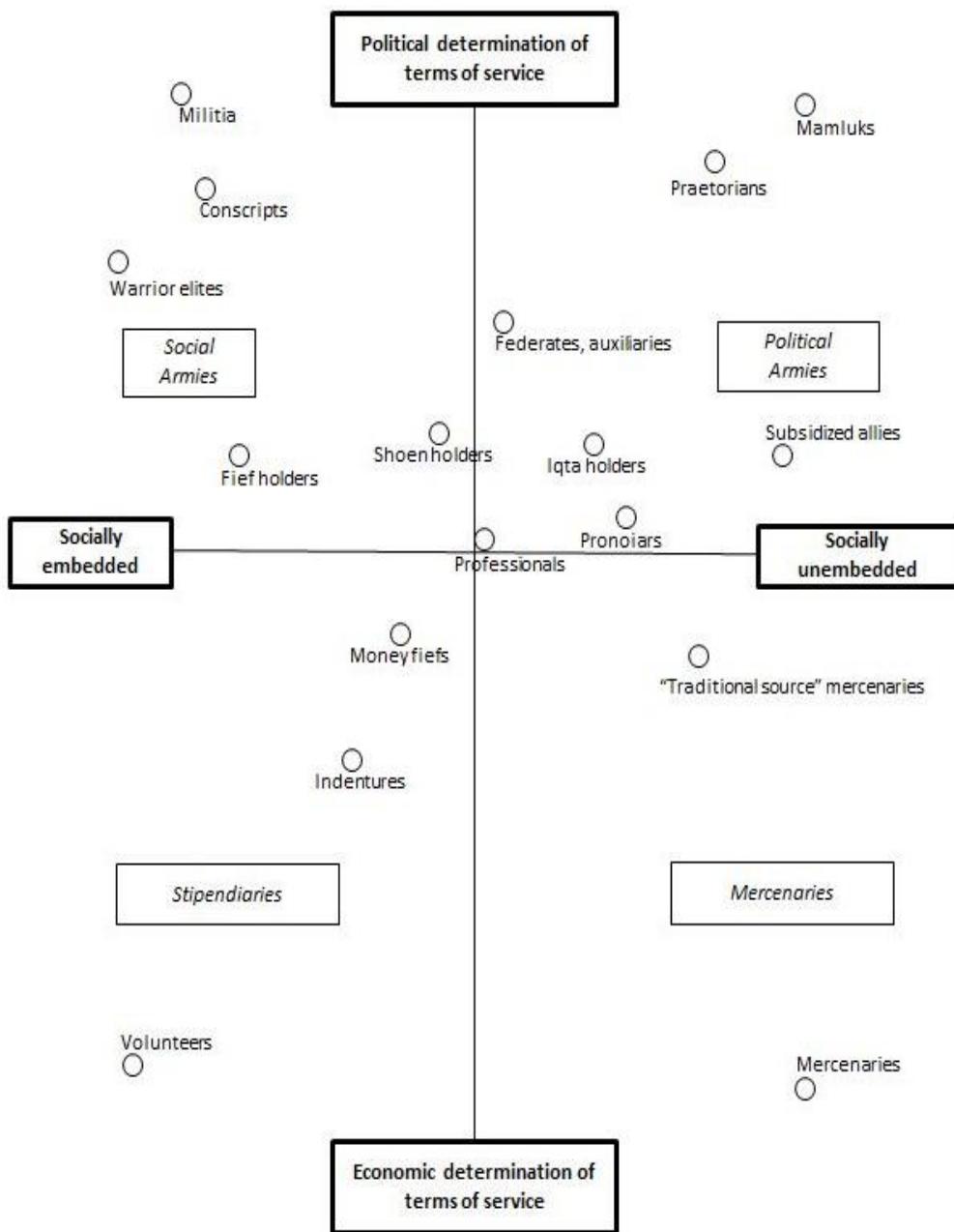
There are several other works which consider medieval archers, often focusing on some aspect of the Hundred Years War. Jim Bradbury's *The Medieval Archer* is the earliest general academic study of the archer and his military uses and purpose. The book takes a broad overview of the topic and covers a long time period, beginning with the battle of Hastings through to the end of military archery in the late sixteenth century when the balance of military power shifted in favour of guns.<sup>38</sup> Bradbury does contemplate on the social position and background of archers, particularly from the

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<sup>38</sup> Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 155.

fourteenth century onwards which, Bradbury suggests, saw the development of military archery as a way up the social ladder for some individuals, and that archers as a whole were becoming increasingly professional.<sup>39</sup>

**Figure 1.1: Morillo's typology of military service**



<sup>39</sup> Bradbury, *Medieval Archer*, pp. 172-75.

<sup>40</sup> Morillo, 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia', p. 260.

More recently there has been several works which have furthered the historiography of archery and archers that Bradbury brought together. Database focused work, embodied most recently with *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* will be discussed below.<sup>41</sup> Bradbury's work was greatly expanded with the publication of *The Great Warbow* by Strickland and Hardy. This book draws heavily on archaeological finds and scientific data, gained from tests of several artefacts including bows, along with the historical background and texts used by previous authors. Strickland and Hardy cover a large range of themes connected to archers, including early examples of bows in warfare, dating back to the Frankish tribes of the sixth century, through to the decline of archery from the late fifteenth century onwards. The authors also make use of archaeological evidence, including a chapter dealing with the Mary Rose dig and the artefacts and materials that has been gathered from the site relating to archers and archery and there is also a great deal of discussion of scientific evidence.<sup>42</sup> This ranges from pathological interpretation of skeletons found on the Mary Rose, which suggested physical differences between men who regularly used bows and their non-archer contemporaries,<sup>43</sup> to detailed trials seeking to establish how effective longbows were as a weapon in medieval warfare, and the effect of trajectory on their impact.<sup>44</sup>

A similar thematic approach was taken by Richard Wadge, whose work has concentrated on the 'world of the medieval English and Welsh archers, and the economic framework that supported archery at the time.'<sup>45</sup> He has drawn together several different strands of research, not just the military uses of archers, their equipment, and recruitment, but also the economic background of military service. This addresses both the economics behind the funding of archers service, but also touches upon the financial motivations which may have prompted men to undertake this service in the first place.

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<sup>41</sup> Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King, David Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Matthew Strickland and Robert Hardy, *The Great Warbow: From Hastings to the Mary Rose* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 3-33.

<sup>43</sup> Strickland and Hardy, *Great Warbow*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 408-14.

<sup>45</sup> Richard Wadge, *Arrowstorm* (Stroud, 2009), p. 9.

Finally, Gary Baker's PhD thesis 'The English Way of War, 1360-1399' challenged the idea that this was a period of martial decline for the English.<sup>46</sup> While his doctoral study takes a broad overview of the English military community his more recent paper is focused in particular on the archers, considering their social and economic backgrounds in some depth, using evidence from the poll tax returns to try and link archers with taxpayers, enabling inference about their origins and wealth. His conclusions suggest that although it is possible to find examples of socially affluent archers, they were a minority, albeit a not insignificant one. 'There was, of course, no such thing as a "typical" mounted archer, but, as arrayed soldiers began to disappear by c. 1360, the weight of evidence does suggest that their place was taken by men who we might consider to be professional... [they] bridged the social gap between the peasant foot-soldier and the genteel man-at-arms.'<sup>47</sup> Although this study does provide a lot of insights into the English archers, its use of the evidence of the poll tax returns is limited. Only three locations recorded in the poll tax returns are used in the study, making the paper a case study, rather than a large scale survey of the whole poll tax return dataset.<sup>48</sup>

Along with these more general studies of archers, there has been a continuation and development of the systematic use of databases, in the same manner as that laid out by Ayton, Bell, and Curry. This has been abetted by an increase in computing power and ease of use, which has allowed greater access to the raw data contained in nominal records, and has opened up a large body of research in military history.

The AHRC funded 'Soldier in Later Medieval England Database' created by Curry and Bell, and published in 2009, is an incredibly useful tool for research, containing over 200,000 service records including 94,962 records from the muster rolls and 25,495 from letters of protection.<sup>49</sup> The sources contained within this database are of crucial importance to this thesis and will be discussed in more detail below. The book, *The*

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<sup>46</sup> Gary Baker, 'The English Way of War, 1360-1399', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull (2011).

<sup>47</sup> Gary Baker, 'Investigating the Socio-Economic Origins of English Archers in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval Military History* XII (June 2014), p. 214.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 193. Baker has used Muston in Fratland hundred, Leicestershire; Horsforth in Skyrack wapentake, West Yorkshire; and Dipford in the Hull hundred of Somerset. He states that this provides 102 male names, however there are in fact 114.

<sup>49</sup> Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, David Simpkin, Andy King, and Adam Chapman, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database* <<http://www.medievallsoldier.org/>> (accessed 30 September, 2009).

*Soldier in Later Medieval England*, published as the output of this project is perhaps the most comprehensive overview of the English realm's military community to date. In this wide-ranging work, the authors consider not only the ranks on which previous research had focused, the peerage, the knights, and the men-at-arms, but also the archers and other soldiers of lower social rank. As well as considering the different types of soldier, they also investigate movement between ranks, and issues across all groups, such as place of origin.<sup>50</sup> The chapter on archers is of particular relevance to this thesis, and indeed it provides a lot of the military background for the topic. 'Using the databases, we question why archers served, how long for, whether they can be described as professional soldiers, or if they only served occasionally. We also look at where they served... [and] how the retinue of archers changed.'<sup>51</sup> A good example of this is the examination of rates of pay, in context of the economy of late medieval England. Although the standard rate for a mounted archer of 6d per day may not seem overly generous to modern eyes, it compares well to the 4d per day that was all a skilled craftsmen, such as a carpenter, would earn in the 1370s.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, soldiers were, theoretically, paid for every day covered by their contract, in contrast to labourers and craftsmen who were only paid for work days, excluding feast days and other holidays. This meant that they could earn £9 2s 6d in a year, only 17s 6d short of the £10 thought of as the minimum income for a gentleman.<sup>53</sup>

After a fashion, this thesis is a successor to their book, taking the investigation of archers, their backgrounds, and patterns of service further beyond what was possible previously. By enlarging the data set used and introducing a new source, the poll tax returns, to the study of English archers this project undertook large scale quantitative analysis of these men. Expanding the source material used, and introducing data on residency and economic standing, enabled the archers to be considered more holistically.

There are other examples of useful results that the type of research detailed above can produce, which are outside of the period that this thesis will cover. David Simpkin's

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<sup>50</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 139.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

*The English Aristocracy at War*, which focuses on the wars of Edward I's reign, is one.<sup>54</sup> Of even more relevance are Adam Chapman's doctoral thesis 'The Welsh Soldier: 1283-1422' which provides an extended chronological overview of a small section of the military community of the English realm and his paper looking at archers in the English army of 1415, specifically the level of Welsh involvement in this expedition.<sup>55</sup> Other regional studies include Michael Bennett's book on the military community of Cheshire and Tiagi Viula de Faria's research into the Englishmen fighting in Portugal in the later fourteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Also of relevance, due to the prosopographical and database techniques used, is the work by Craig Lambert into the maritime aspects of the English military. Crucial to the vast majority of the expeditions in the fourteenth century, naval service, and the men who served as mariners had not been previously considered in as much detail as their land based colleagues.<sup>57</sup>

However, despite this increased interest, there is not yet a full investigation of the ordinary fighting men, the archers, who have been considered 'unidentifiable'.<sup>58</sup> Few archers can boast a biography after the fashion of their social superiors. However, it is possible to undertake a broad quantitative prosopographical study, employing the methodological approaches used by Ayton, Curry, and Bell, and using a source of national coverage such as the poll tax returns in conjunction with the muster rolls. This summary of the current body of relevant military historiography has shown that there is room and a need for a full analysis of English archers, concentrating not on their use as a tactical asset or the technology behind their bows, but on their military professionalism, reasons for service and lives beyond the military.

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<sup>54</sup> David Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008).

<sup>55</sup> Adam Chapman, 'The Welsh Soldier: 1283-1422', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Southampton (2009), and: Adam Chapman, 'The King's Welshmen: Welsh Involvement in the Expeditionary Army of 1415', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 9 (2011), pp. 41-64.

<sup>56</sup> Michael J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of "Sir Gwain and the Green Knight"* (Cambridge, 1983), and: Tiagi Viula de Faria, 'Tracing the "chemyn de Portygale": English service and servicemen in fourteenth-century Portugal', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), pp. 257-68.

<sup>57</sup> Craig Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military: English Maritime Logistics in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011). Another example is Lambert, Craig, and Ayton, Andrew, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England', in: Mark Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England VII* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 153-76.

<sup>58</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 2.

To achieve this broader picture of English archers, one cannot rely on one strand of historiography alone. As noted previously, the ability to wage war in the medieval period stemmed from the socio-economic foundation of government, the willingness of subjects to pay for, and fight in, the English armies. 'Finance was a key to the ability of the English state to conduct its business effectively,'<sup>59</sup> and one of the Crown's main areas of expense was warfare. In fact armies, garrisons and the other aspects of war, whether actively engaged in hostilities or at peace, represented the greatest source of outlay for the medieval English kings. For example John of Gaunt's expedition to France in 1369 cost a minimum of £74,934 6s 10d, which was over twice the normal, non-parliamentary, revenue of the English Crown.<sup>60</sup> The body of historiography concerned with social and economic history is vast and ranges over a wide array of topics. Although a majority of this corpus of work is of relevance to the topic, this chapter will focus on the works which have the greatest impact on the research goals of the thesis. This means that this historiographical theme will review some of the more general works, before highlighting the areas of direct impact on the thesis, notably in the area of taxation, wealth of the realm and individuals, and social obligations, particularly in the post Black Death period. The immense repercussions of the first plague outbreak are difficult to overstate, and the economic and social changes have provided a great deal material for study.<sup>61</sup> However, this is not the focus of this thesis, instead the economic, social, and demographic effects of the Black Death are being considered as a part of the development of the English military, and the opportunities presented to archers who served in the later fourteenth century.

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<sup>59</sup> Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England* (Oxford, 2005), p. 573.

<sup>60</sup> Costs of the 1369 expedition taken from J. W. Sherborne, 'The Cost of English Warfare with France in the Later Fourteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977), pp. 136. Estimate of the Crown's ordinary revenues in this period has been taken from Sherborne, 'The Cost of English Warfare with France in the Later Fourteenth Century', p. 140. Here Sherbourne gives an approximate figure of £30,000 for the Crown's ordinary annual revenue. However he does go on to discuss extrodinary revenue in the form of parliamentary taxation, wool subsidies, and customs dues. He notes that these extrodinary reveune may have exceeded the overall military costs that wer being incurred. For further discussion of the Crown's finances see W. M. Ormrod, 'England in the Middle Ages', in: Richard Bonney (ed.), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c. 1200-1815* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 19-47.

<sup>61</sup> J. L. Bolton, "The World Upside Down" Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change', in: Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England* (Donington, 1996), pp. 17-78.

There is a trend in the study of English medieval economic history to focus on a few detailed areas of investigation. Although it is commonly agreed that the foundation of the medieval economy was rural and agricultural the current historiography is not always entirely representative of that;

The historian of the medieval English economy is not overburdened with evidence. It follows that such sources as are available may assume an exaggerated importance. Thus overseas trade, and in particular the cloth trade, whose fortunes are known from the enrolled customs accounts, is allowed a degree of significance in terms of the national economy that has never been fully justified.<sup>62</sup>

The suggestion is that certain areas of investigation, where large bodies of evidence have survived, have assumed greater historiographical importance than their historical importance may have warranted. However, this is a criticism which is not always valid. Outside of the cloth trade there are several other cases for which good evidence is extant. For example, the detailed accounting records of Durham Cathedral Priory which have been used as a 'test case of the way in which price history can be used to move from broad generalities towards closer awareness of regional diversity.'<sup>63</sup> Historians have typically been cautious about using this sort of data to draw conclusions regarding national trends, however there are some cases where inference has been made about trends in one part of the country and how that could be used to interpret the less complete evidence from another period or location. Many different studies have used this approach, an example is Richard Britnell's *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* which covers a long period of developments across England a large geographic area, and uses a variety of different sources to draw strong conclusions for this chronologically and geographically wide-ranging topic.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Peter J. P. Goldberg, 'Urban Identity and the Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381', *Economic History Review* 43 (1990), p. 214.

<sup>63</sup> Phillip Schofield, 'Regional price differentials and local economies in north-east England, c. 1350-c. 1520', in: Ben Dodds and Richard Britnell (eds.), *Agriculture and Rural Society After the Black Death: Common Themes and Regional Variations* (Hatfield, 2008), pp. 40-55.

<sup>64</sup> Richard Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1993).

Taxation, more specifically the records of taxation, is crucial to the current research. The main primary source for this thesis is the poll tax returns of 1377, 1379 and 1381. The source itself will be explored in greater detail below, however the historiography of the material is of great importance when contextualising the research.

Despite the vast amount of raw data contained within the surviving poll tax returns, namely 264,350 nominal records, the returns have been relatively underused for historical research. The evidence has been used to try and establish the population levels of late medieval England, notably by Josiah Russell, who used the 1377 poll tax returns to great effect.<sup>65</sup> However, even though Russell made allowances for children under the age of fourteen and those too poor to be taxed, his figure of 2.23 million has been challenged with more recent estimates suggesting a population of closer to 2.5 million.<sup>66</sup> Other studies concerned with medieval demography, such as Sylvia Thrupp's *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, are dismissive of the returns. Thrupp asserts that 'the schedule [the instructions to collectors regarding how much an individual was liable for] is so faulty that it cannot represent anything more than a preliminary survey; if the collectors had proceeded on this basis, they would have touched barely half their final total.'<sup>67</sup>

However, recently there has been something of a rehabilitation of the poll tax returns as a source, notably Carolyn Fenwick's unpublished PhD thesis, 'The English Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 & 1381'.<sup>68</sup> This is a highly significant piece of work for our understanding of the poll taxes and how they can be used for historical research. Fenwick thoroughly considers the different aspects of the returns in detail, introducing the events and socio-economic changes behind their imposition, the methods of collection, and discussing the other documentary sources connected to the returns, for example the writs to levy the tax. Of particular interest here is the chapter evaluating the returns

<sup>65</sup> Josiah Cox Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 120-46.

<sup>66</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 146 suggests 2,232,373 as the total population of England in 1377. More recently Broadberry, Campbell, and van Leeuwen have suggested a best estimate of 2.5 million. See Stephen Broadberry, Bruce M. S. Campbell, and Bas van Leeuwen, 'English medieval population: Reconciling time series and cross sectional evidence' <<https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/sbroadberry/wp/medievalpopulation7.pdf>> (accessed 1 March, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300-1500* (Chicago, 1948), p. 49.

<sup>68</sup> Carolyn C. Fenwick, 'The English Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: A Critical Examination of the Returns', Unpublished PhD Thesis, London School of Economics (1983).

as a source, examining the weaknesses that had been highlighted by previous authors and to a great extent neutralising them. A prime instance of this is her response to prevalent criticism propounded by Thrupp, Bartlett and Bennett, among others, that the returns show grossly exaggerated demographic deficiencies, primarily the lack of single people, apprentices, and, particularly notably, women.<sup>69</sup> Fenwick makes a cautious yet comprehensive case for the use of the returns, suggesting that many factors which should impact on the assessment of the returns have been overlooked.

The form of each poll tax was quite different. In 1379, married women were excluded...the effects of this were, at the time, and have been since, seriously underestimated. No two poll taxes were levied from the same age range. Thus, those who paid as fourteen year olds in 1377 paid again as sixteen year olds in 1379, but those who were twelve in 1377 did not pay in 1379 when the exemption level was raised by two years...it is not surprising that the number of tax-payers recorded was quite different for each tax. Thus, some of the discrepancies we seem to find are the result of a careless reading of the rules laid down for the taxes.<sup>70</sup>

She also analyses the effect of the exemptions that were legally allowed in the collection of the taxes, particularly those for reasons of poverty. With regard to the nominal records it must be noted that the collectors had no incentive to record the names of those who would not be paying the tax. Ultimately the returns were merely a record of those liable for taxation, not a census.

Single people and single women in particular were much more likely to be poor than married couples and the rolls of all three poll taxes reflect this fact... [This was] due far more to the fact that they were legally exempt from the taxes than to the fact that they evaded payment.<sup>71</sup>

Fenwick does note that there was a certain amount of evasion of the tax, for example those who were not previously on the rolls in 1377 may have tried to continue to claim

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<sup>69</sup> Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 49 For criticisms other than Thrupp's see Bartlett, Neville, *The Lay Poll Tax Returns for the City of York in 1381* (Hull, 1953), p. 7, and: Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, p. 57.

<sup>70</sup> Fenwick, 'English Poll Taxes', p. 167.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, p. 168.

exemption in 1379 on grounds of age, but the 'borderline between exemption and evasion was very nebulous'.<sup>72</sup> It would have been nigh on impossible for the collectors to collect every last penny that was theoretically due to the Crown as they were often local men who had to live alongside those they were collecting from. Alongside this;

it was a recognised legal maxim, enshrined in Magna Carta, that no punishment should include the loss of the tools of one's trade and this was extended so that these and other essentials deemed necessary to maintain one's status could not be taxed... at the lower levels of society it is thought that the taxers ignored those goods necessary for the daily life of tax-payers.<sup>73</sup>

Therefore, it is possible that some of the people who are the focus of this thesis were too poor to be included in the returns.

Fenwick's thesis clarifies the position and importance of the poll tax returns, and suggests some possible uses for them. She further rehabilitates the returns with the publication of a full transcription of those surviving records, opening up this difficult source to new areas of research.<sup>74</sup>

Jeremy Goldberg has also published work connected with the poll taxes, notably his paper on 'Urban Identity and the Poll Taxes.' This research, performed concurrently with Fenwick's, covers some of the same ground. Goldberg also considers some of the criticisms levelled at the returns and makes a strong case for their use in historical research. However, the paper does differ substantially from Fenwick's in its methods of analysis and focus on the urban environment, and its demographics and economic composition, highlighting some notably urban features that can be deduced from an analysis of the returns.<sup>75</sup>

Also highly relevant are two case studies by Sheila Sweetinburgh and Mark Bailey that should be mentioned. The first, dealing with New Romney in Kent, examines the

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<sup>72</sup> Fenwick, 'English Poll Taxes', p. 169.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 177.

<sup>74</sup> Carolyn C. Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, 3 vols, (Oxford, vol. 1: 1998, vol. 2 2001, vol. 3 2005).

<sup>75</sup> Goldberg, 'Urban Identity', p. 214.

returns as a source for the town's social structure and population.<sup>76</sup> The second considers the demographic structure of the county of Buckinghamshire at the time of the poll taxes, and looks at this evidence in light of the historical demographic theory.<sup>77</sup> Both of these studies make good use of the returns within the scope of the study.

However, apart from the studies discussed above there has not been a great deal of work based on the poll tax returns. They have been mentioned in other publications, especially those concerned with people outside of the elite who comprise the bulk of the extant records, including women, yet there is little else. They are frequently discussed in relation to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and have been considered as one of the triggers for the revolts<sup>78</sup> or used as supporting evidence to a wider discussion.<sup>79</sup> The papers discussed above do indicate how the returns can be used, and what type of data can be extracted. That said, there has been very little work on the nominal data, and it is here that this thesis will break new ground adapting the method used to analyse the military evidence mentioned above, using nominal record linkage to join the data in the returns to the data from the muster rolls and protections.

The historiography of tenurial obligation is another area which must be mentioned in relation to this research. This is a potential minefield for any researcher and it is a much debated topic. Feudalism in particular carries a large array of different connotations, and whole books have been dedicated to arguing over its technical implications and indeed whether it can be applied at all to the social, economic and military relationships of the medieval period. Even when an author does make a case for this system, they often qualify it to a certain context. However, it remains a useful

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<sup>76</sup> Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'The social structure of New Romney as revealed in the 1381 Poll Tax Returns', *Achaeologia Cantiana* 131 (2011), pp. 1-22.

<sup>77</sup> Keith Bailey, 'Buckinghamshire Poll Tax Records 1377-79', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 49 (2009), pp. 173-187.

<sup>78</sup> Christopher Dyer, 'The Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt of 1381', in: R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge, 1987), 9-42, and: Ronald Webber, *The Peasants Revolt: The Uprising in Kent, Essex, East Anglia and London in 1381 during the Reign of King Richard II* (Lavenham, 1980), and: Richard Barrie Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 1970) are all examples of this.

<sup>79</sup> An example of this is J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500* (London, 1980), pp. 267-268, where the 1379 returns are used to support other evidence about the involvement of Flemings in the regeneration of the English cloth industry in the early fifteenth century.

tool to signify a particular type of social formation and as a vehicle for comparative history.<sup>80</sup>

A full historiographical analysis of obligation and feudalism would comprise a book in itself for 'feudalism can mean a lot of different things... no one agrees about just what these [feudo-vassalic] relations or institutions involved: some, for instance, think that either jurisdiction or military service or both were essential components, while others see either or both as peripheral or occasional.'<sup>81</sup> Therefore a complete historiographical analysis will not be attempted here as this thesis will not be making any contributions to the debate regarding the concepts of landed obligation in relation to the structure of society, instead focusing on how landed obligation influenced patterns of military service. However as this thesis is concerned with military service which cannot be studied separately from the social and economic structures that together can be interpreted to comprise 'feudalism', some clarification is needed as to the limits of the term for this research.

To achieve this two principal works were employed, Susan Reynolds' *Fiefs and Vassals* and Michael Prestwich's *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*.<sup>82</sup> Neither author denies the existence of feudalism as the prevailing form of social interconnection in medieval England, but do strongly qualify the use of the term and its relevance to the late medieval period in England. Reynolds, for example, asserts that although 'properties that were called fiefs or fees in England fit the pattern of classic feudalism only in the roughest of ways'<sup>83</sup> a form of feudalism did exist in medieval society as more of a conglomerate of legal, social and economic interactions, obligations and duties, rather than the strict and streamlined system which appears in the 'classical' model of feudalism. Further clarification of the military aspect of feudal obligation is provided by Prestwich who suggests that it was the military duty owed;

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<sup>80</sup> P. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present* (1989), p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (Oxford, 1994), p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Reynolds work, *Fiefs and Vassals*, is authoritative in this field. Prestwich's *Armies and Warfare* represents more of a survey, however its use of other works to draw together 'feudalism' and military service in the late medieval period is highly effective and well regarded. See Andrew Ayton, 'Review of Prestwich M., *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), p. 973 and Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Review of Reynolds S., *Fiefs and Vassals*' *Albion* 27 (1995), p. 467.

<sup>83</sup> Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p. 394.

as part of the obligation incurred following the act of homage...a summons would demand that service be provided in accordance with the fealty and homage owed to the king. Such service was not, of course, termed feudal by those who performed it; magnates were normally asked to provide their *servitium debitum*, or obligatory service.<sup>84</sup>

Although this definition is helpful when investigating the connection between service and obligation it must be stressed that Prestwich is referring to the upper echelons of society. It is not clear how this applied down the social scale, so one of the research outcomes of this thesis will be testing Prestwich's theory against the record evidence for English archers. It must also be pointed out that a summons to provide *servitium debitum* was not the only method of military recruitment. As discussed above in the military historiography, indentures and payment for service had, by the later fourteenth century, almost wholly supplanted any *servitium debitum*. Although it was still used as a method of summoning some persons to render service, the service itself was paid in a similar fashion to those recruited via contract. An exception to this trend occurred in 1385 when Richard II used a 'feudal' summons to collect a large army to invade Scotland. There is also discussion surrounding the use of 'bastard feudalism', a term first used by Charles Plummer in the late nineteenth century to differentiate between 'classical feudalism' based around social links, obligations, and service due as a result of land tenure, and the similar obligations and service due instead as a result of financial relationships between a lord and his inferiors. This was known as 'retaining' and there has been a large amount of work discussing this trend. It has been applied to the reign of Edward I onwards where the trend of military service being commuted for cash payments which were in turn used to fund the king's armies took off in earnest, eventually developing into the contract based armies, employed by, but not commanded directly by, the Crown. In Plummer's original hypothesis, this system reached a peak in England in the fifteenth century and was a factor in the Wars of the Roses, and the influence of 'over-mighty' subjects, and the weakness of royal authority.<sup>85</sup> However, although retaining has been viewed as breaking the common

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<sup>84</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 58.

<sup>85</sup> Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (Harlow, 1995), pp. 14-19. Here Hicks synthesises the previous views of feudalism and bastard feudalism. See also K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, Gerald

social bonds of the period, and was blamed for some of the disorder and chaos that effected England in the fifteenth century, this is something of an oversimplification. Instead of seeing the indenture based contract army, which worked alongside the established social order, morphing into the ‘evil’ of retaining for life, the changes were growing naturally from the evolving patterns of social relationships among the landed aristocracy.<sup>86</sup>

It is also worth mentioning another term used by late medieval historians, the ‘affinity’. This has been used in place of ‘feudalism’ to encompass the people comprised late medieval local societies and noble followings. In its basic form it has been used to indicate the group of people linked by the type of relationships that could be included within the concept of ‘bastard feudalism’. By using a slightly different framework, the negative implications of a previously discussed historiographical term are avoided. Instead, the continuity and stability of this ‘new’ social structure with those that preceded it can be highlighted. Shifting allegiances were rare, and a lesser landowner would normally be attached to a leading local noble and stay with him in much the same manner as seen in earlier ‘feudal’ relationships.<sup>87</sup> ‘Affinity’ has also been used to indicate a non-territorial group of persons, linked by their relationships based on ‘personality, personal standing and personal ability.’<sup>88</sup>

From this view it provides a more flexible term to cover the relationships which were prevalent in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, without the limitations of feudalism, bastard or otherwise. Affinities have been investigated in several publications. Gerald Harriss’ *Shaping the Nation* provides a detailed overview of the subject and Simon Walker and Helen Castor have produced thorough studies of the Lancastrian affinity; the former concentrating on the latter half of the fourteenth

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Harris (ed.) (London, 1981) particularly the chapters ‘Parliament and Bastard Feudalism’, pp. 1-23 and ‘Bastard Feudalism’, pp. 23-44.

<sup>86</sup> Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997), p.19.

<sup>87</sup> Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 17.

<sup>88</sup> Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism*, p. 104.

century, the latter on the Duchy of Lancaster in general, both before and after deposition of Richard II in 1399.<sup>89</sup>

This thesis does not intend to redevelop our understanding of bastard feudalism. However, it does have some scope to contribute to the discussion of affinities as it will be considering the relationships between tenants and landlords and how that could influence upon the process of military recruitment. In essence, were the retinue captains, who almost exclusively hailed from the land-owning levels of society, relying on their tenants to be able to fulfil their contracted military obligations, or instead were they willing to use men from a wider recruitment base, possibly to their advantage given the problems of attracting labour to successfully run their estates, especially after the Black Death? Furthermore, this thesis will consider 'social networks' alongside the affinities. The affinity is often interpreted as a top down construct with the relationships it contains between superior and inferior persons. The social network encompasses this, but also allows peer-to-peer relationships to be incorporated.

Discussion of the military and socio-economic historiography is inevitably going to overlap. Agriculture and land-holding were the foundation of the medieval economy and the basis for taxable wealth, and these economic considerations were intrinsically linked to warfare through the resources required to support and fund military efforts.

### **1.3 Sources**

Having discussed the relevant historiography, this chapter will now turn to the main sources on which the thesis is based. These have been introduced above, and in the case of the poll tax returns, some discussion of the evidence itself has been covered. The sources will be dealt with individually before being discussed as a cohesive whole, while considering the method which this thesis will use to analyse the data gathered.

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<sup>89</sup> Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 187-197, and: Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990), and: Helen Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 22-38.

## Poll Tax Returns

The evidence contained within the poll taxes has already been discussed in some depth regarding its evidentiary value and reliability. In summary, it represents a snapshot of taxpayers in England, and provides an unparalleled record of individual names of those persons whose appearance in other records is sketchy at best. As well as the names, crucial for nominal linkage between the muster rolls and poll tax returns, the poll taxes can also provide data regarding marital and parental status. Frequently wives and children are recorded as a part of a household unit, with the head of the household is sometimes recorded as paying a lump sum for the entire family unit, providing the aforementioned links between individuals. Heads of households also sometimes appear to be paying for their household servants in a similar fashion to their families. In general terms this can provide useful demographic data, constrained by the particular evidentiary issues noted previously. In the context of this investigation the poll tax data offers scope to compare those who are identifiable as archers to the rest of the population. The returns can also provide other useful information, albeit to a lesser extent than the nominal data. Occupations are listed in many of the returns, allowing analysis of occupational patterns between archers and non-archers, to assess whether there are differences between the two groups. A similar approach will be used to compare the economic wealth of the two groups using the amount of tax paid as an indication of this. However, this cannot be attempted for the 1377 poll tax collection as this was a strict per capita tax, with no distinctions made for different social or economic circumstances, except for the exemption of genuine paupers.<sup>90</sup> Despite this issue, the other two collections of 1379 and 1381 both provide data differentiated by socio-economic position.

The schedule of charges for the 1379 collection specifies a large array of different socio-economic ranks, from earls and knights bachelor who were taxed £4 and 20s respectively, down to 'each married man, for himself and his wife if they do not belong to the estates above and are over the age of sixteen years, genuine beggars excepted'

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<sup>90</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 1, p. xiv.

who had to pay 4d.<sup>91</sup> This differentiation highlights economic differences between different samples extracted from the poll tax returns, although it must be noted that the Schedule does not make allowances for differences in land holdings, rents or wages.<sup>92</sup>

A similar approach can be taken to the 1381 data, where, although the amounts required from each vill were set at a mean value per capita, the taxpayers were instructed;

that for the total sum assessed on every place, those of adequate means shall help those of lesser means as far as they are able; provided that he who is most affluent shall pay no more than 60 groats [£1 or 240d] for himself and his wife and none shall pay less than one groat for himself and his wife.<sup>93</sup>

Of course, this does appear to be open to corruption. The enjoinder for the rich to help the poor is vague. The 1381 collection has retrospectively been criticised as the most onerous tax of the medieval period, and that it was an attempt by the Commons to pass the tax burden onto the lower levels of society. This criticism should be tempered by the fact that the amount required, £66,000 was roughly three times that of 1377's £22,661 3s 4d, suggesting that there was a fiscal logic to the tax and ensuring that those able to pay at a higher rate did so.<sup>94</sup>

The method will be discussed in more depth below. However it must be noted here that this PhD is not using the original poll tax documents in the creation of the database behind the thesis. Instead the transcribed records contained within Fenwick's three volumes of *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, will be used. This was done due to the large scale of the source, the reliability of the transcription, and the estimated length of time that the data entry process would take (approximately

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<sup>91</sup> Geoffrey Martin and Chris Given-Wilson (eds.), *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504, Volume Six: Richard II 1377-1384* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 116.

<sup>92</sup> Fenwick, 'English Poll Taxes', p. 27.

<sup>93</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, p. 191.

<sup>94</sup> Fenwick, 'English Poll Taxes', p. 27 and p. 37.

one year).<sup>95</sup> The actual time needed for data entry and integrity checks was twenty-four months, so using the transcribed volumes was more advantageous than anticipated.

There are some evidentiary issues with the use of the poll tax returns in connection with this thesis. Firstly, mentioned above, is the potential poverty of men who served as archers and the possibility that they are not recorded in the taxation records. This is counter-balanced by the equally unknown number of non-archers who are also 'missing' from the returns. Secondly, some areas of great interest are missing from the returns. An example of this is Cheshire which, despite being an area of high military activity, cannot be analysed in this research as it was exempt from the poll taxes due to its palatine status that made it exempt from the parliamentary grant of the poll tax. Finally, it is possible that archers, due to their occupation were abroad during the collection of the returns. There are fifteen muster rolls from 1377, 1379, and 1381. However, although it is hard to exactly quantify the impact of this, it can be suggested that there is also the probability that non-archers could also be absent during one or more of the taxes. Furthermore very few archers appear in the muster rolls for any two of the taxable years. There are 1,342 service records for archers in 1377, 1379, and 1381, and only fifteen of these, 1%, are duplicated across multiple years, suggesting that this potential issue only affects a minority of individuals.

The poll tax returns provide a great deal of raw information concerned with 'civilian' life. In isolation, and without any other data, it does not provide enough detail for an analysis of those involved in the military as there is no indication that a tax payer had also served in a military capacity. Therefore to incorporate this information we must turn to a different nominal source, the muster rolls.

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<sup>95</sup> The poll tax printed volumes have received excellent reviews of their content; see Hettinger, Madonna J., 'Review of *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 1: Bedfordshire-Leicestershire*', *Albion* 32 (2000), pp. 94-95, and: Kermode, Jenny, 'Review of *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 1, Bedfordshire-Leicestershire*', *Economic History Review* 52 (1999), pp. 569-570. Furthermore, the transcriptions were checked against some of original rolls, specifically E179/73/62 (Berkshire), E179/103/37 (Dorset), E179/107/54 (Essex), and E179/130/28/1 (Lancashire).

## **Muster Rolls**

The muster rolls, like the poll tax returns, are primarily nominal lists. They were a product of the military indenture system, based on contracts for recruitment and service in return for cash payments, which can be traced back as early as 1215 but were not employed systematically.<sup>96</sup> They covered only some theatres and were often incomplete in the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>97</sup> The contracts or 'indentures' were usually between a retinue captain and the Crown. From 1369 onwards almost all expeditions and garrisons were recruited under this systematic military organisation, in effect making English armies paid contract armies.<sup>98</sup>

The indentures agreed between captain and Crown listed the size and composition of the retinue to be recruited, as well as the terms of service, including pay and time span. Although in military terms the only important distinction was between archers and men-at-arms, social rank also played an important part in the terms of agreement with those of higher rank receiving higher pay. For example, although the combat uses of a duke, knight, and untitled man-at-arms were the same, the standard rates of pay were 13s 4d, 2s, and 1s per day respectively. The rate of pay was a mere 2d per day for a Welsh infantryman, while mounted archers received 6d per day.<sup>99</sup> There was some variation in these rates, for example for service in certain theatres, such as Gascony, higher daily wages might be paid.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, there were additional 'regards' which were a combination of a signing bonus and expense payment. The regards were paid by the Crown when an indenture was sealed for up to half a year in advance, and would often be kept by the captain to defray his preparation and recruitment costs even if the contracted service was cancelled by the Crown, due to peace or other considerations.<sup>101</sup> Originally *restauro equorum* (horse compensation), which had

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<sup>96</sup> S. Church, 'The Earliest English Muster Roll, 18/19 December 1215', *Historical Research* 67 (1994), pp. 1-17.

<sup>97</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 8.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> Prince, 'Indenture System', pp. 291-292.

<sup>100</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Prince, 'Indenture System', p. 293. Prince gives the rate normally paid as a regard as 100 marks, per 30 men-at-arms, per quarter of a year, although the regard was only reckoned from the contracted date of muster, not the date of indenture.

developed as a form of insurance for men serving in military campaigns by reimbursing them for the costs of horses killed or lost on service,<sup>102</sup> had been used for a similar purpose, to defray the expenses of military service, although it was of less use to the recruiting captain who might have needed capital to entice recruits or provide equipment. By the 1380s *restauro equorum* had been completely replaced by the regard, perhaps reflecting the lesser importance high quality mounts had in the English tactical system employed in the latter half of the fourteenth century, as well as the changing realities of military recruitment by a greater number of retinue captains.<sup>103</sup>

After soldiers had been recruited and prepared for service they were brought to the pre-agreed muster point, where the Exchequer officials responsible for carrying out the muster checked that those who had indentured with the Crown had brought the right number, type, and quality of troops. Although there was no set form for the muster rolls, they seem to have been based on lists of names provided by the captains, with the officials confirming the presence of the individual soldier by placing a dot next to each name.<sup>104</sup> Some rolls appear to have remained in use throughout a campaign, for example the expedition of 1387, which shows evidence of having been altered after the original muster to reflect changes in the retinues during the campaign, for example replacements, deaths, or promotions, all annotated with the date to ensure that wages could be paid correctly.<sup>105</sup> The musters were held by the Exchequer and consulted when the captains accounted for their expenses upon completion of their contracted military service, to ensure that the captains' claims were in line with their indentures, and with any amendments made during the campaign.<sup>106</sup>

For the purpose of the investigation the muster rolls are the crucial complementing source for the poll tax returns. While the poll tax allows this thesis to analyse patterns of service among archers, as well as trends in occupations and wealth, it is the muster rolls which allow the archers to be identified. This thesis relies mostly on the muster roll data that has been published as part of the AHRC funded 'The Soldier in Later

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<sup>102</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 44.

<sup>103</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 50.

<sup>104</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup> E101/43/33 cited in Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p.53.

<sup>106</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 9.

'Medieval England Online Database'. However, access to the original data, rather than the online version, has been kindly provided by the authors, which allows this thesis to adapt the data for ease of use in combination with a new, large scale source in the form of the poll tax returns.

### **Letters of Protection and Attorney**

The muster rolls are not the only source which has been covered extensively by the 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database'. The letters of protection and attorney have also been entered into the database. They are a very important source for research into the military community of the English realm during the Hundred Years War. The letters were enrolled in the Treaty Rolls of the English Chancery and dealt primarily with Anglo-French business.<sup>107</sup> They were taken out by men with property or business interests in England to protect them from any legal trouble while they were away from their estates, usually for travel overseas. This was often, although not always, in connection with some form of military service, in which case the name of the retinue leader or 'in the retinue of the king' was added to the protection to indicate this. The protections are supported by appointments of attorney, enrolled in the same place, which were used to appoint a legal representative for the absent man.<sup>108</sup> These documents, although they are not lists of names like the musters, can still provide extensive nominal records, as well as other details such as place of origin, status, and occupation. It must be noted that the protections do not always prove that military service was actually undertaken, even in cases when where this is indicated in the enrolled document.

They are statements of intent, rather than firm evidence of performance [of military service] and their essential purpose, to provide the recipient with a measure of security from a range of legal actions during the period of military service, was open to abuse.<sup>109</sup>

This stated purpose however reveals a problem when using protections or attorneys for this thesis, in that they were almost exclusively taken out by men of relatively high

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<sup>107</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.

<sup>109</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 157.

economic standing, not by the bulk of the English soldiery, possibly as they were not able to arrange to collect the documents, did not feel that they needed them, or were unwilling or unable to pay the two shillings required to obtain the protection.<sup>110</sup> However there are examples of archers who did take protections. 'For instance, Thomas Shirburn took out letters of protection for service in Guines castle in the Pas de Calais in 1374-7, with no rank recorded, but... he had also served at Calais in 1372 as an archer. William atte Lee took out letters of protection for service with Sir Thomas Percet in 1378 and 1379 (at sea), and in 1383 (garrison of Brest), and mustered as an archer in Percy's retinue in 1385.'<sup>111</sup> This means that the protections and attorneys will be considered and may on occasion be of use, especially if the nominal linkage can find matches between archers in the musters, the poll tax returns and the protections.

### **Inquisitions Post Mortem**

The *inquisitions post mortem* (IPMs) are different in form to the other sources discussed here. Instead of providing data for analysis in their own right, they provide the linking point for the disparate military and civilian sources. The IPMs 'were the product of sworn inquiries by local jurors into the landholdings after death of feudal tenants'.<sup>112</sup> There are no extant sources that provide the same depth of information with such comprehensive geographical coverage as the Domesday survey, which is unique in its depth and breadth, and although attempts were made in the form of the 1279 Hundred Rolls, they were abandoned before completion and their survival is very patchy.<sup>113</sup> However, the IPMs come close to Domesday in many respects, and indeed cover some areas which were excluded from Domesday. For this thesis the IPMs of 1375-1447 are being used to identify where the retinue captains held land.<sup>114</sup> Despite the increased professionalisation that had developed among English captains in the later fourteenth century and had seen men outside of the ranks of the higher aristocracy leading large retinues, the captains continued to come from the land

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<sup>110</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 160-1.

<sup>111</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 155.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Hicks, 'Introduction: What Were *Inquisitions Post Mortem*?', in: Michael Hicks, *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: A Companion* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Bruce M.S. Campbell and Ken Bartley, *England on the Eve of the Black Death* (Manchester, 2006), p. 4

<sup>114</sup> The full bibliographic references for volumes 14 to 26 of the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* used for this thesis can be found in the printed primary sources section of the bibliography.

holding ranks of society. This overlap between land ownership and military service is crucial when linking the geographic nominal records of the poll taxes to the military service nominal records of the muster rolls. The *IPMs* provide a wealth of data regarding landowners at their death, including what land was held in demesne and what land was held from them by sub-tenants, as well as the lands held of the king and lands held of others. They also specify the heir to the estates and the relationship between heir and deceased.<sup>115</sup> Of course, there are some limitations on their use. Firstly, they are primarily limited to tenants in chief of the king, although as mentioned previously they often do include land holdings held from, or granted to, other people. Also important is that the survival and coverage of the *IPMs* is not 100% complete, leaving gaps where some retinue captains lands cannot be identified using this material. Furthermore the *IPMs* were only taken at death, so provide a snapshot of the extent of an estate, rather than a time series covering the landholders' life. This has led to assessment of the *IPMs* as, for example, 'extremely unreliable'<sup>116</sup> by E.A. Kosminsky, who was critical of previous use of this material by H.L. Gray in the latter's article which used the *IPMs* to analyse the commutation of villein services.<sup>117</sup> However, in much the same way as the poll tax returns have been rehabilitated as a historical source, the negative assessment of the *IPMs* has 'been challenged by J. A. Raftis with the result that, in recent years, historians have made increasing use of the *IPMs* as a source.'118

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<sup>115</sup> Hicks, 'Introduction', p. 3. Campbell and Bartley also support the use of the *IPMs*: 'No other source contains as much explicit land-use information... [and they are] straightforward to use.' See Campbell and Bartley, *England*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>116</sup> E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history of England in the thirteenth century*, R. H. Hilton (ed.), Ruth Kisch (trans.) (Oxford, 1956), p. 63.

<sup>117</sup> H. L. Gray, 'The Commutation of Villein Services in England before the Black Death', *English Historical Review* 29 (1914), p.630.

<sup>118</sup> Campbell and Bartley, *England*, p. 25. Here the authors cite a large number of works which have used the *IPMs*, including Raftis' monograph from 1974. See note 40, Campbell and Bartley, *England*, p. 354 for details. Christopher Dyer also makes a strong case for the use of the *IPMs* despite their deficiencies 'there is material in the *IPMs* which cannot be found elsewhere, they can tell us much about landholding, estate regions and farming systems, buildings belonging to all sections of society, the size and fortunes of towns, and deserted villages.' See: Christopher Dyer, 'The Value of Fifteenth-Century *Inquisitions Post Mortem* for Economic and Social History', in: Michael Hicks, *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: A Companion* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 114-5.

## **1.4 Method**

Having summarised the sources, their content and uses it is now time to combine them and discuss in more detail the method that will be used to analyse them. This thesis is drawing on the methodological precedents established by Ayton, Curry, and Bell, discussed in the historiographical review above. The basis for this is nominal record linkage, which in its most basic format compares names between different data sets to find links, allowing individual persons, who might not appear in other evidence sources (such as chronicles or patent rolls), to be viewed in more than one context, for example both as a soldier in a muster roll, and as a 'civilian' tax payer in the poll tax returns.

To manage the large amounts of data that have been gathered, especially the combined 384,927 nominal records of the musters, protections, and poll tax returns, the data was entered into a relational database constructed in Microsoft Access. The muster and protections data was extracted from the underlying data in the 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database', kindly provided by the project team. Use of this, rather than the data on the publicly accessible website enabled the alteration of the data into a more useful form for this research, and making the relational linkage between this data and the poll tax easier to manage.

An entirely new database was constructed in Microsoft Access for the purposes of this thesis. The first step after identifying the sources was deciding what data needed to be extracted from the material, and how the sources could be linked. In Access, data is held in tables, comprised of lines of joined data known as records. However, it is not a requirement that each source, or each document comprising the source, is only held in one table. Indeed, efficient database construction often means having the data from one source held across several tables to prevent the repetition of data in many different records. This not only helps make the database easier to use, it also helps to limit the size and computing requirements of the database. The second consideration is the preservation of document integrity. Some information contained in any handwritten medieval document will be lost when it is entered into an electronic database, most obviously the penmanship and the materials (vellum, ink etc.) used.

However, there are also areas where preservation is at the discretion of the database's author. For example, the muster rolls that were transcribed into 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England' database preserved the order in which the names had been enrolled on the muster rolls, which, it has been suggested, appears to have been used as an indication of the social hierarchy within the retinue by the authors. This information could have easily been lost during the digitalisation process, but it was identified and preserved as potentially important.

The data in the musters was divided into separate fields as follows:<sup>119</sup>

- ID: automatically assigned number to provide a unique identifier for each record.
- First Name
- De: 'middle' name. Includes names such as 'de', 'atte', and 'fitz'.
- Surname
- Origin
- Military Rank
- Retinue Captain Name
- Standardised Retinue Captain Name
- Sub Captain
- Commander of army being mustered
- Notes
- Marginalia
- Membrane: within the document.
- Activity: intended purpose of the muster i.e. naval service.
- Reference: document reference at The National Archives.

The muster data extracted from 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England' database had been originally held in a separate table for each muster. These had then been joined together to create one table which contained all of the documents in one object.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Fields refer to the columns in the Access tables. Each field should only contain one element of the data which comprises the record.

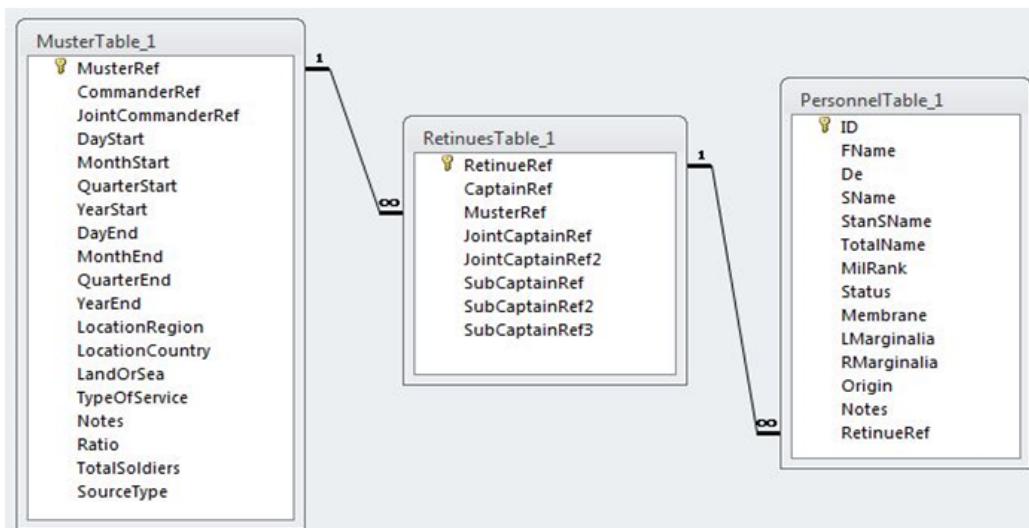
<sup>120</sup> 'Object' refers to any item, or block of data within the database. The tables which the authors had used to store each muster roll in are an example of a collection of objects.

This has been modified for the new database, constructed for this thesis, which combines the poll tax return and muster data. This was due to the repetition of information in the original database. For example, the name of the retinue captain, commander, sub captain, activity, and reference would all be repeated for each soldier recorded within a retinue. For the combined database, the muster data has been broken up further, with a ‘Personnel’ table which holds data as follows:

- ID: automatically assigned number to provide a unique identifier for each record.
- FName: first name, standardised, anglicised, and modernised where possible.
- De: ‘middle’ name. Includes names such as ‘de’, ‘atte’, and ‘fitz’.
- SName: surname as recorded in the original document.
- StanSName: surname, standardised, anglicised, and modernised where possible.
- Total Name: the three components of the name joined together i.e. ‘John’, ‘de’, and ‘Smith’ would appear as John de Smith.
- MilRank: the military function of the individual as it appears in the muster. This was usually a variant of ‘archer’ or ‘man-at-arms’.
- Status: this field records the social status of the individual, where it is given. This allows easy differentiation between individuals with the same military rank. For example, both earls and knights would be men-at-arms for ‘MilRank’ but would have different social statuses recorded.
- Membrane: the membrane within the enrolled muster
- LMarginalia: any notes recorded in the left margin of the muster
- RMarginalia: any notes recorded in the right margin of the muster
- Origin: although infrequently recorded, occasionally muster soldiers place of origin is noted.
- Notes: notes on the muster from the authors of ‘The Soldier in Later Medieval England’ database.
- RetinueRef: every unique retinue within the database has been assigned a unique retinue number as an identifier to enable each unit to be easily distinguished from others.

At first glance this appears to be as convoluted as the original construction. However there are some important differences. The 'Marginalia' field has been split into two separate fields as originally this field contained information from two separate parts of the document. The new format makes it easier to analyse data from the left marginalia independently of the right. More importantly, the new design has introduced a concatenated field, 'TotalName', for the nominal data, where the three constituent parts of a name have been joined together. This assists with the analysis of the key nominal records as successful linkage required that two names in separate documents be matched exactly to be linked. The final change is the removal of the fields which held information on captains, sub captains, commanders, references, and activity. Instead this has been replaced with one field, 'RetinueRef'. This data was moved into separate tables. The first, 'RetinuesTable' holds the information regarding the captain or captains of the retinue, the second, 'MusterTable', holds all the details of the muster in question, including the commander, type of activity, and the reference from the National Archives. This process is known as normalisation.

Figure 1.2: Database links between musters, retinues, and personnel

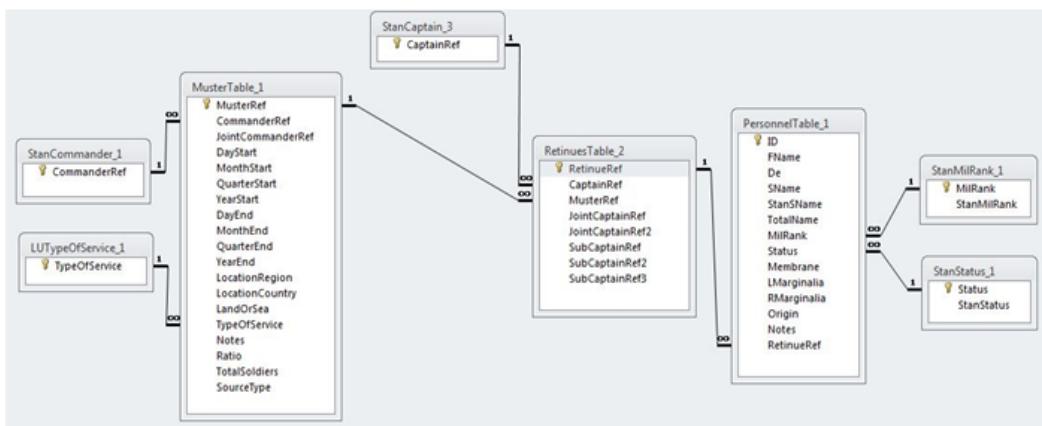


The data needed to reconstruct a record as it appears in the muster rolls is split across the three tables above. This prevents duplication of data as each of the primary keys, the lines marked with the small yellow key symbol, allow many records to be associated with them. In this case, each muster reference, using the National Archives references, in 'MusterTable' can have lots of records associated with it in 'RetinuesTable', which in turn can have many affiliated records in 'PersonnelTable'. By designating a field as the primary key in each table, it becomes impossible to duplicate that particular reference in that table. For example, although E101/36/32 appears twelve times in 'RetinuesTable', once for each retinue, it can only appear once in 'MusterTable'.

As can be seen in the Figure 1.2 above, the data is still connected to the records, through one to many relationships, however most duplication has been eliminated. These relationships, where one table has a field where data will not be repeated (the primary key), is linked through that data to another table where it can appear many times. For example the muster stored at the National Archives as E101/36/32 has twelve retinues connected to it, including retinue 333, captained by Sir Waryn de Lisle. In turn this retinue comprises 152 soldiers, of which 101 were archers.

A side note must also be made of standardisation tables and look up tables. These two types of object perform similar roles within the database, although they are slightly different.

**Figure 1.3: Database construction: 'standardisations and 'look up' tables**



This shows the same tables and relationships that can be seen in Figure 1.2, with the addition of the relevant standardisation and look up tables. In situations where there are potentially many different ways of describing the same thing, for example the database has thirty two different ways of referring to archers. By using the 'StanMilRank' table it is possible to preserve the original spelling and references, but associate all of them to one description of a military rank. Hence 'archier', '*sagittarii armati*', and 'archers armez' among others all link to one description 'archer'. This makes analysis much easier by keeping the linked field in 'PersonnelTable' to a manageable number of options. The look up table 'LUTypeOfService' performs the same function of limiting the options in the linked field in 'MusterTable' to a set number, in this case five, preventing data input errors when entering information into the 'TypeOfService' field.

Standardisation tables have been used where the original data of the document has been preserved, for example the military ranks in the 'Personnel' table. However many of these, for example both *armiger* and *homes armez* refer to men-at-arms. Therefore a standardisation table is employed with the primary key set on the field containing the original form of the military ranks. This creates a one-to-many relationship

between the standardisation table and the ‘Personnel’ table. This primary key field forms a record with another field which contains the standardised form of the rank, in this case ‘man-at-arms’. This not only helps to save space within the database and make it more efficient, it also helps to ensure that data integrity is preserved. It prevents the different forms of each military rank becoming confused with different types of soldiers. Much of the standardisation for the muster roll data has been carried over from ‘The Soldier in Later Medieval England’ database. Look up tables work in a similar way, and for similar purposes. However they have been used where the data being referred to is not taken from the original document, and are in place to prevent data integrity issues. An example of this is the ‘LUTypeOfService’ in Figure 1.3, which only contains modern classification of the different types of service rather than the original language used. One standardisation table ‘StanCaptain’, which acts as the primary key for the ‘CaptainRef’ field in the ‘RetinueTable’ is of particular importance. This allows the potentially various ways in which retinue captains were described across different musters to be united into one identifying name. This also represents a bridging-point between the various sources contained within the database, and will be discussed further below. A full list of the standardisation for the statuses and military ranks, and a sample list of retinue captains (those beginning with ‘H’) can be found in Appendix 1.

A similar approach has been taken to the data contained within the poll tax returns. The potentially conflicting issues of preservation, function, and integrity have all been considered, along with the linkage between the musters and returns. Unlike the muster rolls, the poll taxes had not been previously entered into a computer database, although they had been transcribed from the originals by Fenwick, as discussed above. The transcriptions have preserved a great deal of the integrity of the original documents, including spelling and the formatting. Both of these areas had to be modified to enable them to be entered into the database and used successfully. The spellings of names were treated in the same way as those in the muster rolls, where they were preserved, but the first names were standardised, anglicised, and modernised. This allows easy comparison between the two nominal sources. The

formatting was a bigger issue. Below in Figure 1.4 are three different extracts from the poll taxes relating to Essex.

Figure 1.4: Extracts of Fenwick's transcription of the nominal poll tax returns

Johannes Balom' jun'	Robertus Longeion	fuler'	Willemus Renkye	2s 4d
Johannes Balom' senior	Johannes Craft	sutor	Robertus Repon'	12d
Johannes Parker	ux' eius		Johannes Brackele	12d
Johannes Rabell'	Johannes Symund		Johannes Repoun	12d
Willelmus Fyssber	Agn' Draper	fuler'	Robertus Rumphale	18d
Thomas Danyell'	Willelmus Vynt	textore	Christina ux' eius	
Johanna Almans	ux' eius		Johannes Pycot	2s 6d
Johannes Halmans	Katerina ] famuli eorum		Agn' ux' eius	
Willelmus Thrisher	Johannes	carpentar'	Johannes Lovel	2s Od
Rogerus Farthing	ux' eius		Alicia ux' eius	
Johannes Billyng'	Johannes Geron'	textor	Michaelis Taylour	12d
Johannes Vinc'	ux' eius		Andreas Flemyn	12d
Johannes Ward	Johannes Thedam		Johannes famulus eius	12d
Thomas Billyng	Johannes Dubbyng		Marg' ancilla Walteri Pach'	4d
Robertus Ingram	Galfridus Grey		Agn' Perkyn	12d
Edmundus Canon	Maltota Cartere		Thomas Serman	2s Od
Rogerus Warde	Galfridus Dawe		Isabella ux' eius	
Rogerus Stake	ux' eius	Ext 6/99/153		
Willelmus Warde	Radulphus Algar	sissor	Willemus famulus eius	12d
Johannes Noke	Johannes Cok		Egidius Wyromdem	2s 6d
Ricardus Halmans	Johannes Killer'		Johanna ux' eius	
Alicia Dokes	Johannes Cook de le James	draper	Willemus Horn	2s Od
Thomas Morice	Robertus Vyn		Johanna ux' eius	
Robertus Carpenter	Radulphus Goodrich		Johannes Turnour	2s Od
Ricardus Kent	Johanna atte Chaumbr'		Johanna ux' eius	
Johannes Algor	Willelmus Cake	carnifex	Johannes Fynch'	2s Od
Ricardus Thomas	Elota famula eorum		Alicia ux' eius	
Johannes Thecher	Is' cum Galfrido Dawe	apotecar'	Stephanus Hurlebat	3s Od
Johannas Bakere	Robertus Bocher		Rosya ux' eius	
Johannes Ingliond	Lucia ux' eius		Matilda ancilla eius	12d
Johannes Thresher	Robertus Brag		Johannes Bredeford	3s Od
Thomas Stake	ux' eius		Marg' ux' eius	
Willelmus Edrich'	Henricus Brag	pastor	Johannes Croxman	4d
Petrus Thresher	Andreas de Mersey		Galfridus Dunmowe	8d
Johannes Dus	Galfridus South	draper	Johannes Huntyngdone	2s Od
Johannes Wichard	Idonia ux' eius		Johanna ux' eius	
Johannes Tresher	Johannes Landone		Willelmus Wrighte	3s Od
Willelmus Geffray	Alexander Taylour		Alicia ux' eius	
Johannes Shypman	Johanna ux' eius		Robertus Stronge	2s Od
Johannes Bacon'	Johannes Paynot'		Katerina ux' eius	
Walterus Bacon'	ux' eius	draper	Johannes ***	2s Od
Johannes Soter			Agn' ux' eius	
Thomas Fore			Johannes Sky***	12d

From left to right they are West Ham in Becontree hundred (1381), the city of Colchester (1377), and Bocking in Hinckford hundred (1381).<sup>121</sup> It is immediately obvious that the three different vills have had their tax data recorded in different formats. For example, in Colchester the wives of the heads of households are recorded next to the name of their husbands as *ux'* [*uxor*]. In contrast, the wives of the men of West Ham are recorded as *ux' eius* on the line below their respective husbands. Bocking differs again, where the first names of the wives are recorded as well as *ux' eius*. There are many other differences throughout the returns, with various ways of recording households, occupations, and amounts paid. The massive variety of formats meant that it was not possible to scan and enter the data directly into the database, despite the previous transcription. Instead the data had to be entered into the database manually. Apart from this difference, the poll tax returns were entered into the database in a similar fashion to the musters, with the data being held in different

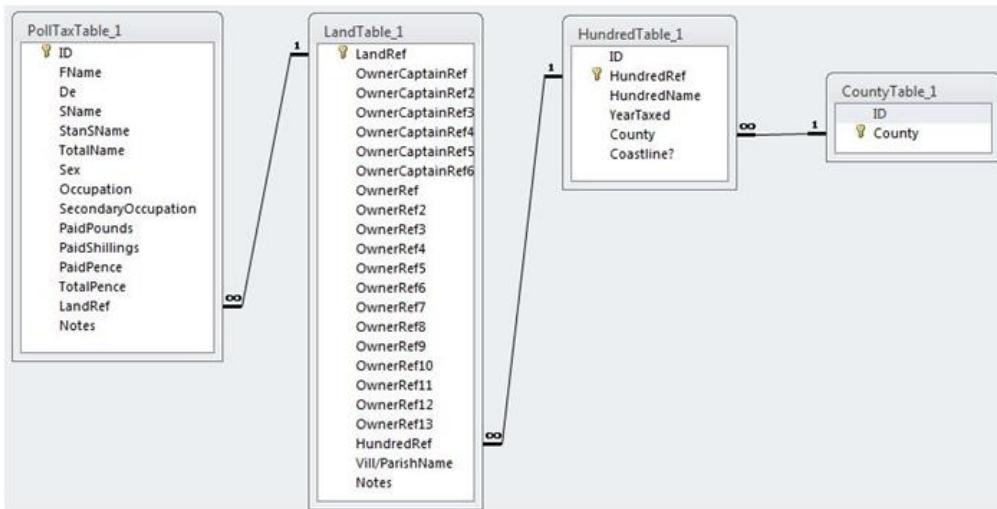
<sup>121</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 1, p. 205 , p. 204, and p. 207 respectively.

related tables to avoid duplication. Likewise, the order in which names appear in the documents was preserved. The poll tax data is mostly held in the object ‘PollTaxTable’ as follows:

- ID: automatically assigned number to provide a unique identifier for each record.
- FName: first name, standardised, anglicised, and modernised where possible.
- De: ‘middle’ name. Includes names such as ‘de’, ‘atte’, and ‘fitz’.
- SName: surname as recorded in the original document.
- StanSName: surname, standardised, anglicised, and modernised where possible.
- TotalName: the three components of the name joined together i.e. ‘John’, ‘de’, and ‘Smith’ would appear as John de Smith.
- Sex: gender of individual record, either ‘male’, ‘female’, or ‘unknown’.
- Occupation: if given, the occupation recorded for the individual in the returns. ‘*Ux*’ or similar recorded here for wives.
- SecondaryOccupation: same as ‘Occupation’ field. Used when more than one occupation recorded.
- PaidPounds: if an amount of tax paid gives a value in pounds it is recorded in this field.
- PaidShillings: same as ‘PaidPounds’, but for shilling amounts.
- PaidPence: same as ‘PaidPounds’, but for pence amounts.
- TotalPence: this field combines the pounds, shilling, and pence amounts for each record into the total number of pence in that amount. This allows the values to be compared more easily.
- LandRef: every unique vill within the database has been assigned a unique land reference as an identifier to enable each tax unit to be easily distinguished from others. If taxed in more than one year, the vill has a separate land reference for each incident.
- Notes: any notes created during the process of data entry.

The diagram in Figure 1.5 below demonstrates how the poll tax data was broken up into separate objects, and the links between those tables.

Figure 1.5: Database construction: Division of poll tax data



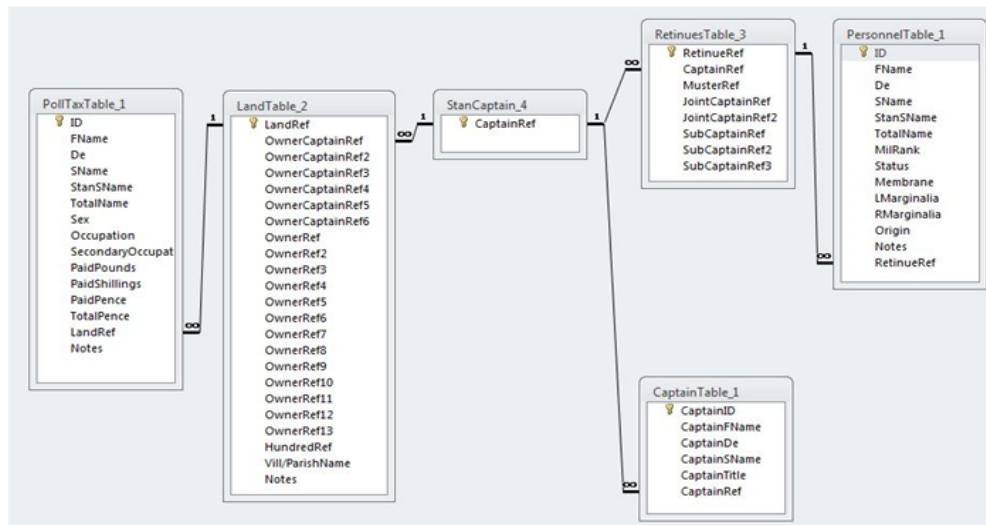
The bulk of the poll tax data is held in the 'PollTaxTable'. The data which would be duplicated, the information concerning the areas taxed, has been split into 'LandTable', which also records the people who are recorded in the IPM's as owning the vill, 'HundredTable', and 'CountyTable'. In each case the primary key has many different records in the linked table associated with it, i.e. each county has many hundreds within it.

As can be seen, the bulk of the data regarding individuals is held in the 'PollTaxTable'. These fields are very similar to 'PersonnelTable' which reflects their similar purpose. The variation in pre-decimalisation monetary units makes it hard to compare amounts through a database. This meant that the pound, shilling, and pence fields for each record were combined together, and converted into a standardised amount given in pence, held in the 'TotalPence' field. The other field worth noting at this juncture is the 'LandRef' field. This performs the same function as the 'RetinueRef' field does for the muster rolls by grouping the individual nominal records together into a unit. In the case of the poll taxes these groups are the 3,987 vills which appear in the returns with nominal records. These vills are grouped into 274 hundreds, which in turn are arranged into the thirty counties which have extant nominal records. This area of the database only required one standardisation table, and one look up table. The standardisation table was used for the 'Occupations' and 'SecondaryOccupations' fields in the 'PollTaxTable', to provide consistency and improve data accessibility for the myriad terms used to describe different occupations. It also provided an

opportunity to group the different occupations into occupational groups, for example, '*mercator*' was standardised as 'merchant' and placed in the mercantile occupational group, whereas '*agric*' was standardised as 'cultivator', and grouped within the agricultural group. A sample list of these standardisations, for the maritime occupational group can be found in Appendix 1.5

So far this chapter has laid out how the main sources have been incorporated into the database. As mentioned previously, the *IPMs* will link the two main sources. This has been done through identifying the landholdings of the retinue captains listed in the muster rolls. The vills with nominal records in the poll taxes were checked against the calendared entries in the *IPMs*, identifying persons, specifically the retinue captains, who held land or estates listed in the poll taxes. This data was then inputted into the ‘LandTable’ that also acts as the primary key for the ‘PollTaxTable’. The names contained within the ‘StanCaptain’ table were used to ensure that the lands could be linked to the captains, who are identified in the muster rolls, who held them.

Figure 1.6: Database construction: Links between poll tax returns and muster data



This diagram displays the key link which allows relational interrogation of the two principal sources in the database. On the left, the core poll tax data from Figure 1.5 is linked through the 'StanCaptain' table to the muster roll data from Figure 1.2 on the right. The 'StanCaptain' table is linked to the 'CaptainTable' which contains all the different ways that each retinue captain in the database has been identified. This can change throughout a captain's career as they may receive or inherit honours or titles. In effect the 'StanCaptain' table provides a list of men who could potentially be identifiable landowners in the IPMs, as well as serving as retinue captains as recorded in the muster rolls.

Therefore once the *IPMs* had been included into the database it was possible to see all the relationships which link these disparate sources together. The two main fields of

interest, the names of the soldiers and the taxpayers, are at opposite ends of the database, but are linked through relationships between different elements of their own sources. A complete map of the database can be seen in Appendix 1.1.

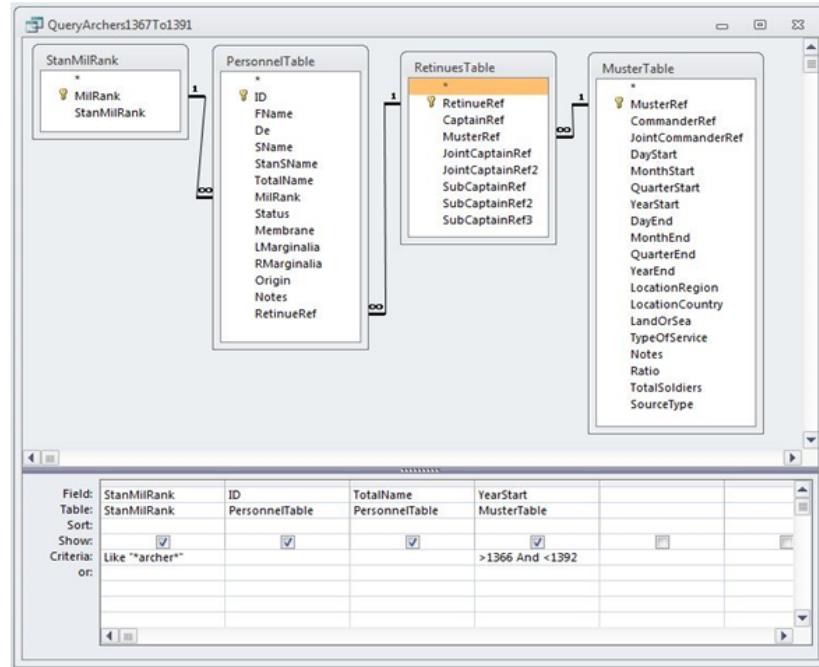
Of course, while building the database is a large project in its own right, it is only a means to an end for this thesis. The remaining chapters will approach the topic from different angles to address the core research questions outlined above. However, a brief example of how the database can be interrogated will provide some context for the explanation of the database construction above, and the analysis that appears in each chapter.

The example that has been described below is a basic query to sort the archers from the muster rolls into three tiers, a division that occurs frequently throughout the thesis as it allows distinctions to be drawn between evidence which could indicate different types of archers. Queries are another form of object in Access databases, used to interrogate the data and extract results from the raw data which has been inputted. When creating a query, multiple tables can be selected, and filtered by the required criteria. Only the relevant fields needed from the required result need to be selected. It is also possible to save queries, and use the results of that first query within another query. Tier 1 comprises names of archers which appear once in the musters. These are the men whom it is easiest to link to a specific poll tax entry as the names are unique and there is little chance of a false positive due to multiple records of the same name amongst the archers. Tier 2 represents names which appear on multiple occasions, within the same year, in the musters. Linkage between these records and the poll tax is less certain as a false positive or indeterminate identification is more likely. The final and smallest sample, Tier 3, contains the names of archers who appear to have served on multiple occasions and represent the more professional archers, who may have been using military service as a primary occupation and could therefore be seen as careerist soldiers. These are identified by finding those names which appear on multiple occasions within the muster sample, but never more than once in a year.

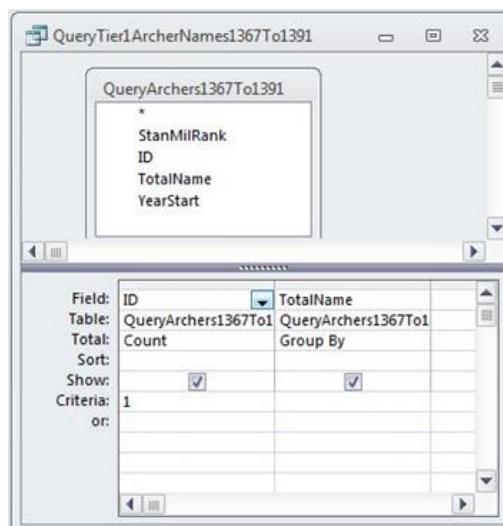
To achieve this, several stages were followed as shown in Figure 1.7. This example is focused on the archers serving within ten years of the poll taxes, 1367 to 1391. This

sample has been used repeatedly during the analysis of the data in chapter two, and is a good illustration of the process used to organise and process the raw data into a useful format.

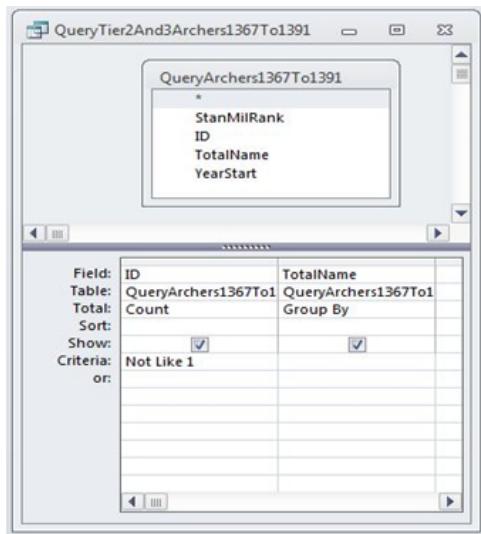
Figure 1.7: Division of archers from musters 1367 to 1391 into Tiers



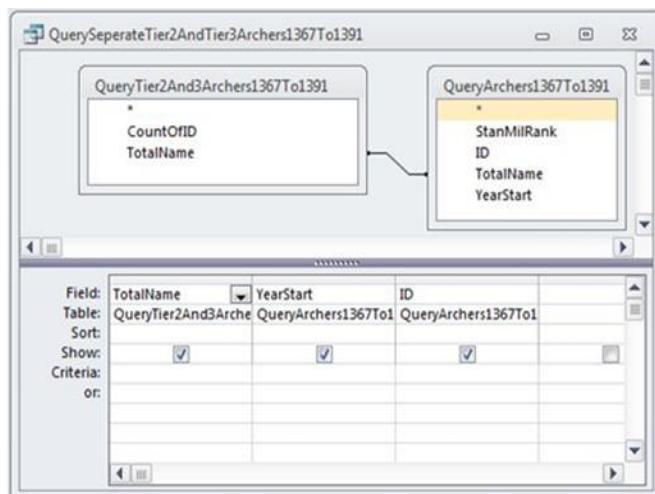
**Stage 1:** The objective of this series of queries is to identify which records from the period 1367 to 1391 can be grouped into the three tiers identified. This stage isolates the archers from the other soldiers in the muster rolls by using the criteria “\*archer\*” to only return results which contain the word ‘archer’ in the military rank standardisation table. The results are also filtered by the date of the muster, with only musters between the dates of 1367 and 1391 returned, as shown by the criteria in the ‘YearStart’ field. This produced a sample of 18,485 service records.



**Stage 2:** To identify the Tier 1 archers a query was performed on the results of Stage 1, counting the number of occasions when each concatenated ‘TotalName’ appeared in the sample. By limiting the criteria to ‘1’ only the Tier 1 results, the unique names in the sample, were returned.



**Stage 3:** Distinguishing the Tier 2 and 3 names from each other is slightly more complicated as both will appear on more than one occasion in the sample. This stage removes the Tier 1 names from the original sample to leave only those from Tier 2 and 3 by only returning the names which appear on more than one occasion.



**Stage 4:** This stage introduces the 'YearStart' field to the isolated Tier 2 and 3 names by linking the two objects through the 'TotalName' field and including the date from the query generated in Stage 1.

**Stage 5:** The final stage separates Tiers 2 and 3. This is achieved by counting the number of times a name appears in a year. If a name only appears on one occasion in any given year, it is included provisionally in Tier 3. If a name appears more than once in a year it is classified as Tier 2. There is one further step in the processing of the Tier 3 results which has to be done manually. The list of provisional Tier 3 names is checked to find any names which only appear once in one year, but appear multiple times in another year and therefore appear among the Tier 2 results as well. These names are then deleted from the Tier 3 list as the multiple appearances in a year indicate that they are classified as Tier 2. The final sample sizes were 1,873 names in Tier 2 and 1,015 in Tier 3.

This example of the process used to produce results from the dataset is essential to the overall thesis and will be referred to repeatedly. Using multiple steps to reach the required results was not unusual in this project, and often seemingly simple results required complex or time consuming queries to produce them. However, once these queries were created and stored, they could be used in combination with each other, and take advantage of the relational database construction to provide consistent and interesting analysis.

This chapter has laid out the foundations for the thesis, both in terms of its historiographical context, and the method employed to complete the stated research goals. The sources incorporated into the database provide a mixture of geographic, occupational, and military data needed to link archers to taxpayers in the civilian world. This has enabled a comprehensive analysis of the patterns of service, and consideration of the occupational and socio-economic status of those archers who can be identified in the poll taxes. Obviously this will only provide a snapshot into certain years, and some interpretation will be required, for example, a man recorded as paying the minimum tax of 4d in 1379 would be thought of as a relatively poor individual. However, if this same person could be linked to a series of muster records, perhaps culminating with service as a man-at-arms in the 1390s, it might instead indicate that he was young in 1379, and used military opportunities to increase his

economic and social standing throughout his lifecycle. The poll taxes' occupational data have been used to investigate trends of occupation among archers, and identifying if the archers were more likely to hail from certain backgrounds than their civilian counterparts. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it has been possible to identify where archers were living, and whether they were being recruited by retinue captains who held lands in their locality, or if there was a military service market which allowed archers to engage in service where and when opportunities arose.

## Chapter 2: Influence of lordship or economic professionalism— Archers' patterns of service

### 2.1 Introduction

Medieval England was a relatively centralised and organised state by contemporary standards. 'England proved precocious in expanding royal power; the Anglo-Norman kings (1066-1154) and their Plantagenet successors preserved their Anglo-Saxon predecessors' authority as public officials as well as late Roman and Frankish concepts of state power.'<sup>1</sup> However, despite this unity there were differences in many areas including prevalent economic, social, and political structures. There were even disparities in the type of field systems used in each region's agriculture, which reflected the aforementioned structures, as well as geographical necessity.<sup>2</sup> Economic history studies of different areas of England are restricted by the extant evidence, which tends to focus heavily on a limited geographical or chronological scope. One such example is John Mullan's work on two bailiwicks of the Winchester bishopric estates, which compares and analyses the manors clustered around Taunton in Somerset and a geographically distant group focused on the manor of East Meon in south-eastern Hampshire between 1350 and 1410.<sup>3</sup> From his analysis of the Winchester pipe rolls he concluded that 'although the Taunton bailiwick was the larger of the two... [the] largest accumulations [of property] in the later fourteenth century tended to be found in the East Meon group, where good properties were relatively cheaper.'<sup>4</sup> However, this sort of evidence can make it difficult to draw wide-ranging national-scale conclusions. Therefore this chapter does not attempt to directly consider archers and their links to retinue captains and landlords countrywide. Instead it considers if there were variations in patterns of service for archers from different

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph V. Turner, 'England: Kingship and Political Community, c.1100-1272', in: Stephen H. Rigby (ed.), *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'The regional uniqueness of English field systems? Some evidence from eastern Norfolk', *Agricultural History Review* (1981), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> John Mullan, 'Accumulation and Polarisation in two Bailiwick of the Winchester Bishopric Estates, 1350-1410: Regional Similarities and Contrasts', in: Ben Dodds and Richard Britnell (eds.), *Agriculture and Rural Society After the Black Death: Common Themes and Regional Variations* (Hatfield, 2008), p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Mullan, 'Accumulation and Polarisation', p. 197.

parts of England and investigates links between landowners and peasants, retinue captains and archers, to join the civilian and military worlds and enabling the analysis of patterns of military service. Were archers serving in a ‘politically determined’ fashion, based on their status within English society and the pressure that landowners could exercise through their lordship? or was their service ‘economically determined’ and motivated by wages within a ‘free military service market’?<sup>5</sup>

Stephen Morillo’s typology of military service, discussed in the previous chapter and shown in Figure 1.1, provides the basis for this distinction.<sup>6</sup> He places ‘professionals’ in the centre of the distribution field of military service types, with ‘indenture’ type service in the lower left quadrant indicating socially embedded, economically determined service which ‘represented one option among other domestic employment opportunities for those who signed on to serve, say, Edward III in the Hundred Years War.’<sup>7</sup> The distinction between these two points in Morillo’s model is at first glance, quite obvious, given the clear distinction which Figure 1.1 implies. However, as Morillo observes, the distribution field is more of a spectrum of possibilities rather than clear categories. Therefore, this chapter will not be intending to prove that there were a group of archers whose military service was entirely professional. Instead it will consider the distinction between incidents of service primarily motivated by political considerations and that motivated by economic concerns.

The reasons for undertaking military service could be complex and the available evidence makes it difficult to distinguish between political and economic service, and ignores personal motivations. Some incentives for military service remain elusive; for example, the desire to travel or explore may have been greater for some individuals than others. Equally, there may be legal or personal entanglements which could motivate a prospective archer. The political aspect of military service is difficult to observe as it does not necessarily rely on formal obligations through landlord and tenant relationships or formal legislation passed by a central authority. Instead, it

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<sup>5</sup> Morillo, ‘Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia’, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Morillo, ‘Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia’, p. 251.

could be the informal pressures that landowners could bring to bear on those of lesser social ranks through the exercise of lordship, pressures that have left little or no evidence. By contrast, the economic motivations for military service are relatively clear, with financial rewards in the form of wages well documented under the indenture-based form of military recruitment in the later fourteenth century.

This chapter will focus on the distinction these political and economic determinations of military service as defined in Morillo's typology. Incorporating the model into the method of analysis, and using the terms Morillo has explored, provides a helpful way of considering the service patterns of English archers. The distinction between these two will be expanded on later in the chapter, however the principal difference between them for the present research is whether an archer can be found serving with a retinue captain who held land in, or near, an archer's place of residence, and if therefore military service may have resulted from the influence of local lordship.

As military service to the Crown had developed into a contract-based system, there arose opportunities for men to see military service as a career, becoming what could be considered professional soldiers, albeit not as a part of a permanent national army.<sup>8</sup> This had wide-ranging effects on both military organisation and the social composition of the military community of the realm, with the emergence of the mounted archer as an associate of the man-at-arms, encouraging those of prosperous, but sub-knightly status, to undertake military service.

The arrayed infantry of Edward I's day were ill-equipped and undisciplined; and as the *Poem on the evil times of Edward II* reminds us, "the richest buy themselves off for ten or twelve shillings, whilst the poor are conscripted." By contrast, the mounted archers of the mid to late fourteenth century were more expensively equipped (an archer's hackney might cost 20s), and frequently drawn from a wealthier social group.<sup>9</sup>

This shift was due to many different factors, including the greater English military emphasis in the late fourteenth century of service at sea or in France at the expense of

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<sup>8</sup> Prince, 'Indenture System' and Prince, 'Payment of Army Wages'. This change in service patterns could be interpreted as a shift towards the socially unembedded and economic determination of service.

<sup>9</sup> Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 15.

Scotland. The resulting logistical constraints made vast infantry armies highly impractical. Other external factors include the profound consequences for both economy and society of endemic plague after the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348.<sup>10</sup> These shifts created opportunities for the rise of the military professional or careerist, a phenomenon that has been well documented, and can be seen in the careers of men such as Reginald, Lord Cobham of Sterborough, whose 'achievements in arms and by the rewards which these achievements brought...raised the Sterborough Cobhams high in fame and distinction. From 1347 until his death he was summoned to parliament as a Lord'<sup>11</sup>, demonstrating how a successful military career could advance a man's fortunes. Another notable example was Sir Robert Knolles, who evidently began his military career as an archer in the 1340s and died in 1407 after an active and high profile career as a retinue captain.<sup>12</sup> His most senior military appointment was to the command of the English expeditionary army of 1370 which was planned to comprise 4,000 men, a large army by the standards of the day. Given that great commands normally went with high social rank, his relatively humble origins made him a somewhat surprising choice for such an appointment. It may have resulted from an attempt to run the expedition as a business venture, with 'private industry' making a profit in the name of the English governments' strategic ambitions, limiting the need for the Exchequer to finance the war effort.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, from an English perspective, the campaign was a disaster, and the army broke up and was destroyed piecemeal by the French.<sup>14</sup> Despite this particular failure, Knolles' career was, on balance, a success. In fact, although he was not the only man to rise due to military prowess, his particular career trajectory was so unusual in its scope that it is an outlier. More typically an archer who gained promotion to man-at-arms would have been from a gentle family, a younger son or cousins of a minor gentry family, who could not afford to equip all their scions with the expensive arms and armour required by men-

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<sup>10</sup> Bolton, 'World Upside Down', p. 17

<sup>11</sup> Nigel Saul, 'Reginald, Lord Cobham of Sterborough in Lingfield (Surrey), d. 1361', <<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/Cobham.php>> (accessed 9 September, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Michael Jones, 'Knolles, Sir Robert (d. 1407)' <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15758>> (accessed 1 August, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Divided Houses*, pp. 67-70.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, pp. 87-90.

at-arms.<sup>15</sup> One example of the flexible social status of archers can be found in the Massy family of Cheshire during their service in south-west Wales in 1377. The garrison of Pembroke castle contained five members of the Massy family, with three (Ralph, John, and Robert) serving as men-at-arms, and two (Hugh and John) serving as archers.<sup>16</sup> This demonstrates that it was possible for archers to come from a variety of statuses and that military service was a way of improving their economic and social standing through wages, the bonuses of campaigning (including ransoms and loot), and the opportunity to associate with their social superiors and form positive relationships.<sup>17</sup>

These opportunities, which could be interpreted as an important element in the foundations of a military service market, provide an opportunity to examine the patterns of service among archers. Were they constrained by political and social obligations to serve their social superiors? Or did the late fourteenth century see an increase in personal freedom in military activity enabling men to serve as archers when, where, and with whom they chose? Along with this analysis of whom archers were serving, other trends in their service patterns were considered. This included the type of service that archers were undertaking, such as at sea or garrison based service, as well as where they were fighting across the numerous theatres of war which saw active English armies in the later fourteenth century. The overlap of residency and military service data provided by the database enabled this analysis to consider the effects of socially embedded or unembedded service on the trends which emerged, as well as the impact of the geography of the county from which the archers hailed.

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<sup>15</sup> Andrew Ayton, 'Military Service and the Development of the Robin Hood Legend in the Fourteenth Century', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), pp. 136-7.

<sup>16</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 163

<sup>17</sup> Further discussion of the financial and social benefits of military service to archers can be found in Keen, Maurice, 'Chivalry', in: Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, (Manchester, 2005), pp. 40-44, and: Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, pp. 184-191, and: McFarlane, *England*. The latter is a collection of previously published articles, but all make some contribution to this area.

## **2.2. Method**

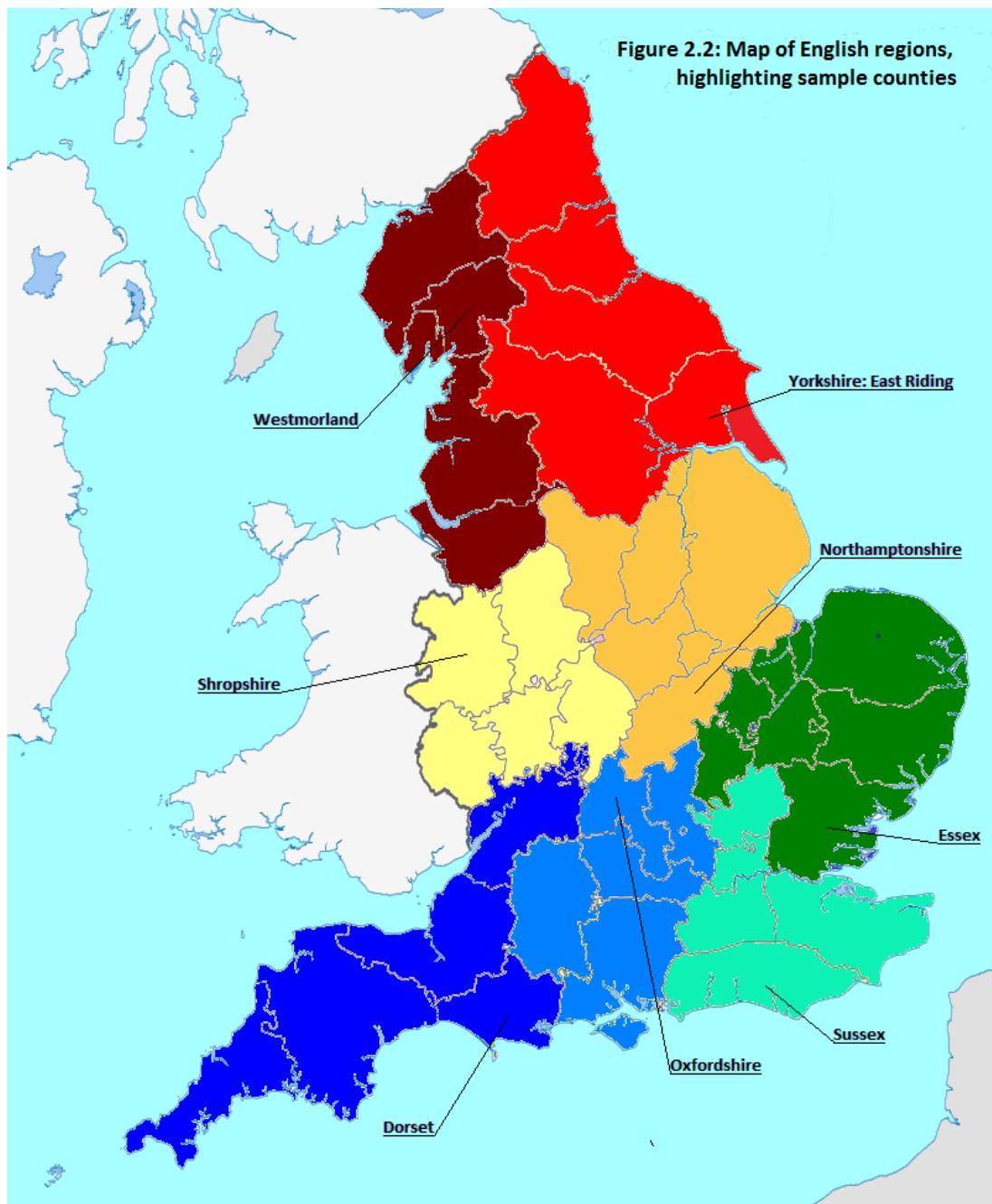
The general method employed in this thesis has been previously discussed in some depth in Chapter 1. However, it will be expanded upon here, and made specific to the requirements of this chapter's research. Firstly, the sample areas for each region needed to be identified. As the poll taxes are grouped by county, regions were created from groups of four or five adjacent counties (see Figure 2.2). Within these regions, sample counties were selected by identifying those which had the closest to the average number of nominal poll tax records and average number of taxed locations for that region. The one exception to this was in the south-east. Kent had the closest to average number of nominal records, however these records were predominately from the 1377 returns and do not contain any occupational or non-per capita tax data. Therefore the next closest match, Sussex, was chosen instead. The counties comprising each region of England, and the particular county chosen for analysis in each one, are shown in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1: Breakdown of English regions and counties**

Region	County sampled	Other counties
East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland
Eastern	Essex	Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk
North East	Yorkshire: East Riding	Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire: North Riding, Yorkshire: West Riding
North West	Westmorland	Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire
South East	Sussex	Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Hampshire
South West	Dorset	Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, Somerset
Southern	Oxfordshire	Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire
West Midlands	Shropshire	Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire

This selection provided a wide geographical range across England, which allowed any regional variations present to be noted. The single case where two samples counties bordered each other (Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire), provided a marked contrast

to the other, more widely scattered, counties. The counties selected also provided a balance between four coastal counties (Yorkshire: East Riding, Dorset, Sussex, and Essex), and four landlocked counties (Shropshire, Westmorland, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire).



The database created for this thesis provides access to the nominal data from the muster rolls and the poll tax returns. These datasets need to be broken down, with samples extracted to enable proper analysis to take place. The previous chapter has already provided a detailed dissection of an example query, which allows the sample

of archers from 1367 to 1391 to be extracted from the muster rolls, and separated into three distinct tiers.<sup>18</sup> This query is central to the whole thesis as it offers a crucial division between different levels of confidence in the identification of archers, and the implied reliability of the records. The period chosen covers the ten years either side of the poll taxes, which increases the chance of strong nominal record linkage between the two principal sources of the database. By limiting the sample size in this manner, the possibilities of a false positive, where a man is linked erroneously to a similarly named, but different individual, are reduced. The archer sample selected comprises 18,485 service records; however this does not represent unique individuals, and must be broken down into sub-samples, or tiers. The three tiers are identified as follows: Tier 1, containing the 10,450 names of archers who only appear once in the sample; Tier 2, which comprises the 1,873 names of archers which appear on more than one occasion in a year; and Tier 3, comprising 1,015 names of archers who appear more than once, but in separate years. Tier 2 represents the weakest potential linkage as these names are repetitive and difficult to link to a particular individual with any certainty. Some Tier 2 names may appear in more than one year, for example, Adam Ferrour appears only once in 1371 and 1375, but twice in 1372 and 1374, and four times in 1389, meaning that it must be categorised as Tier 2. It is not possible to be sure which of the two or more examples of the name should be linked to other source material. However, Tier 3 comprises the names that are repeated across the muster roll sample, but only appear once in any given year. This means that it is possible that each name is in fact the same individual, and that therefore the Tier 3 sample represents men who served on more than one occasion and could be viewed as professional or semi-professional soldiers.

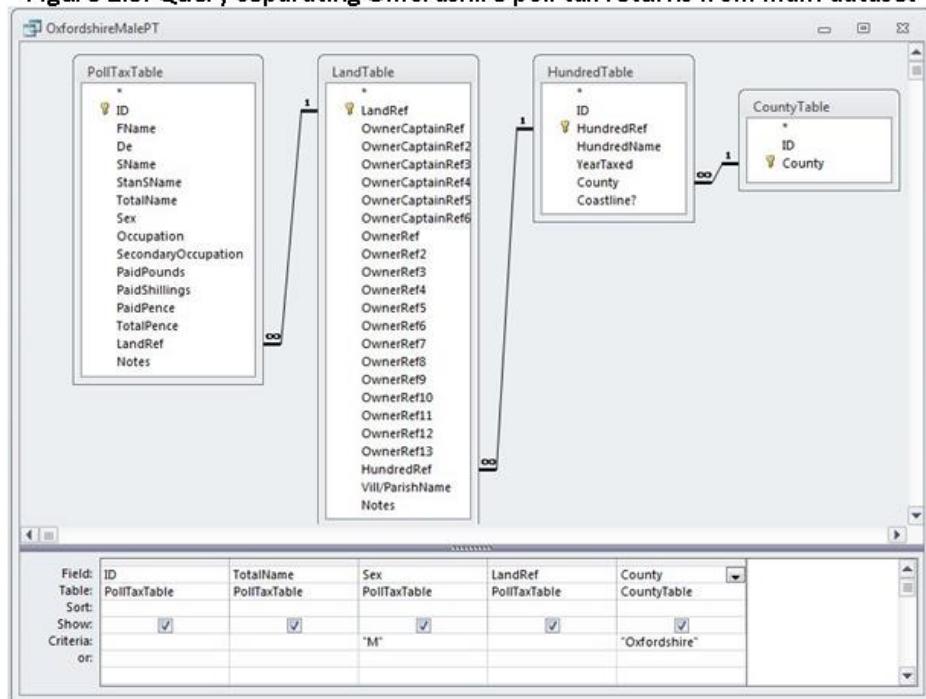
The other main samples for this chapter were all extracted from the poll tax returns. These needed to be split into the counties which were selected, as discussed above, and by tax year, to allow for the different types of collection and coverage to be accounted for. Furthermore, only male entries were required as women did not serve in the English military in any official capacity. As an example of how these samples were extracted from the database, the queries for the Oxfordshire data are shown

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<sup>18</sup> See Figure 1.7, p. 47.

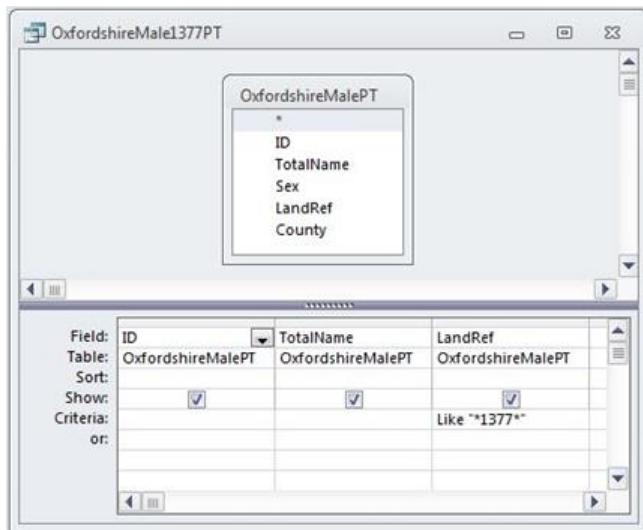
below in Figure 2.3. This image demonstrates how the data was extracted from the overall ‘PollTaxTable’ into a new object ‘OxfordshireMalePT’ and then how this was further refined by tax year. This step was important as although each person was only liable for the poll tax in one location, and therefore could not appear in multiple vills across a county or England, they could be taxed in multiple years, leading to the appearance of the same name on up to three occasions, all of which related to the same individual. One example is William Mariot of Adderbury, Bloxham Hundred, in Oxfordshire, who was recorded in all three poll tax returns in that vill along with his wife Cecilia.<sup>19</sup> The same construction was used across all the eight counties, for each year which has extant nominal records.

**Figure 2.3: Query separating Oxfordshire poll tax returns from main dataset**



**Stage 1:** The whole poll tax dataset, in ‘PollTaxTable’, has been filtered by ‘Sex’ and ‘County’ to produce a query which only results in male records who were resident in Oxfordshire. The ‘ID’, ‘TotalName’, and ‘LandRef’ fields have been retained for future ease of use. This query was repeated for each county.

<sup>19</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 2. See p. 316 for 1377 record, p. 330 for 1379 record, and p. 332 for 1381 record.



**Stage 2:** The results from stage 1 have been queried further, using the 'LandRef' field, to only return results from the 1377 poll tax. This query was repeated for each tax year in each of the eight counties.

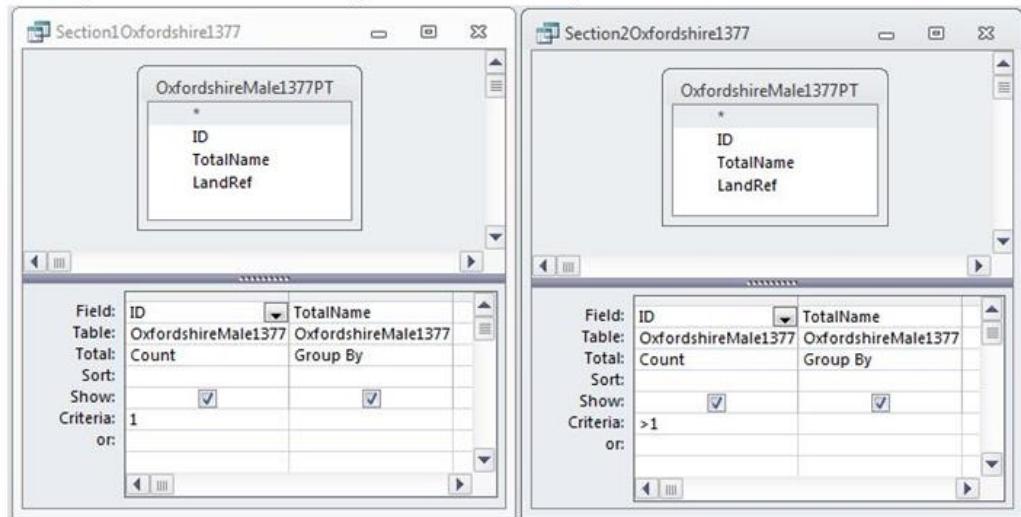
These queries then had to be further refined to enable an important distinction to be drawn regarding the repetition of names. This was concerned with the strength of nominal record linkage, in a similar fashion to the categorisation used for the different tiers of archers. The poll tax queries above were divided into two sections, 1 and 2. Section 1 comprised all the unique names within a county for a given year. As these names only appear on one occasion any links between them and the muster rolls can be considered robust, as each name represents a unique individual. Any links between musters and names in Section 2, however, would be much less secure, as this section includes all the names which have been repeated more than once within a county's returns for one of the three tax years.<sup>20</sup> The example of William Mariot, for example, demonstrates how a name can be duplicated within a county, but not within a year, and would therefore be included in Section 1. However the two entries which appear as 'Henry Sadeler' in Banbury and Oxford in 1377 are grouped into Section 2 as it becomes impossible to identify which of the entries would be linked to other nominal records when using such a large dataset.<sup>21</sup> Figure 2.4 shows the queries used to split

<sup>20</sup> There is also a 'Section 3' sample that comprises the male names in the poll tax returns that are unique across the whole country. This sample would represent the most secure nominal linkage however the small sample size of only 267 Tier 1 and 39 Tier 3 matches made it more suitable for a case study, rather than a large scale, county based analysis. However it has been used in the case study in Chapter 4.

<sup>21</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 2. See p. 316 for Banbury and p. 322 for Oxford, in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin.

the 1377 Oxfordshire data into the two sections. This was repeated for all three tax years for Oxfordshire, as well as the other seven counties.

Figure 2.4: Queries dividing 1377 Oxfordshire poll tax returns into Sections 1 and 2



The samples have been formed by grouping the results in the 'OxfordshireMale1377PT' by the names present in the 'TotalName' field, and counting the number of times that name appears. Section 1 names are those which only appeared once, Section 2 are those which appeared on more than one occasion.

The sizes of the samples for each county are shown below in Figure 2.5. Two sets of numbers appear in Section 2. The first is the total number of entries found in the poll tax, filtered by the criteria discussed above; the second is the total number of unique names found within that sub-section.

Figure 2.5: Breakdown of poll tax return samples

	Section 1	Section 2		Total poll tax sample
		Number of records	Unique names	
<b>Dorset</b>	2,119	366	137	2,485
<b>Essex</b>	4,901	1,952	654	6,853
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	3,667	1,219	427	4,886
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	3,802	1,178	438	4,980
<b>Shropshire</b>	2,392	606	223	2,998
<b>Sussex</b>	5,265	2,114	742	7,379
<b>Westmorland</b>	712	382	90	1,094
<b>Yorkshire: East Riding</b>	4,740	1,531	543	6,271

Nominal linkage, especially when using medieval records, will never be completely dependable due to the intrinsic variability of such manually produced documents. Nor

is it realistic to provide set parameters of probability matches between different sources. Instead it is best to work within a range of probabilities, which provides the flexibility to adapt the analysis to the nature of the evidence being used. Figure 2.6 indicates the likelihood of there being matches between the three tiers of the muster rolls and the two sections of the poll tax.

		Muster Rolls		
		Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3
Poll Tax	Section 1	Strong	Potential	Good
	Section 2	Potential	Weak	Weak

This chapter has so far demonstrated how the data contained within the two principal sources will be incorporated into the database; the nexus point linking the two can now be discussed. This link was provided by the retinue captains, not only in their roles as military leaders and recruiters, but also as landowners. The calendared *inquisitions post mortem (IPMs)* were used, with a manual search of the volumes covering 1375–1447 which were most likely to contain references to captains who led retinues in the period within the scope of this thesis. Ideally, the *IPMs* relating to each of the retinue captains would be used, however not all captains have an extant IPM, and focusing only on these would ignore references to them in other persons' inquisitions. For example, a retinue captain may be recorded in the inquisition of his wife, or as an heir to an estate, rather than merely in their own IPM. This meant that instead of searching the index of each of the eleven calendared volumes manually for the names of captains, the vills and locations recorded in the poll tax were sought. This entailed querying the database, specifically the 'LandTable', to find all the vills from the selected eight counties which contained extant nominal records, and then recording all persons associated with each particular location. These associates were then compared to the list of retinue captains, from 'CaptainTable' to identify where the captains doubled as landowners. A sample list of the vills (for Dorset) with nominal

records can be found in Appendix 2.1,<sup>22</sup> annotated with retinue captains and landowners where these categories overlapped. This process allows the persons resident in captains' lands to be identified as distinct from the broader samples already extracted from the poll tax. A similar level of refinement was also required to separate the retinues of landowning captains from the bulk of the archers sampled from the muster rolls. To accomplish this, the retinues a captain led, whether solely or jointly, and retinues where they appear to be enrolled as sub-captains were identified. The retinue numbers for each captain were saved as a separate object in the database for ease of reference. By storing the retinue numbers in this manner, it became straightforward to identify the archers from the retinue by referring to the retinue numbers field within the query, 'Archers1367to1391', which had extracted the archer sample covering 1367-1391 from the muster data in 'PersonnelTable'. The details of each captain's retinues can be found in Appendix 2.2.<sup>23</sup>

At this point the evidence from the musters, poll taxes, and *IPMs* had been manipulated into a form which enabled data interrogation to proceed with relative ease. None of the raw data central to the thesis had been changed but the conditions under which it was held had been modified. At all points it was still possible to connect the newly created queries and objects with the original database map shown in Appendix 1.1.<sup>24</sup> Figure 2.7 below shows the relationships between the raw data and the samples extracted, which illustrates how the queries have manipulated the data, and where the links are between the different sources.

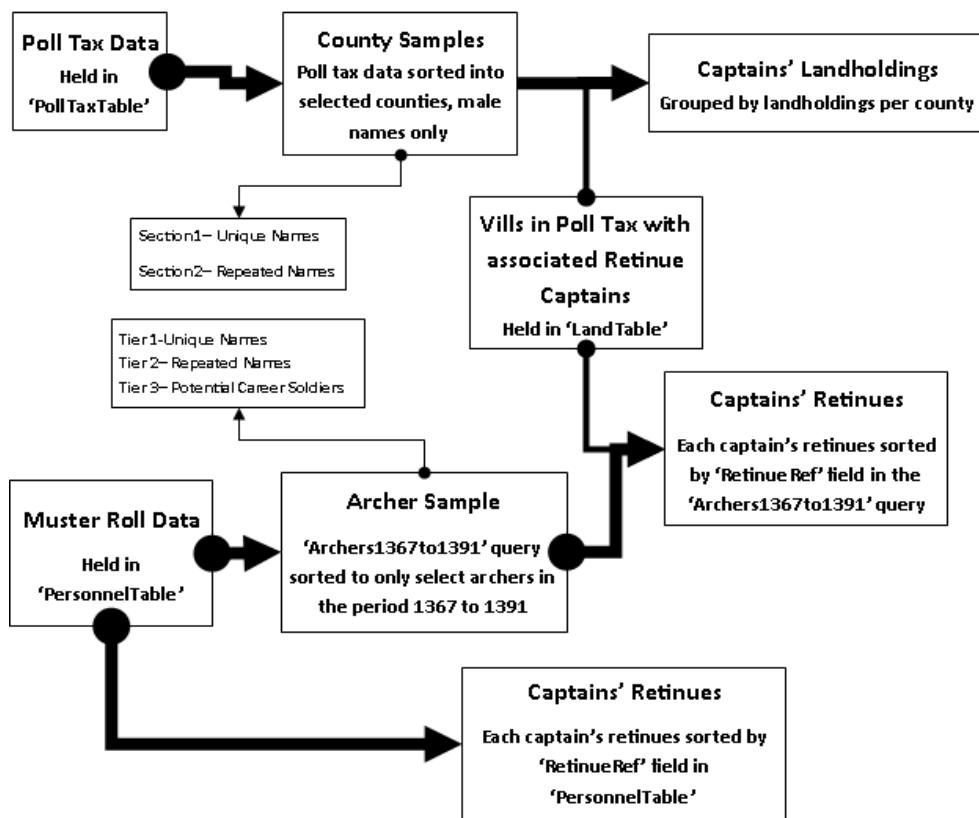
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<sup>22</sup> See p. 256.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 259.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 247.

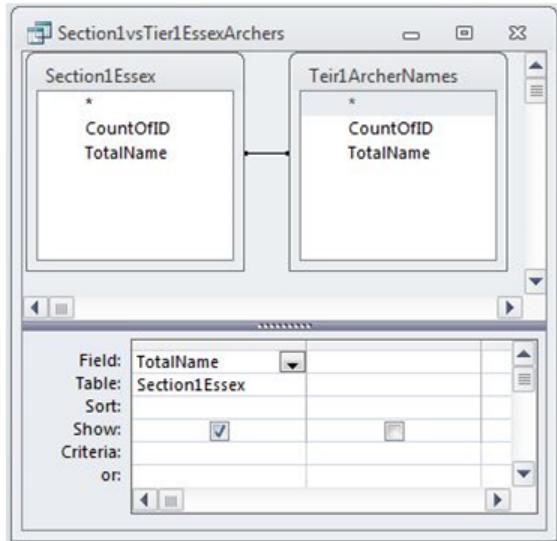
Figure 2.7: Breakdown of principal sources into useable samples



### 2.3. Politically determined service: Nominal linkage between poll tax and archer samples

With this foundation constructed it was now possible to begin investigating the links between taxpayers and archers from the retinues of captains with landholdings in the eight counties looking for politically determined service. Given the data available, the quickest and easiest way to compare the two principal sources would be to consider how many archers from the three tiers identified can be linked to a name in the two sections of the poll tax for each county. This involved a simple query to find matching results in the 'TotalName' field of the archer sample and the same field contained within the separate samples for each county as presented in Figure 2.8. Figure 2.9 provides a summary of the matches for the eight counties, and figures 2.10 and 2.11 provide a graphical representation of the results.

**Figure 2.8: Query for nominal linkage between county wide poll tax returns and archer sample 1367-1391**

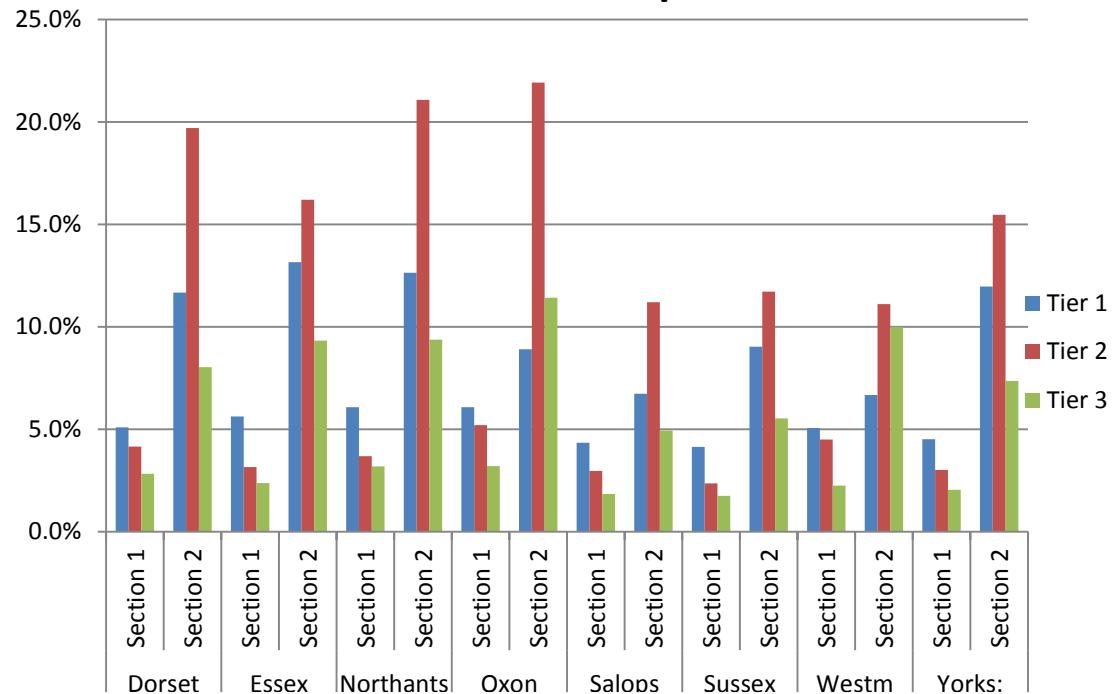


The query uses the samples previously extracted and shown in Figure 2.8. The Tier 1 archers from the archer 1367 to 1391 sample have been linked and compared to the names from Section 1 of the Essex poll tax. This provides a basic idea of the links between the two principal data sources, and can be repeated for each counties Sections 1 and 2 names against Tiers 1, 2, and 3 of the archer sample.

**Figure 2.9: Number of nominal links between county poll tax samples and archer sample 1367-1391**

		Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3	Unmatched names from Section
Section 1	Dorset	108	88	60	1,863
	Essex	276	155	116	4,354
	Northamptonshire	223	135	117	3,192
	Oxfordshire	231	198	122	3,251
	Shropshire	104	71	44	2,173
	Sussex	218	124	92	4,831
	Westmorland	36	32	16	628
	Yorkshire: East Riding	214	143	97	4,286
Section 2	Dorset	16	27	11	83
	Essex	86	106	61	401
	Northamptonshire	54	90	40	243
	Oxfordshire	39	96	50	253
	Shropshire	15	25	11	172
	Sussex	67	87	41	547
	Westmorland	6	10	9	65
	Yorkshire: East Riding	65	84	40	354

**Figure 2.10: % of county poll tax sample matched to archer sample 1367-1391**



**Figure 2.11: Comparison of matched and unmatched county poll tax nominal entries**

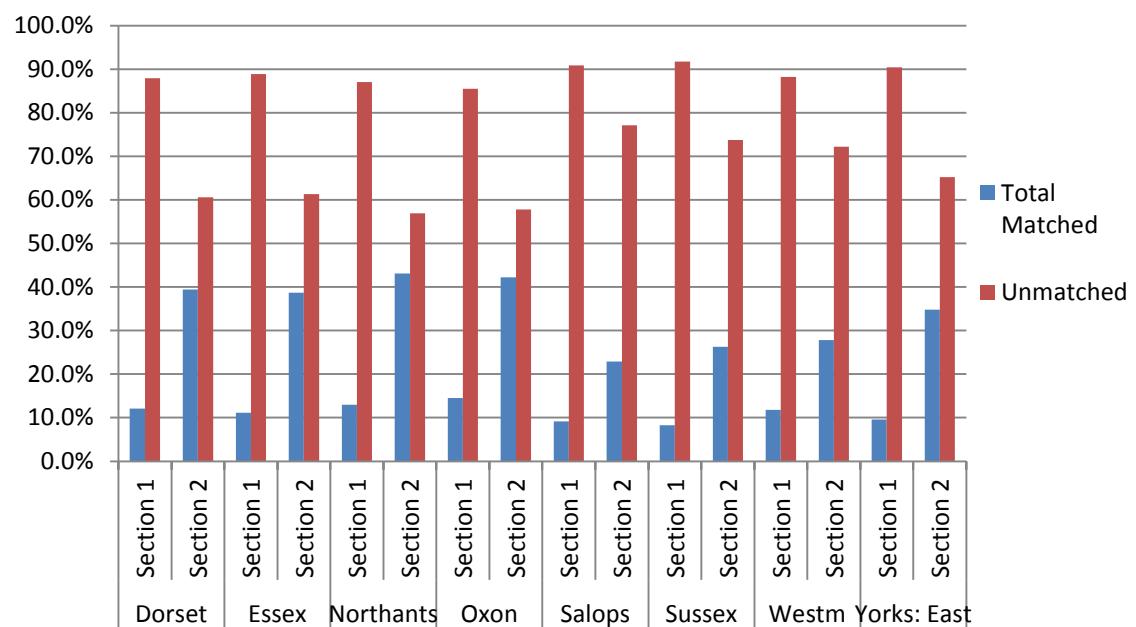


Figure 2.9 reveals that the majority of poll tax names cannot be matched to any of the three tiers of archers, given the number of unmatched names from all the counties. This is further supported by the graph in Figure 2.11 where the red bars, indicating

unmatched names, are much larger than the blue bars of matched names. The difference is less pronounced among the Section 2 names for most of the counties, reflecting the increased prevalence of the names in this section. The rate of matches between the Section 1 names and the whole archer sample for each county ranges between 8% for Sussex and 14% for Oxfordshire of the Section 1 samples for each county. This is quite a tight distribution, and suggests that military service was a minority occupation among the general population in the eight sample counties. This result is open to interpretation as the survival of the muster rolls and poll tax returns is incomplete. An increase in the sample sizes could potentially increase the number of matches between the sources, and perhaps therefore increasing the match rate, indicating that military service was more popular than these results suggest.

In Figure 2.10, the match rates have been displayed as a percentage of the unique names in the poll tax samples. The trends are quite similar in each county with the Section 1 samples having the most matches among Tier 1 archer names, the least matches to Tier 3. This is reflective of the size of the three tiers, with the larger sample in Tier 1 providing the greatest number of matches as there are more potential linkage points. However, despite having twice the number of nominal records compared to Section 2 (10,450 for Section 1 against 5,754 split between 1,873 unique names for Section 2), the Section 1 matches are not twice as numerous. The closest was found in Sussex where the Section 1 to Tier 1 and Tier 2 match rates were 4.1% and 2.4% respectively. The rate of matches between Section 1 and Tiers 1 and 3 is also not proportional. There are 2,332 records in Tier 3, split across 1,015 unique names. The match rate should therefore be roughly four times as small as Tier 1, given the number of records in each sample. Yet the closest match rate is again in Sussex: 1.7% between Section 1 and Tier 3, a rate almost twice as high as might be expected. If the Section 1 to Tier 1 result is considered as an accurate baseline it is apparent that service among archers in Tiers 2 and 3 was more common than it should have been relative to the size of the samples. With Tier 2 it is possible that this resulted from the increased prevalence of names which result in more false positives, a factor that has been accounted for in the relative nominal linkage strengths between various elements of the principal sources.

The Section 1 to Tier 3 disparity is of greater importance to this chapter due to the strength of the linkage. The relatively high rate of service among Section 1 poll tax names in the Tier 3 archer group, those who appear on multiple occasions and may be men engaging in a military career, suggests that although a majority did not engage in military service as archers in this period, a large minority of the population, 11% (when the Section 1 to Tiers 1, 2, and 3 are considered), can be linked to archers serving 1367 to 1391. The poll tax data provides 40,543 male records which have occupations listed, of which 10% are noted as labourers or farm labourers, suggesting that military service was as prevalent as labouring, albeit with fewer opportunities for employment and therefore less frequently undertaken.

The apparent, perhaps unsurprising, conclusion that only a minority engaged in military service may also be due to these queries having only considered service which could be seen as politically motivated, those men serving captains who held land locally and could perhaps use the influence of local lordship to recruit their retinues. If this form of recruitment was widely employed, it might be expected that the match rate would be higher. It is possible that the results produced were influenced by the economic concerns of landowners, who needed the labour output of the men in their locality to make their estates profitable, whether demesne or otherwise. Therefore they may have been reluctant to recruit locally, especially as there had been a decline in the availability of labour following the Black Death,<sup>25</sup> hence this minority result. If only those with good or strong links (Section 1 to Tiers 1 and 3) are counted this drops to 8%, smaller, but not inconsequential. Furthermore, of this 8% of the population in the eight counties who can be shown to be engaging in military service, 32% are found in Tier 3. From this, it is possible to conclude that military service was relatively common among the male population although not undertaken by a majority. However, among those that did undertake such service, they often returned to fight again, which suggests that there may have been a military service market in the later fourteenth century. The large scale of the comparison, between broad county-wide poll tax return data and muster data covering a twenty-four year period, is but part of

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<sup>25</sup> Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), p. 32.

a much larger picture regarding the military service market, and although political service has been considered, economically determined service has not been quantified.

To provide a greater level of refinement it is necessary to employ the second set of queries, the 'County Samples' and 'Archer Samples', shown in Figure 2.8 where the data has been filtered to cover specific landholdings and retinues. This was a multi-stage process for each county. Firstly, the retinues of captains from 1367-1417 were compared to the poll taxes for the vills where that captain held land. This was completed county by county so that each of the eight counties was analysed in turn. A larger sample of archers has been used here to enable a wider selection of retinue captains and their landholdings to be used. Secondly, the same retinues were compared to the overall county poll tax returns for each county where the captain held land. Finally, these same samples were compared to the poll tax returns for the region in which the county is located. This final stage of analysis not only provides another area of comparison and allows the different regions to be compared directly as well as through their county proxies; it also tests the results of the earlier analysis.

It might be expected that increasing the size of the poll tax return sample would increase the number of matches between the retinues and poll tax returns, but at the expense of the nominal linkage security. This would appear as an increase in the matches to Section 2 of an expanded poll tax sample. A greater number of overall matches would also be expected as the number of unique names also increases in the larger sample. The chronological range of the 1367-1417 sample should also be noted. As previously stated, the closer to the poll tax dates, the stronger the nominal linkage. However, this does not render results from a larger sample redundant, merely less secure. It might appear that this range would potentially include some false positives as it would be unlikely that a man recorded in the poll taxes would still be undertaking military service in 1417, yet it was not impossible. A taxpayer in 1377 of the minimum age of fourteen would be fifty-four in 1417 and a fifteen year-old from the 1381 returns would be fifty-one. This may seem old for the period, yet it is not without precedent and there are several other examples of soldiers serving at greater ages

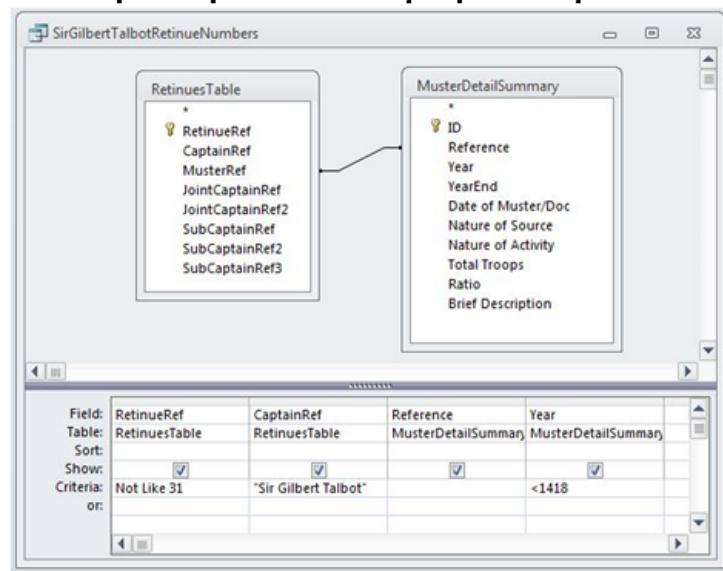
than this, notably Sir Andrew Luterell, whose military career continued into his seventies.<sup>26</sup>

The different stages involved running separate queries for each result produced. Each captain's retinue archers were compared to the men who may have been susceptible to the influence of the retinue captain's lordship for matching nominal records. Susceptibility to the influence of lordship was interpreted as those individuals living in proximity to the individual vills, or within the borders of the counties and regions in which the captain's held land. The construction principles behind the database assisted the analysis. Figure 2.12 is an example of the construction of a query to find archers from the retinues of Sir Gilbert Talbot in his lands in Shropshire, and also across the whole Shropshire poll tax returns, and the west midlands region. As this example demonstrates, the retinue of the captain in question has not been divided into three tiers. This is due to the smaller sample of archer names and the likelihood of an archer from tier three serving with more than one captain during their career. This would make splitting a captain's retinue archers into these tiers unhelpful for this analysis. It should also be noted that the queries have compared the retinue archer names to the whole poll tax sample for the landholdings, county, and region. This is to increase the likelihood of a match between the two principal sources. As the basic hypothesis of this thesis is that there was an increase in economically determined service, creating a military service market, this approach will test this more effectively than concentrating on the more reliable Section 1 names. Although it is more likely that false positives will occur due to the larger sample size, this will mean that the results presented below provide an upper threshold of nominal linkage for politically determined service.

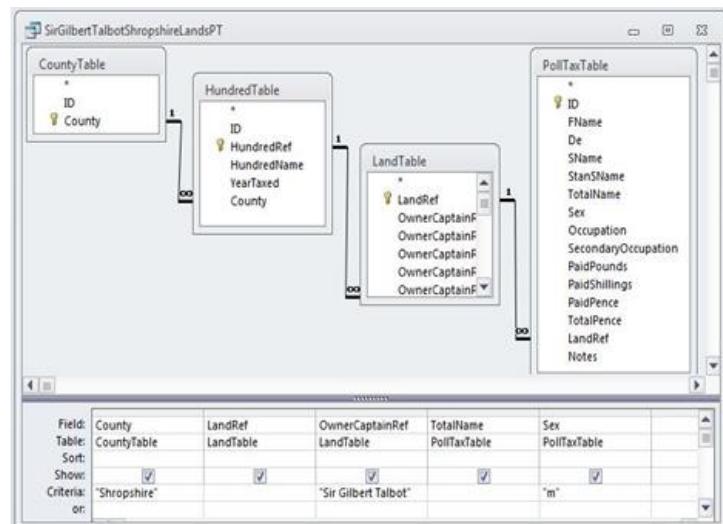
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<sup>26</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 88.

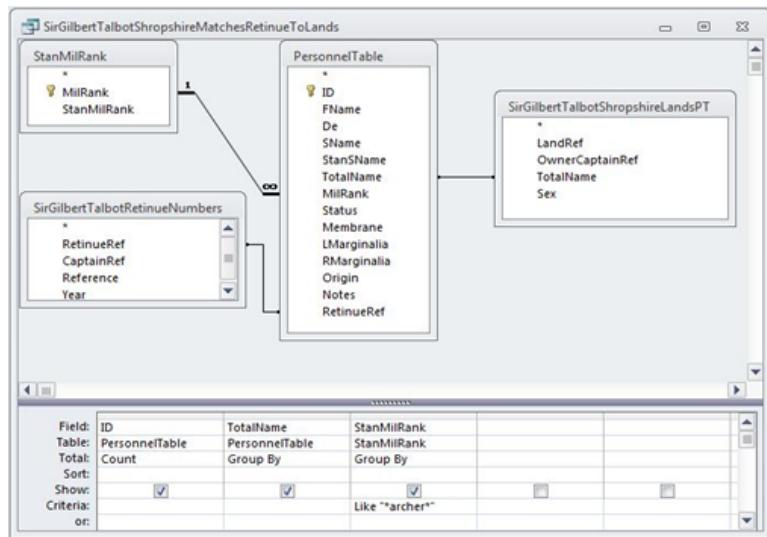
**Figure 2.12: Example of queries to analyse politically determined service**



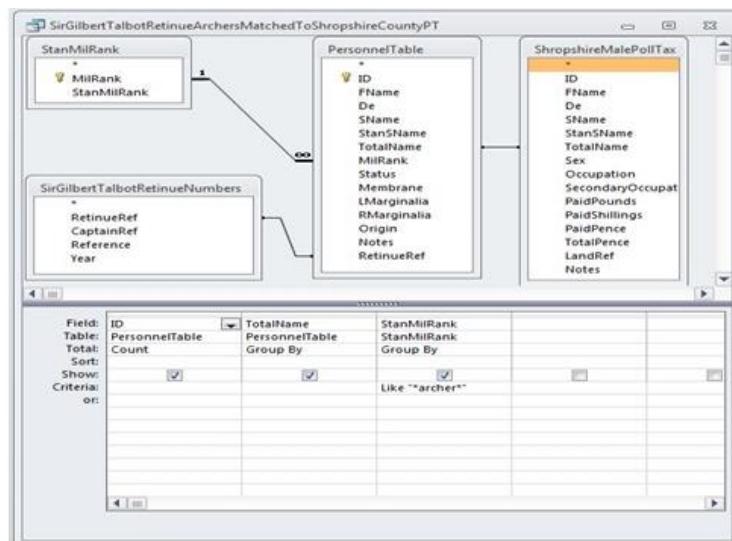
**Stage 1:** Identifying the retinues which Sir Gilbert Talbot led as a retinue captain. The 'Year' field has been restricted to retinue mustered before 1418. 'RetinueRef' contains a special filter for Sir Gilbert as his 1387 retinue was duplicated in two separate documents, E101/40/33 and E101/40/34. The former has been removed as it appears to be a record of those intending to serve on the expedition, rather than those actually mustered.



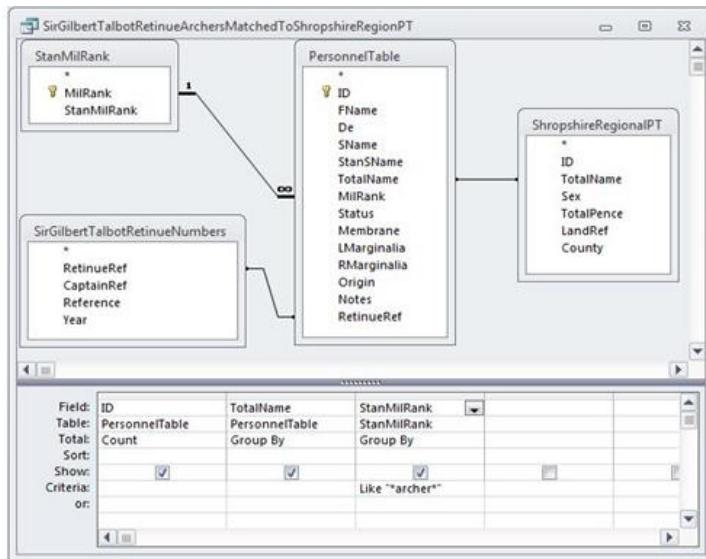
**Stage 2:** Identifying the vills where Sir Gilbert owned property. The query will only produce records when the county is recorded as 'Shropshire' and where the 'OwnerCaptainRef' is 'Sir Gilbert Talbot'. Furthermore only male names are returned due to the criterion 'm' in the poll tax table's field 'Sex'.



**Stage 3:** Here the two previous queries have been cross referenced to identify names which appear in both the retinues which Talbot recruited, and the lands which he held. The link between the 'TotalName' fields of the 'PersonnelTable', which includes all the nominal muster records, and the 'SirGilbertShropshireLandsPT' query, is the point of intersection between the two principal sources. The query also uses the 'count' function in the 'Total' row. This means that the query will produce a result for the number of times a name from the 'PersonnelTable' appears in the poll tax data, rather than for the number of matches overall. Note the use of a standardisation table 'StanMilRank' to ensure only archers are included in the results.



**Stage 4:** This is the query used to compare Sir Gilbert's retinue archers to the whole poll tax for Shropshire. In place of the 'SirGilbertShropshireLandsPT' query used in Stage 3, a new object has been created to separate the Shropshire poll tax data. Aside from this increase to the poll tax sample size employed, the overall query remains very similar to that employed in Stage 3.



**Stage 5:** A similar query to that utilised in stages 3 and 4, with an expanded sample of poll tax data. Here all the counties which comprise the west-midlands region have been grouped into the 'ShropshireRegionalPT' object. This query is therefore looking for matches between the archers of Talbot's retinues and men of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire.

The sample sizes are different for each county, as only the retinues of captains with lands within that county will be included. Another variable is the number of poll tax records which can be included as for the first set of results only those residing within a retinue captain's lands are required. The samples used are noted in Figure 2.13.

**Figure 2.13: Samples for analysis of politically determined service**

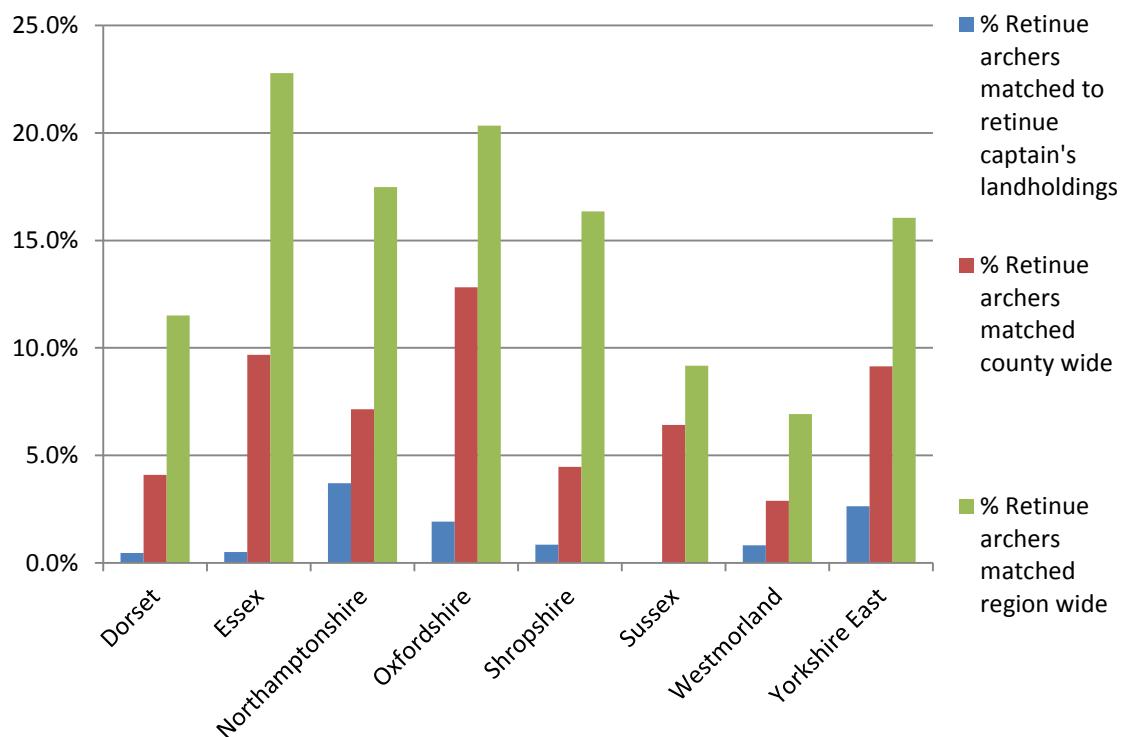
County	No. Retinue Archers 1367-1417	No. of male poll tax residents in captains' lands	No. of vills with nominal records with captain/owner	No. of male poll tax residents in county	No. of male poll tax residents in region
Dorset	2,361	1,498	46	2,485	18,495
Essex	3,052	3,408	55	6,853	43,040
Northamptonshire	3,427	3,565	35	4,886	49,263
Oxfordshire	4,997	4,164	51	4,980	21,379
Shropshire	2,293	2,046	64	2,998	14,310
Sussex	218	18	67	7,370	24,741
Westmorland	373	946	30	1,094	12,210
Yorkshire East	3,709	5,415	88	6,271	30,611

The full results for the analysis of these queries are in Appendix 2.3. However, a summary of the results for each county can be seen below in Figure 2.14, with a graphical representation in Figure 2.15.

**Figure 2.14: Number of nominal links between archers and poll tax returns indicating politically determined service**

County	No. retinue archers matched to landholdings	% retinue archers matched to retinue captain's landholdings	No. retinue archers matched county wide	% retinue archers matched county wide	No. retinue archers matched region wide	% retinue archers matched region wide
Dorset	17	0.5%	112	4.1%	314	11.5%
Essex	14	0.5%	287	9.7%	470	22.8%
Northants	43	3.7%	308	7.1%	596	17.5%
Oxon	103	1.9%	370	12.8%	730	20.3%
Salops	15	0.8%	92	4.5%	319	16.3%
Sussex	0	0.0%	14	6.4%	20	9.2%
Westm	10	0.8%	17	2.9%	33	6.9%
Yorks East	93	2.6%	237	9.1%	466	16.1%

**Figure 2.15: % of retinue archers engaging in politically determined service**



The most notable trend from the results displayed in Figure 2.15 is the increase in the number of matches from the 'captain's landholdings' category, to the region-wide level. As there is a large increase in the size of the sample this is not unexpected.

However, in much the same fashion as the politically determined analysis above, the matches between the sample sizes are not proportional to each other. For example, there are 1,498 names in the poll tax returns for landholdings of retinue captains in Dorset, 2,485 for the county, and 18,495 for the south-west region as a whole. This means that the Dorset county and regional poll tax return samples are 1.6 and 12.3 times larger respectively than the sample of names from the vills where retinue captains held land. If the number of matches increased with the same ratio there would be twenty-eight matches for the county as a whole and 209 for the south-west region. Instead the results show a number of matches four times greater than could be expected for the county level analysis, and 1.5 times greater across the region, with 112 and 314 matches respectively.<sup>27</sup>

These results suggest that politically determined service, especially from men living in close proximity to captains' landed influence, was not the norm. None of the counties surveyed have a match rate above 4% between a captain's retinue archers and the men resident in his landholdings. It is striking that the average match rate to the county wide poll tax is 7.1%, compared to the earlier match rate between county poll tax records and Tiers 1 and 3 of archers 1367 to 1391 of 8%.

Although the two approaches vary in their use of the data, the proximity of the results indicates consistency in rates of politically determined service. The results therefore suggest that although it was not uncommon for a captain to find recruits in his locality, they were not often found very close to home. Equally it is noticeable that although captains were recruiting outside of their areas of direct lordship, they were not recruiting as heavily from far afield. None of the regional match rates show the same larger than expected increase that can be seen in the county level analysis. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the recruiting captains appear to have taken the middle ground, a path which allows for a certain mixture of politically and economically motivated service. From the archers' point of view, they were not being recruited through the influence of local lordship and pressured to undertake 'political' service,

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<sup>27</sup> Sussex cannot be compared in this manner as it has no matches between retinue archers and captains landholdings. Essex has the most extreme variance, with match rates 9.8 times greater than anticipated for the county level analysis and 2.6 times greater across the eastern region.

but were allowed to undertake service motivated by their economic concerns. However, it should be remembered that opportunities for service may have been more apparent within a particular region and could have been somewhat restricted by the limitations of medieval communications and mobility. Although individuals could travel long distances when required, time sensitive and urgent recruitment may have made it impractical for a Dorset man to travel to the north of England for service in Scotland. Potential losses while travelling must also have factored as time spent travelling to a point of muster may not have been paid for. Although there does appear to have been something of a service market, these results indicate that it was restricted by these concerns, and that practical considerations influenced the patterns of service.

## **2.4. Economically determined service**

### **Poll taxed men in non-county retinues**

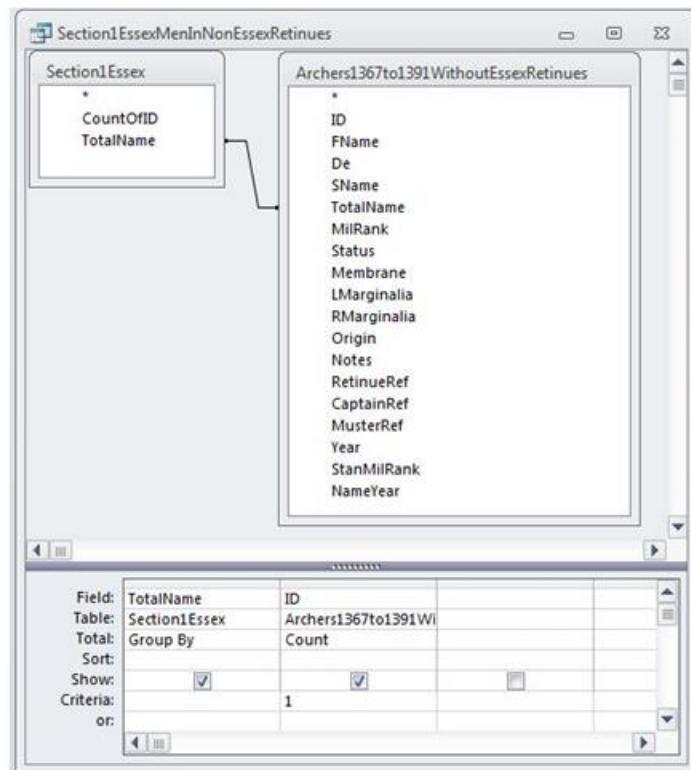
The next area for consideration is whether a similar approach can be used to identify men engaging in economically determined service, looking at the men recorded in the poll tax returns of the eight counties and comparing them to retinues of captains whose lands were from outside their county of residence. This is important for determining if there was a military service market for archers in the later fourteenth century. If there is only evidence of men serving as archers in a politically determined fashion, even if that rate of service is low, it could be interpreted to show that they were limited in their opportunities for military service and that therefore they were not a body of professional soldiers. Therefore, it was essential that men could be identified serving 'abroad', with a retinue not connected to their locality through residency or the influence of lordship to establish whether they can be shown to have economically determined patterns of service.

This approach substantially expanded the dataset sampled from the musters. Each county was compared against all the musters in the database except for those retinues which were covered in the previous section. For this analysis the muster sample was restricted to that taken from musters 1367-1391, as this will keep the sample size to manageable levels and improves the strength of the nominal linkage in the results. Nominal linkage strength will also be considered by extracting results from a

comparison of Section 1 of the county poll taxes, the unique names in that county the number of which can be found in Figure 2.6, and the mustered retinues which did not have a connection to that county. The size of these muster samples can be seen in Figure 2.16.

<b>Figure 2.16: Archer samples for economically determined service</b>	
<b>County</b>	<b>Tier 1 archers with named county retinues removed</b>
Dorset	17,161
Essex	16,796
Northamptonshire	17,588
Oxfordshire	16,587
Shropshire	18,258
Sussex	17,675
Westmorland	18,443
Yorkshire East	18,180

**Figure 2.17: Example query for economically determined service, Essex men serving in non-Essex retinues**



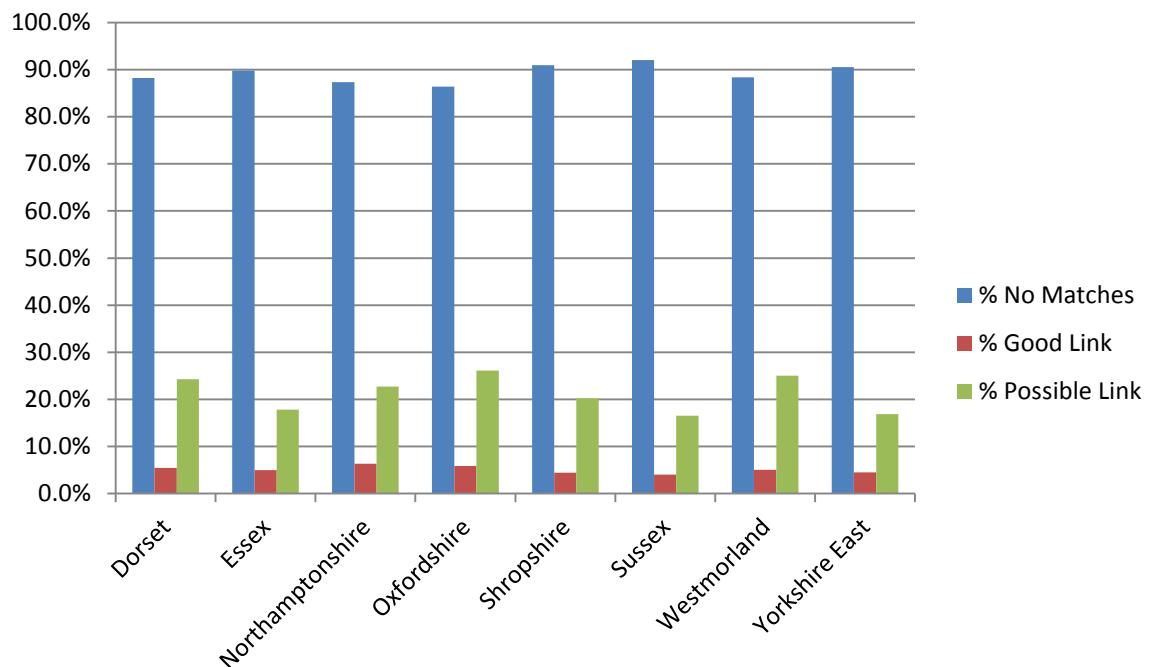
This query has been made by using the combined Section 1 names from the Essex poll tax returns of 1377 and 1381, and linking them to the sample of archers from 1367-1391, with the men who served in the retinues of Essex captains removed. Note the criteria '1' used to filter the 'ID' field of the archer sample. This ensures that the query returns one to one matches which have been recorded as good links in figure 2.16.

In effect, this series of queries is the reverse of the previous section. Instead of looking for retinue archers in their captain's lands or county, the query looks for matches between men of a particular county and retinue archers from extra-county retinues. An example query, for Essex, is shown in Figure 2.17.

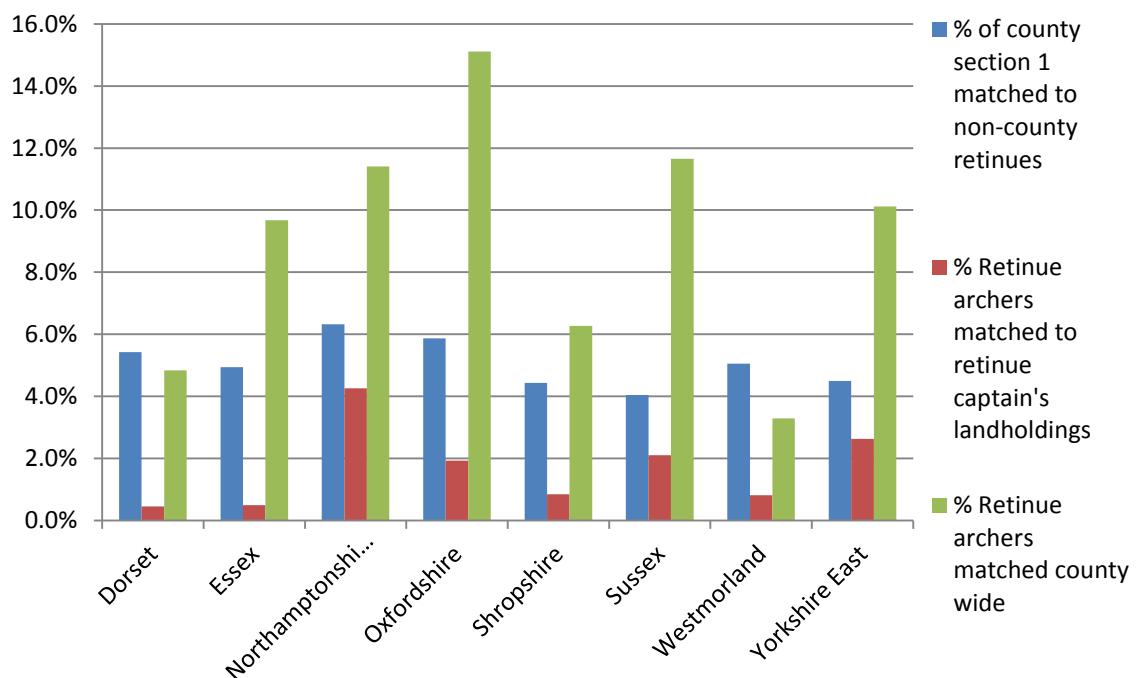
This query was run for each county and the results have been provided below in Figure 2.18. This has been presented by county and shows the unique names of Section 1 from each county matched to the muster sample of archers from 1367 to 1391. To compare the two sources, the muster sample, without retinues for the county in question, was compared to Section 1 of the county's poll tax for each year. The good links are those where there is a one-to-one match between a unique name in the poll tax and a name in the muster sample, whereas the possible links are where a unique poll tax name has been linked to many nominal records in the musters. The second category has weaker nominal record linkage than the good links.

<b>Figure 2.18: Rates of economically determined service for men serving outside their county of residence</b>							
County	No. of Section 1 Poll Tax Records	Unmatched Records	% Unmatched Records	Good Link	% Good Link	Possible Link	% Possible Link
Dorset	2,119	1,869	88.2%	115	5.4%	635	24.2%
Essex	4,901	4,402	89.8%	242	4.9%	1,006	17.8%
Northamptonshire	3,667	3,202	87.3%	232	6.3%	1,010	22.7%
Oxfordshire	3,802	3,286	86.4%	223	5.9%	1,242	26.1%
Shropshire	2,392	2,175	90.9%	106	4.4%	578	20.2%
Sussex	5,265	4,847	92.1%	213	4.0%	1,003	16.5%
Westmorland	712	629	88.3%	36	5.1%	222	25.0%
Yorkshire East	4,740	4,292	90.5%	213	4.5%	913	16.9%

**Figure 2.19: % of economically determined service for men serving outside their county of residence**



**Figure 2.20: Comparison of rates of politically and economically determined service**



The graphical representation of the results in Figure 2.19 demonstrates that the majority of poll tax records cannot be linked to a muster record. However, if the rates of service between men engaging in potentially politically determined service for their local landowners from Figure 2.15 and the good links of economically determined service from Figure 2.19 are compared, a distinctive pattern emerges which is shown in Figure 2.20.

The largest percentage of matches is typically the data shown by the green bar, which represents the matches between retinue archers and the poll tax returns for the county in which the captain held lands. The second largest, in blue, is usually between the county poll tax sample and extra-county retinues. The smallest group is the direct links between retinue archers and captains' landholdings. However, there are two exceptions to this general pattern, as the economically determined blue groups for Dorset and Westmorland are slightly larger than their respective green groups. It might be expected that there would be more links in the first two groups over the latter as they are larger samples which increase the likelihood of a match as it is more probable that any given name will appear. However if this hypothesis was correct, the greatest match rate would have been in the '% Section 1 matched to non-county retinues' category. For example, Shropshire has 2,293 archers in retinues of its landholding captains, with 2,046 men recorded as resident within their combined lands. This produced a match rate of only 0.8%. When this was expanded to include all the male poll taxes for Shropshire, 2,998 records, the match rate increased to 6.3%. In contrast, the query regarding Dorset men 'abroad' includes all 2,392 men who formed Section 1 compared to the 18,258 service records for archers 1367-1391 after the Shropshire retinues had been removed, and only produces a match rate of 4.4%. This mismatch between sample sizes and results indicates that there is a trend to be considered.

The hypothesis of a 'military service market' is further supported by the results of Dorset and Westmorland, with their apparently higher rates of economically determined service. This could, particularly in the case of Westmorland, be due to the smaller evidence base available. However, the samples for Dorset are comparable to other counties, especially Shropshire, and these results cannot be dismissed as statistically flawed. Therefore it appears that an archer was more likely to serve a

captain with no tenurial links to his county of residence than to serve the retinue captain whose landholdings were geographically closest to him. This conclusion must be tempered by the county wide matches, which are frequently greater than both the other categories. However from these results it cannot be positively linked to politically motivated service. Perhaps captains were not drawing heavily on those most likely to be influenced by local lordship, the men resident in or near the areas of a captain's estates, but they were restricted by limitations of communication and geography to recruiting relatively close to home.

#### **Archers in retinues led by non-local captains**

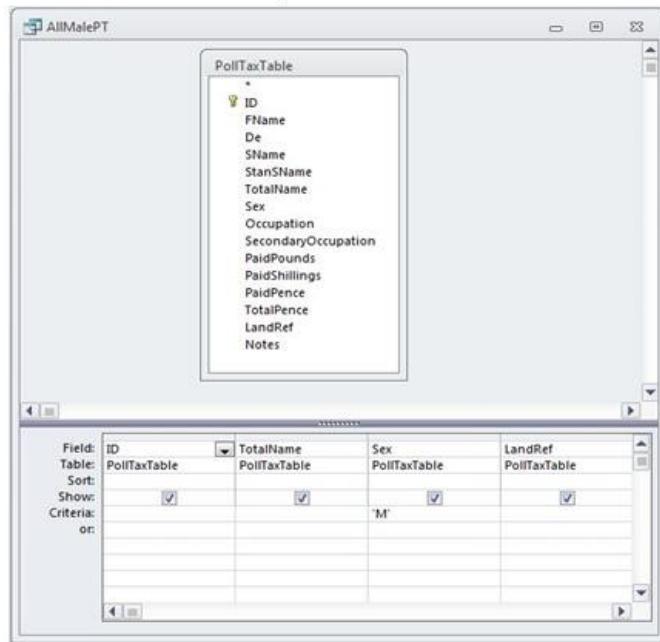
The database also reveals the number of archers, from the retinues of the captains who held lands within one of the eight sample counties, who can be linked to the poll tax returns from other counties. This parallels the previous section and tests the results and conclusions drawn regarding economically motivated service and the free military service market.

The queries used to investigate this are similar to those already discussed. However, they focus on archers from the retinues of captains from the eight counties in turn and compare them to the complete poll tax database, without the data from that particular county. The previously discussed rules for division of the source data, into Tiers 1, 2, and 3 for the musters and Sections 1 and 2 for the poll tax, were preserved. However the amount of data entered into the queries was different as this particular investigation meant considering all the male poll tax data, 155,493 nominal records, as well as having a broad chronological coverage of mustered archers, 1367 to 1417. The sheer size of the samples meant that only the most reliable nominal linkages would be considered, the Tier 1 to Section 1 links, as the other categories were too unreliable to provide useful qualitative analysis.

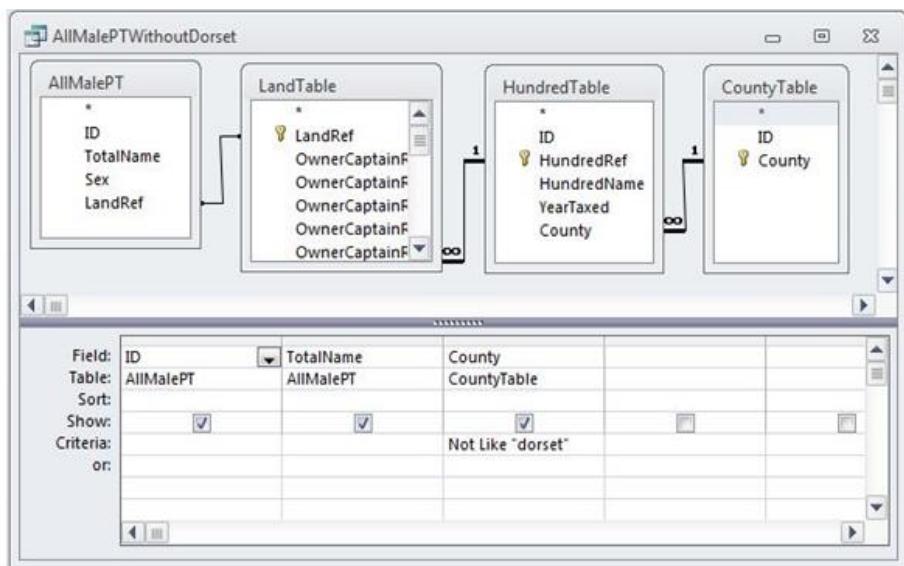
The poll tax return data was processed so that there was a separate table in the database for each sample of the Section 1 names required for this study. Eight tables were created, each one in reference to one of the sample counties. They comprised all the names not found in the county in question. The process used to create these is shown in Figure 2.21. The muster data was also refined, to allow each captain who

held lands in the eight counties retinues to be compared against the large poll tax samples. This was achieved by creating a new Tier 1 which encompassed all archers serving from 1367 to 1417, the process for which can be seen in Figure 2.22.

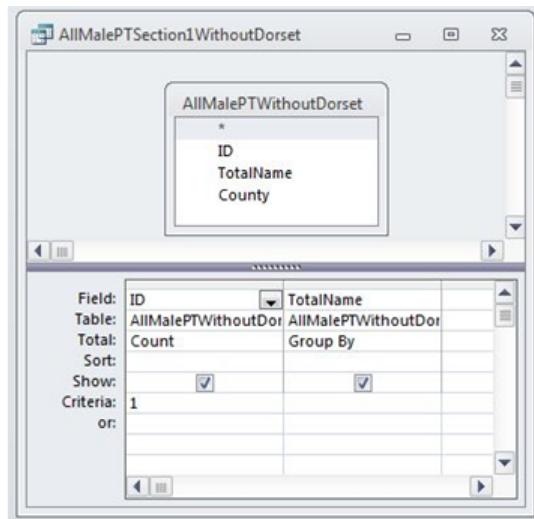
**Figure 2.21: Queries generating Section 1 poll tax return sample for analysis of economically determined service**



**Stage 1:** The first stage in producing the required samples was similar to other poll tax queries, removing the non-male records, and extracting the required fields of data.

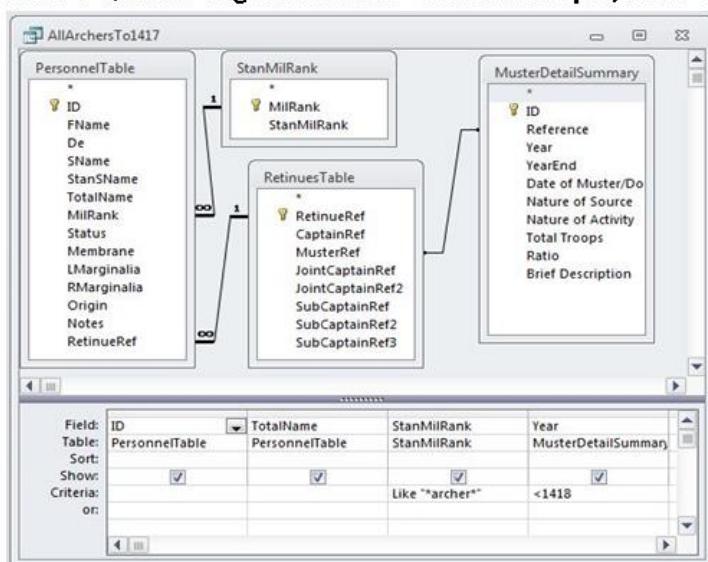


**Stage 2:** This step removes the poll tax data relating to the county being analysed, in this case Dorset. This results in a object, 'AllMalePTWithoutDorset' which contains all the male poll tax data, except that relating to Dorset.

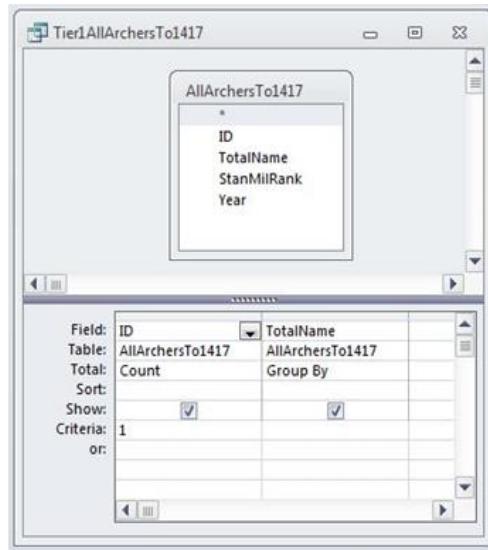


**Stage 3:** The final stage in the process isolates the Section 1 nominal records, and holds them in a separate object. This is done by counting the names which only appear once in the records of the object created in the previous stage, and has been performed auctioning a 'count' command filtered by the criterion of '1'.

**Figure 2.22: Queries to generate Tier 1 archer sample, 1367-1417**



**Stage 1:** The query uses the muster data in 'PersonnelTable' and filters using the 'StanMilRank' table to ensure that only archers are included in results, and uses the 'Year' field in 'MusterDetailSummary' to prevent any results from after the invasion of Normandy in 1417 being included.



**Stage 2:** 'AllArchersTo1417' is then refined to only include those names which appear once in the sample, producing Tier 1 of archers 1350-1417.

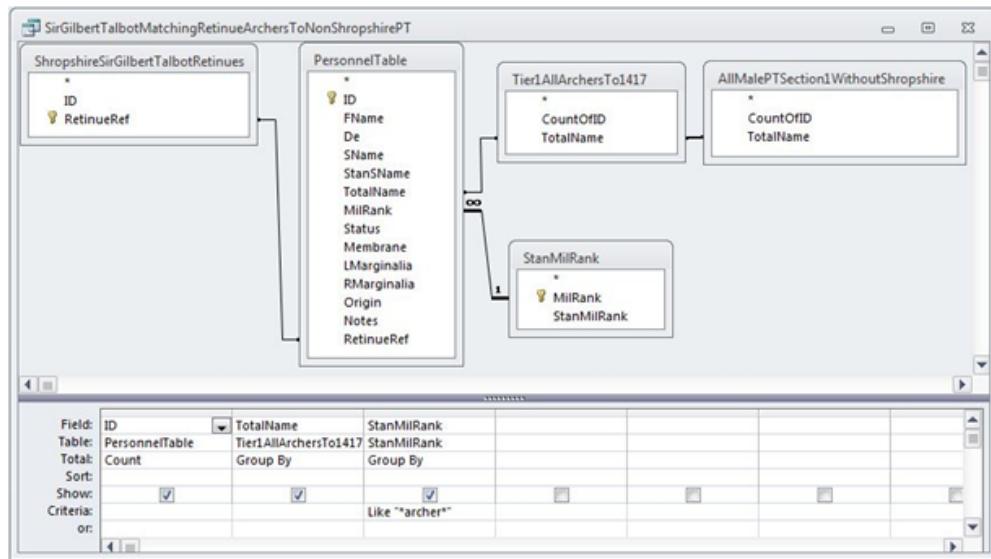
These queries constructed new samples, a Tier 1 archer sample of 22,308 names which acted as a reference point for finding Tier 1 archers in the relevant captains' retinues, and eight Section 1 samples for the poll tax, which have been enumerated in Figure 2.23.

**Figure 2.23: Section 1 poll tax return samples for economically determined service**

County	Section 1 Poll Tax Sample with Named County Removed
Dorset	73,667
Essex	72,046
Northamptonshire	72,934
Oxfordshire	72,962
Shropshire	73,302
Sussex	71,475
Westmorland	74,400
Yorkshire East	72,097

The actual queries used to test these samples against the retinue captains who held lands in the eight counties were very similar to Stages 4 and 5 of Figure 2.12, modified as shown below in Figure 2.24. The full results for each captain's retinue appear in Appendix 2.4, with a summary of the results sorted by the county which the retinue captains were affiliated to shown in Figures 2.25 and 2.26.

**Figure 2.24: Example query for economically determined service, Sir Gilbert Talbot's retinue archers in non-Shropshire poll tax returns**

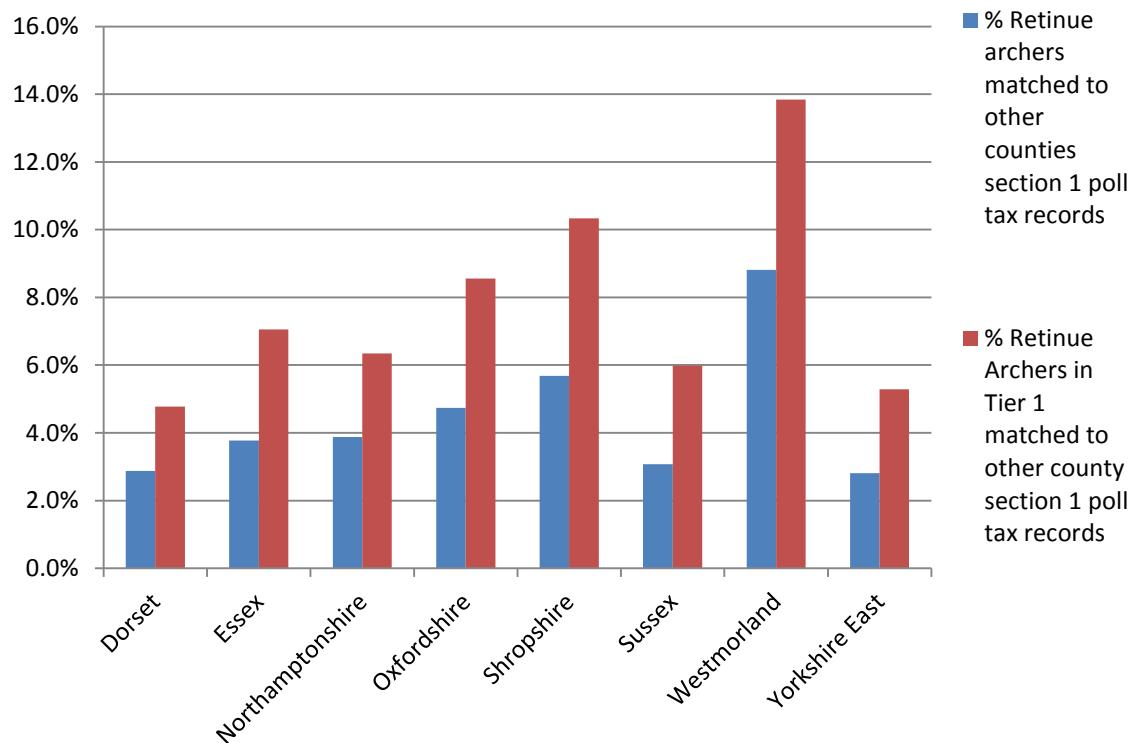


The structure of this query is very similar to that used in Figure 2.13, which looked for socially embedded service among the retinue archers of Talbot. Instead of looking for matches between the archers in his retinues and the residents of his estates, the query searches for matches between his archers and all the male poll tax records, except those relating to Shropshire.

**Figure 2.25: Number of nominal links between retinue archers and other counties poll tax returns**

County	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1367-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties Section 1 poll tax records
Dorset	2,361	1,223	90
Essex	3,052	1,629	129
Northamptonshire	3,427	1,540	94
Oxfordshire	4,997	2,296	172
Shropshire	2,293	1,333	102
Sussex	2,493	1,715	99
Westmorland	373	216	25
Yorkshire East	3,709	1,244	83

**Figure 2.26: Nominal links between retinue archers and county poll tax returns for economically determined service**



The table in Figure 2.25 provides the total number of combined matches for each county between the archers in the captains' retinues and the Section 1 poll tax records of all counties, except for the one listed in the county column. In effect, it is the number of Tier 1 archers from county retinues than could be said to be performing politically motivated service. The graph in Figure 2.26 shows these matches. Firstly in blue as a percentage of the total number of archers for the county retinues matched to Section 1 of all other counties. The second (red) bars relate to the same matches but only those between Tier 1 archers and Section 1 of the relevant poll tax samples. The first set of results varies between match rates of 2.8% in Yorkshire East riding, to 8.8% in Westmorland. This covers the same range as the economically determined results from Figure 2.20, although there is slightly more variation at the lower and upper reaches of the range. Such fluctuation was not unanticipated however as the smaller sample sizes used to generate Figure 2.26 are more liable to amplify any prevailing trends. Despite this however, the two approaches do produce comparable results. The

second set of results, which focused on the Tier 1 archers, provides stronger nominal linkage than the previous result set. The match rates here range between 60% and 95% greater than that of all the retinue archers' economically motivated service. The number of archers in Tier 1 is fewer than the number in the retinues of a captain and the increased match rate is partly due to reducing the sample size, while keeping many of the matching results. However, this does not entirely explain the large increase as some of the matches were between archers in Tiers 2 and 3 which were removed before this comparison was made. Furthermore only one of the counties, Westmorland, has an increase in matches which corresponds to the reduction in sample size.<sup>28</sup> This suggests that the increased match is meaningful; when the stronger nominal links are considered independently there is a rise in the rate of economically determined service.

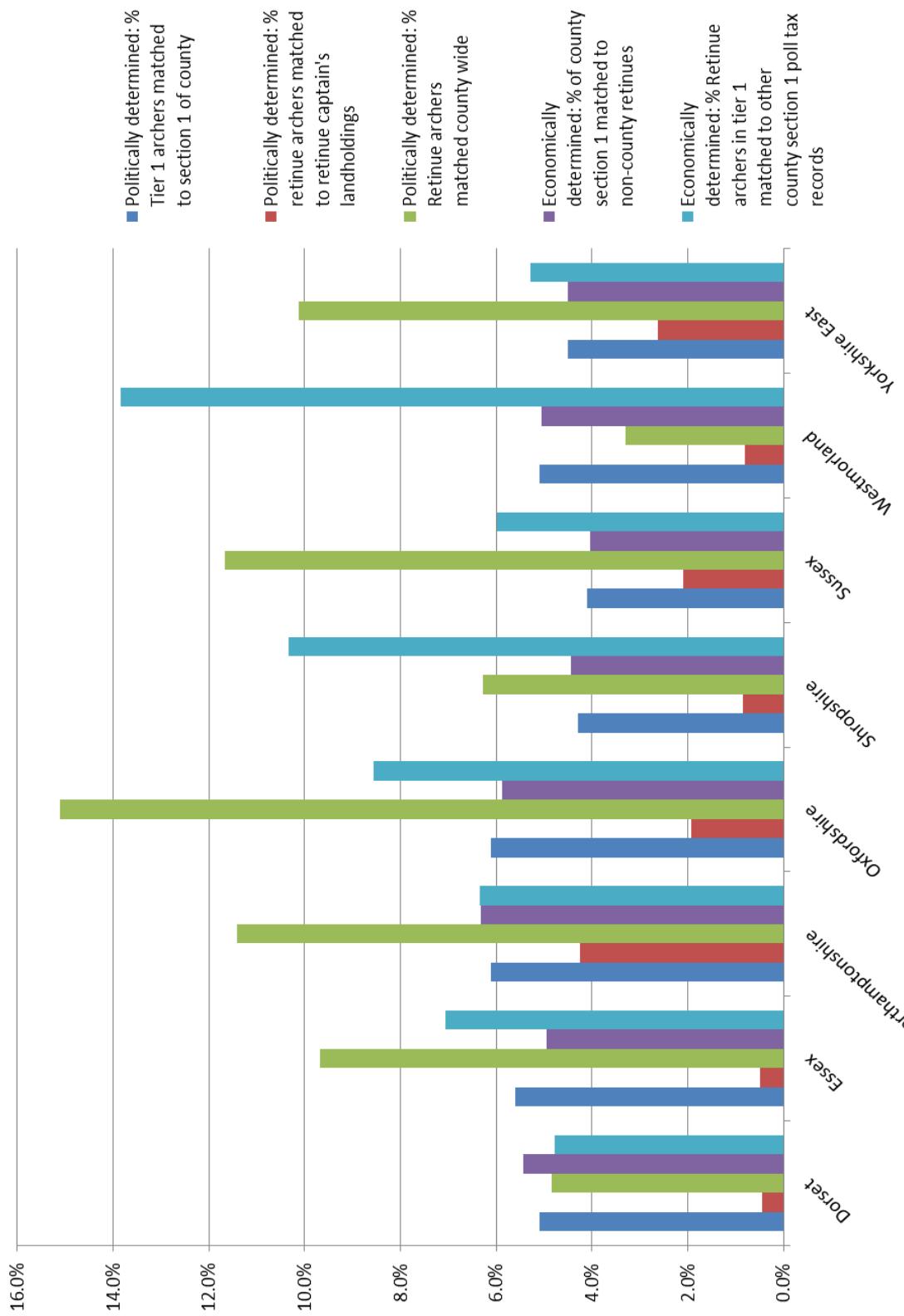
Do these four different approaches to the same data, two testing for politically determined service and two for economic, provide any insights into service patterns of archers in the later fourteenth century? Figure 2.27 provides a comparison of the most important elements of each approach, and presents five different elements that have been discussed above. The graph makes it clear that military service was definitely not a majority pursuit with twenty-eight of the forty data points in Figure 2.27 falling in a tight range between 4% and 10%. The upper limit is similar to the percentage of the poll tax records recorded as labourers or farm labourers which taken together are the largest single occupational grouping in the returns. The graph also shows that the largest percentage of matches for five of the counties, Essex, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Sussex, and Yorkshire East, was in the politically influenced matches to the county wide poll tax (in green). However, in all five of these counties, the second largest group was the economically determined service found between Tier 1 archers and Section 1 of poll taxes for other counties. Westmorland and Shropshire display the opposite of this trend while still presenting these two groups as the largest, while Dorset has a unique profile. This indicates that politically determined service was, at this juncture, more important for manning the English armies in the later fourteenth

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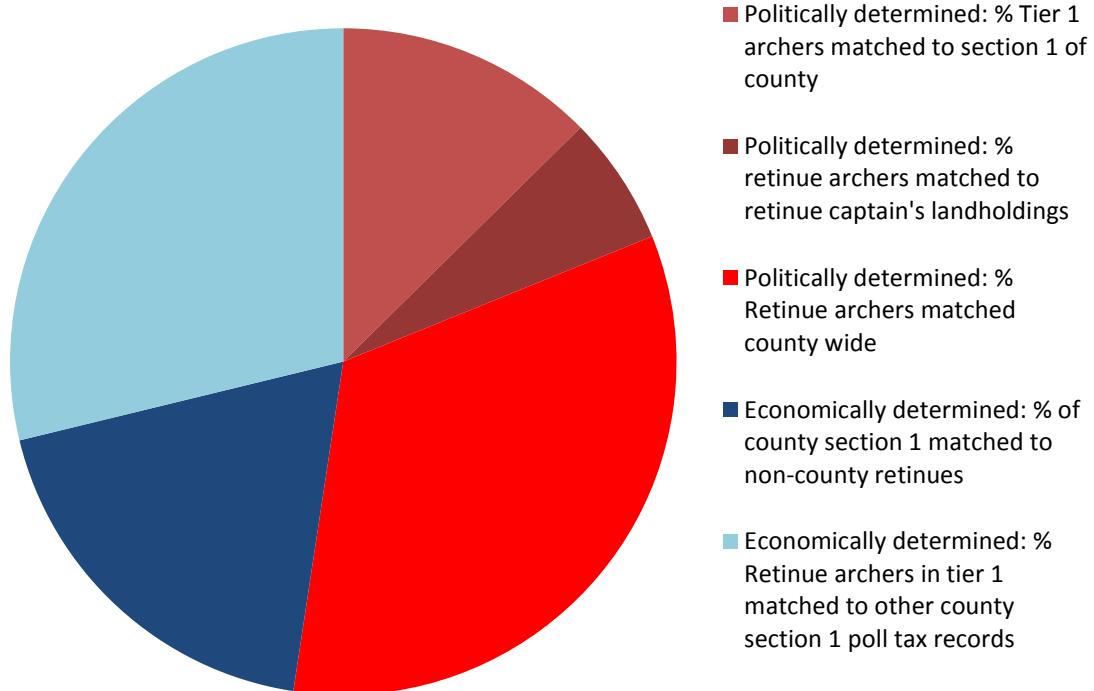
<sup>28</sup> Westmorland's match rate increased by 57%, and sample size decreased by 58%. The other counties were as follows: Dorset, 52%/66%; Essex, 53%/87%; Northamptonshire, 45%/63%; Oxfordshire, 46%/81%; Shropshire, 58%/82%; Sussex, 69%/94%; Yorkshire East, 34%/88%.

century. However, as Figure 2.28 shows there was not a huge gap between the two types of service with the red segments, which represent politically determined service, only outweighing the blue segments (for economically determined service) 52% to 48%. This gap may be even narrower than this analysis can reveal, as it is possible that some of the archers identified as engaging in politically determined service through county wide matches were, in fact following more of an economically motivated pattern and the limitations of travel and communication limited their opportunities, although, as mentioned previously this is difficult to accurately assess. Despite this, it is possible to see a strong trend of economically determined service and the indications of a military service market which worked for both recruiting captain, and the fighting archer.

**Figure 2.27: Comparison of politically and economically determined service**



**Figure 2.28: Division of military service between politically and economically determined**



## **2.5 Patterns of service**

### **Type of service**

As well as the relationships between archers and their captains and landlords, it is also possible to use the database to look at service patterns of archers from the eight sampled counties. This section will discuss the results generated by the queries focused on the strongest nominal links, between Section 1 of the poll taxes and Tiers 1 and 3 of the muster samples. The analysis will also focus on the samples from the 1367-1391. By limiting the investigation to these matches, this ensures that only the most reliable results are returned. Two areas can be explored in this manner, type of service and location of service. These are two important distinctions in the military service undertaken by archers and it could be imagined that they would vary greatly depending on the county from which the men originated. For example, it might be reasonable to suppose that men from northern counties would be more likely to serve in Scotland, and those on the western side of England to serve in Ireland. When

considering type of service, more incidents of naval service could be expected from coastal counties.

Type of service, for example whether the muster was for naval, expeditionary, garrison, standing army, escort, or unknown, will be considered first. The different types of service are often hard to distinguish from each other; for example, an expeditionary army to France from England would have to rely on naval transportation to reach its destination. However distinctions were drawn by using the information transcribed from the original musters into the database regarding the aims or intent of the army being mustered. This does not prove that the men who enlisted were aware of the objectives before they were recruited, but it may be suggested that there would be some awareness prior to recruitment, at least among some of the archers. It is not clear whether this knowledge would have made a difference to enlistment from different regions as 'both the man-at-arms and archer were equally useful in a land or sea battle and so there was no real difference in the composition of armies on land or at sea.'<sup>29</sup>

<b>Figure 2.29: Muster rolls 1367 to 1391 split by type of service</b>		
<b>Type of Service</b>	<b>Number of Musters</b>	<b>Number of archers</b>
Escort	5	166
Expeditionary	11	2840
Garrison	19	1423
Naval	56	10165
Standing Army	15	4639
Unknown	3	721

To provide some perspective, the musters across the database have been grouped by service type, with both the percentage and total number of musters noted for each of the types noted above. This is shown in Figure 2.29. This has been generated by querying the 'MusterTable', which contains the general details including, for example, the commander of the army and the date of the expedition by grouping the musters by the field 'TypeOfService' and counting the number of different musters in each

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<sup>29</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 15.

category. This breakdown reflects the military and political position of England during the period in question with either an ageing, or a very young, king on the throne and a change in the focus of English military efforts. From the resumption of the war with France in 1369 to the death of Edward III in 1377 the English expeditions focused on France and Brittany, with the Great Chevauchée under John of Gaunt the most famous expedition of the period. They reflected the change in strategy and logistics entailed by the personal absence of King Edward on most occasions, and the increasing role of his adult sons, as well as experiments such as the army commanded by Sir Robert Knolles in 1370.<sup>30</sup> In the years following Edward's death overseas expeditions tend to reflect the ambitions of his sons, the uncles of the new king, Richard II. This can be seen in Edmund of Langley's expedition to Portugal in 1381 and John of Gaunt's to Castile in 1386.<sup>31</sup> The other consideration was Richard's peace policy towards France which 'coincided with renewed crusading activity that was encouraged... to divert the military instincts of the nobility.'<sup>32</sup> There was an increase in the amount of naval service magnified by territorial reverses in France which led to increased pressure on the English coastal defences.

The queries used to generate the quantitative evidence needed to investigate the type of service which archers undertook were numerous. The first one used the sample of archers from the muster rolls 1367 to 1391, which provides a baseline for comparison with the eight counties. The query, shown in Figure 2.30, was built by using the previously extracted 'Archer1367To1391' sample and linking it through the 'MusterRef' field to the 'MusterTable' which held all the general details regarding each muster. The amount of archers in the 1367 to 1391 sample engaged in each identifiable type of service is shown in Figure 2.31.

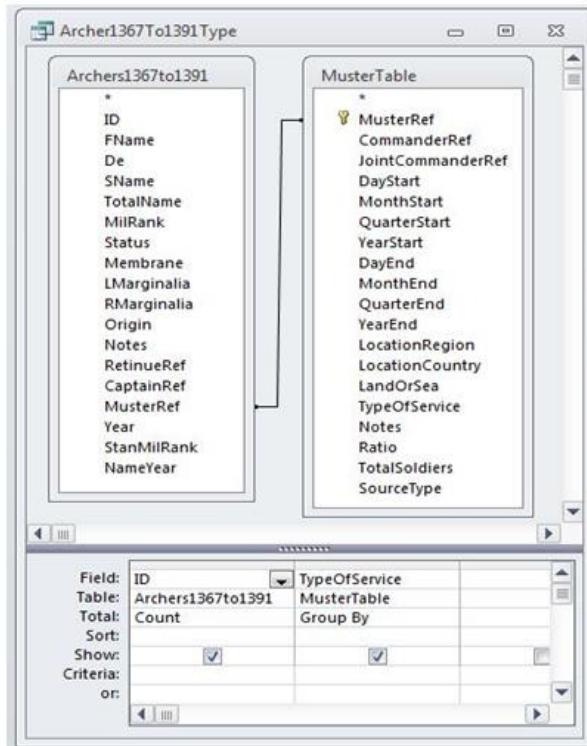
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<sup>30</sup> Jones, 'Knolles, Sir Robert (d. 1407)'

<sup>31</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

Figure 2.30: Query sorting archers 1367-1391 by type of service



The query has been constructed from the results of the 'Archers1367to1391' query, linked to the 'MusterTable'. This allows the individual archers to be linked, via the muster reference, to the type of service that they engaged in, for example, expeditionary or naval.

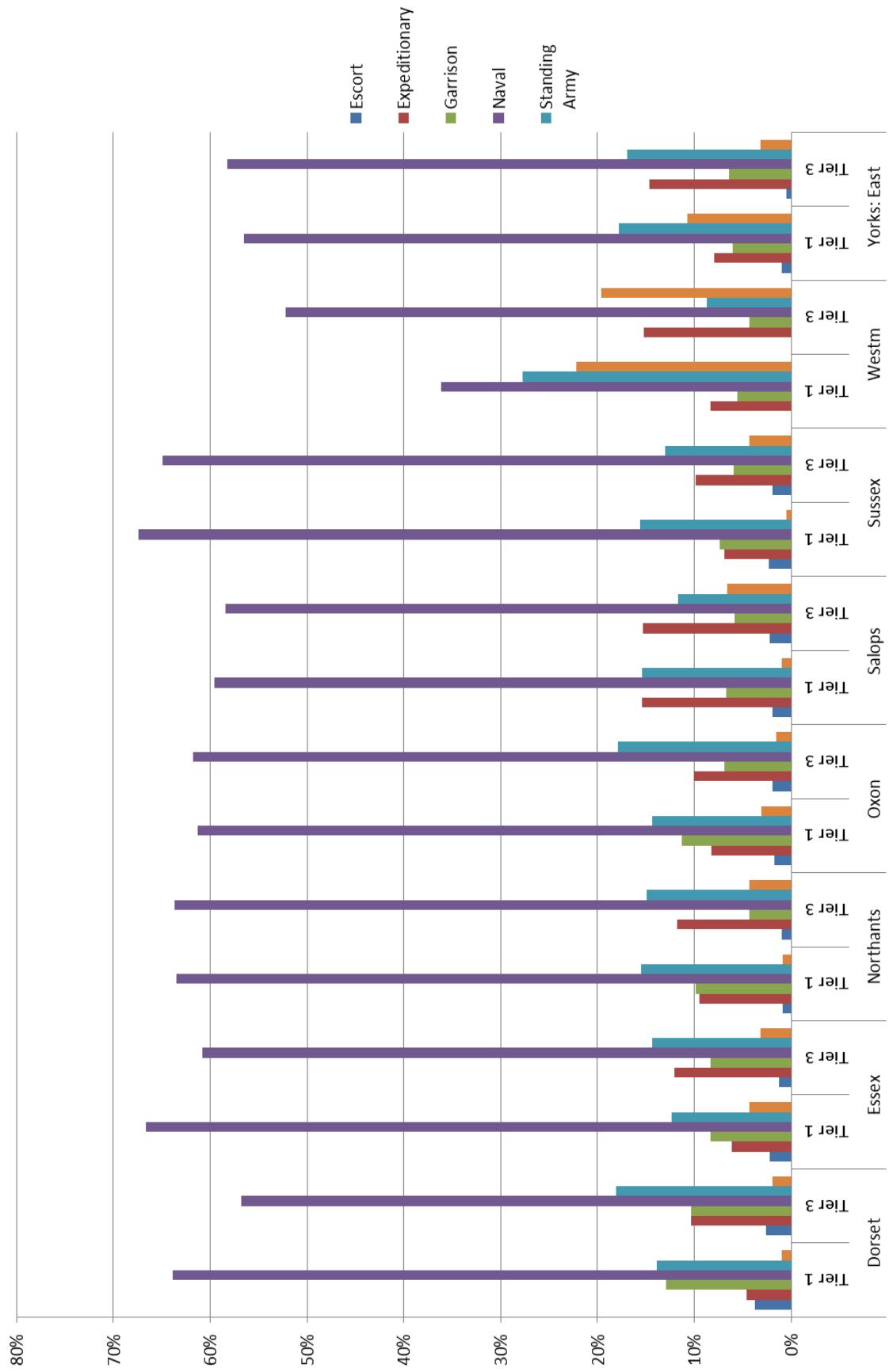
**Figure 2.31: Archer sample 1367 to 1391 divided by type of service**

Type of Service	Archers 1367-1391	
Escort	166	1%
Expeditionary	2,840	15%
Garrison	1,423	8%
Naval	8,696	47%
Standing Army	4,639	25%
Unknown	721	4%

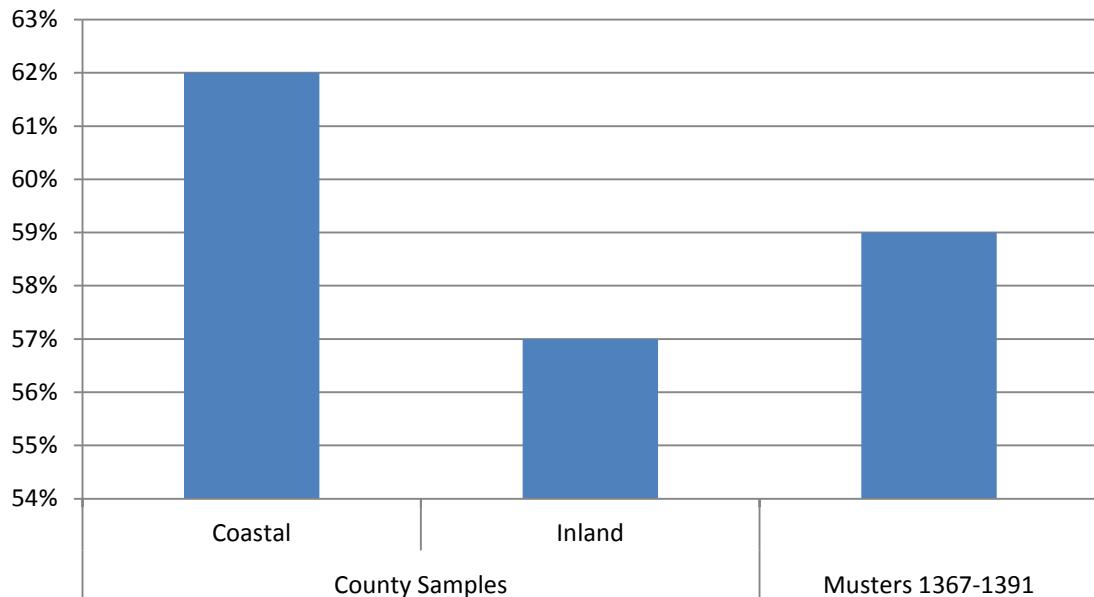
A similar process was followed for each county using the matches from Tier 1 and Tier 3 of the muster rolls to Section 1 of the poll tax. The query takes the same form as that in 2.30, with the addition of the Section 1 names from each county, to further filter the query and provide area specific results. The results generated are contained in full in Appendix 2.5, broken down by county. However, they have been summarised in Figures 2.32 and 2.33 below. The graph demonstrates that the preponderance of naval service which appears in the archer sample of 1367 to 1391 is apparent among the archers of both Tiers 1 and 3 who can be linked to names in Section 1 of the county poll taxes.

<b>Figure 2.32: Matches between county poll tax returns and archers 1367-1391 by type of service</b>				
Type of Service	All Counties Archers Tier 1	All Counties Archers Tier 3		
Escort	25	2%	26	1%
Expeditionary	114	8%	209	12%
Garrison	124	9%	117	7%
Naval	885	62%	1077	61%
Standing Army	216	15%	268	15%
Unknown	55	4%	68	4%

**Figure 2.33: % matches between county poll tax returns and archers 1367-1391 by type of service**



**Figure 2.34: Rate of naval service, comparison between inland and coastal counties**



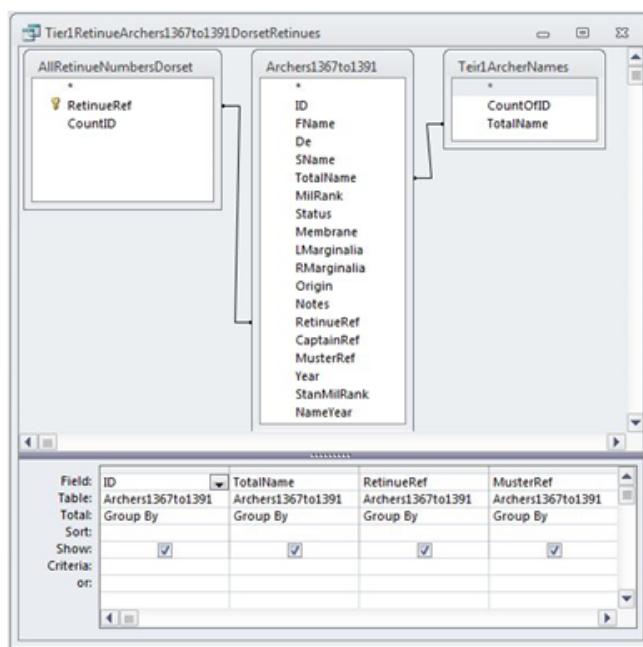
As Figure 2.34 reveals, the rate of naval service was higher at 62% among the coastal counties of Essex, Sussex, Dorset, and Yorkshire East Riding, than it was for the inland counties at 56% of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Westmorland, and Shropshire. This follows the predicted hypothesis where coastal counties provided more personnel towards military service at sea. The same pattern can also be seen through an analysis of the letters of protections. During the period 1369 to 1389 the rate of naval service, mentioned in all the letters of protection where a county of origin could be identified, was higher in coastal counties at 17.2%, in contrast to the non-coastal counties at 12.5%.<sup>33</sup> When the eight counties in this study are considered alone the percentage difference was similar with the coastal counties having a 20.3% naval service rate and the non-coastal ones 15%. This evidence is not directly applicable to the corps of archers that is the focus of this thesis as the protections tended to be taken out by those of high social and economic status with property and other interests worth protecting. It must also be remembered that the protections do not always indicate that the military service was completed, just that there was intent to serve. However,

<sup>33</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 218.

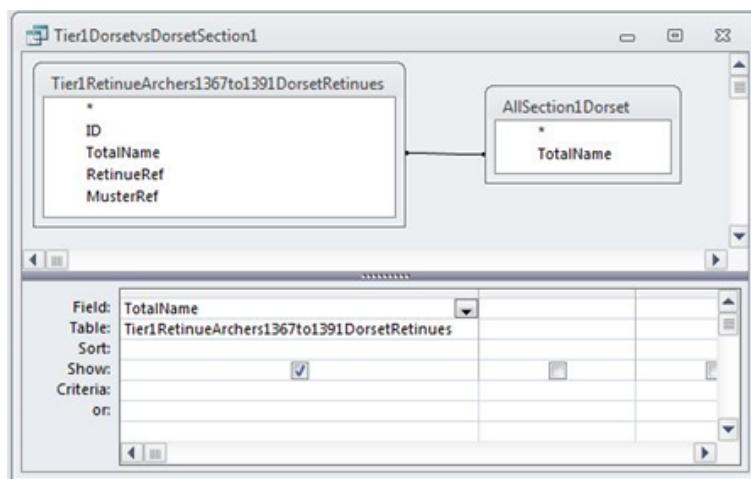
it is corroborating the wider analysis in provided by the overlap of the musters and poll taxes.

The above approach to type of service contains limitations. In essence, it compares two broad samples for nominal links which has a similarity to the approach used to consider the nominal links for in respect of politically determined service as seen in Figure 2.9. Therefore to improve the strength of the analysis a second method was employed. This approach considers each county's data separately, and only uses Tier 1 archers from the retinues of captains who held land within that county. These Tier 1 names were then compared to the Section 1 names for that county, and then against the Section 1 names for all the extant poll taxes except for the county in question. This tests for politically motivated and economically motivated service respectively. The queries constructed to complete this analysis are below in Figure 2.35. The sample sizes for Tiers 1 and 3 of each set of county retinues has been presented in Figure 2.36

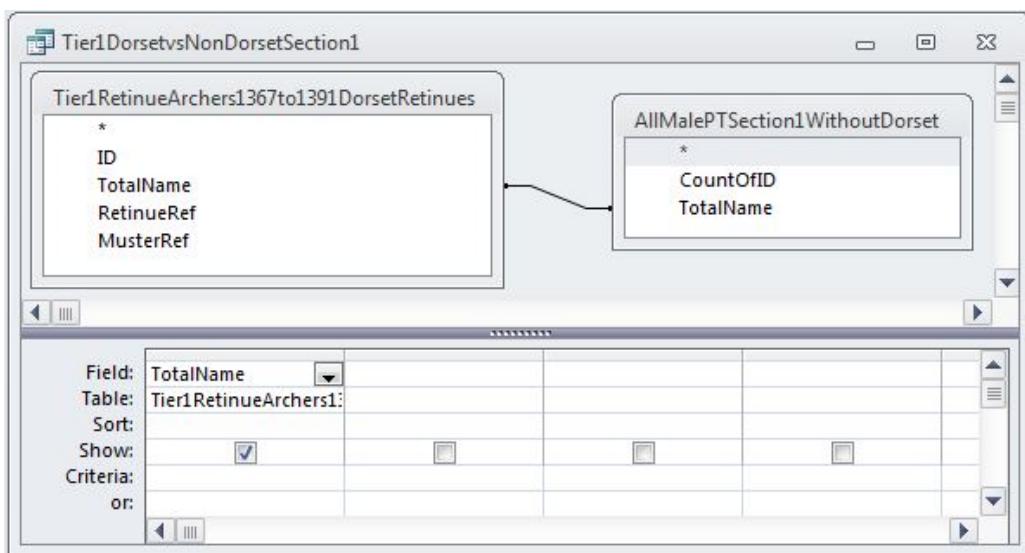
**Figure 2.35: Queries identifying type of service among politically and economically motivated Tier 1 archers**



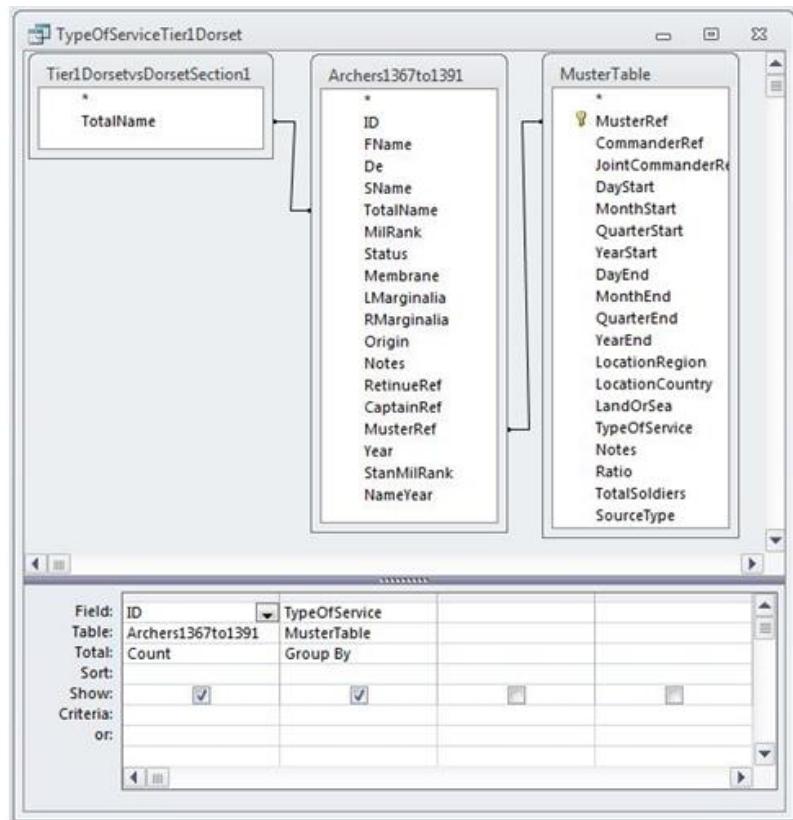
**Stage 1:** Firstly a object was created to hold all the ID numbers of all retinues associated with Dorset, 'AllRetinueNumbersDorset'. This was then cross referenced using the 'RetinueRef' field with the 'Archers1367to1391' sample used previously. In turn this was filtered through the 'Tier1ArcherNames' query which had been previously employed in figure 2.9. The resulting object 'Tier1RetinueArchers1367to1391DorsetRetinues' was then employed in Stages 2 and 3. The same process was used to query the Tier 3 archers, and the results used in the same manner as those for Tier 1 shown here in Stages 2-4.



**Stage 2 (a):** Here the query generated in Stage 1 is linked to the Section 1 poll tax records for Dorset. This latter object had been previously employed in Figure 2.9, although for Essex in that example. This linkage looks for matches between the archers from retinues led by Dorset captains from 1367 to 1391 among the unique poll tax records of that county, the results which represent politically determined service.



**Stage 2 (b):** This is the same query as in the previous stage, but instead of checking for politically motivated service, the query uses all the poll tax records from outside Dorset, an object created in Stage 2 of Figure 2.22 and enumerated in Figure 2.24, to consider economically determined service.



**Stage 3:** This builds on the query 'Tier1DorsetvsDorsetSection1' generated in Stage 2. The results of that query are linked thorough the names in the 1367 to 1391 archer sample to the details of the muster held in 'MusterTable'. This enables the Tier 1 archers in Dorset retinues whose names match to Section 1 of the Dorset poll taxes to be linked to a type of service.

**Figure 2.36: Number of retinue archers in 1367 to 1391 sample**

County	Tier 1	Tier 3
Dorset	738	238
Essex	1,139	293
Northamptonshire	683	113
Oxfordshire	1,260	184
Shropshire	423	65
Sussex	861	179
Westmorland	15	17
Yorkshire East	199	50

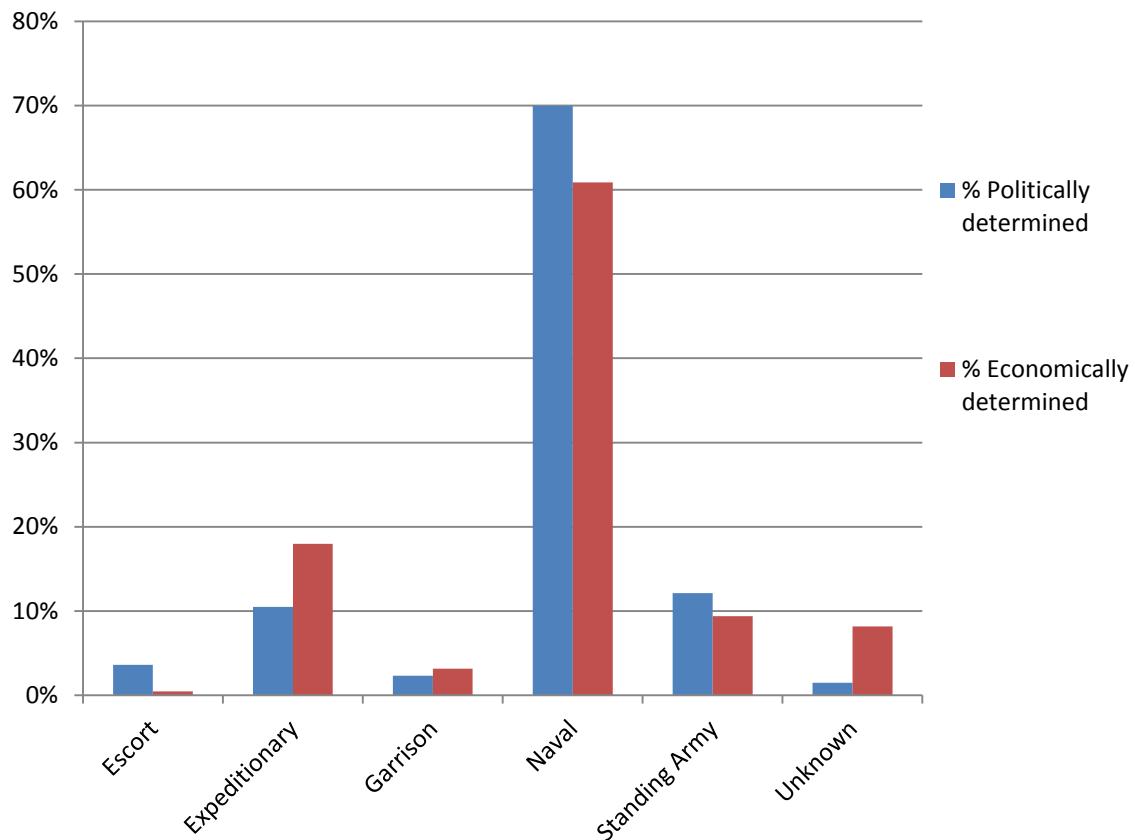
The queries were run for each county the full results for which are in Appendix 2.5. Figure 2.37 contains the combined results for all eight counties. The results are not

dissimilar to those in Figure 2.32, with naval service again representing the largest group of service records in all politically and economically motivated service categories. Like the previous analysis, this is reflective of the English military focus during the sampled period. What emerges is that for politically and economically determined service in Figure 2.37, the Tier 3 archers, who are those names with multiple service records, have a broader spread of service than their Tier 1 colleagues, perhaps in indicating a willingness or ability to serve in a wider variety of contexts. If the combined tiers are divided by political and economic service, as in Figure 2.38, a similar trend appears, with the red bars of economically motivated service displaying the same broad spread of service. This theory is further supported by the numbers in Figure 2.37, where the range of percentages engaged in each type of service goes from political Tier 1, economic Tier 1, political Tier 3, to economic Tier 3. The middle two categories are very close in percentage terms and the gap between them is much smaller than the other groups. If the idea of a wider range of service can imply a more professional outlook on soldiering and military service, these results, which agree with those in Figure 2.32, suggest that there was a corps of professional men. Furthermore, there is a noticeable difference in the rates of escort and expeditionary service between the politically and economically motivated archers. This reflects that escort duty, which could be considered the least martial of the service types identified, might have been more of a social obligation than a strictly military one. Expeditionary armies could be seen in as the opposite of this, and furthermore required greater numbers of soldiers to be recruited at once, increasing the reliance on economic determinations of service. The economically motivated Tier 3 soldiers should be considered most closely affiliated with the idea of a professional soldiery, and perhaps could be positioned near the 'professionals' along the political to economic destination of service axis in Morillo's typology.

**Figure 2.37: Comparison of politically and economically determined service by type**

	% Politically determined			% Economically determined				
		Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3		Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
Escort	4%	7%	0%		Escort	0%	1%	0%
Expeditionary	10%	9%	12%		Expeditionary	18%	20%	16%
Garrison	2%	1%	4%		Garrison	3%	2%	4%
Naval	70%	75%	65%		Naval	61%	66%	55%
Standing Army	12%	8%	16%		Standing Army	9%	8%	11%
Unknown	1%	1%	2%		Unknown	8%	3%	13%

**Figure 2.38: Type of service divided between politically and economically determined service**



However, further testing of this hypothesis was completed by reintroducing the division between coastal and non-coastal counties. If the theory is correct, as well as seeing a wider spread of service type in economic determined service over politically

determined service, and in Tier 3 over Tier 1, it would also be expected that rates of naval service would be lower in non-coastal counties, as has been previously shown in Figure 2.34. Presented below in Figures 2.39 and 2.40 are the results for political and economic service, divided into the coastal and non-coastal counties. For the most part, the previously established pattern holds true, with the Tier 3 archers in each of the four sub-sections of the table showing a greater variety of service (and less naval centric service) than their Tier 1 counterparts. The economically determined service also shows this relationship, although the difference is not as always pronounced. Furthermore, the rate of naval service for any of the categories is always less in the non-coastal counties than in the coastal counties of the same tier and political or economic linkage. There is one exception to this in the Tier 3 political links, where the non-coastal counties have a greater rate of naval service. This is mostly due to the results for Shropshire where the rate of naval service for politically motivated archers was 100%. This stems from the over-representation of naval service among the Shropshire retinues in this sample. Of the ten retinues containing Tier 3 names mustered between 1367 and 1391 led by one of the Shropshire captains eight were on naval campaigns. Furthermore these eight retinues covered 97% of the archers. It is perhaps not surprising that the results generated have led to an inflated percentage match across all the counties. However, even if the Shropshire results are removed from the average the match rate only drops to 63%, still higher than the 57% of coastal archers. It is possible that this was caused by archers from non-coastal counties having little choice but to undertake naval service as this was the predominant form of military campaign executed by the late fourteenth century English military. Alternatively, there is also the possibility that this anomaly was caused by patterns of recruitment that meant that a retinue captain from a non-coastal county went on a naval campaign he was more likely to recruit from his area of landed influence than from the among the economically motivated archers, and that if he was recruiting from outside his area of lordship the economically motivated recruits would be more likely to be those from coastal counties. This could also provide some explanation for the relative consistency of the levels of service between politically and economically motivated archers from coastal counties in comparison to their non-coastal peers.

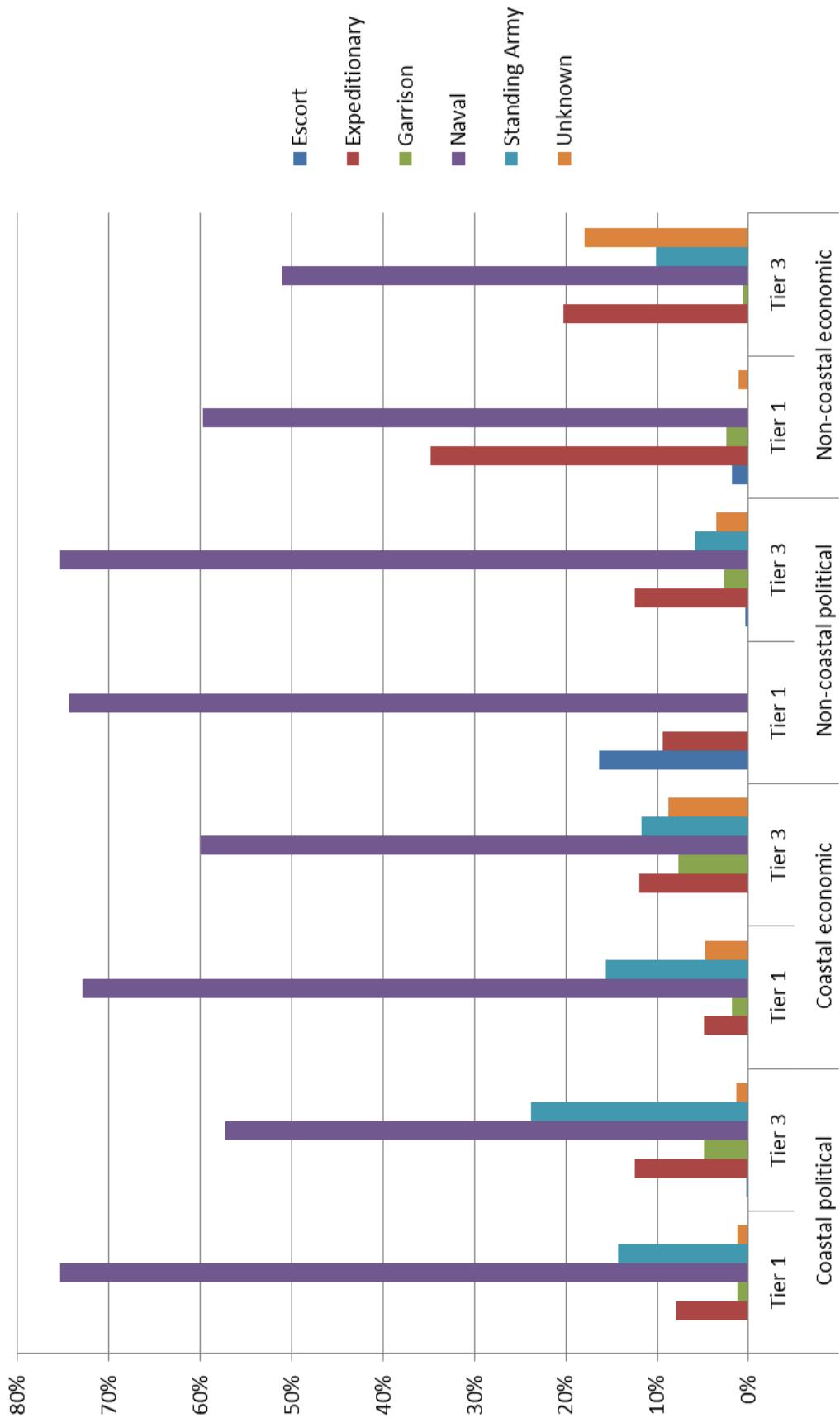
Except for the one outlier, the results for the different approaches to the archers' type of service provide strong evidence for a flexible approach to military service and identify a pattern which appears to have been present among those men engaging in multiple incidences of service, especially in an economically determined context. This further supports the concept of the development of a military service market for English archers in the later fourteenth century.

<b>Figure 2.39: Comparison of politically and economically determined service between coastal and non-coastal counties</b>				
% Coastal counties political service				% Coastal counties economic service
	Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	
Escort	0%	0%	0%	
Expeditionary	10%	8%	12%	
Garrison	3%	1%	5%	
Naval	66%	75%	57%	
Standing Army	19%	14%	24%	
Unknown	1%	1%	1%	

% Non-coastal counties political service				% Non-coastal counties economic service
	Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	
Escort	8%	16%	0%	
Expeditionary	11%	9%	12%	
Garrison	1%	0%	3%	
Naval	75%	74%	75%	
Standing Army	3%	0%	6%	
Unknown	2%	0%	4%	

**Figure 2.40: Coastal vs non-coastal type of service**



## Location of service

Location of service is another factor in archers' military activities. In the same way as the analysis of the types of service, the exploration of this element will be limited to the archer sample from 1367 to 1391, and with the names which appear in Section 1 of the poll tax and Tiers 1 and 3 of the mustered archers. Figure 2.41 below shows how the musters breakdown according to the location that the army was planned to operate in. This was generated in the same manner as Figure 2.30, but counting the number of musters by the field 'LocationCountry'.

**Figure 2.41: Musters split by location of service**

Service Location	Number of Musters	Number of Archers
England	9	452
France	28	8507
Gascony	4	411
Ireland	6	3236
Scotland	7	2422
Wales	2	120

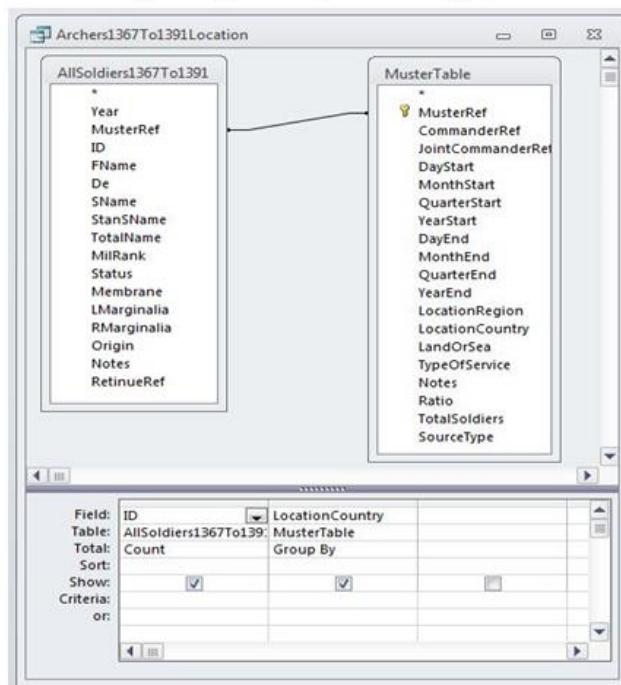
The limitations of military logistics suggest that where possible men would serve in the theatres of war closest to their homes. Transporting large bodies of men and supplies was problematic, and this would help to reduce the time, cost, and effort involved in a campaign. Also important would be the speed of news regarding recruitment and the abilities of contracting captains to reach areas to recruit, both factors which could influence recruitment towards a more local focus. Men served in a variety of locations as shown by the example of Robert de Fishlake, an archer who served as far afield as Jerusalem as well as in Brittany, Scotland, and at sea.<sup>34</sup> However, given the relatively small number of men identified as performing repeat service above, it seems reasonable to suggest that they may have been recruited to serve relatively close to their homes, even if their service was not politically determined. This effect may also be influenced by the requirements of defending the realm; for example the English

<sup>34</sup> David Simpkin, 'Robert de Fishlake: Soldier Profile', <<http://www.medievallsoldier.org/February2008.php>> (accessed 9 September, 2010).

kings could not afford to leave their northern border undefended while they were campaigning in France. The Scottish campaign of 1346 in the north of England would certainly have changed the overall political situation between England and France if it had not been for the English victory at the battle of Neville's Cross. We might expect to see higher rates of service from the northern counties among armies fighting in Scotland, as the king and his local commanders needed to ensure that they had sufficient troops to prosecute war when required.

Finding quantitative evidence to support this has been carried out on a similar scale to the investigation of the types of service archers were engaged in. The archer sample for 1367-1391 was queried and sorted by the locations noted on the muster roll in which the service records appeared. The query for this is shown in Figure 2.42.

Figure 2.42: Query sorting archers, 1367-1391, by location of service



This query is very similar to Figure 2.29 which sorted the archer 1367 to 1391 sample by type of service. Instead of grouping the archers by type of service from the 'MusterTable', the 'LocationCountry' field was used instead.

The same query was also run on the Tier 1 and 3 archers identified in each of the sample counties in turn. Appendix 2.6 contains the full results of these queries by county, which have been summarised in Figure 2.43, and can be seen graphically in Figure 2.44.

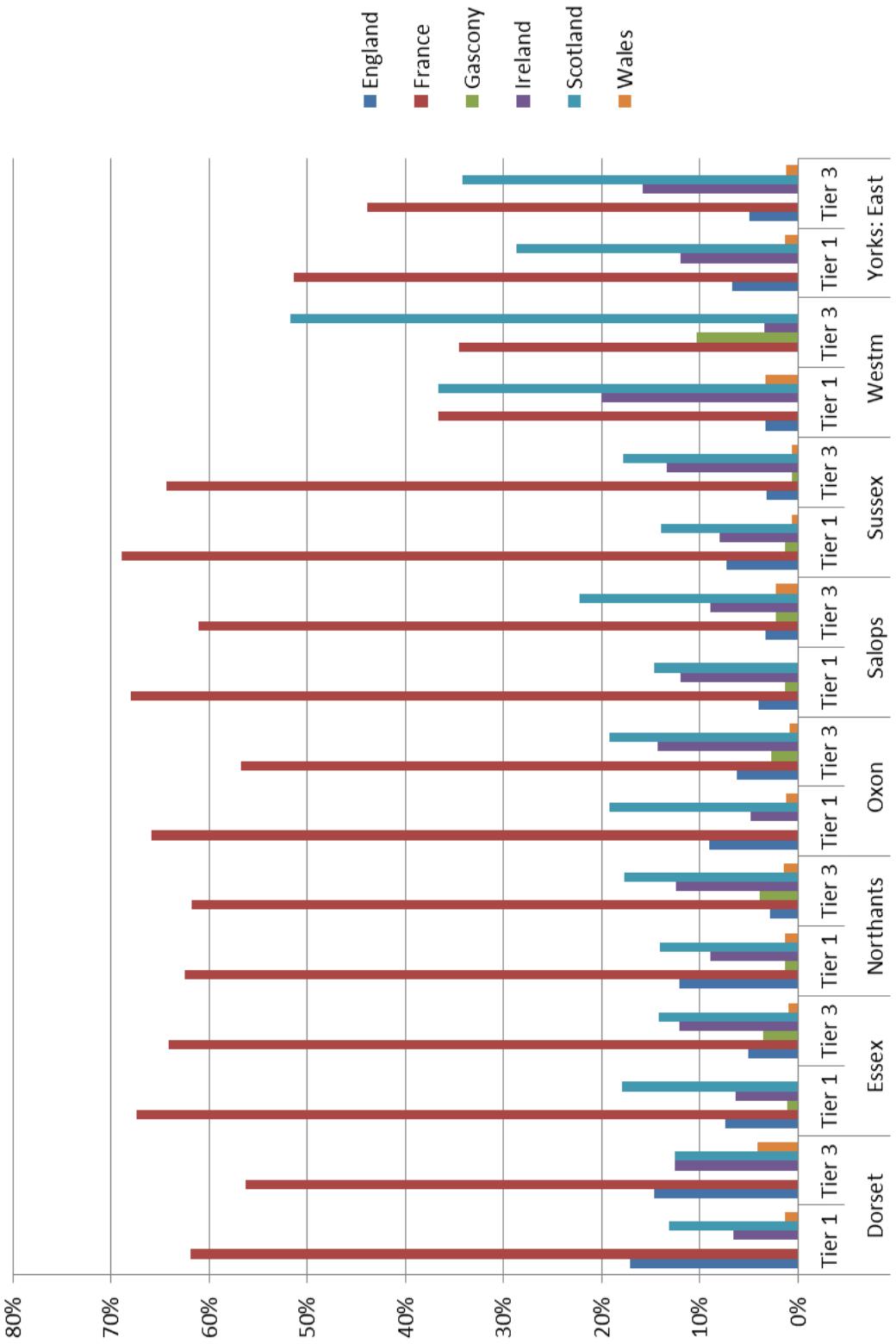
**Figure 2.43: Matches between county poll tax returns and archers 1367-1391 by location of service**

Service Location	Archers 1367-1391	All Counties Archers Tier 1	All Counties Archers Tier 3
England	452	3%	86
France	7,038	51%	626
Gascony	411	3%	7
Ireland	3,236	24%	84
Scotland	2,422	18%	184
Wales	120	1%	9

The results in Figure 2.43 clearly reflect England's military priorities from 1369 to the early 1390s: France. This theatre was the priority of the English government, sometimes to the detriment of England's strategic position in the British Isles, since the 1340s. This summary of the results is supported by the red bars in Figure 2.44 which demonstrate the Franco-centric nature of English military activity across both tiers in the focal counties of this study. It also agrees with the table of protections for military service by county from *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* referred to previously, which records that 45.1% of protections enrolled for a man of recorded origin 1369-1389 were for service in France.<sup>35</sup> Another striking result is the decrease in the amount of service to Ireland between the sample of archers as a whole and those who have been linked to records in the poll tax returns. It is likely that this is the result of sample bias and a lack of poll tax records from Cheshire, the county in closest proximity to Ireland.

<sup>35</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 218.

**Figure 2.44: % matches between county poll tax returns and archers 1367-1391 by location of service**



There are some exceptions, however, which reflect the geography of the eight sampled counties. Firstly, service in Scotland forms a greater percentage of the samples in Yorkshire East and Westmorland than it did for the midland and southern counties. As Figure 2.45 shows, Yorkshire East had larger numbers of residents serving in France, but the rate of Scottish service is twelve points higher than the next largest group, from Oxfordshire. Westmorland's archers went beyond this and were more likely to serve in Scotland than France, with a rate of Scottish service over double that of any other county, except for Yorkshire East. This exception can also be seen in the protection data. The percentage of service to France for the northern counties is 37.8% higher compared to the 29.5% seen for service in Scotland. However the data from the other counties presents a very different picture, with 44.5% of protections for service in France but only a minuscule 7.3% for Scottish service.<sup>36</sup> This difference can be explained in terms of ease of access and geographical proximity. The two northern counties were much closer to Scotland than any other in this chapter. Given the limitations of medieval military logistics it would have been logical for a commander to draw on relatively local resources to muster an army. The higher rate of French service apparent in Yorkshire East may be due to the relative ease of access and transportation along the eastern coast of Britain, rather than travel through the Irish Sea.

Another noteworthy observation relating to Figures 2.43 and 2.44 is the relative rates of service between Tiers 1 and 3 of the same county. In all counties, the rate of service in France is smaller in Tier 3 than it is in Tier 1. The only exception is Northamptonshire, where the rate remains the same. The difference is dispersed in various ways across the counties, although there is a tendency, apparent in Dorset, Essex, Oxfordshire, Sussex, and Yorkshire East, for a corresponding increase in the rate of service in Ireland. The relative frequencies of service demonstrate a similar trend. Although there is a slightly greater number of Tier 3 archers serving in France when compared to the Tier 1 sample, there are fewer serving in England and large increases in the frequency of service in Gascony, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. As the Tier 3 samples represent the more careerist soldiers from the muster rolls, it would appear

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<sup>36</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 218.

that they are more willing to serve in a wider variety of theatres, notably in the garrisons and standing armies required in Ireland. Such service may not have offered the same potential rewards in plunder or ransoms as the more wealthy lands of France, which suggests that these men were more willing to fight just for their pay, indicating either that they were unable to find other employment, or that they preferred to undertake military service. Furthermore, the increase in the number of soldiers required simultaneously for the larger expeditions to France would have forced retinue captains to recruit from outside the relatively small body of professionals, and that the increased manpower demands meant drawing on a wider pool of non-professionals. This supports the hypothesis of the existence of a more professional soldier, albeit one whose motivations may not be entirely governed by a personal choice, but instead by a level of economic necessity.

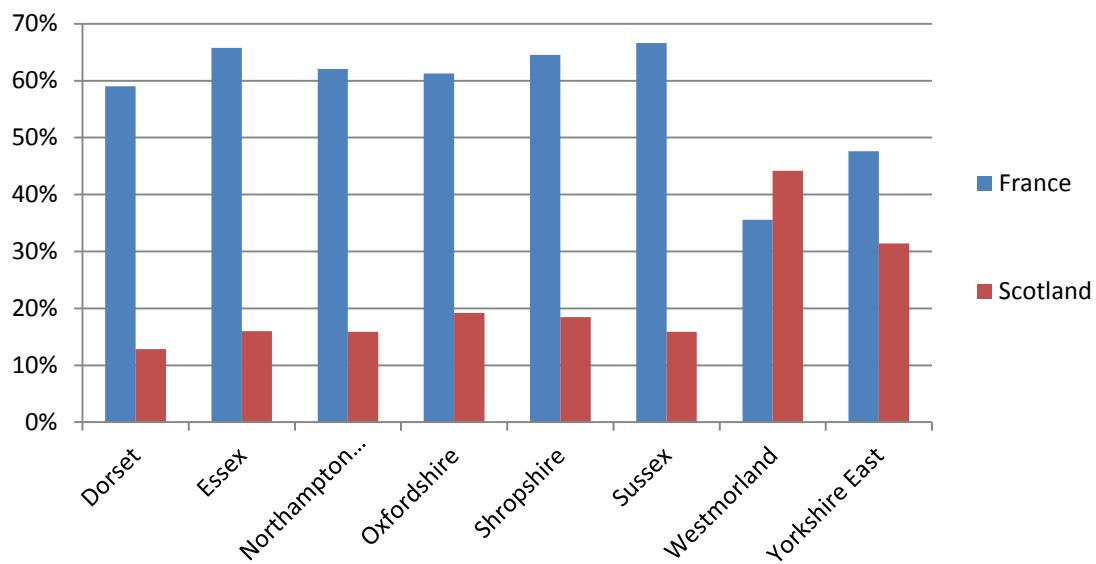
Service in Ireland also reveals a second example of geographic determinism to the location of English archers' military service. Following the same hypothesis as for relative levels of service in Scotland and France, it might be expected that the counties with the easiest access to Ireland would be responsible for a greater percentage of the archers serving there. Of the eight counties the two in closest proximity to Ireland are Shropshire and Westmorland, with Yorkshire East also having relatively easy access. Figure 2.46 gives the rates of service in Ireland for all eight counties, firstly the combined Tier 1 and Tier 3, and then for the two tiers separately. When the combined rates of service are considered, the hypothesis appears true, with Shropshire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire East all having greater rates of service in Ireland than the other five counties, and the same is true of the Tier 1 archers. The protection data also supports the idea of higher levels of service in Ireland for the western and northern counties with an average of 34% of protections for those counties taken for service in Ireland, compared to 21% rate in the others.<sup>37</sup> However, when considering the Tier 3 archers, the hypothesis breaks down, as the rate of service to Ireland is comparable between all eight counties. Although Yorkshire East demonstrates the highest rate of Irish service, the next greatest proportions are for Oxfordshire and Dorset respectively. This appears to go against the earlier suggestion that Tier 3 soldiers were willing to

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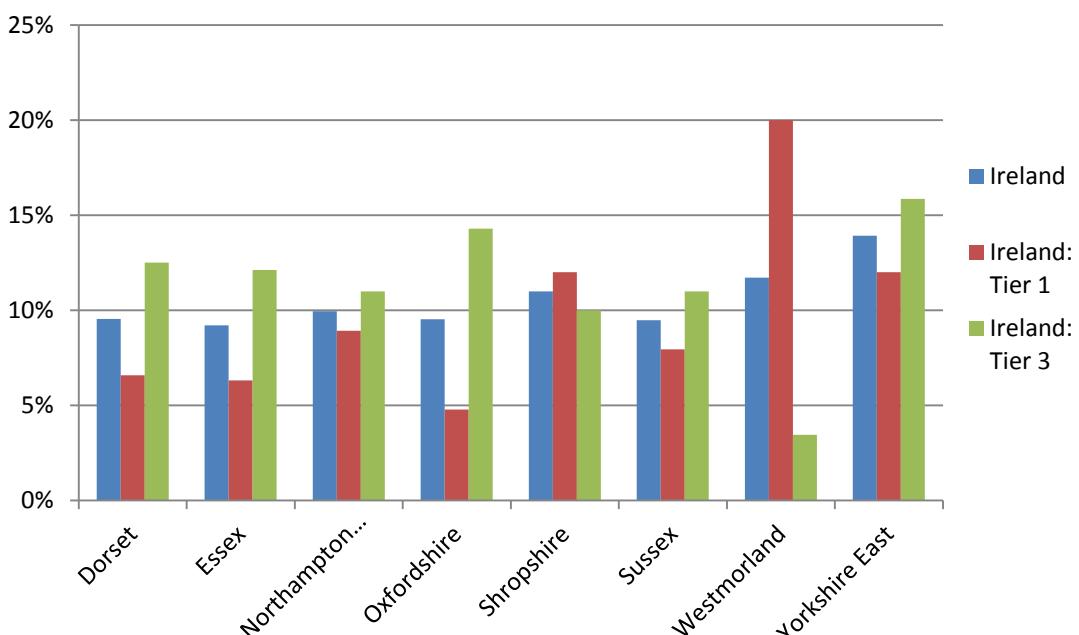
<sup>37</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p.218

serve in a wider variety of theatres. However, if Shropshire and Yorkshire East are considered, it is not a large drop in their rates of Irish service that causes the change, but an increase from the other counties. Therefore this does follow the hypothesis laid out above to some extent; that Tier 3 archers are serving where opportunities arrive.

**Figure 2.45: Comparison of % archer service rates between Scotland and France**



**Figure 2.46: % rates of archer service in Ireland**



In the same way that the type of service undertaken was further analysed, the same principles were applied to the location of service data. The full results are contained in Appendix 2.6, with the results averaged across all eight counties presented below in Figure 2.47. This summary shows the same service pattern that had been detected earlier, namely that economically determined service, when the Tier 1 and 3 samples are combined, appears to have been more widely spread, this time in terms of geography rather than type. Furthermore, the same is true if the Tier 1 and Tier 3 samples are compared within the politically and economically motivated groups. The trend continues if the Tier 1 results from politically and economically determined groups are contrasted but is not so apparent between the two Tier 3 samples, where there is a drop in service to France, but this is more than compensated with an increased focus on Scotland, rather than a wider spread to all theatres.

Figure 2.48 also contributes to the idea of geographical determinism in patterns of military service, which was discussed in reference to service in Scotland, France and Ireland above. It can be seen that the combined rates of service for archers across all tiers and social type of service for Westmorland and Yorkshire East show a similar pattern of relative amounts of service to Scotland and France. As in Figure 2.45, while Yorkshire East does have more archers serving in France, the number in Scotland is higher than most other counties, and Westmorland has a majority of service to Scotland, for reasons that have been discussed above. There is an exception to the pattern however, as Essex in Figure 2.48 also shows a majority of service to Scotland, rather than France as indicated in Figure 2.45. The same is true in Figure 2.49, which splits the politically and economically motivated service into separate bars. It is possible that the true percentage should lie somewhere between these two results, for, like Yorkshire East, Essex has relatively easy access to the eastern coast of Scotland, and this may have influenced the results. Of the matches found across all four categories, ninety-four of the 113, 83%, archers from Essex who engaged in Scottish service can be connected to the 1389/90 muster for Thomas, Earl of Nottingham's army in his role as Warden of the east march of Scotland.<sup>38</sup> This

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<sup>38</sup> E101/41/17 in Bell, Curry, Simpkin, King, and Chapman, 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database', <http://www.medievallsoldier.org/>.

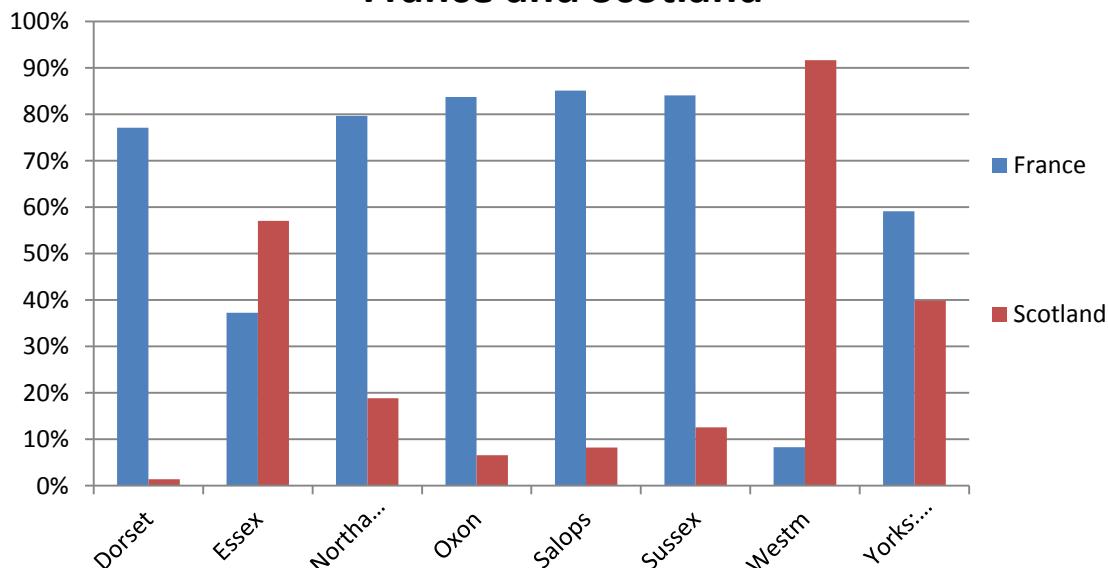
connection to the eastern seaboard would have made it relatively easy to move men up the coast, and indeed such movement could have been desirable as it would have made it harder for the soldiers, in an unknown and 'foreign' location far from home, to desert and correspondingly more dependent on their commander and captains.

However, and despite this anomaly, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that, in the same way as the economically motivated and Tier 3 archers appeared as the most 'professional' when considering type of service (Figures 2.37 and 2.38), Tier 3 archers and economically determined service do exhibit more signs of a military service market.

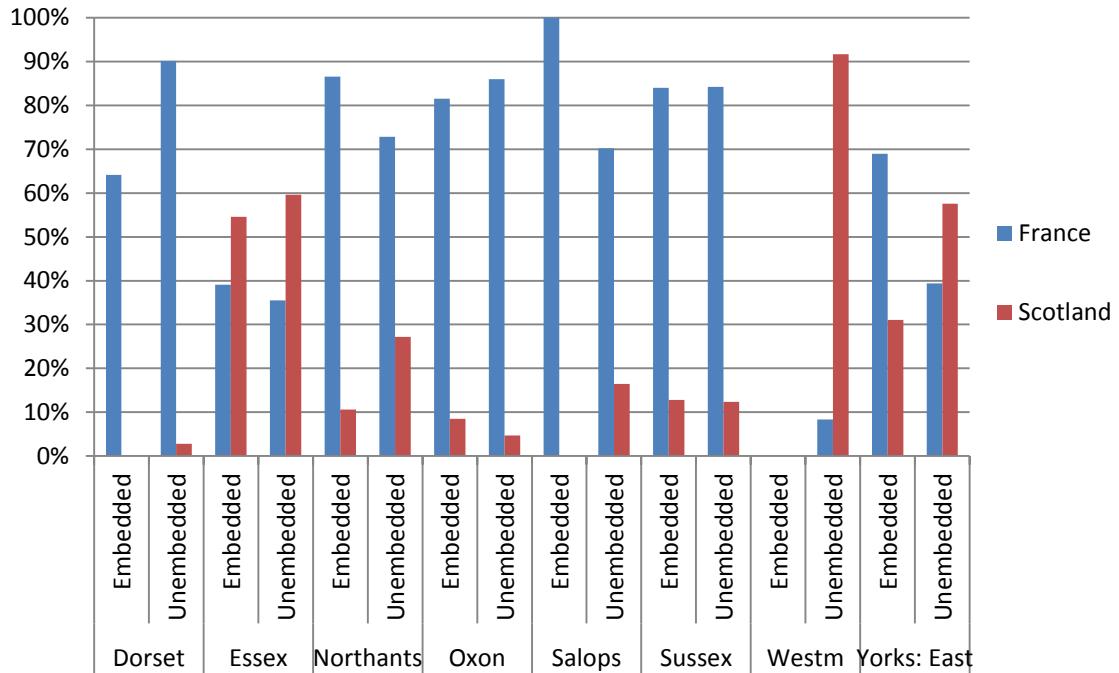
**Figure 2.47: Comparison of politically and economically determined service by location of service**

% Politically determined				% Economically determined			
Service Location	Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Service Location	Combined Tiers 1 & 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
England	0%	0%	0%	England	1%	0%	1%
France	75%	88%	62%	France	62%	71%	55%
Gascony	1%	0%	2%	Gascony	0%	0%	0%
Ireland	7%	0%	13%	Ireland	5%	0%	8%
Scotland	17%	12%	21%	Scotland	32%	29%	36%
Wales	0%	0%	1%	Wales	0%	0%	0%

**Figure 2.48: % combined rates of politically and economically determined service in France and Scotland**



**Figure 2.49: Comparison of % rates of politically and economically determined service in France and Scotland**



## **2.6. Conclusion**

The aims of this chapter were to illustrate the patterns of service of English archers.

This not only considered who the archers were serving, and whether the late fourteenth century archer was serving in retinues in a politically or economically determined context, but also the nature of the activities archers were engaging in while serving, and also where this service took place. The combination of these different elements enables conclusions to be drawn regarding the nature of military service, and if a market for this service can be observed from a modern perspective

The creation of the relational database to store and combine the disparate sources which comprise it, has enabled innovative analysis of the information contained and a step by step, systematic investigation into the prevalent patterns of service among English archers in the later fourteenth century. This chapter uses this, in conjunction with the method outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, to argue for the existence of the military service market as a result of the increase in economically determined service not as

the only 'system' of military recruitment, but alongside service which displays a perhaps more 'traditional' approach, and remaining politically motivated.

There are several trends which can be seen throughout the chapter which are indicative of this pattern of economically motivated service. These include the existence of a group of archers who can be categorised as Tier 3 (as shown first in Figure 2.10), with nominal records which appear in more than one year suggesting that individuals were engaging in multiple incidences of service. The wider distribution of locations of service in the Tier 3 (economically determined) samples over their Tier 1 (politically determined) peers, as seen in Figure 2.47 also demonstrates the prevailing trend. Throughout the chapter the data presented consistently supports the existence of the military service market, and the results exhibited confirm this conclusion. A different interpretation could be made, and there are a few occasions when the results displayed do not fully agree with the arguments presented. Yet it is possible to find reasonable explanations for any disparity, such as the over representation of the Earl of Nottingham's retinues for military service under his command during his time as the warden of the eastern march of Scotland discussed in relation to Figures 2.48 and 2.49. It could also be suggested that the nature of relational databasing and using nominal linkage to interrogate the source material could create the possibility of false results and therefore in the drawing of incorrect conclusions. This is always a concern when conducting large-scale quantitative research, even in situations where perfect information is available. Research into the medieval period is never likely to have such complete datasets available, and the historian must work with what is extant. Therefore this chapter has been cautious in analysis, primarily by accepting that some military service records classified as Tier 1, unique names in the dataset, could have been grouped into Tier 3 if muster rolls or retinue lists had survived for all English military service in the period. Furthermore, the hypothesis of the military service market, and the impact that such a market could have on patterns of service has been repeatedly tested in different ways throughout the chapter. By doing this, the hypothesis can be turned, through the support of a wide-spread foundation which comprises different elements of analysis, into a theory which answers the questions posed at the start of the chapter.

These foundations have resolved one of the principal research objectives of the thesis as outlined in the introduction to Chapter 1; whether the men who served as archers were exploited through tenurial obligations by retinue captains, or professional soldiers serving through choice. The reality was somewhere between these two, and should be seen as more of a spectrum between two extreme points, which an individual could move along during their life. From here it is now possible to take the analysis further, and look in depth at other areas of archers' lives.

## **Chapter 3: Occupations and wealth—the position of archers in society**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter of the thesis focused on answering the research questions surrounding the identification of archers within the ‘civilian’ poll tax return data and their patterns of service and considering whether archers’ military service can best be characterised as traditional ‘politically determined’ service or instead motivated by ‘economic’ reasons. However, this is not the limit of the information which the poll tax returns contain. Although the provisos governing the use of the returns generally as discussed in Chapter 1 still need to be borne in mind, this chapter introduces and uses the elements contained in the returns which have not been considered in the thesis so far. This involves investigating the occupational and wealth data listed in the nominal returns, and extrapolating where possible as to what this data could indicate about social status and the position of archers in society.

This approach was essential for answering the research questions regarding the background of the men who served as archers. What were they doing when they were not actively engaged in military service? Were they members of the poorest sections of society, or were they relatively prosperous? Are the trends of occupation and wealth similar between the archers and the ‘civilians’ in the poll tax returns? These questions are important to the development of our understanding of these men and their lives.

In the previous chapter, the axis dealing with political and economic motivations of service from Morillo’s typology was considered.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will use the second axis, that which plots social embeddedness, as framework in which to study whether archers can be shown to have a profile of occupations or wealth that marks them as distinct from their ‘civilian’ peers or if they were broadly representative of wider society.

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<sup>1</sup> See page 13.

Much of the historiographical background to this topic was considered in Chapter 1 of this thesis within the economic historiography strand. Work and occupations obviously fall into the economic sphere, although economic trends and patterns of industry or employment were also heavily affected by political and social affairs as well. The late fourteenth century has been noted as the start of an extended period of transition which occurred over the ‘long fifteenth century.’<sup>2</sup> The single most notable event was the Black Death and there is little disagreement among modern historians that the arrival of endemic plague in England had profound consequences for both the economy and society after 1348.<sup>3</sup> The direct effects of this great demographic catastrophe were in some respects surprisingly limited; the survival of the royal family, and lower than average death rate among the aristocracy and gentry, meant that the business of government could continue.<sup>4</sup> However, the plague did cause a short-term decline in the level of inter-state warfare. This does not seem to have been necessarily caused by a dearth of suitable soldiers as ‘the plague of 1348-50 struck disproportionately against the very young and very old, so that it was probably not until the 1360s and 1370s that its full impact was felt by recruiting officers.’<sup>5</sup> Indeed, although the initial epidemic reduced the population by around 46% in three years, it was the recurrence of plague that eroded the population’s ability to regenerate itself. This effect would not be realised until the late 1370s when the population stabilised near 50% of its pre-plague level.<sup>6</sup>

Instead the cessation in hostilities was rooted in the Crown’s financial problems, which can be partially attributed to the epidemic, and the problem of finding the funds required to field sufficient armies. The English government managed this issue better than that of the French king, due to the more efficient system of tax assessment and collection which Edward III’s officials had at their disposal and the greater amount of war damage evident in France which impacted negatively on the French government’s income.<sup>7</sup> These problems were exacerbated by the political strife which affected

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<sup>2</sup> Dyer, *Transition*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bolton, *Medieval English*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Fire*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Broadberry, Campbell, and van Leeuwen, ‘English medieval population’, p. 9 and p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Fire*, p. 10.

France, notably the capture of King John in 1356 at Poitiers, and the Jacquerie revolt in 1358.

The short and medium term effects of the plague had similar repercussions outside of the military. Despite the large death toll, which was said to have left 'scarcely one person in ten of either sex remained alive',<sup>8</sup> there was something of a recovery. Such was the over population of England, relative to its landed resources that holdings were filled from the pool of landless men which appears to have existed pre-Black Death. Take-up rates for new tenants were high, for example Kibworth Harcourt in Leicestershire where all but four of the forty-four vacated tenements were taken up.<sup>9</sup>

However, this disguises the apparent problems which landowners were facing. Indeed there appears to have been a 'crisis of lordship' and a great effort from many lords to reassert, or even assert, their powers however they could.<sup>10</sup> It also led to an extraordinary and novel piece of legislation, the Statute of Labourers of 1351 (preceded by the Ordinance of Labourers in 1349). Despite previous attempts at controlling prices, this was the first occasion when the English government had attempted to control terms of employment.<sup>11</sup> The statute not only tried to control wages, but also the ability of workers to change occupation or to relocate to another manor.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, it was enforced with great vigour, and at a great cost in social tension, did check some of the free-market forces which allowed 'restless peasantry intent of acquiring freedom and pursuing its own fortunes'<sup>13</sup> to improve upon their standards of living, and per capita wealth. However, these efforts were not universally

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<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey le Baker, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook*, David Preest (trans.), Richard Barber (intro. and notes) (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 86. This was something of an exaggeration with recent estimates putting the death toll at around 45%. See Goldberg, Peter J.P., 'Introduction', in: Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England* (Donington, 1996), pp. 1-15.

<sup>9</sup> Cicely Howell, *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt 1280-1700* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Bolton, 'World Upside Down', p.46.

<sup>11</sup> Mark Ormrod, 'The Politics of Pestilence: Government in England after the Black Death', in: Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England* (Donington, 1996), p. 156. For royal edicts on pricing as well as other economic legislation prior to this see Britnell, *Commercialisation*, pp. 90-97. The Statute has also been discussed in terms of social change and the decline of serfdom in England. See Mark Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 44-5.

<sup>12</sup> Simon Penn and Christopher Dyer, 'Wages and Earnings in Late Medieval England: Evidence from the Enforcement of the Labour Laws', *Economic History Review* 43 (1990), p. 357.

<sup>13</sup> Bolton, 'World Upside Down', p. 50.

successful, and in Essex for example, were largely futile.<sup>14</sup> Moreover the increasing social tensions, the financial burdens caused by the imposition of poll taxes, and the political weakness of the English government, led to open rebellion among the peasantry in 1381, the 'only truly popular uprising in English medieval history.'<sup>15</sup> As one of the most-debated events of English social history the large body of historiography concerned with the revolt will not be dwelt upon here, but needless to say it caused a great deal of consternation among the landowning sections of society and was brutally put down when the opportunity arose. Despite the physical and political reaction against demographic change and market forces, the late fourteenth century became one of relative prosperity for those outside of the nobility and gentry. Wages rose, doubling from 1½d per day in the 1340s to 3d around 1400 for unskilled labour in southern England, and more work was available due to the labour shortage which abolished the under-employment of the pre-plague era.<sup>16</sup>

In this period of flux, especially concerning wages and occupations, how did military service as an archer fit in? It has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 that the wages of a mounted archer compared favourably to even skilled labour such as carpenters, receiving 6d and 4d per day respectively in the later fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> However, it is unlikely that an archer would be able to find continual employment as a soldier year round. There were some garrisons and standing forces in the later fourteenth century which could provide long term employment, but they were limited in size, and did not reach the scale of garrison employment which was seen later following the occupation of Normandy. Even the literary portrayal of an archer, Chaucer's Yeoman, is normally

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<sup>14</sup> L. R. Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death*. (Cambridge, 1991), p. 232.

<sup>15</sup> Bolton, 'World Upside Down', p. 45. There is a vast body of literature concerned with the revolt. Dobson, *Peasants' Revolt* provides a collection of primary source material in translation, while Hilton, Rodney H. Bond, *Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973), and: Webber, *Peasants' Revolt*, and: Dyer, 'Social and Economic Background', all discuss the revolt in depth.

<sup>16</sup> Penn and Dyer, 'Wages and Earnings in Late Medieval England', p. 373.

<sup>17</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 153. However, it must be noted that these rates of pay remained stable, despite the aforementioned increase in the day rates for non-military employment.

identified primarily as a forester rather than a soldier, although it is clear that there was a great deal of overlap between these roles.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore it is logical to suggest that archery could not provide most men with a full time occupation and that it may have been a secondary form of employment to their primary means of economic sufficiency. The nature of fourteenth century warfare suggests that even those who wished to focus on a military career as a major source of income may have needed to find secondary occupations to support themselves between campaigns. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, the number of archers who only appear once in the muster roles is very much the majority.<sup>19</sup> This concept of multiple occupations is reflective of the economic realities of the medieval period. The idea of a peasant society comprised entirely of self-sufficient family groups has long been refuted, but it is equally invalid to suggest that people engaged in one type of employment as a 'career'.<sup>20</sup> Although it is not uncommon for a person to be identified by a primary occupation, such categorisation is problematic as there were often other tasks which needed to be accomplished, and the names or phrases used as descriptions may not encapsulate all of these, and could vary from place to place. For example, a ploughman, a term referring to a skilled agricultural worker, would not be constantly ploughing throughout the year and would have to engage in a variety of tasks which could vary according to the season, the region, or wider economic parameters.<sup>21</sup>

The same issue can be seen in more urban environments. It has been suggested that urban environments had higher levels of specialisation of occupation and the larger the town the greater the level of occupational specialisation.<sup>22</sup> This allowed the majority of residents to make a living from trade, manufacture, and service, rather

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<sup>18</sup> See Thompson, 'Chaucer's Warrior Bowman', pp. 386-388. Thompson covers a wide range of historiographical interpretation regarding the Yeoman's principal role.

<sup>19</sup> See Figure 1.7 in Chapter 1, p. 47. For the 1367 to 1391 sample there were 18,485 Tier 1 archer service records, who only appeared once in the muster rolls, compared to 1,015 for the multiple occasions of service seen in Tier 3.

<sup>20</sup> Peter J. P. Goldberg, *Medieval England: A Social History 1250-1550* (London, 2004), p.93.

<sup>21</sup> Goldberg, *Medieval England*, p.93-94.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Britnell, 'Specialization of Work in England, 1100-1300', *Economic History Review* 54 (2001), p. 2.

than agricultural production.<sup>23</sup> However, secondary occupations were not uncommon among mercantile or artisanal households and, like the peasant household, their economic viability depended in a variety of activities, often under the same roof.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the prevalence of by-occupations and changes in employment for an individual throughout a year, let alone their life, would suggest that those who served as archers would not display an occupational profile much at variance with their civilian counterparts, or to put it another way, they were representative of the society they came from, and the economic structures in which they lived and worked, suggesting that they were socially embedded.

With this background to occupations in the later fourteenth century, it is clear that the archers, as a group, would have needed other occupations to support themselves. Indeed if the relative size of the Tier 1 and Tier 3 samples of the archers 1367 to 1391 are considered then service as an archer must have been the secondary occupation itself. Linked to occupations, but not entirely determined by it, are the amounts of tax paid in the poll tax returns. This information regarding tax liability can, within certain limits, be interpreted as a proxy for personal wealth at the point in time of the tax assessments, and therefore as an indicator of personal economic standing of individuals, which enabled a comparison of archers to their 'civilian' peers. These two topics, occupations and taxes, are at the centre of this chapter and the analysis of these provides the answers to the research questions proposed above.

### **3.2 Occupations**

#### **Employment and professions in the poll tax returns**

As previously mentioned, the present chapter has built on the foundations laid in the previous one, making use of the samples already extracted from the database. For example, the sample of archers from 1367 to 1391 has been used, as well as the division of this sample into three tiers. The samples from the poll tax returns have also been reused, although they were modified to enable analysis of occupations and taxes to be completed.

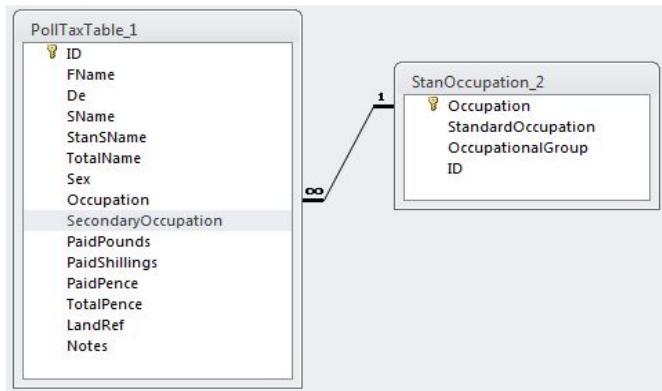
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<sup>23</sup> Goldberg, *Medieval England*, p. 100.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 103.

The occupational data in the poll taxes is discussed briefly in Chapter 1, regarding the construction of the database and the standardisation of terminology to enable effective interrogation of the dataset. The standardisation table 'StanOccupation' is linked to the fields 'Occupation' and 'SecondaryOccupation' in the 'PollTaxTable' as shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Standardisation of poll tax return occupational data



Standardisation of the original data through a relational database is relatively simple and allows the spelling and format of the occupational data to be preserved whilst still fostering effective analysis. In this instance the fields 'Occupation' and 'SecondaryOccupation' in the 'PollTaxTable' are linked to the 'StanOccupation' table through a one to many relationship. By including every variation of each occupation recorded in the poll tax returns in the primary key field of the 'StanOccupation' table, all of them can be standardised to the relevant 'StandardOccupation'. For example, merchants have been described in the returns as 'merc', 'mercer', 'mercator', and 'parvius merch' among 152 others. By grouping all these together into one category, comparison can be made between persons within the category who display another identifiable variable, i.e. undertaking military service. Patterns of occupation between archers and the non-archers in the poll tax returns helps to illuminate their non-military activities. This has been further refined by establishing occupational groups to link related or similar occupations together. These are listed in the 'OccupationalGroup' field in the 'StanOccupation' table.

The occupational groups mentioned above in Figure 3.1 classify occupations by type and group related ones. The boundaries between them are not as clear cut as might be implied by this approach, for as mentioned above, people often engaged in multiple occupations which could result in them in reality appearing in multiple groups. However, for this analysis only the occupations listed in the poll tax returns have been included, and those occupations primary purpose of activity has been used to filter them into groups. The groups are agricultural, artisan, ecclesiastic, gentry, government, legal, maritime, medical, mercantile, services, assistants and servants, none, and other. The last two groups are catch-alls for the occupational data from the poll tax returns which either does not fit into one of the other categories ('other'), or are unidentifiable ('none'). The full list of standardisations used in the database, and

the occupational group which each occupation was placed into can be found in Appendix 1.5.<sup>25</sup> Some of these groups are not occupational in the sense of paid employment, for example the 'gentry' group could not be said to represent a professional or industrial group in a modern sense. However, it has been included for two reasons, firstly that this is the description of the individual in the poll tax returns. Secondly, landholding represented a form of income for the gentry, their families, and dependants.

To allow for any comparison between archers and non-archers to be made, the first step was to identify a baseline for future comparison. The first element of this was enumerating the occupational breakdown of the entire dataset of the poll tax returns, filtered to only include those records which have occupational data, and are identifiable as male. This created a sample of poll tax records 48,065 in number, a large sample, but only representing 31% of the male population in the poll tax returns and 13% of the total population. It is evident that this analysis will only be considering a minority of the population of England, restricted by evidentiary requirements. This is the result of the collection instructions for each of the poll taxes as occupational data was only required for the 1379 returns, although it has survived for some of the 1377 and 1381 returns as well. However, this does not mean that the data is entirely accurate, and there are variations in the exact data recorded between different counties and there was a degree of economic self-interest in concealing information about one's livelihood, a self-interest which could be assisted by the local assessors and collectors who had to live alongside those they were assessing.<sup>26</sup>

The sample of male occupational poll tax data was then grouped firstly by the occupational groups identified above, and then into each standardised occupation in the database. The breakdown of the former, along with a brief explanation of the occupations in each group can be seen below in Figure 3.2, and the top twenty-six occupations in the poll tax returns can be seen in Figure 3.3, with a full enumeration of each occupation in Appendix 3.1.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>26</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 1, p. xxxv.

<sup>27</sup> See p. 287.

**Figure 3.2: Size of occupational groups**

Occupational Group	Number of Poll Tax Records	Group Definition
agricultural	20,044	All occupations connected with working the land and production of primary resources. This includes farmers, farm labourers, shepherds, and swineherds.
artisan	11,111	The occupations which display a certain level of specialisation and are the producers of manufactured goods. Examples include tailors, fullers, cobblers, and bowyers.
ecclesiastic	37	All occupations which stem from an appointment within the Church, including bishops, abbots and vicars.
gentry	815	Not necessarily an occupation in the modern sense, and is also an indicator of social status. Has a lot of potential cross over with the 'government' group as the gentry were heavily involved in administration and politics. Examples include <i>dominus</i> (lord), barons, and knights.
government	420	This can refer to local or national government, and includes for example, jurors, bailiffs, and constables.
legal	121	Legal professions or occupations including lawyers, their apprentices and notaries.
maritime	529	All occupations connected to the rivers or seas, for example sailors, fishermen, and ferrymen.
medical	39	All occupations connected to the provision of medical services. Includes doctors, physicians, apothecaries, and barbers among others.
mercantile	1,614	All the occupations connected with the movement and resale of goods produced by another party. This ranges from 'international' wine and wool merchants, to the lesser peddlers and carters.
none	1,898	Those records whose occupation cannot be identified.
other	804	Occupations which do not fit into the other categories. This includes the few military occupations recorded.
services	493	Occupations which provide a service rather than producing physical output. This includes people such as innkeepers, bankers, and cooks.
assistants/ servants	10,140	All persons connected to either occupational service as 'servants' or similar, as well as people who may have worked as artisanal assistants. A few incidences may refer to people who could be considered personally unfree or serfs.

**Figure 3.3: Most numerous occupations (>200 records) in the poll tax returns**

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
10054	servant	servile
7137	labourer	agricultural
6574	cultivator	agricultural
2494	tenant	agricultural
2020	craftsman	artisan
1600	tailor	artisan
1529	free tenant	agricultural
1113	weaver	artisan
902	carpenter	artisan
712	shoe maker	artisan
666	smith	artisan
663	brewer	artisan
635	merchant	mercantile
578	husbandman	agricultural
551	butcher	artisan
434	shepherd	agricultural
430	fisher	maritime
377	franklin	other
357	constable	government
353	fuller	artisan
336	ploughman	agricultural
322	squire	gentry
317	textile merchant	mercantile
294	farmer	agricultural
279	juror	government
236	draper	artisan
225	mason	artisan
208	wright	artisan
207	workman	other

This breakdown of the poll tax returns does support the theory that agriculture was the bedrock of the medieval English economy, with 42% of the population with occupations appearing in the agricultural group, followed by the other major production focused group, the artisans, with 23% of the population. The other numerically large group, assistants and servants, is slightly anomalous compared to the agricultural and artisan, as it not only includes servants in the form of household assistance, but could also include those employed by craftsmen in their workshops on

a daily basis, as well as apprentices.<sup>28</sup> The terms used to record servants varied greatly, including *serviens* and *ancilla* among others. Their status could be equally varied from lowly scullery maid to educated men working as clerks.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it is likely that this group overlaps somewhat with the others, however due to the form of the data in the poll tax returns it is not possible to distinguish between these different types of servants.

The maritime group result is striking as it might be expected that this would have greater prominence in the poll tax returns given the size of England's merchant marine in the fourteenth century. Only 1% of the male occupational sample is grouped into the maritime group. As a form of comparison, approximately 96,276 mariners are recorded serving in the English merchant fleet in times of war between 1322 and 1360. Some of these will be the same individuals on more than one occasion as this sample covers 4,065 ships with 4,299 separate service records.<sup>30</sup> However, this remains a very large sample, which does not take into account the other mariners who would have been occupied in other non-military employments at the time, either in transport, trade, or fishing. It is possible that these activities were often viewed as a secondary occupation, and only those individuals who were obviously and frequently employed in maritime activities were recorded as such. Furthermore it is possible that mariners and sailors were seen as low status, and therefore grouped with similar land based employment such as labourers. This latter point is supported by the language used in the 1379 schedule of collection, which does not specifically recognise maritime occupations in any of the categories listed.<sup>31</sup> This would also have the effect of reducing the number of individuals listed as occupations within the group for the 1379 returns as it would not be information needed by the assessors.

Although fascinating in its own right, the occupational data alone cannot help to shed light on the English archers place in the economy of England in the late fourteenth century. Achieving this involved reintroducing the muster roll data discussed

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<sup>28</sup> Goldberg, *Medieval England*, p. 100.

<sup>29</sup> Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, 2007), p. 187.

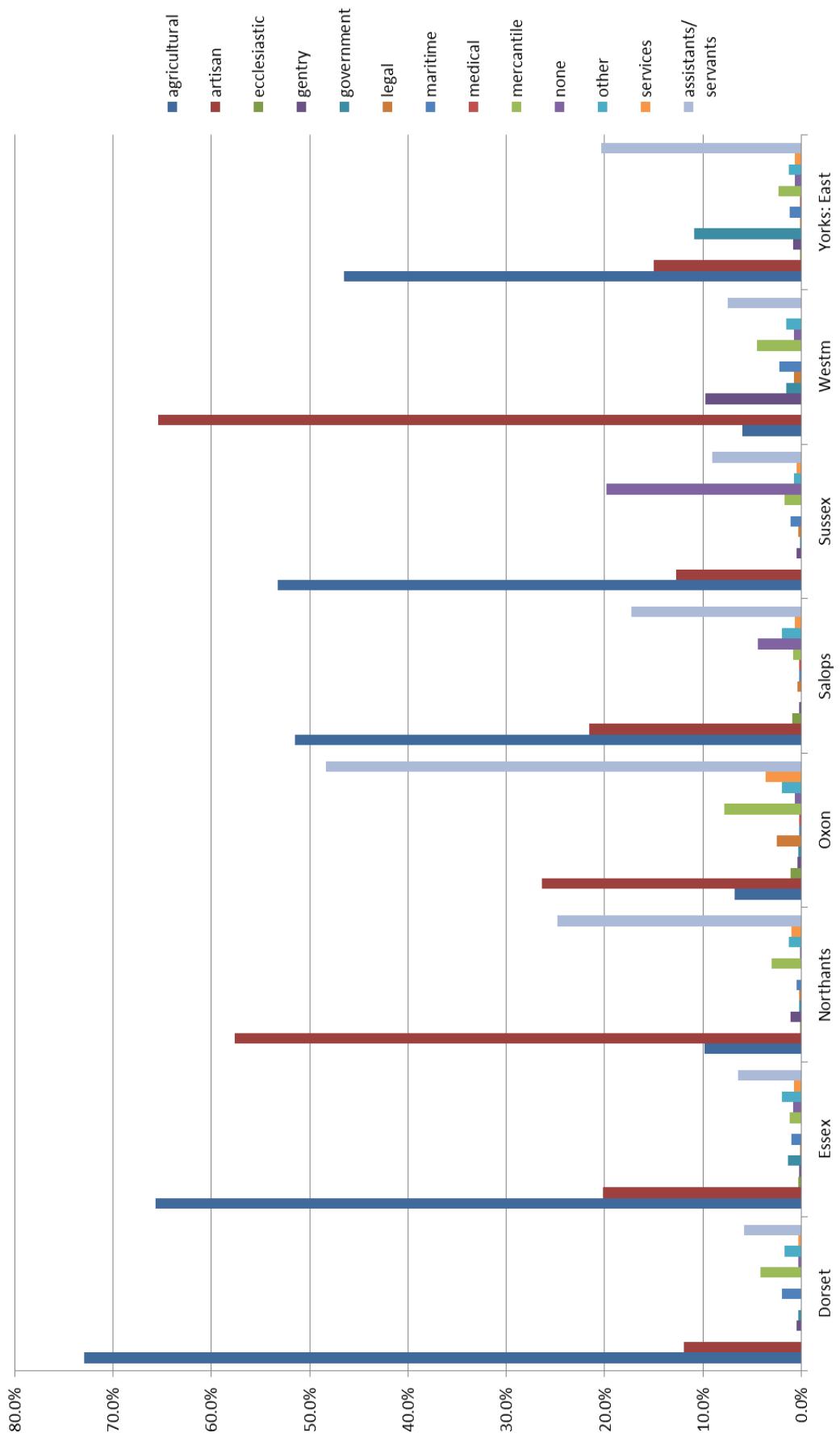
<sup>30</sup> Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, p. 172-3.

<sup>31</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, pp.115-6.

previously in the thesis. The same approach to analysis was employed, based around the sample of eight counties from different regions of England, shown in Figure 2.1 and 2.2. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show the division of the male poll tax return samples into the thirteen occupational groups, split into the eight counties sampled in Chapter 2, while Figures 3.6 and 3.7 do the same for the top twenty-six occupations from the whole poll tax return sample (from Figure 3.3).

<b>Figure 3.4: Division of occupational groups in each county</b>								
<b>Occupational Group</b>	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
agricultural	1,047	1,574	78	90	544	1,372	8	970
artisan	171	484	456	352	228	328	87	313
ecclesiastic	1	7	1	15	10	2	0	2
gentry	7	5	9	5	2	12	13	18
government	4	32	2	4	0	4	2	227
legal	1	4	2	33	4	7	1	2
maritime	28	24	4	3	2	28	3	25
medical	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	2
mercantile	60	29	24	104	9	44	6	49
none	4	19	1	9	47	511	1	14
other	25	48	10	26	21	20	2	26
services	4	17	8	48	7	13	0	14
assistants/servants	84	155	196	645	183	234	10	424

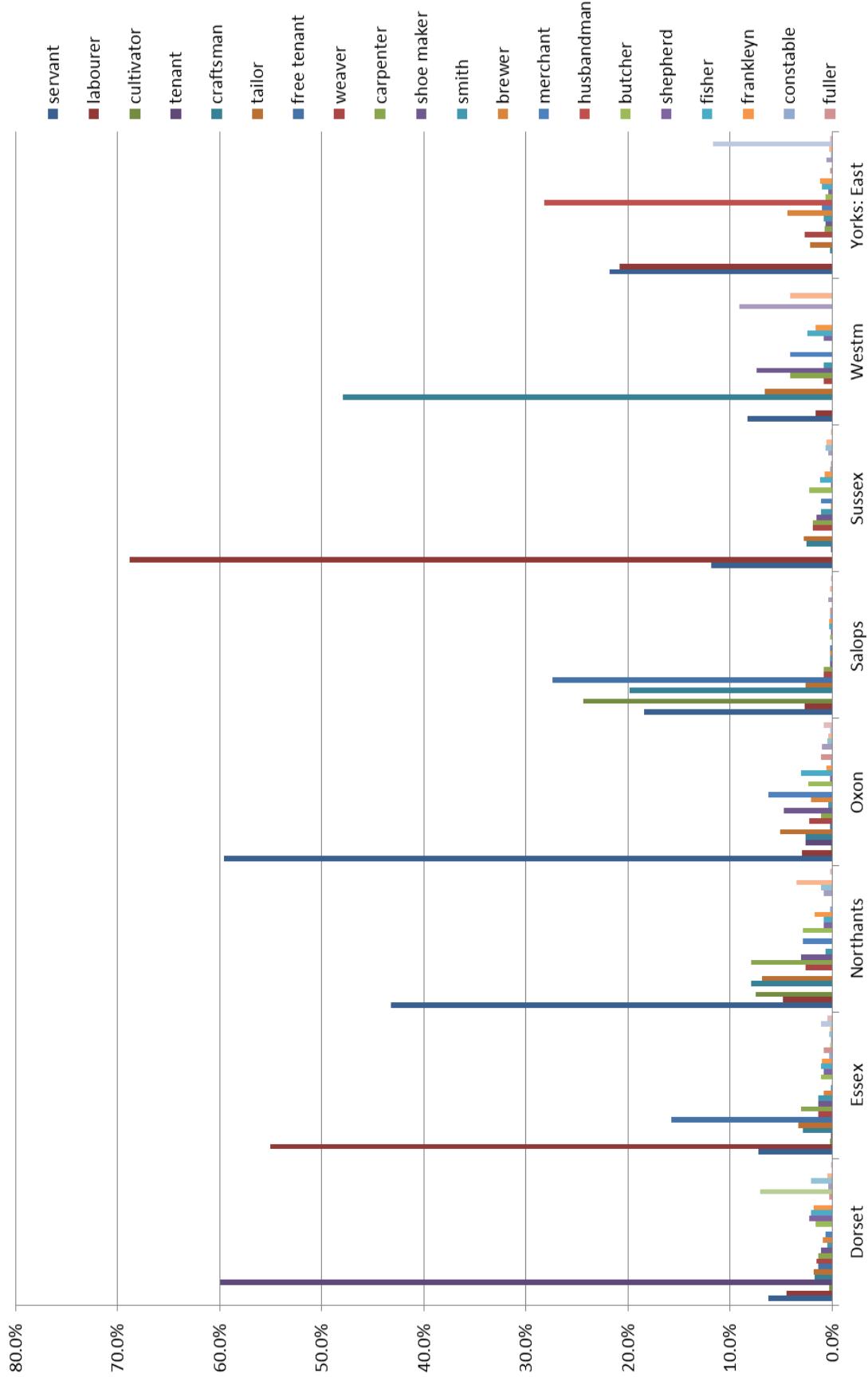
**Figure 3.5: % of county occupational poll tax records in each occupational group**



**Figure 3.6: Number of poll tax records for each county in most common occupations**

Standardised Occupation	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
servant	6.2%	7.2%	43.3%	59.7%	18.5%	11.9%	8.3%	21.8%
labourer	4.5%	55.0%	4.9%	3.0%	2.7%	68.8%	1.7%	20.8%
cultivator	0.3%	0.2%	7.5%	0.1%	24.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
tenant	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
craftsman	1.7%	2.8%	7.9%	2.6%	19.9%	2.5%	47.9%	0.3%
tailor	1.8%	3.4%	6.8%	5.1%	2.6%	2.7%	6.6%	2.2%
free tenant	1.3%	15.7%	0.0%	0.2%	27.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
weaver	1.6%	1.3%	2.6%	2.2%	0.8%	1.9%	0.8%	2.7%
carpenter	1.3%	3.0%	7.9%	1.1%	0.8%	1.9%	4.1%	0.7%
shoe maker	1.1%	1.3%	3.1%	4.7%	0.2%	1.5%	7.4%	0.7%
smith	0.4%	1.3%	0.7%	0.4%	0.2%	1.1%	0.8%	0.8%
brewer	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	2.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	4.4%
merchant	0.7%	0.1%	2.9%	6.3%	0.2%	1.1%	4.1%	1.0%
husbandman	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	28.2%
butcher	1.6%	1.1%	2.9%	2.3%	0.2%	2.2%	0.0%	0.7%
shepherd	2.2%	0.8%	0.9%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.8%	0.4%
fisher	2.1%	1.1%	0.9%	3.1%	0.3%	1.2%	2.5%	1.0%
franklin	1.9%	1.0%	1.8%	0.6%	0.3%	0.7%	1.7%	1.2%
constable	0.0%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
fuller	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%	1.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
ploughman	7.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
squire	0.4%	0.0%	0.9%	1.0%	0.4%	0.4%	9.1%	0.6%
textile merchant	2.1%	0.3%	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.1%
farmer	0.5%	0.2%	3.5%	0.4%	0.2%	0.6%	4.1%	0.3%
juror	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.7%
draper	0.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.8%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%

**Figure 3.7: Occupational breakdown of counties**



The two graphs, Figures 3.5 and 3.7, make the occupational profile of the eight counties easier to view. The division into occupational groups in Figure 3.5 demonstrates that the agricultural, artisan, and the assistants and servants groups tend to be the largest percentage group in each county, a trend which is reflected in the overall breakdown of the occupations from the male records in the poll tax returns. The exact order varies, and reflects the urban/rural divide in the extant returns. In the counties where a large proportion of the surviving records are from urban locations the county results show a higher proportion of artisan or assistants and servants occupations. For example, Oxford has 850 poll tax records out of a total 1,334 for the county. Importantly, these are predominantly from the 1381 returns which were partially assessed according to status and as a result occupations or status were often recorded. This contrasts to Essex records. These returns contain an apparently complete nominal record for Colchester for 1377, unusual due to the per capita nature of the 1377 collection. Despite representing 23% of the total extant records for Essex, there are only 220 with occupations, 9% of the county-wide male poll tax with a recorded occupation.<sup>32</sup> This is reflective of the per capita collection made, which did not require occupation, status, or wealth to be recorded.

Figure 3.7 provides a breakdown of the occupations in each county, focusing on the top twenty-six across the whole of the poll tax returns as identified in Figure 3.6. Any strong trends caused by the differences between the counties are difficult to identify, although those for Essex support the idea of a developed cloth industry, with a high proportion of records indicating an occupation connected to the production or sale of cloth.<sup>33</sup> This lack of strong trends is partly due to the problematic nature of the available evidence for the medieval English economy which in turn makes drawing wide-ranging conclusions challenging. However, evidence from the poll tax returns can be interpreted to support previously proposed hypotheses. An example of this is the high rate of persons described as labourers in Essex, at 55% of the sample. It has long been recognised that Essex had an unusually high proportion of wage labourers in its population and despite the demographic dislocation of the Black Death this population

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<sup>32</sup> Colchester, 1377 has 2,941 surviving records, from a total for Essex of 12,965.

<sup>33</sup> Samuel Gibbs, 'The Fighting Men of Essex: Service Relationships and the Poll Tax in Essex', *The Fighting Essex Soldier* (Forthcoming).

of smallholders and landless did not decrease in the late fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> This is supported by the poll tax return data for the county which shows a percentage of labourers only exceeded by Sussex which displays some of the same characteristics as Essex, with a heavy population density, a shortage of good quality land, and relatively close links to the markets of London, which promoted the growth of the economy beyond a purely subsistence stage.<sup>35</sup> In these two counties a high level of labourers would be expected, a hypothesis confirmed by the returns. Equally, the low rate of labourers and servants shown in the Dorset returns is reflective of the lower population density in the south-west compared to the east and the scarcity of urban poll tax returns among those which survive.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, this lower population density affected the availability of land and the demand for its agricultural output. Rising labour costs after the Black Death, in an area which already had an established wool production industry, meant that there was an increase in the level of sheep farming and the conversion of previously arable land to pastoral. The position of Dorset, close to the expanding cloth industry in Somerset, as well as easy access to Continental markets meant that the county maintained a healthy share of the wool market, despite the contraction in the demand for English wool.<sup>37</sup> This can also be seen in the relatively high rate of shepherds recorded in the Dorset returns, which although small is more than double that of Essex or Sussex.

### **Socially embedded archers?**

How then do the results from the poll tax returns compare to the occupations of records which can be linked to archers? The first step in making this comparison was referring back to the tiers of archers, and the poll tax returns Sections identified in Chapter 2. Again, the focus of this investigation will be the Tier 1 and Tier 3 archers from the 1367 to 1391 sample and their nominal links to the Section 1 names in the poll tax returns. The previous samples extracted will be retained, and filtered further to concentrate on the relevant poll tax return records i.e. those with occupations

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<sup>34</sup> Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death*, pp.19-21.

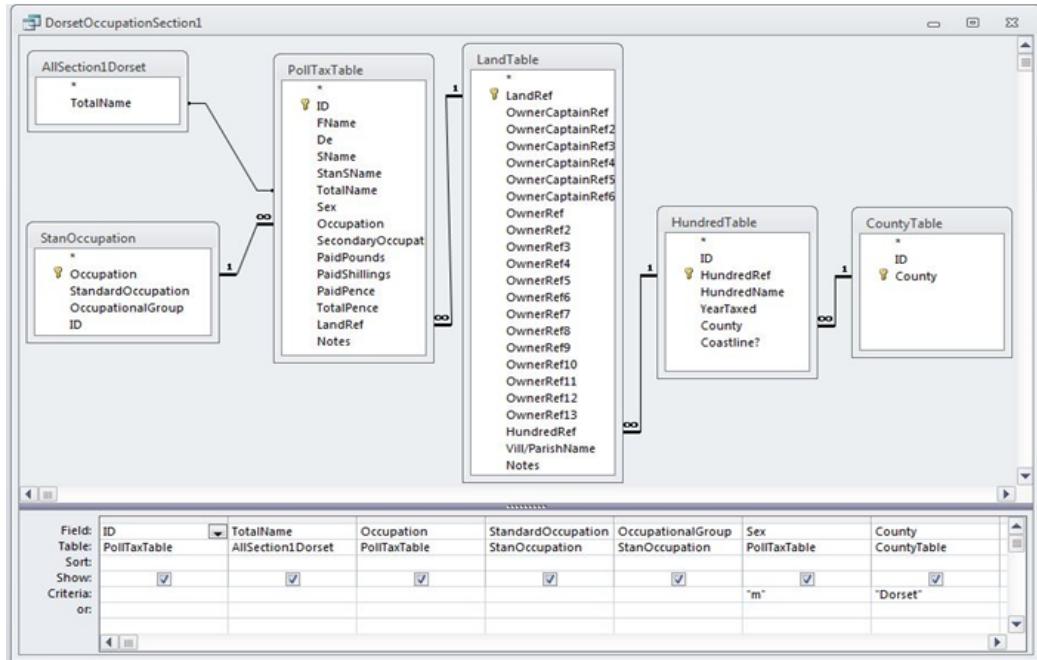
<sup>35</sup> Bolton, *Medieval English*, p. 12, p. 190, and p.254.

<sup>36</sup> Bolton, *Medieval English*, p. 12 and Peter Speed, *Dorset: A County History* (Newbury, 1994), p. 32.

<sup>37</sup> Mark Forrest, 'The Black Death in Dorset: The Crisis of 1348-1349', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 131 (2010), p. 12.

listed. The query to produce these samples is demonstrated in Figure 3.8 and the revised poll tax returns samples for each county are shown below in Figure 3.9. The muster rolls samples remain the same as used previously with Tier 1 comprising 18,485 names and Tier 3 comprising 1,015.

**Figure 3.8: Query linking Section 1 names for each county to occupational data**



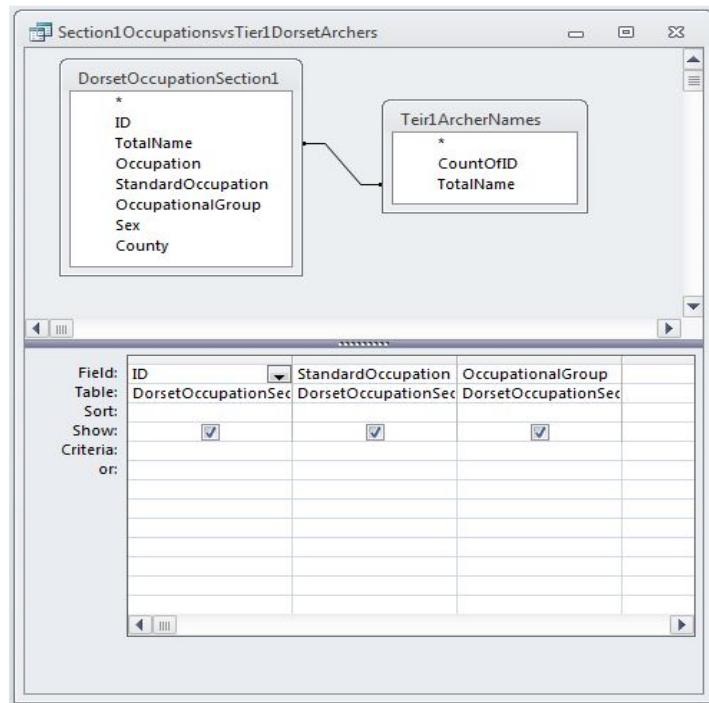
The data from the poll tax returns in 'PollTaxTable' has been filtered by several factors. In this example query the data has been restricted to that from Dorset by using that county as a criteria in the linked 'CountyTable'. This ensured that the poll tax return data being analysed would be restricted to records from that county. The use of the 'AllSection1Dorset' object, which includes all the names from all the tax years still extant for Dorset, made sure that only the names which were grouped in Section 1 were included in the occupational results. The final filter was the use of the standardisation table 'StanOccupation' and selecting the fields 'StandardOccupation' and 'OccupationalGroup' from that table meant that only records with a occupation recorded were included in the results generated.

**Figure 3.9: Occupation samples in Section 1 of poll tax returns**

	<b>Section 1 sample</b>	<b>Section 1 records with occupation</b>
<b>Dorset</b>	2,119	1,305
<b>Essex</b>	4,901	1,769
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	3,667	614
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	3,802	1,142
<b>Shropshire</b>	2,392	847
<b>Sussex</b>	5,265	1,883
<b>Westmorland</b>	712	88
<b>Yorkshire: East Riding</b>	4,740	1,760

These samples were cross referenced for nominal links in the same manner employed in Chapter 2, and the restriction of the samples to those noted above ensured that the nominal linkage was relatively secure. The query used to match the nominal records is in Figure 3.10, with the results for each county shown in Figure 3.11.

**Figure 3.10: Query for nominal linkage between occupational county poll tax return records and archer sample, 1367-1391**



The query is very similar to that used to identify the archers in Figure 2.8. The Section 1 names were taken from the results of the queries shown in Figure 3.8. The Tier 1 archer names from the 1367 to 1391 sample have been linked to the Section 1 records for Dorset with occupational data, joining the two principal sources within the context of occupational analysis. This query was repeated for the Tier 3 archer names to Section 1, and then for the other seven counties.

**Figure 3.11: Nominal links between archer sample 1367-1391 and county poll tax Section 1 samples with occupational data**

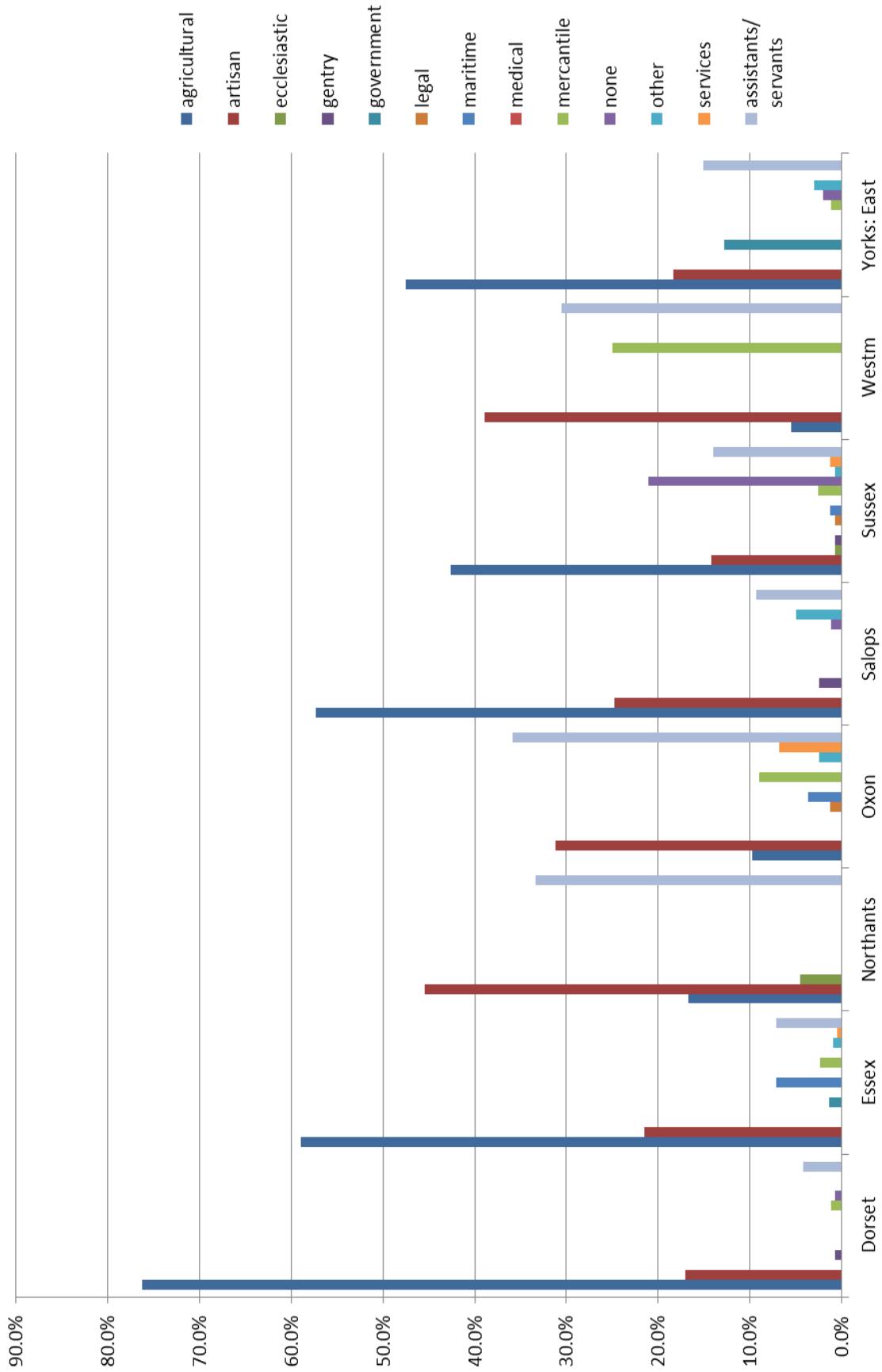
	Tier 1	Tier 3
<b>Dorset</b>	74	45
<b>Essex</b>	101	54
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	33	11
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	85	40
<b>Shropshire</b>	44	20
<b>Sussex</b>	70	39
<b>Westmorland</b>	9	2
<b>Yorkshire: East Riding</b>	88	50

These matches were then sorted in the same fashion as the poll tax returns occupational sample shown in Figures 3.4 to 3.7, having counted the number of names in each of the occupational groups and each occupation in the twenty-six most numerous occupations, allowing a comparison of the two datasets to be completed. Figures 3.12 to 3.15 show the results for archers divided between the thirteen occupational groups and Figure 3.16 presents those for the most numerous occupations in the poll tax returns. The full results for Tiers 1 and 3 are in Appendix 3.2.<sup>38</sup> This analysis focuses on the archers who were identified as engaging in potentially politically determined service, with a residential connection to the retinue captains' areas of landed influence and local lordship.

<b>Figure 3.12: Number of Section 1 matches to combined Tier 1 and 3 archers in each occupational group</b>								
<b>Occupational Group</b>	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
agricultural	91	93	7	11	36	47	1	67
artisan	20	33	20	44	17	16	7	24
ecclesiastic	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
gentry	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
government	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	18
legal	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
maritime	0	10	0	4	0	1	0	0
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mercantile	1	3	0	12	0	2	1	2
none	1	0	0	0	1	24	0	2
other	0	2	0	3	2	1	0	3
services	0	1	0	7	0	1	0	0
assistants/servants	5	11	16	43	7	14	2	22

<sup>38</sup> See p. 295.

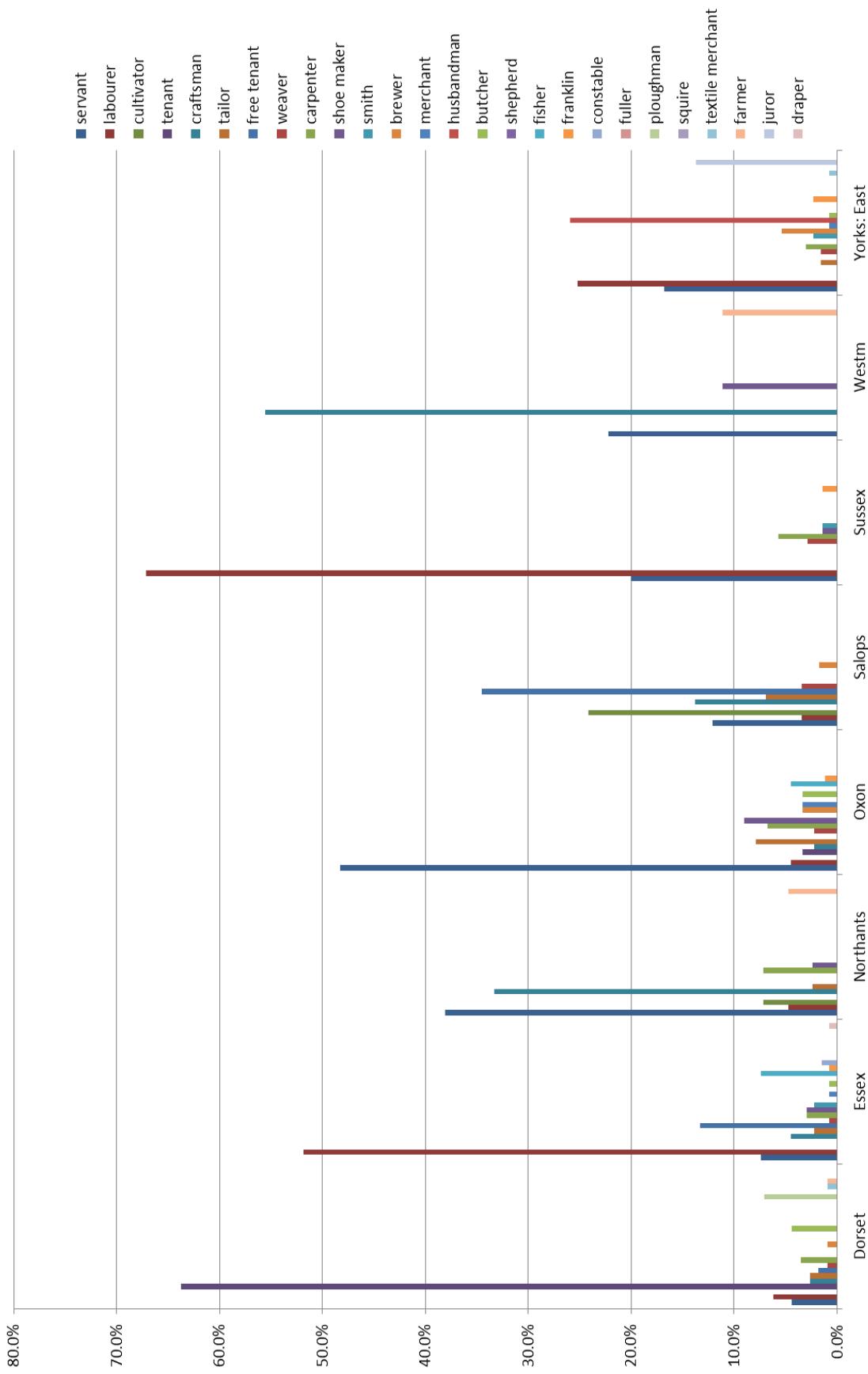
Figure 3.13: % of counties' combined Tier 1 and 3 archers in each occupational group



**Figure 3.14: Tier 1 and 3 archers with occupations**

Standardised Occupation	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
servant	4.4%	7.4%	38.1%	48.3%	12.1%	20.0%	22.2%	16.8%
labourer	6.2%	51.9%	4.8%	4.5%	3.4%	67.1%	0.0%	25.2%
cultivator	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	24.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
tenant	63.7%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
craftsman	2.7%	4.4%	33.3%	2.2%	13.8%	0.0%	55.6%	0.0%
tailor	2.7%	2.2%	2.4%	7.9%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%
free tenant	1.8%	13.3%	0.0%	0.0%	34.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
weaver	0.9%	0.7%	0.0%	2.2%	3.4%	2.9%	0.0%	1.5%
carpenter	3.5%	3.0%	7.1%	6.7%	0.0%	5.7%	0.0%	3.1%
shoe maker	0.0%	3.0%	2.4%	9.0%	0.0%	1.4%	11.1%	0.0%
smith	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	2.3%
brewer	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%
merchant	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
husbandman	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26.0%
butcher	4.4%	0.7%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
shepherd	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fisher	0.0%	7.4%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
franklin	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	2.3%
constable	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fuller	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
ploughman	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
squire	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
textile merchant	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
farmer	0.9%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%
juror	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.7%
draper	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

**Figure 3.15: Occupational breakdown of Tier 1 and 3 archers**



The most obvious result from this nominal comparison is that the records which can be linked to archers follow the same broad trends as the county poll tax samples. The graphical representations of the percentage of each sample within the thirteen occupational groups are similar. In all eight counties for both the county population (Figure 3.5) and the archers (Figure 3.13) the top three occupational groups are the agricultural, artisanal, and assistants or servants, a trend which is also seen in the poll tax returns as a whole. As well as this, the county and archer breakdowns also exhibit the same numerically greatest occupational group in all eight counties. This trend remains true if the Tier 1 and 3 samples are considered separately (see Appendices 3.3 and 3.4 for these results),<sup>39</sup> with the exception of the Tier 3 results for Westmorland, where the largest group in the county samples, artisans, was not matched at all. However, this is probably due to the low sample size of Section 1 names with occupations in the Westmorland poll tax returns, which means that it is difficult to incorporate these results into the general picture as the matches which are made disproportionately affect the percentage result shown. This also accounts for the high match rate between archers and Westmorland Section 1 poll tax records of 13%, although this is not as large an outlier as the starting sample size.

Aside from the Westmorland results, the other counties' archers show trends which can be matched to their non-archer populations, and are reflective of the poll tax returns which survived. The example of Oxfordshire, and the high number of the surviving poll tax records originating in Oxford discussed above, is further evidenced by the matches made to the archers. Indeed, the results show something which was anticipated: that the archers are reflective of the wider economic, in this case occupational, background in which they lived. This seems, perhaps, too obvious a conclusion, but it is logical. Archers were products of their society, and the general enthusiasm for archery which appears to have been in evidence in England in the later medieval period. This meant that, despite the increasing professionalism of the English soldiery in the later fourteenth century, and the increased influence of economic motivations for military service, they were not a distinct corps of men who could be identified as such from an external viewpoint. Instead they were labourers, farmers,

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<sup>39</sup> See p. 302 and p. 321.

artisans, or servants, who had a useful and somewhat specialised skill in demand by England's rulers, and they can be considered as socially embedded, rather than a distinct, unembedded group. Furthermore, this group of potentially politically motivated archers could be considered 'traditional' in their approach to military service, with links to their captains based on the influence of lordship, increasing the level of social embeddedness observable in their military service.

Figure 3.12 which includes the absolute numbers of matches between Section 1 of the returns and the Tier 1 and 3 archers provides further support of this theory as the matches in groups such as ecclesiastic or gentry, in which archer would not be expected due to the high status these groups entail, are low, with the only matches for ecclesiastics appearing in Northamptonshire and Sussex, both of which were pardoners, an occupation which was in theory open to lay persons. The number of archers matched to occupations in the gentry group is also notably low. This negative evidence, the absence of matches, is not a strong argument by itself, however in conjunction with the prevalence of matches in the 'correct' groups, where they would be expected, does go some way to supporting the idea that archers were representative of their backgrounds.

The same observations can be made of the breakdown of the most numerous occupations in each county. If the whole poll tax return sample, shown in Figure 3.3, is considered, the distribution of matches for the eight counties sampled, in Figure 3.6, and their archer populations, Figure 3.14, are broadly similar. The occupations highlighted green indicate where matches have been made, with the darker shades indicating a greater percentage, and they show an inclination towards the most common occupations at the top of the table in Figure 3.3. Indeed, the percentages shown in Figure 3.6 correspond fairly closely to their parallel matches in among the archers in Figure 3.14. Like the results for the occupational groups, the results for Westmorland display the most variation, again an effect of the smaller sample size. The other seven counties show a very similar breakdown between the archer and non-archer groups, although there is a greater level of variation between the different occupations. This is due to the larger sample of the non-archer group giving greater opportunities for the less well represented occupations to appear.

Along with the more general analysis of comparing Section 1 of the poll tax returns to the Tier 1 and 3 archers 1367 to 1391 it was also possible to develop the tests of politically determined service performed in Chapter 2, and use them to consider occupational patterns. The query shown in Figure 2.12 was reused; however Stages 3 and 4 were restricted to only cross-referencing the records in the poll tax returns which contained occupational information.<sup>40</sup> The full results from this inquiry are in Appendix 3.3,<sup>41</sup> and include the matches between each captain's retinue archers and records in the poll taxes with occupations, the breakdown of these matches into occupational groups, as well as the number engaged in the most numerous occupations in the returns.<sup>42</sup> A summary of the occupational group breakdown of the eight counties can be seen below in Figures 3.16 and 3.17, and the same for the individual occupations in Figure 3.18.

**Figure 3.16: Nominal links between retinue archers and poll tax records with occupational data**

County	No. Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with occupation	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with occupation
Dorset	17	112	10	103
Essex	14	287	8	311
Northamptonshire	43	308	5	143
Oxfordshire	103	370	16	243
Shropshire	15	92	6	62
Sussex	43	231	8	95
Westmorland	10	17	3	7
Yorkshire East	93	237	9	223

<sup>40</sup> See p. 71.

<sup>41</sup> See p. 302.

<sup>42</sup> Note that there are a number of incidences where there is a greater number of matches for retinue archers with occupations than there were matches to the retinue archers recorded in Chapter 2, Figure 2.14. This is due to the results in Figure 2.14 recording the number of times the name of an archer appeared in the poll tax returns, rather than the number of matching nominal pairs. Here, the same approach has been followed, except that as well as the number of matches, the result also accounts for the repeated names in the poll tax return samples which have different occupations recorded. For example, Edward, Earl of March has 15 matches between his retinue archers and the poll tax returns for Dorset. In turn of these 15 names, 12 are recorded with 18 different occupations. This will also be the case for the analysis of the amounts of tax paid below, although here the variation will be higher due to the larger samples available for tax data.

**Figure 3.17: Archers in poll tax returns by occupational group**

	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
agricultural	58.4%	50.8%	13.3%	10.8%	58.8%	50.8%	0.0%	45.0%
artisan	26.5%	27.6%	53.3%	34.5%	19.1%	23.8%	100.0%	22.0%
ecclesiastic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
gentry	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%
government	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.2%
legal	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%
maritime	3.5%	1.3%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%
medical	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
mercantile	3.5%	1.6%	2.0%	5.2%	10.3%	1.7%	0.0%	2.3%
none	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	13.3%	0.0%	0.5%
other	2.7%	2.2%	4.7%	1.6%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	1.4%
services	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	2.8%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
assistants/servants	5.3%	10.3%	26.7%	39.4%	8.8%	5.0%	0.0%	14.7%

**Figure 3.18: Retinue archers in politically determined service by occupations**

	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
servant	5.3%	15.2%	29.2%	49.0%	12.7%	6.3%	0.0%	16.3%
labourer	5.3%	39.6%	13.1%	8.0%	5.5%	54.2%	0.0%	20.4%
cultivator	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	34.5%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%
tenant	42.1%	1.4%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
craftsman	6.1%	2.8%	35.4%	1.0%	12.7%	4.9%	90.0%	0.5%
tailor	0.9%	3.2%	6.2%	4.0%	1.8%	6.3%	10.0%	6.1%
free tenant	0.0%	10.1%	0.0%	0.0%	32.7%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
weaver	9.6%	3.7%	0.8%	4.5%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	5.6%
carpenter	0.9%	4.6%	2.3%	1.5%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	1.5%
shoe maker	0.9%	1.8%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%
smith	5.3%	5.1%	5.4%	1.5%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%
brewer	0.9%	2.8%	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.1%
merchant	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	6.5%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	2.0%
husbandman	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.5%
butcher	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
shepherd	2.6%	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%
fisher	3.5%	1.8%	0.0%	7.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
franklin	2.6%	1.8%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
constable	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fuller	2.6%	1.8%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
ploughman	7.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
squire	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
textile merchant	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
farmer	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
juror	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.8%
draper	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Figures 3.17 and 3.18 give the results of matches between retinue captain landholdings in the county specified and their retinues' archers, combined with the matches between the archers and the county in question as a whole. These are the matches that were considered to be politically motivated in Chapter 2, and were found to represent a small majority of the nominal links which could be made between the muster rolls and the poll tax returns. The percentages given are again broadly in-line with the previously presented results for the whole poll tax return sample, the eight counties sampled, and the archers identified above. It may be that this analysis is in danger of appearing tautological, but the nature of this empirical research, providing some proof of the hypothesis that archers were an integral part of wider society and little different from their contemporaries. Of course this could in part be due to men recorded in the poll tax returns who have not been identified as archers, perhaps due to a missing muster roll, or scribal variation which has affected the nominal linkage. However, the number of missing records is impossible to prove, and it is likely that the results seen here, and the continuity of the relative percentages across the results presented so far, would still be apparent.

### **Socially unembedded archers?**

This chapter's analysis has focused on those men whose military service appears to have been highly embedded in the society that they came from, with a lack of variation from the samples of from the poll tax returns that suggests that they were little different from their non-military neighbours. However, can this trend towards embeddedness still be observed if those archers identified in Chapter 2, who served in an economically determined manner, are considered?

These men were identified in the previous chapter and the results contained in Figures 2.16 to 2.20.<sup>43</sup> The same samples from Tier 1 of the archers were used with all the archers who only appear once in the 1367 to 1391 sample being included, with the exception of the archers in the retinues of captains who held land in the county in question. The slight difference in the two processes was the limitation on this occasion

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<sup>43</sup> See p. 77, p. 78, and p. 79.

of the Section 1 records to those with occupational data, as outlined above, rather than all of the male poll tax records for each county.

<b>Figure 3.19: Nominal links for archers serving outside their county of residence</b>				
County	No. of Section 1 poll tax records with occupations	Tier 1 archers with named county removed	Good Links	Possible Links
Dorset	1,305	17,161	55	100
Essex	1,769	16,796	86	104
Northamptonshire	614	17,588	31	56
Oxfordshire	1,142	16,587	52	114
Shropshire	847	18,258	41	54
Sussex	1,883	17,675	51	89
Westmorland	88	18,443	9	12
Yorkshire East	1,760	18,180	52	108

The links resulting from the nominal linkage are shown in Figure 3.19. Good links are those one-to-one links between the unique names in Section 1 of the poll tax returns with occupational data to a unique name in the muster rolls, whereas the possible links are one-to-many links of lesser nominal linkage strength. Due to the relative linkage strengths, the results below focus on the good links.

<b>Figure 3.20: Occupational groups of archers outside county with good links</b>								
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
<b>agricultural</b>	70.9%	60.5%	12.9%	11.5%	53.7%	43.1%	11.1%	40.4%
<b>artisan</b>	20.0%	22.1%	51.6%	32.7%	29.3%	15.7%	77.8%	21.2%
<b>ecclesiastic</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>gentry</b>	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>government</b>	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.3%
<b>legal</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>maritime</b>	0.0%	4.7%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>medical</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>mercantile</b>	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	13.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%
<b>none</b>	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	25.5%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>other</b>	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>services</b>	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>assistants/servants</b>	5.5%	7.0%	35.5%	28.8%	14.6%	9.8%	11.1%	17.3%

**Figure 3.21: Most numerous occupations archers outside county with good links**

	Dorset	Essex	Northants	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
servant	5.9%	6.9%	39.3%	40.5%	16.2%	14.7%	12.5%	17.6%
labourer	0.0%	55.2%	7.1%	5.4%	5.4%	64.7%	0.0%	17.6%
cultivator	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	16.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
tenant	64.7%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
craftsman	5.9%	4.6%	35.7%	2.7%	16.2%	0.0%	62.5%	0.0%
tailor	2.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.7%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%
free tenant	0.0%	14.9%	0.0%	0.0%	37.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
weaver	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%	5.4%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
carpenter	2.0%	2.3%	3.6%	8.1%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%	3.9%
shoe maker	0.0%	2.3%	3.6%	2.7%	0.0%	2.9%	12.5%	0.0%
smith	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	2.0%
brewer	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.9%
merchant	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%
husbandman	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	27.5%
butcher	5.9%	1.1%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%
shepherd	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fisher	0.0%	4.6%	0.0%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
franklin	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
constable	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fuller	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
ploughman	7.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
squire	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
textile merchant	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%
farmer	2.0%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
juror	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	15.7%
draper	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

The breakdown of the occupational groups in Figure 3.20 again follows a similar pattern to the analysis above in Figure 3.17, and reflects that of the whole poll tax return sample from which it is drawn. The overwhelming majority of politically motivated archers are recorded as agricultural, followed by artisanal and then assistants and servants as the next largest groups. Also the lack of archers identified as a part of the socially higher groups such as the gentry is still in evidence. However, although there are differences in the percentages between the politically and economically motivated archers, there are no identifiable trends which appear across all eight counties. For example, the percentages of the matches for politically motivated service are higher in the assistants and servants group for six of the eight counties, but this is counterbalanced by a decrease for the other two (Oxfordshire and

Essex). Another case is the proportional reduction in artisans among the economically motivated archers in Figure 3.20, were all the counties except for Shropshire display lower percentages than for their politically motivated counter-parts in Figure 3.18. Despite this, the reductions are not very consistent and range between -0.8 points for Yorkshire East, and -22.2 points for Westmorland. Even if the more variable result of Westmorland is discounted, the range is still -0.8 to -8.1 points.

The same can be seen among the summary of the individual occupations, with little difference visible between the politically and economically motivated archers. Again there are minor differences between the two sets of results in Figures 3.18 and 3.21. However there are no particular patterns which can be identified in the results. For example, although the match rate for labourers increases among the economically motivated archers in Essex and Sussex by fifteen and ten points respectively, which could be interpreted as a result of a lesser permanent attachment to the locality and a willingness or necessity to work flexibly, this is not reflected in the other counties.

The other test for economically motivated archers in Chapter 2, used for identifying retinue archers for landowners in the eight sampled counties who appear in the poll tax returns outside of the county in question, was employed, modified to focus on the occupational data of the returns and investigate if these men were embedded in their society. The numerical results are in Appendix 3.4, with the percentage of the sample matched to each of the occupational groups and individual occupations in Figures 3.22 and 3.23.

**Figure 3.22: Retinue archers in other counties poll tax returns by occupational groups**

	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
agricultural	50.0%	36.7%	62.9%	57.1%	50.0%	45.5%	50.0%	55.0%
artisan	33.3%	22.4%	22.9%	25.0%	21.9%	18.2%	37.5%	20.0%
ecclesiastic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
gentry	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
government	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
legal	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
maritime	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
medical	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
mercantile	8.3%	6.1%	0.0%	5.4%	6.3%	6.8%	0.0%	5.0%
none	4.2%	6.1%	0.0%	1.8%	3.1%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%
other	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
assistants/servants	4.2%	22.4%	11.4%	8.9%	15.6%	18.2%	12.5%	20.0%

**Figure 3.23: Retinue archers in other counties poll tax returns by occupation**

	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
servant	4.2%	22.4%	11.4%	8.9%	15.6%	18.2%	12.5%	20.0%
labourer	8.3%	8.2%	17.1%	17.9%	21.9%	20.5%	12.5%	15.0%
cultivator	25.0%	14.3%	25.7%	28.6%	15.6%	18.2%	12.5%	25.0%
tenant	8.3%	2.0%	2.9%	3.6%	6.3%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%
craftsman	12.5%	4.1%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	4.5%	12.5%	5.0%
tailor	4.2%	0.0%	5.7%	1.8%	9.4%	2.3%	12.5%	5.0%
free tenant	0.0%	4.1%	5.7%	3.6%	3.1%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
weaver	0.0%	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
carpenter	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
shoe maker	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
smith	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%
brewer	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
merchant	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	3.6%	3.1%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
husbandman	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	3.6%	3.1%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
butcher	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
shepherd	4.2%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fisher	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
franklin	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%
constable	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
fuller	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
ploughman	0.0%	2.0%	5.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%
squire	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
textile merchant	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
farmer	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
juror	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
draper	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

This different approach to the data in the database provides further support for the suggestions that archers were very much a part of the society and economy around them, and the differences between the percentages in Figures 3.22 and 3.23 are of varying degrees rather than consistent patterns. Some observations can be made however, although these are perhaps more reflective of the differences in the data in the poll tax returns themselves than any difference between archers, whether politically motivated or otherwise, and their non-archer contemporaries. For example, the unusually high number of jurors in the returns for Yorkshire East is made more apparent if the results of the government group in Figure 3.22 are considered. This is the only occasion where men with a connection to Yorkshire East, in this case through their service to Yorkshire captains rather than on an individual archer basis, have no occupations included in the government group. This is the result of matches being made outside the county, and highlights how the differences in the records between the regions can influence the result. In this case it is due to many of the men who acted as jurors for the assessment and collection of the poll tax of 1381 being recorded by the scribes of Yorkshire East, unlike their counterparts elsewhere who appear to have been less systematic.

There is a certain constant inconsistency in the results with the various approaches to identifying archers, whether as politically or economically motivated, and the percentages across the occupational groups and individual occupations fluctuate without ever forming any consistently identifiable trends. This was not an unexpected outcome as a large part of the success of the military archer in the fourteenth century was due to the bows' universality throughout large sections of the English population. This was not just as a military object but also a recreational one and used as such outside of the section of the population who might have needed a bow in their day-to-day lives. This meant that archers appear to come from a variety of occupational backgrounds, very much representative of the wider society. Regardless of whether their motivations for service were principally economic or political, they appear to have been embedded within late medieval English society.

### **3.3 Wealth**

#### **Taxes paid in poll tax returns**

The second research thread of this chapter makes use of the other large scale dataset contained within the poll tax returns, the amount of tax paid. As previously mentioned, the tax paid does not always correlate exactly to the economic standing of a person.

Indeed in this respect the 1377 returns are useless as they were a true per capita tax of 4d per head, with no variation for economic factors. However the 1379 and 1381 returns are more fertile ground. The 1379 returns were subject to a schedule of collection which laid down how much a person was to pay according to their social and economic status.<sup>44</sup> This blend of socio-economic status slightly blurs the distinction between the two categories, and most of the gradations are done on social terms, with distinction in each category for those of different wealth. For example, the categories range from the Duke of Lancaster and Duke of Brittany at the top of the scale, through the nobility and gentry, to the labourers and other low status individuals. However in the category for 'lesser merchants and artificers who have profit from the land'<sup>45</sup> the amounts to be paid vary from 4d to 6s according to their estate. This implies that there was a link between economic wealth and tax paid, and that the amount of tax paid can form a proxy for the economic standing of an individual, enabling a comparison of wealth between the archer and non-archer groups. Some variation is expected, as the schedule of collections appears to have been interpreted and applied differently in some counties. For example millers, labourers, and other agricultural workers paid 6d as a 'standard' rate in some counties, but only 4d in others.<sup>46</sup>

The 1381 returns can be used in a similar fashion, although they are not as useful in this regard as the returns from 1379. This is due to variability of the amounts assessed for each individual which were a curious blend of the 1377 and 1379 returns, with elements of the more traditional tax levies of the fifteenths and tenths. Each vill was made liable for 12d per person resident in the tax, however the subsidy grant stated that each person should pay according to their estate (acknowledging economic

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<sup>44</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, pp. 115-6.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>46</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 1, p. xxxv.

variation between individuals) and that 'those of adequate means shall help those of lesser means as far as they are able.'<sup>47</sup> Despite this, the top level of tax was set at 60 groats (240d) and the vague nature of the exhortation to help meant that the amounts levied on individuals could have potentially been subject to greater levels of corruption or partisanship on the part of the assessors, falsely inflating the economic standing of those of lower social and economic status. Furthermore, even when an individual paid more than the standard rate there appears to have been a certain amount of estimation in the assessments and 'it is doubtful whether his assessment is an accurate indication of exactly how rich he was.'<sup>48</sup> Despite this however, the 1381 assessments still provide a tool for considering the economic background of the English archers, although the conclusions drawn must be carefully considered.

The different methods of assessment mean that the 1379 and 1381 returns needed to be considered separately, as did the nominal links to archers when made. This meant separating the later returns from those of 1377, before isolating the male records in each tax year, to restrict the tax data to those individuals who could have potentially engaged in military service as archers. Although women are recorded in the returns, they are only infrequently recorded as distinct economic units, most frequently being recorded as a part of the household of their husband. For the 1379 returns this does not pose an issue as married women were not liable for any amount of tax by themselves. However for the 1381 returns this does pose a slight evidentiary issue as married women were liable for taxation in the same manner as the rest of the population. Unfortunately for the purposes of this research, the scribes recording the data frequently retained the prior practice of recording married women as a part of a household economic unit with one amount attributed to the head of the household, inflating the apparent economic standing of the husband in the dataset at the expense of the wife. However, these incidences are relatively easy to spot in the database as they commonly appear as an amount of 24d (the combined amounts of base tax liability for each individual husband and wife), and therefore these amounts can be accounted for in the analysis of the tax paid.

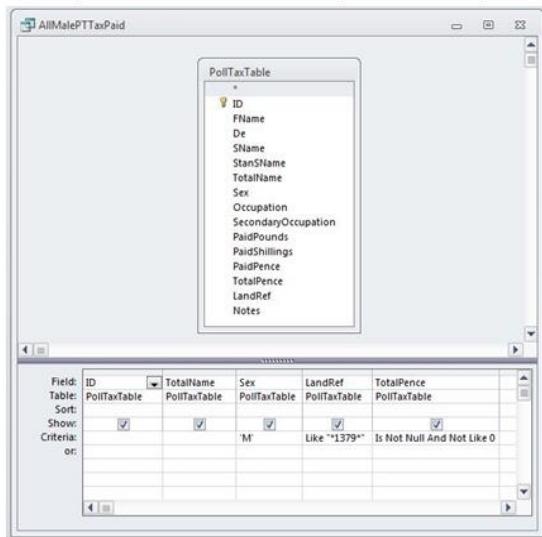
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<sup>47</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, p. 191.

<sup>48</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, vol. 1, p. xxxvi.

Before any comparison to the identifiable archers could be made, the amounts paid across the poll tax returns needed to be extracted. The focus will remain on the male records to ensure that the data is comparable to that of the archers, and as mentioned above the 1377 data will be disregarded, and the 1379 and 1381 data analysed separately. The query below in Figure 3.24 demonstrates how the poll tax data was handled to provide useful data for the two tax years in question. The most common amounts paid are then shown in Figure 3.25 for both 1379 and 1381. Note that for the 1381 data, the amounts of 24d which were the combined liability of a husband and wife have been reclassified as 12d amounts for the husband alone. Although it could be argued that the combined household income could be attributed to the male head of the household, the tax was collected on a per capita basis and therefore the individual's liability has been used rather than assuming that married men were inherently wealthier than their non-married counterparts.<sup>49</sup> The full breakdown of the amount of tax paid by men in the poll tax returns is in Appendix 3.4.<sup>50</sup>

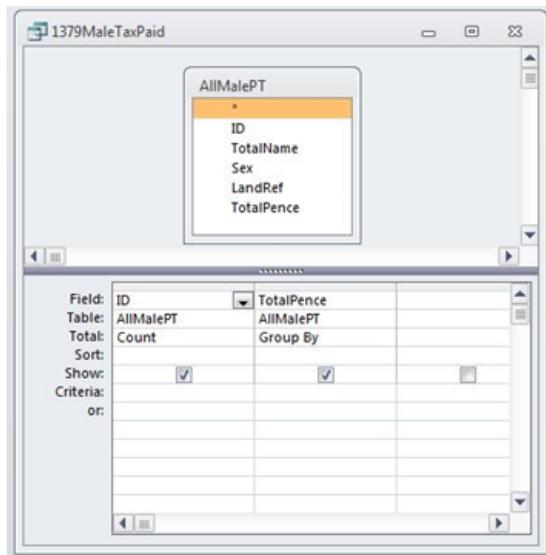
Figure 3.24: Query to extract amounts of tax paid from the poll tax returns



**Stage 1:** The poll tax returns were again sorted to provide the required data, in this case filtering them so that only male records from the 1379 returns were included. The records with no information in the 'TotalPence' field, the combined shilling and pence amount for each record, were also discarded. A separate query was run to extract the data for 1381.

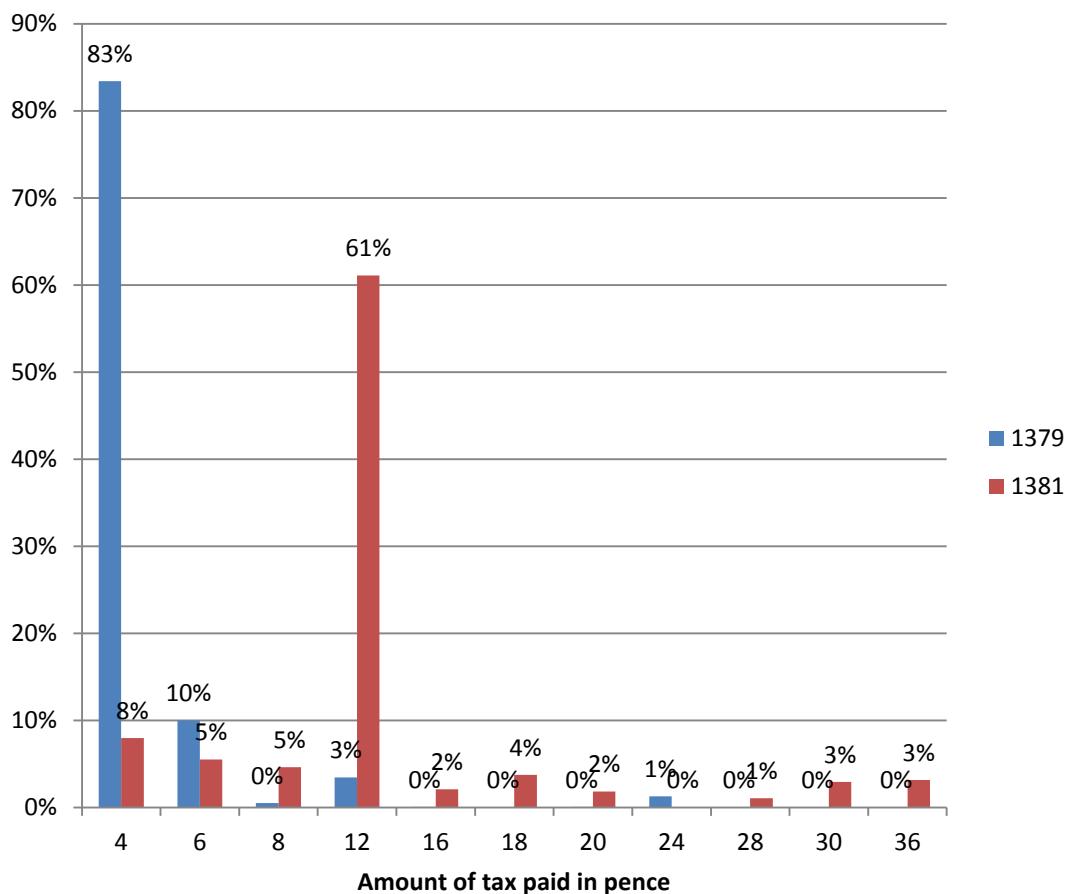
<sup>49</sup> It could be suggested that married men were probably wealthier than their unmarried counterparts as establishing an independent household required a certain level of economic resources. However, accounting for this on the large-scale required for analysis of the poll tax returns would be impractical, and it would be difficult to make a case for ignoring the economic weight of married women in the assessments as they were individually liable, not merely as a part of the household unit.

<sup>50</sup> See p. 321.



**Stage 2:** The queries generated in stage 1 were then grouped by the number of records within each of the categories in the 'TotalPence' field, providing the number of male individuals in each of the tax brackets.

**Figure 3.25: % of taxpayers in each tax bracket**



Several things should be noted about the amounts paid by taxpayers in 1379 and 1381. The graph in Figure 3.25 includes the amounts of tax paid by a group larger than 1% of the total sample population for one of the years analysed, and could be considered the most common amounts paid. The most obvious trend is that the basic rates of assessment, 4d in 1379 and 12d in 1381,<sup>51</sup> are the most commonly occurring amount paid and account for 83% and 61% of their respective samples. This is in line with the economic demography of the period, with the populations of the lower economic percentiles vastly outnumbering the populations in the higher ones. The result could also suggest that the exhortation of parliament mentioned earlier, for the better off to support those of lesser means, was not embraced wholeheartedly, as the number of taxpayers paying the base rate of 12d or less declined from 1379 to 1381 from 83% to 79% of the total taxpayers.

The other trend that should be noted is suggested by Figure 3.25, but is clearer if the full results in Appendix 3.5 are considered.<sup>52</sup> Here it is possible to see the full extent of the different amounts paid by taxpayers in each year. It is clear that there was a greater level of variation between the amounts paid in 1381 than in 1379, reflecting the impact of the more structured and rigid collection schedule employed in 1379 which did not account for minor differences between those of nominally the same socio-economic rank. These trends are also reflected in the average amounts paid in each year, with a mean, median, and modal average of 5.7d, 4d, and 4d respectively for 1379. The median and modal averages for 1381 follow the same pattern of falling within the basic rate of assessment, 12d, although the mean average showed a slightly larger difference of 55.8% from the base rate, compared to the 42.5% variation seen in the 1379 results. One further minor observation is that the highest amount paid also varied between the two collections, caused by the upper limit of liability imposed in 1381 of 60 groats (240d).

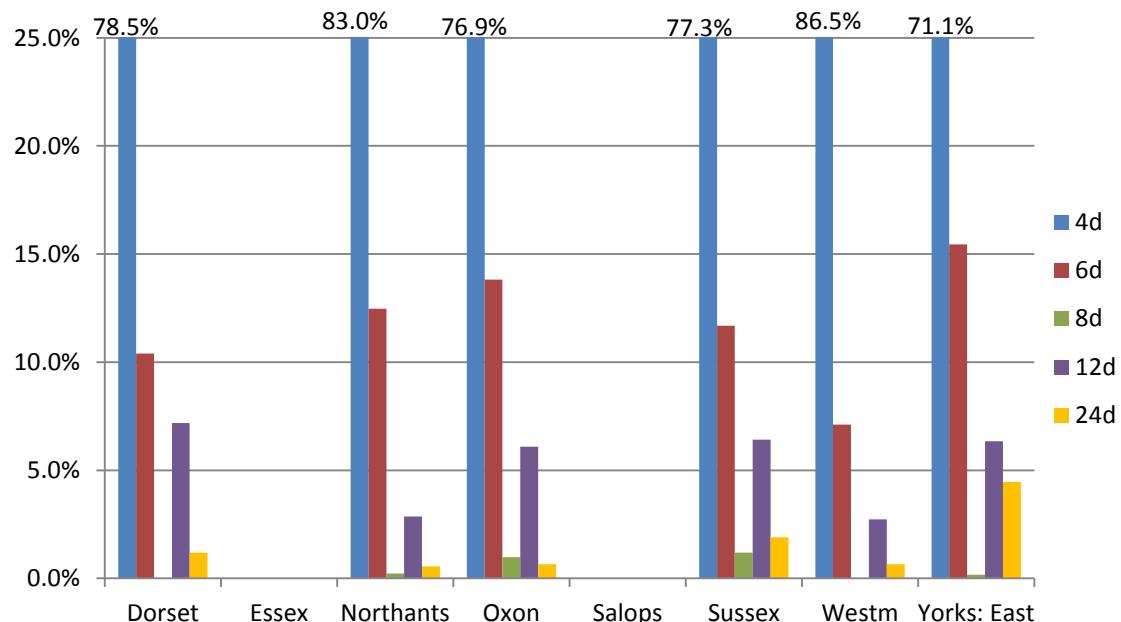
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<sup>51</sup> The base rate of 4d in 1379 was also the lowest rate that could be paid. In 1381, while 12d was the basic per capita rate on which the tax was based, it was levied on each vill as a collective, rather than individuals. This allowed some of the poorer tax payers to pay less than the basic rate, as long as this shortfall was made up by richer residents of the vill.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 322

Similarly to the occupational data, the tax figures were broken down by the eight counties identified in Chapter 2. This provided a more detailed reference point for comparison to the archers who are associated with poll tax records from a one of these counties. This was a relatively simple process, essentially the same as that shown in Figure 3.24, but using the county poll tax returns which had already been split into separate years for the classification of the returns into Sections 1 and 2. The results of this are shown below in Figure 3.26 and 3.27 for 1379 and 1381 respectively, with the average amounts paid in Figures 3.28 and 3.29.<sup>53</sup> The full lists of the amounts of tax paid for each county can be found in Appendix 3.6.<sup>54</sup>

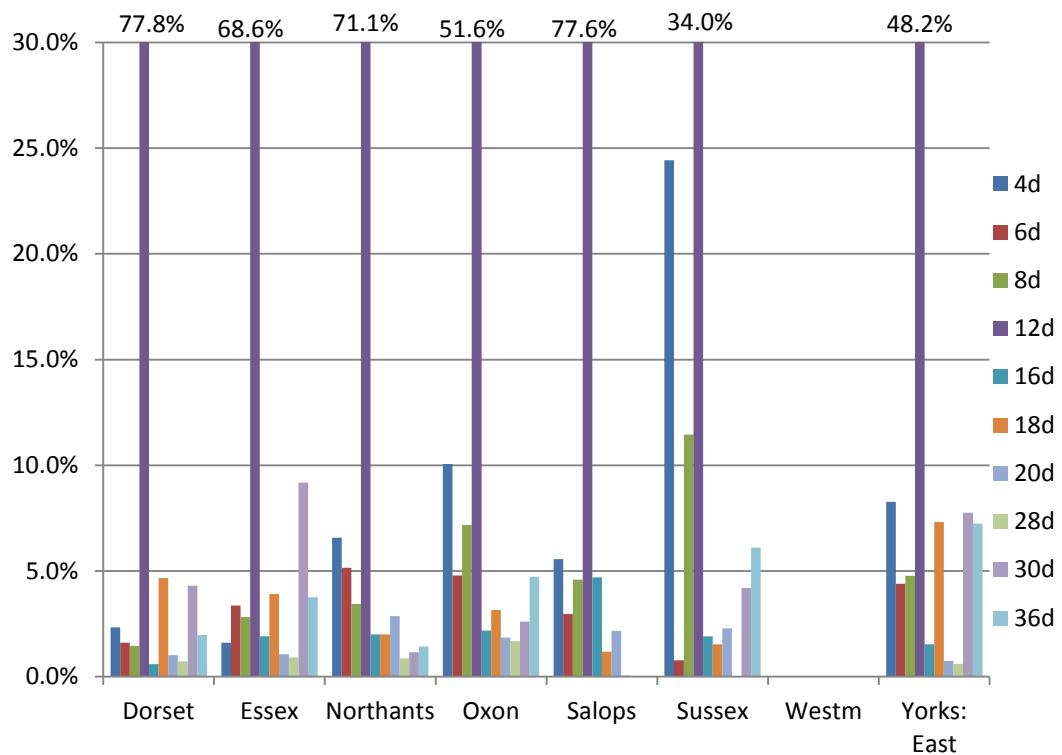
**Figure 3.26: % of taxpayers from eight sampled counties in most common tax brackets, 1379**



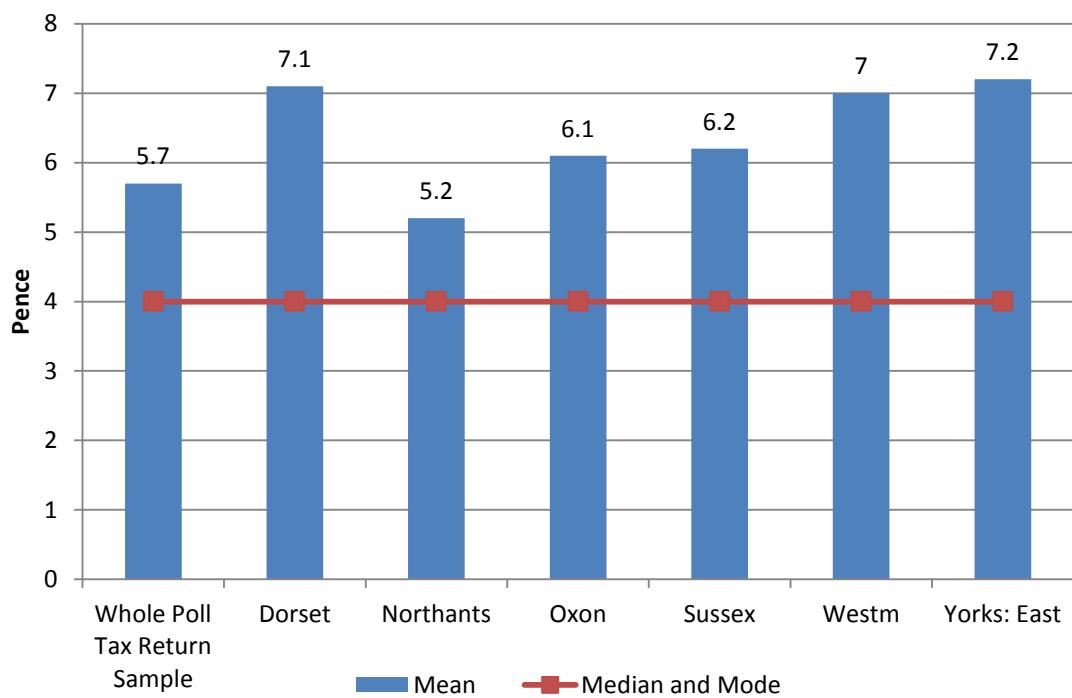
<sup>53</sup> Note that the scales on the y axis are limited to enable the large range of the data to be accounted for. The values on top of the 4d bracket for the 1379 data, and on top of the 12d data for 1381 are the correct percentages.

<sup>54</sup> See p. 321

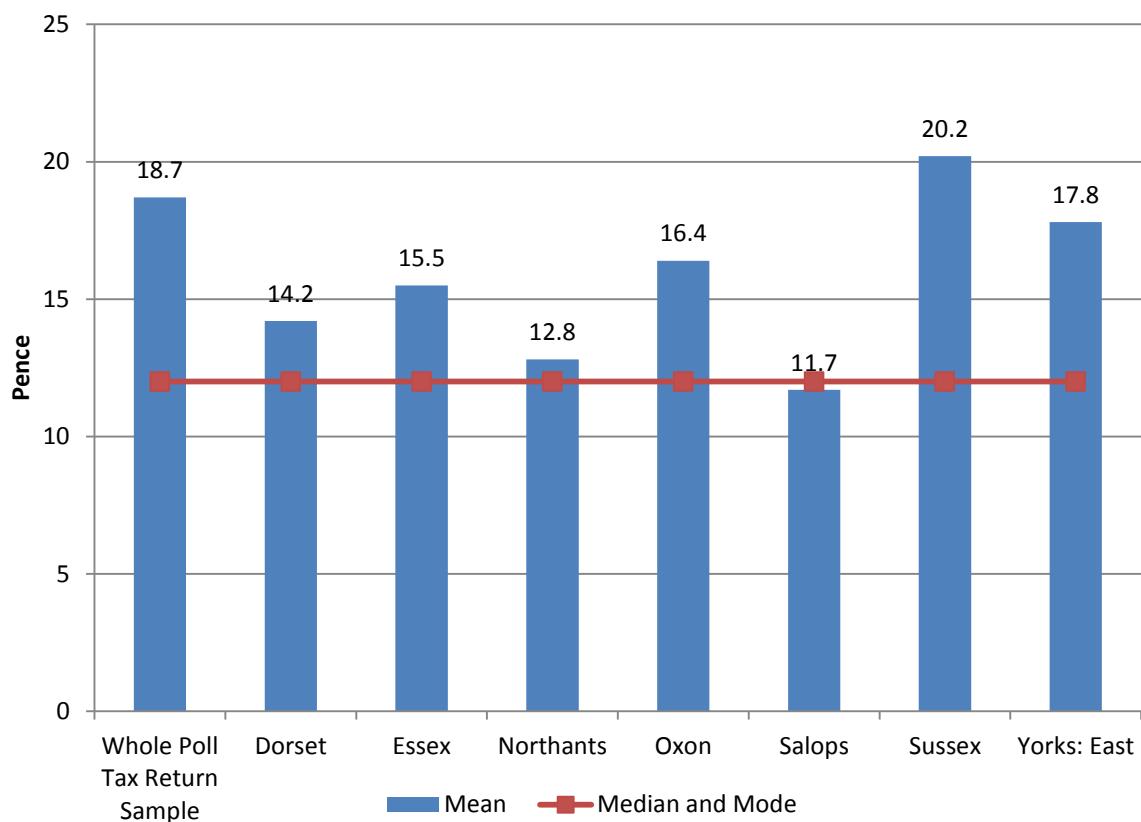
**Figure 3.27: % of taxpayers from eight sampled counties in most common tax brackets, 1381**



**Figure 3.28: Average tax paid per capita, 1379**



**Figure 3.29: Average tax paid per capita, 1381**



Figures 3.26 to 3.29 all make it clear that there were variations in the amounts of tax paid in the eight counties analysed in this thesis. The results show that the most common amount of tax paid was the 4d in 1379 and 12d in 1381 across all the counties sampled, a finding also shown in Figures 3.28 and 3.29 where the modal and median averages are the same for the whole poll tax return as they are for each county where data is available. In Figure 3.26 it is possible to see a suggestion of some of the prevailing economic trends of the period, for example there were a greater proportion of tax payers in the lowest 1379 bracket of 4d in Westmorland, one of the poorer areas of England.<sup>55</sup> However this is not a metric which can be used for firm conclusions for county wide analysis as the tax brackets in the 1379 schedule were not always related to economic standing, and the regional variations which could be extant, but also social status as well. Furthermore, it is important to remember that the returns were not a complete population census and therefore the poorer areas' population would

<sup>55</sup> Bolton, *Medieval English*, p. 12.

not necessarily be recorded to the same extent as those of wealthier locations. The results are also influenced by the composition of the surviving poll tax returns, and there is no guarantee that they provide a balanced view of the amounts of tax which were paid by individuals from different levels of society as the survival of the returns was not a controlled process.

The 1381 returns are also affected by the same issues; however the problem of a rigid assessment schedule is replaced by the more subjective issue of self-interest. The exhortation for the rich to aid the poor in the providing the amount of tax required from each vill is difficult to test for. It is possible that the 1381 results for Sussex indicate a wider acceptance of this directive, as the proportion of persons paying 12d relative to the bottom 4d bracket is much closer than for any of the other counties investigated. In 1379 Sussex follows a similar pattern to the other counties, which suggests that the profile in 1381 was caused by the implementation of the directive for the rich to help the poor, supported by the high mean payment of 20.2d that suggests that only six in ten of the liable population were paying the tax.

In the same manner as the occupations data analysed above, the wealth data will be analysed through the queries created in Chapter 2, enabling the comparison of archers to non-archers, and the comparison of archers serving in different contexts, economically versus politically motivated.

### **Taxes paid by politically motivated archers**

The analysis of the poll tax returns tax figures provides a point of reference for the comparison of archers and their 'civilian' peers. This process followed a similar pattern as the analysis of the occupational data, concentrating firstly on the politically motivated archers who can be identified through links between the Section 1 poll tax records and the Tiers 1 and 3 of the archers from the 1367 to 1391 sample. The queries used to generate the results were very similar to those from Figure 3.8, with the 'StandardOccupation' and 'OccupationalGroup' fields being removed and replaced with the 'TotalPence' field. Furthermore, in the same manner as the tax paid data from the poll tax returns generally (Figure 3.25) the records from 1377 were removed, and those from 1379 and 1381 handled separately. The focus remained on the Section 1

records for each county, but instead of occupational data, tax data was the determining factor for inclusion in the analysis, producing the samples shown in Figure 3.30. These were then linked to Tiers 1 and 3 of the archer sample, and the amounts paid counted, in the same way as shown in Figure 3.10 for occupations. The number of matches this process produced is shown in Figure 3.31.

<b>Figure 3.30: Tax Paid Samples in Section 1 of Poll Tax Returns</b>			
	<b>Section 1 sample</b>	<b>Section 1 records for 1379 with tax paid data</b>	<b>Section 1 records for 1381 with tax paid data</b>
<b>Dorset</b>	2,119	1,034	1,233
<b>Essex</b>	4,901	n/a	1,541
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	3,667	3,166	316
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	3,802	1,442	1,686
<b>Shropshire</b>	2,392	n/a	1,510
<b>Sussex</b>	5,265	4,707	239
<b>Westmorland</b>	712	626	n/a
<b>Yorkshire: East Riding</b>	4,740	1,491	3,038

<b>Figure 3.31: Nominal links between archer sample 1367-1391 and poll tax Section 1 samples with tax paid data</b>				
	<b>Matches for 1379 returns</b>		<b>Matches for 1381 returns</b>	
	<b>Tier 1</b>	<b>Tier 3</b>	<b>Tier 1</b>	<b>Tier 3</b>
<b>Dorset</b>	60	36	69	39
<b>Essex</b>	n/a	n/a	84	33
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	212	27	102	17
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	119	69	117	55
<b>Shropshire</b>	n/a	n/a	70	43
<b>Sussex</b>	192	90	22	6
<b>Westmorland</b>	34	9	n/a	n/a
<b>Yorkshire: East Riding</b>	74	40	182	96

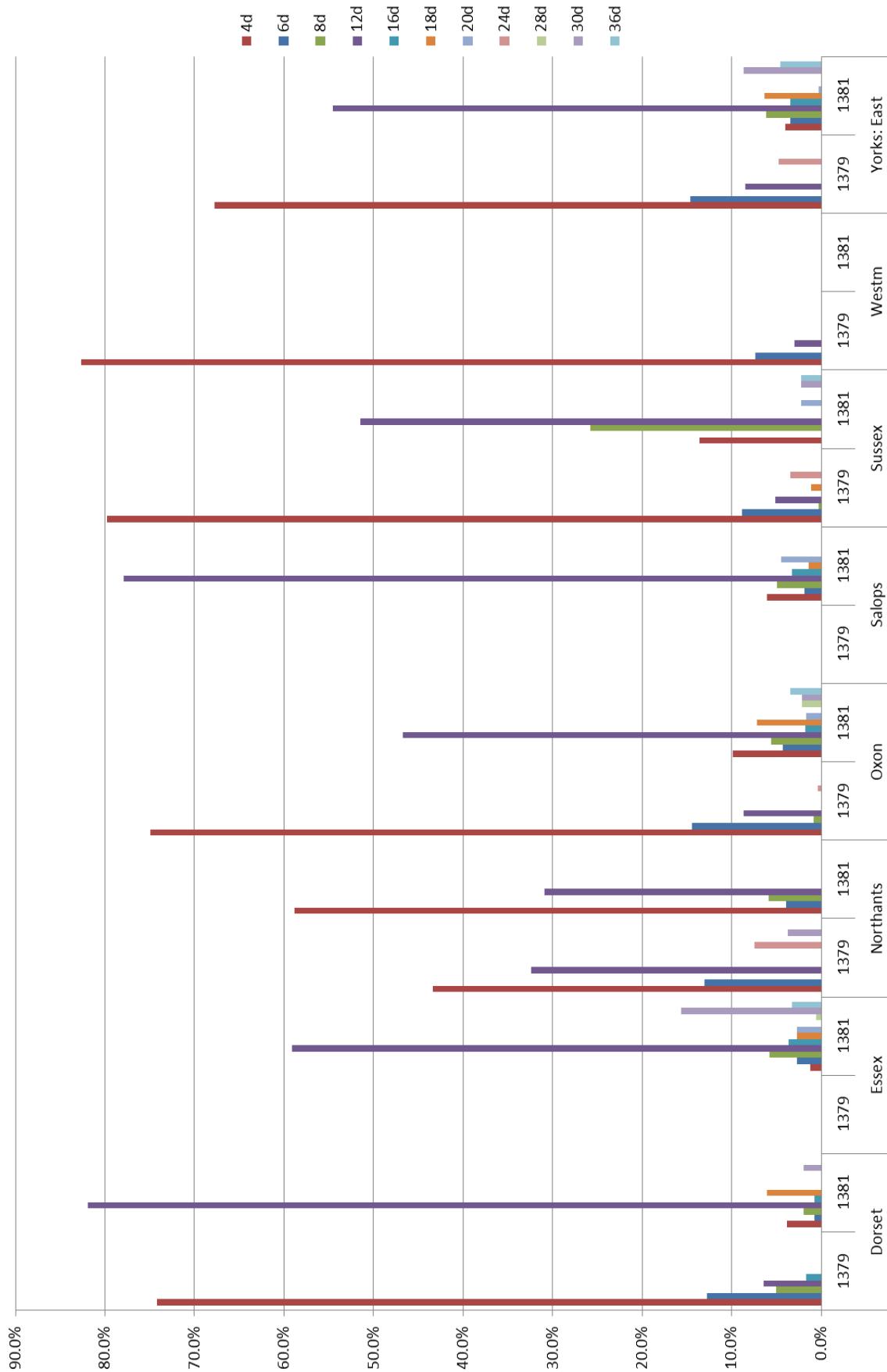
The full results for this approach are in Appendix 3.7,<sup>56</sup> with separate tables for Tiers 1 and 3 to show the number of archers paying in one of the most common tax brackets, as well as the percentage of the matches in the separate bands. The same appendix also contains graphs for the two tiers as well as a full list of the amounts paid by archers matched to poll tax records. The lack of any variation in the analysis of the occupational data would suggest that there would not be any trends visible in the tax data. However, this is not necessarily the case, partly due to the increased sample sizes available for taxes compared to occupations in the poll tax returns. This is reflected in the larger number of matches made between the returns and the muster rolls, seen in Figure 3.31, in comparison to the occupational patches in Figure 3.11. The tax data can also provide an insight into both the social and economic background of the archers, as the amounts paid, as mentioned previously, were not entirely reliant on economic metrics.

**Figure 3.32: Number of Section 1 matches to combined Tier 1 and 3 archers in most common tax brackets**

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
4d	71	3	n/a	2	184	95	140	14	n/a	6	226	6	34	n/a	79	12
6d	12	1	n/a	3	28	8	27	9	n/a	2	25	0	5	n/a	14	10
8d	0	2	n/a	5	0	2	2	12	n/a	5	1	6	0	n/a	0	16
12d	10	90	n/a	73	21	13	17	80	n/a	89	14	12	2	n/a	10	152
16d	0	1	n/a	3	0	0	0	3	n/a	4	0	0	0	n/a	0	9
18d	0	6	n/a	3	0	0	0	10	n/a	2	2	0	0	n/a	0	15
20d	0	0	n/a	3	0	0	0	4	n/a	5	0	1	0	n/a	0	1
24d	1	0	n/a	0	4	0	1	0	n/a	0	10	0	0	n/a	7	0
28d	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	4	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
30d	0	2	n/a	17	2	0	0	4	n/a	0	0	1	0	n/a	0	27
36d	0	0	n/a	4	0	0	0	7	n/a	0	0	1	0	n/a	0	13

<sup>56</sup> See p. 329.

Figure 3.33: % of counties' combined Tier 1 and 3 archers in most common tax brackets



The results bear a resemblance to those for the poll tax sample as a whole, as well as the eight studied counties. The first thing which should be noted is that the archers do not appear frequently in the very top tax brackets across the whole poll tax return sample. A comparison of the results shown in Appendix 3.6, the full population of the eight counties, to Appendix 3.7 which shows the same results but only for the archers supports this. At first glance this might suggest that archers were, as a group, poorer than their non-military colleagues. However this is only one of the comparisons which can be made. The median and modal averages shown in Figures 3.28 and 3.29 remain the same across all the counties, tiers, and tax brackets, except for the exception of Tier 1 archers for Northamptonshire in 1381 where the mode and median are 4d as opposed to 12d elsewhere, and the Tier 3 archers for the same county in 1379 where the same measures are 12d against 4d elsewhere. Although only one small part of the archer sample, this does indicate that Tier 3 archers may be paying higher rates of tax than those in Tier 1.

This suggestion is also supported through an analysis of the percentages in the graph in Figure 3.33 (shown in Appendix 3.7).<sup>57</sup> If the percentages in the most common tax brackets are compared to those of the whole poll tax in Figure 3.25, it is possible to see that on many occasions the archers are consistently paying higher tax rates than the non-archers. For example, the average percentage of taxpayers in the 4d bracket across the whole sample of the returns is 83% in 1379. The Tier 1 archers for Dorset in 1379 only show 73% for the same tax grade. The extra points can be found distributed across several of the other, higher, grades. This includes a rise of 1.7 points for 6d, 0.7 points for 24d, and a large seven point rise for the 12d bracket. For the same group of archers in 1381, when 12d was the most common amount in the wider poll tax returns, at 61% of the total, the 12d group increased to 87%, but has drawn the extra points from the lower brackets, with a decrease of eight points for 4d, 3.6 points for 6d, and 3.6 again for 8d. A similar pattern, indicating a shift either away from the lower brackets towards the middle, or from the middle towards the higher levels, can be observed for Tier 1 archers in Essex, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Sussex, Westmorland, and Yorkshire East, and among the Tier 3 archers for all the counties except for the

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<sup>57</sup> See p. 329.

1381 Northamptonshire and 1379 Westmorland groups. On three occasions, 1381 Tiers 1 and 3 for Oxfordshire and 1381 Tier 1 for Sussex, despite the modal average remaining the same as for the whole poll tax, the majority in the most common group dropped below an absolute 50% majority, a feature which only appears in the unusual 1381 results for Sussex.

All these observations, when taken together, indicate that archers were somewhat different from the non-archers in terms of the taxes they paid. There is a definite trend towards the middle ground, with archers appearing in the modal band with greater frequency. This trend is moderated somewhat, at least in comparison to the whole poll tax samples, by the very few archers paying above the 40d which according to the 1379 schedule marked the bottom rung of those of some 'estate'. It is possible to suggest that archers, at least those identified in the poll tax returns, represented something of a middling sort, not from the lowest levels of society, but also not commonly coming from the social strata which, economically speaking, covers higher reaches of the peasantry or the lower levels of the gentry. Furthermore, there are indications that the more professional archers, Tier 3, may have been paying higher levels of tax than their Tier 1 counterparts.

These results can be tested further by using the same samples and queries that were used for the occupational analysis. The query from Figure 2.12 was employed again, modified to focus on those poll tax records which contained data of tax paid. The full results for each retinue captain in this study are in Appendix 3.8, including the number of nominal links between retinue archers and 1379 and 1381 poll tax returns as well as identifying when these matches fell into the most common tax brackets as well as a summary of the tax brackets by county.

**Figure 3.34: Nominal links between retinue archers and poll tax records with tax paid data**

County	1379		1381	
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid
Dorset	6	80	6	98
Essex	n/a	n/a	7	192
Northamptonshire	28	367	0	48
Oxfordshire	27	279	20	356
Shropshire	n/a	n/a	10	88
Sussex	16	327	6	21
Westmorland	7	18	n/a	n/a
Yorkshire East	6	176	19	419

**Figure 3.35: Retinue archers matched to captains' landholdings and county poll tax returns in most common tax brackets**

1379											
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d
Dorset	41%	45%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Essex											
Northamptonshire	70%	23%	0.3%	5%	0.1%	0%	0%	0.3%	0%	0%	0%
Oxfordshire	55%	28%	3%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%	0%	0%	0%
Shropshire											
Sussex	67%	23%	6%	12%	0%	1%	0.3%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Westmorland	52%	31%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Yorkshire East	55%	31%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
1381											
Dorset	12%	0%	1%	43%	0%	4%	0%	0%	1%	1%	3%
Essex	1%	2%	1%	66%	0%	2%	2%	0%	2%	22%	1%
Northamptonshire	6%	0%	15%	73%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Oxfordshire	13%	11%	5%	45%	1%	5%	3%	0%	1%	4%	8%
Shropshire	4%	0%	2%	87%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Sussex	31%	0%	36%	20%	2%	0%	2%	2%	0%	15%	2%
Westmorland											
Yorkshire East	9%	3%	5%	38%	4%	13%	0.1%	0%	1%	4%	9%

The results are similar to those in the previous section, with the trend for both the 1379 and 1381 tax years either moving upwards from the modal average or reducing the percentage of the samples matched below the mode towards the middle. This can be seen in all the 1379 results in Figure 3.35, where all of the counties have fewer matches in the 4d bracket than the average for the poll tax returns of 83%. Frequently the majority of the difference can be accounted for in the 6d or 12d category, for example in Northamptonshire in 1379 where the match rate for 4d is thirteen points lower, while the 6d bracket rose by the same amount from 10% to 23%. The same pattern is true if the county level breakdown of taxes paid in Figures 3.26 and 3.27 are considered. Re-visiting the Northamptonshire example from 1379, there is still a thirteen point difference in favour of the archers, although the greatest difference is the decline in Dorset from 78.5% for non-archers to 41% for the archers. The same pattern can be seen in the 1381 data, although it is not as pronounced. For example, while the number of modal or lower rate tax payers in Essex declines, compensated for by an increase in the 30d bracket, there is actually an increase in the lowest 4d bracket in three counties (Oxfordshire, Sussex, and Dorset). This produces a slightly fuzzier picture than had been previously suggested.

There is evidence to indicate that these politically motivated archers were economically better off than the average person of the period, especially if the 1379 returns are considered in isolation, although this was not always the case, with some of the 1381 county returns indicating the opposite. It is possible that this was the result of patchy evidence survival, causing apparent fluctuations in the results. This cannot be discounted entirely; however the number of records matched in Figure 3.34, which itself fluctuates, goes someway to undermining this suggestion as there is not a correlation between a smaller or larger sample and an economically poorer or richer group of archers. Instead perhaps this is a reflection of the method of collection in 1381. It has already been proposed that Sussex, whose 1381 tax profile in Figure 3.26 has been identified as unusual, was implementing the directive for the rich to aid the poor to a greater extent than was usual across the country. This is in comparison to its 1379 profile which has a more regular distribution. However, although the archers for Sussex were more frequently found in the lower 4d bracket there were also rises in the

8d, 16d, and 30d groups. A similar observation can be made for Oxfordshire, where the 1381 returns show a more even distribution than the wider poll tax (although not as extreme as Sussex's), and although there is an increase in the proportion of archers in the 4d bracket, there is also an increase in the 6d, 18d, 20d, 30d, and 36d tax brackets.

Perhaps then, this deviation from the observable trend, where the archers tended to appear more frequently in the higher tax groups, although still clustering around the middle rather than spreading evenly, was not a reflection of poorer archers in the counties of Oxfordshire or Sussex, but instead an indication of a more economically diverse pool of archers. That the distribution was more 'normal' in 1379 could indicate that the social status of these men was broadly similar, and therefore they were grouped in the same categories for the socio-economic 1379 schedule of collections. The more potentially flexible 1381 collection allowed for a greater level of economic differentiation, which would produce the results seen above. In summary, the politically determined archers appear to have been slightly wealthier than their non-archer peers. This effect seems more pronounced among the more professional Tier 3 archers. However this does seem to have varied somewhat by county and it may have been the case that socially these men were often similar, but that this disguised a greater level of economic variety.

### **Taxes paid by economically motivated archers**

In the previous chapter it was shown that there was a significant proportion of archers whose service could be classified as economically determined, rather than a more 'traditional' politically motivated approach. With the difference between the politically determined archers and the non-archer population of the poll tax returns shown above, the economically motivated archers were analysed to ascertain whether these archers, who served in a more professional manner than their politically determined colleagues, show any differences in economic background to match their differences in patterns of service.

The process for identifying the samples was the same as employed earlier for analysing economically motivated archers' occupations, taking the queries used in Chapter 2 and modifying them to concentrate on poll tax records containing the relevant

information, in this case the tax data. The first set of figures, 3.36 to 3.38, look at the archers who have been identified from the poll tax returns serving in retinues whose captains held lands outside of their county of residence. This involves linking the Section 1 records of each county to the Tier 1 archers 1367-1391, and identifying the good links which are made between the same unique name in both datasets. The results below focus on these good links due to the strong nominal linkage.

**Figure 3.36: Nominal links for archers serving outside their county of residence with tax paid data**

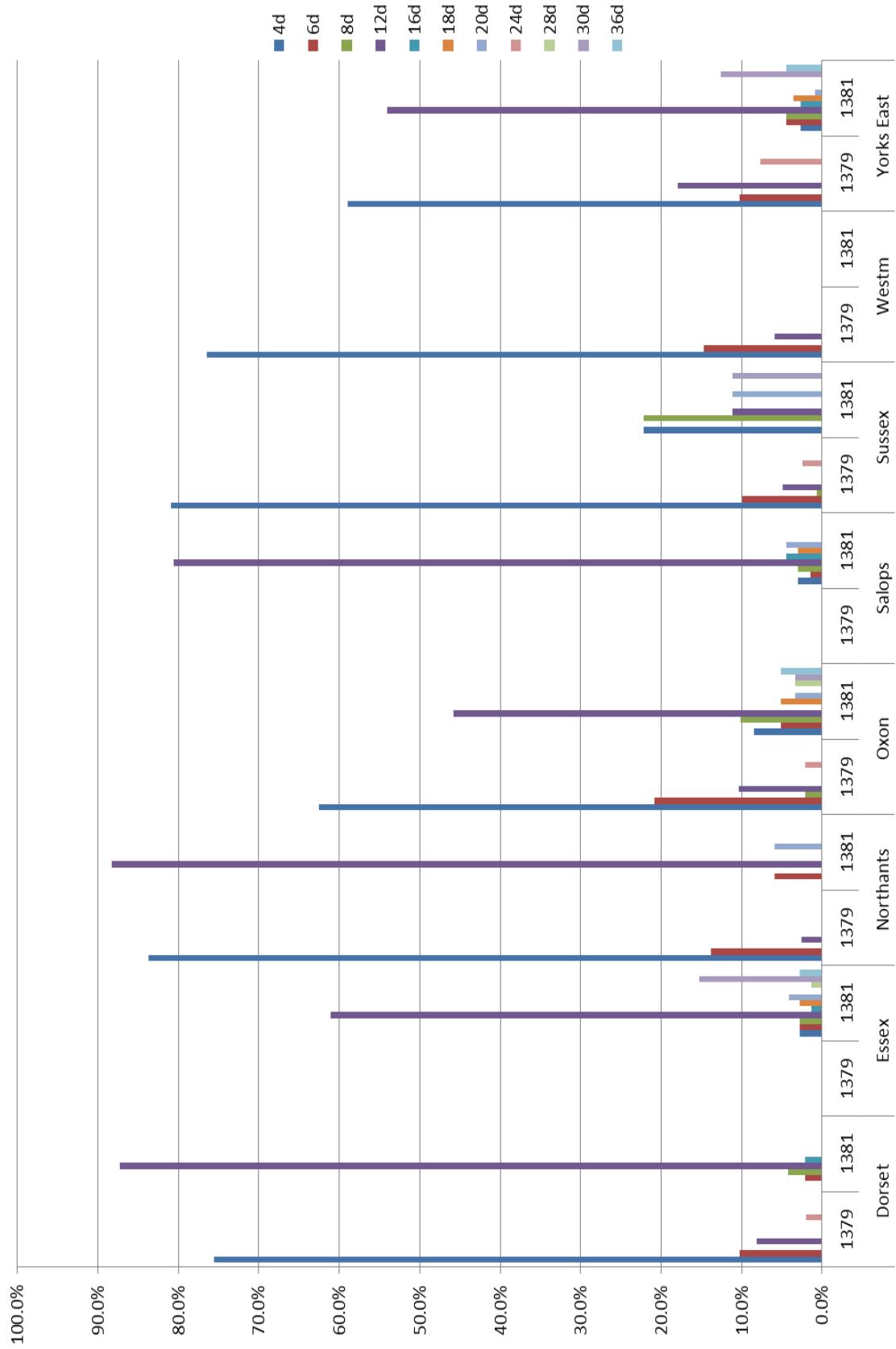
County	No. of Section 1 poll tax records with tax paid data		Tier 1 archers with named county removed	Good Links		Possible Links	
	1379	1381		1379	1381	1379	1381
Dorset	1,034	1,233	17,161	49	47	79	89
Essex	n/a	1,541	16,796	n/a	72	n/a	66
Northamptonshire	3,166	316	17,588	175	21	317	39
Oxfordshire	1,442	1,686	16,587	48	59	142	141
Shropshire	n/a	1,510	18,258	n/a	67	n/a	84
Sussex	4,707	239	17,675	162	9	169	25
Westmorland	626	n/a	18,443	34	n/a	39	n/a
Yorkshire East	1,491	3,038	18,180	39	111	92	287

**Figure 3.37: Archers in non-county retinues with good links by common tax brackets**

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks East		
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	
4d	76%	0%			3%	84%	0%	63%	8%		3%	81%	22%	76%		59%	3%
6d	10%	2%			3%	14%	6%	21%	5%		1%	10%	0%	15%		10%	5%
8d	0%	4%			3%	0%	0%	2%	10%		3%	1%	22%	0%		0%	5%
12d	8%	87%			61%	3%	88%	10%	46%		81%	5%	11%	6%		18%	54%
16d	0%	2%			1%	0%	0%	0%	0%		4%	0%	0%	0%		0%	3%
18d	0%	0%			3%	0%	0%	0%	5%		3%	0%	0%	0%		0%	4%
20d	0%	0%			4%	0%	6%	0%	3%		4%	0%	11%	0%		0%	1%
24d	2%	0%			0%	0%	0%	2%	0%		0%	2%	0%	0%		8%	0%
28d	0%	0%			1%	0%	0%	0%	3%		0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%
30d	0%	0%			15%	0%	0%	0%	3%		0%	0%	11%	0%		0%	13%
36d	0%	0%			3%	0%	0%	0%	5%		0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	5%

In comparison to the results for the political archers, those for the economically motivated archers show some similarities to both the profiles for the whole poll tax sample and the political archers analysed above. For Northampton in 1379 there is an increase in the proportion of tax payers in the lowest 4d bracket, although only by 1 point. There is an increase in the number of 6d tax payers, but this is can be attributed to the lack of tax payers in the higher groups. All the other counties in 1379 show a distribution somewhere between the whole poll tax samples and the political archers. For example, in Oxfordshire the proportion of 4d taxpayers in 1379 was lower than both the whole poll tax sample and the Oxfordshire specific breakdown, but greater than the politically motivated archers in Figure 3.35. This trend can also be seen in the 6d, 8d, and 12d categories as well, and can also be observed in Dorset, Sussex, Westmorland, and Yorkshire East. In 1381, a slightly different picture can be seen with more variation. For example, Dorset has a much tighter distribution of economic archers than for those whose service was politically determined, with a much larger proportion in the modal 12d bracket, as well as fewer matches in the lowest 4d group. However there are also fewer matches in the higher tax brackets. In contrast, Yorkshire East shows a wider distribution of archers than Dorset, but still has a tighter distribution among the economically motivated results than for the political ones. Further differences can be seen in the profile for Oxfordshire in 1381, which suggests that the economically motivated archers in this county were wealthier than both the non-archer poll tax and the politically motivated archers. Therefore, although it is possible to suggest that economically motivated archers had higher economic status than their non-archer peers, it is harder to differentiate them from the politically determined archers. The 1379 results provide an indication that the archers whose terms of service economically determined were slightly wealthier; however this is not entirely supported by 1381 data.

Figure 3.38: % of archers serving in non-county retinues by common tax brackets



The first analysis of economically motivated archers was interesting, but not wholly conclusive. Considering the second of the approaches to identifying economic archers, looking for men in the retinues of landowners in the eight sampled counties who appear in the poll tax returns outside of that county, can test the previous results further.

**Figure 3.39 Section 1 male poll tax samples for 1379 and 1381 with tax data**

	Section 1 Poll Tax Sample Excluding Named County	Matches to Tier 1 archer			
		1379	1381	1379	1381
<b>Dorset</b>	47,062	24,576	75	52	
<b>Essex</b>	47,599	24,192	101	84	
<b>Northamptonshire</b>	45,964	25,176	80	62	
<b>Oxfordshire</b>	47,039	24,335	137	96	
<b>Shropshire</b>	47,599	24,264	87	34	
<b>Sussex</b>	44,434	25,214	100	69	
<b>Westmorland</b>	47,236	25,331	26	12	
<b>Yorkshire East</b>	46,808	23,277	77	37	

**Figure 3.40: Archers in other counties poll tax returns by most common tax brackets**

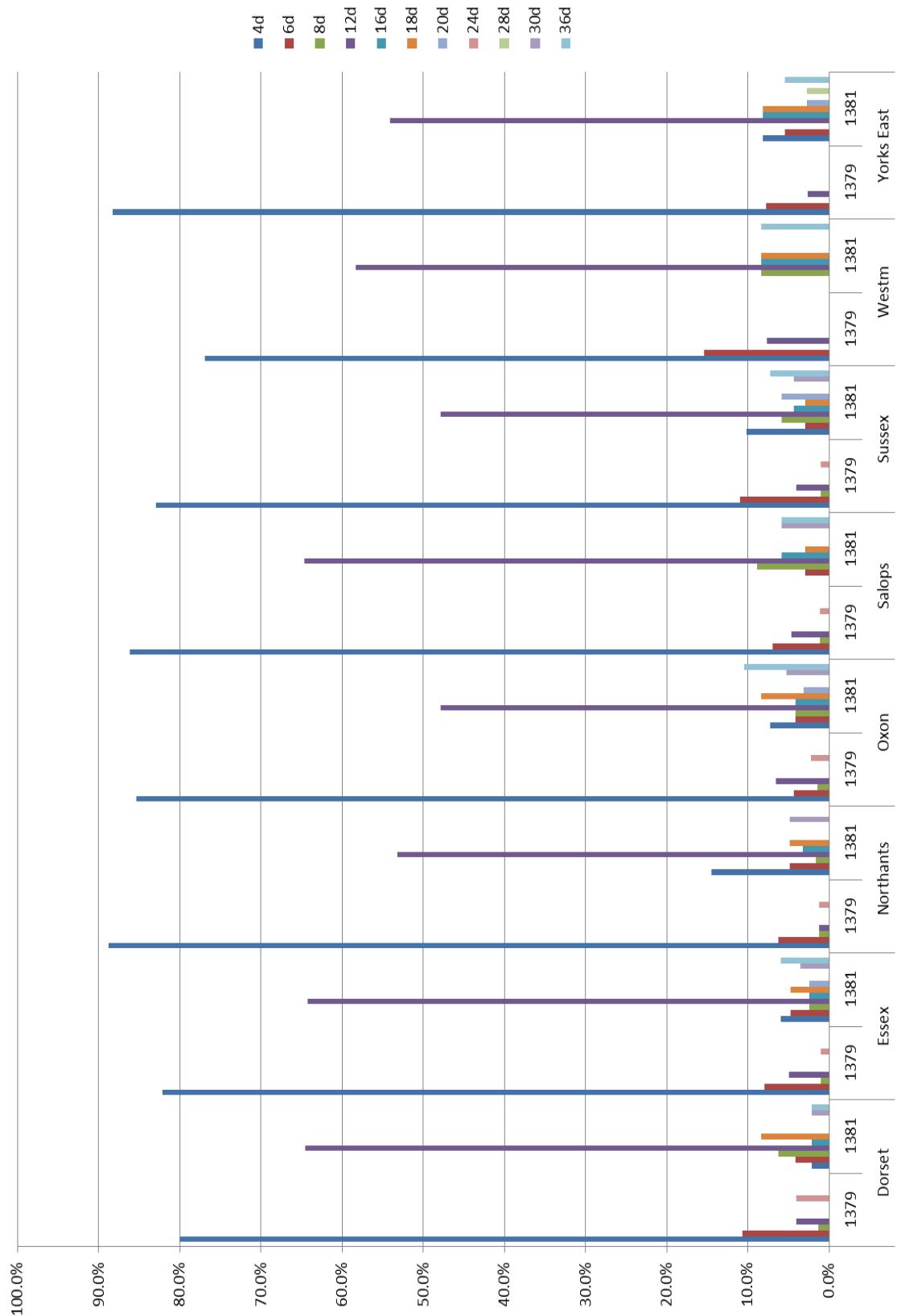
Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
<b>4d</b>	80.0%	2.1%	82.2%	6.0%	88.8%	14.5%	85.4%	7.3%	86.2%	0.0%	83.0%	10.1%	76.9%	0.0%	88.3%	8.1%
<b>6d</b>	10.7%	4.2%	7.9%	4.8%	6.3%	4.8%	4.4%	4.2%	6.9%	2.9%	11.0%	2.9%	15.4%	0.0%	7.8%	5.4%
<b>8d</b>	1.3%	6.3%	1.0%	2.4%	1.3%	1.6%	1.5%	4.2%	1.1%	8.8%	1.0%	5.8%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>12d</b>	4.0%	64.6%	5.0%	64.3%	1.3%	53.2%	6.6%	47.9%	4.6%	64.7%	4.0%	47.8%	7.7%	58.3%	2.6%	54.1%
<b>16d</b>	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	5.9%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	8.1%
<b>18d</b>	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	8.1%
<b>20d</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%
<b>24d</b>	4.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>28d</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%
<b>30d</b>	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	5.2%	0.0%	5.9%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>36d</b>	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.4%	0.0%	5.9%	0.0%	7.2%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	5.4%

Again the results are somewhere between the politically motivated and non-archer samples, but they do show different patterns to the other tests on economically motivated archers. Here the 1379 tend towards the proportions shown in the non-archer breakdown of the poll tax returns. Indeed the percentage of archers in the lowest 4d bracket exceeds that of the non-archer percentage for each of the eight counties. Of course this is not entirely a like for like comparison. The archers identified

in Figures 3.38 and 3.39 are not resident in the county to which the contrast is being made, instead the results are the profile of persons with no connection to the locality, and their service in the county retinues was not based necessarily based on the influence of lordship. Therefore, in comparison to the other economically motivated archers identified, they were also less identifiably connected to any one locality. However, despite this trend among the 1379 archers, those identified in 1381 display the opposite. Here the proportion in the modal value of 12d has dropped among the economically motivated archers from the proportions displayed among the non-archers in the poll tax returns in Figure 3.26. Furthermore, the profiles displayed are more variable than for the archers previously identified as economically motivated in Figure 3.36. An example of this is the increase in all of the counties proportions of economically motivated archers paying 36d, as well as the 4d bracket being more common in the counties of Dorset, Essex, Northamptonshire, and Yorkshire East.

The results for economically motivated archers have displayed a mixture of results which make it difficult to identify any clear trends regarding their economic status. Those economic archers who can be linked to one of the eight counties studied in this thesis occasionally show a slightly higher level of wealth than the politically motivated archers. However this observation is not always supported by the evidence. What are more apparent are the differences in frequency distribution across the tax brackets identified. The archers who were resident within one of the example counties but whose service was economically motivated appear to come from the same middling sort as the politically motivated archers. In contrast, those archers who have been identified as coming from other counties, outside the eight focused on here, display a greater variety in the amounts of tax paid, indicating that they came from a more diverse economic background.

Figure 3.41: % archers in other counties poll tax returns by most common tax brackets



### **3.4 Conclusion**

The focus of this chapter was the lives of archers beyond their role and place within the English military system of the later fourteenth century. Taking the archers who had been previously identified and considering them in greater detail provided new insights into their social and economic backgrounds. Economic history can be a difficult area of investigation especially when trying to study individuals within a general population. This is compounded when the population in general comprises people who do not commonly appear in the sources or historiography, such as the archers. It has already been demonstrated that the patterns of service differed among archers depending on their service links and geographical background. Introducing the unused data regarding occupations and wealth allowed a more detailed picture of the English archers to be revealed, and enabled a comparison between the archers and the 'civilian' population.

The relational database proved invaluable as it allowed links to be drawn between the archers identified in the previous chapter and the data introduced here. However, although the results in Chapter 2 provided some clear and observable trends, the analysis of the results in Chapter 3 was not as revealing. This was particularly apparent in the occupational data. Here, there are no consistent trends in any of the groups which identify any differences between the types of archer. The only tendency is towards inconsistency, although usually there was broad agreement with the proportions observed in the poll tax returns as a whole, as well as the county specific breakdowns. This may seem to be an obvious conclusion: it is certainly a logical one. Officially there were no professional soldiers or training, and the broad basis of military service meant that men across a wide spectrum of the English population were potentially available for military service. This would suggest that those archers who could be identified in the poll tax returns would come from a broad occupational background, and this is possibly the only trend that can be seen. It has been previously suggested that mounted archers in particular often came from the top levels of the peasantry, from families with a higher than average level of wealth,<sup>58</sup> and that

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<sup>58</sup> Baker, 'Investigating the Socio-Economic Origins', p. 214

therefore some of the more prestigious occupations, above the ranks of labourers and domestic servants would be seen. Equally, military service could be seen as a way for poorer men to rise in society, using financial gain from military service, or other benefits such as increased contact with social superiors, to further themselves or their heirs.

The wealth data, based on the amount of tax assessed in the collections, provides slightly more coverage in terms of the number of records than the occupational data, although only the 1379 and 1381 data is of analytical use due to the strict 4d per capita amount levied in 1377. Here, it was possible to identify some stronger trends which do not always agree with those in the wider poll tax returns. The first one is that the archers, both economically and politically motivated, appear to have come from a slightly higher economic background than non-archer tax payers when viewed on a large scale. This can be seen from the higher proportion of archers paying taxes in higher brackets than the wider population. However, this trend is only apparent up to a point. It is rare for archers to appear in the higher tax brackets, suggesting that although archers may have come from prosperous economic backgrounds, they did not often come from the wealthiest sections of society, instead occupying the 'middle-ground'.

Secondly, the difference in wealth between the politically motivated and economically motivated groups of archers is noticeable, but not large. The variation between these two groups is most apparent when considering archers who were linked to poll tax return records outside of the samples taken from the eight principal counties. This section of the archer population appear to have a somewhat wider distribution of wealth than the majority of the archers identified and appear more frequently in the modal tax values in similar proportions to those seen across the whole of the poll tax returns.

This provides some insight into who the archers were outside of their military roles, and what they were doing in their civilian lives. They did not occupy a unique position and were very much a part of the society from which they came.

## Chapter 4: Case studies—‘unique’ archers and super retinues

### 4.1 Introduction

The research aims of this thesis, investigating archers’ patterns of service and their socio-economic background, have been dealt with in a large scale quantitative fashion in the previous chapters. This form of empirical study has proved to be an effective way of analysing a large group of men with little individual evidence. However, despite the nature of the evidence used in the relational database which underpins the current research, it is possible to undertake more qualitative analysis of the English archers. This premise forms the basis of this chapter.

There are two approaches used in this chapter to consider the archers on a smaller more personal scale. The first takes the form of a case study looking at the archers with the most secure nominal links in the database, and using these individuals to test whether the broad trends identified in patterns of service, occupations, and wealth can be seen on a smaller case-by-case basis. The second approach takes a step back from the individual archers, instead looking at them as component parts of the retinues in which they were recruited. The departure point for this analysis is the variation in retinue sizes and identifying if this could indicate a difference in the archers’ backgrounds and patterns of service. Both of these approaches will be explained in more detail below.

### 4.2 ‘Unique’ archers

#### Background

The thesis has already laid out the method behind the identification of archers in the poll tax returns, and how different approaches to nominal linkage can influence the strength of the connections between records in different sources. This involved filtering the names in the different sources by the frequency of their appearance, and grouping the same frequency occurrences together. The names were grouped on a county basis for the poll tax returns, with Section 1 including all the unique male names for each of the eight counties analysed, with the unique archer names from

1367 to 1417 grouped in Tier 1. Links between these two groups provides good nominal linkage, and this, with the subset of archers 1367-1391, was the focus of the other chapters in this thesis. However, although this provides good linkage for a wide ranging prosopographical study, it does not necessarily provide the in depth insight which can be gained by considering the source material on a smaller scale.

The more in depth approach also enabled greater usage of the data extracted from the muster rolls, specifically those records which relate to military service outside of the ranks of the archers. This made it possible to investigate promotions, which due to the nature of large scale prosopographical or quantitative study undertaken thus far had not been considered. Promotions have been considered in detail by several historians including Michael Bennett and Andrew Ayton.<sup>1</sup> More recently *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, which has been discussed in depth previously in Chapter 1, investigated promotion in the English military in the Hundred Years War using the muster roll data as its principal source for military structure.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that there was a great deal of movement between the military ranks of archers and men-at-arms, and this was especially pronounced among those men who, although serving as archers, came from the minor gentry families, and were often younger sons or cousins.<sup>3</sup> Archer promotions are more apparent among the garrisons and regular service opportunities found in English Normandy after the occupation in 1417. The nature of the warfare prior to this did not provide the same prospects for military advancement and was restricted by the social stratification of the military ranks, especially in the expeditionary armies launched from England.<sup>4</sup> However, despite this trend, it was not impossible for an archer to gain preferment, and the example of Sir Robert Knolles has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, matches to soldiers in the muster rolls of non-archer rank will also be considered in this chapter, opening another area of investigation into archers' lives.

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<sup>1</sup> Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism*, and Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment'

<sup>2</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 162-70.

<sup>3</sup> Ayton, 'Military Service and the Development of the Robin Hood Legend', pp. 136-7.

<sup>4</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 167.

Introducing the non-archer muster records also created an opportunity to consider the evidence provided by the letters of protection. These were discussed as a source in Chapter 1, however the linkage between the bulk of the men who served as archers and the names in the protections was problematic. This is due to the nature of protections which were taken by those individuals who had property worth protecting whilst they were abroad and unable to defend themselves against legal difficulties. However, in the discussion of the protections in Chapter 1 it was noted that archers did take protections on occasion and therefore it is reasonable to link protections to archers within a carefully defined group. By expanding the analysis to include those protections where a man is not described as an archer, the case studies can be pursued further for some individuals.

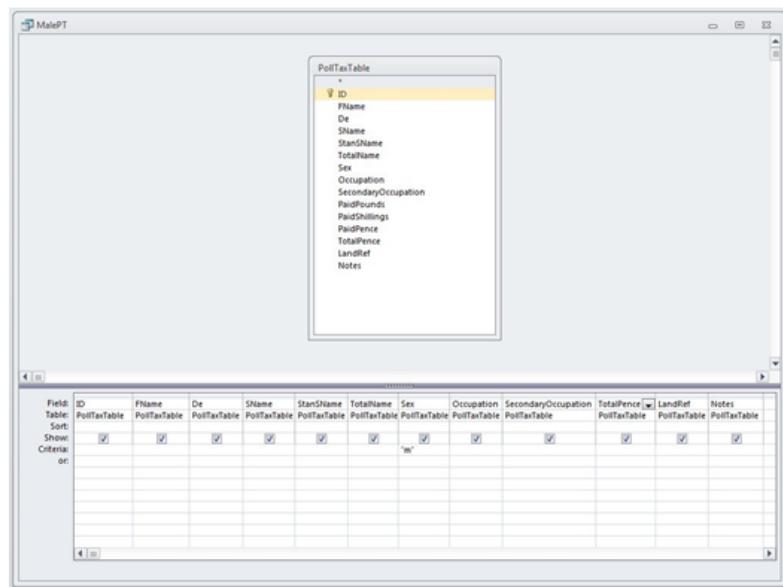
### **Identification of the 'unique' archers**

This chapter identifies new groups of archers not previously considered. However, the method of using the data remains very similar. Due to the increased depth of study for these men, compared to that done previously, the samples were filtered further, providing more secure nominal linkage. Here the focus remained on the men recorded in the eight counties which form the framework of this research, and concentrates on the unique names hitherto grouped into Section 1. However, instead of looking at each county's poll tax returns separately to provide the Section 1 samples, the whole of the poll tax returns were used to generate these unique names. This meant that only names which are unique across the whole poll tax return database were included for each county. The query to create these samples was similar to that used in Figure 2.4,<sup>5</sup> which created the Section 1 sample from 1377 for Oxfordshire. The main difference was that the uniqueness of the names in this new sample, hereafter referred to as Section 3, was tested across all of the poll tax returns for that tax year.

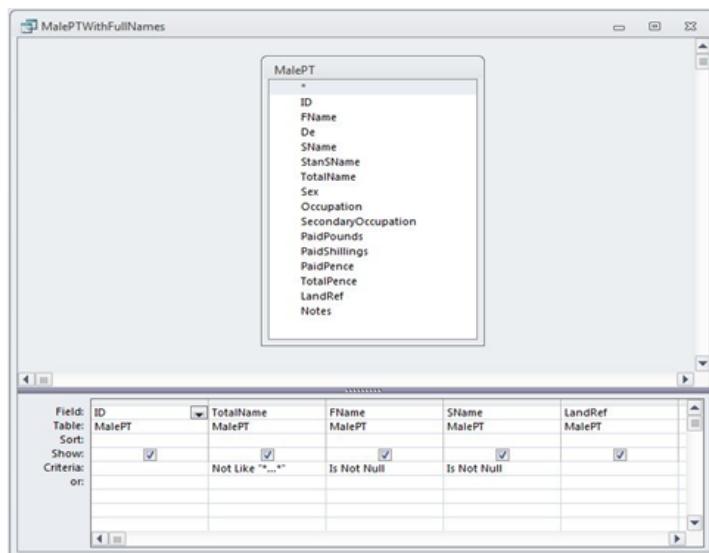
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<sup>5</sup> See p. 61.

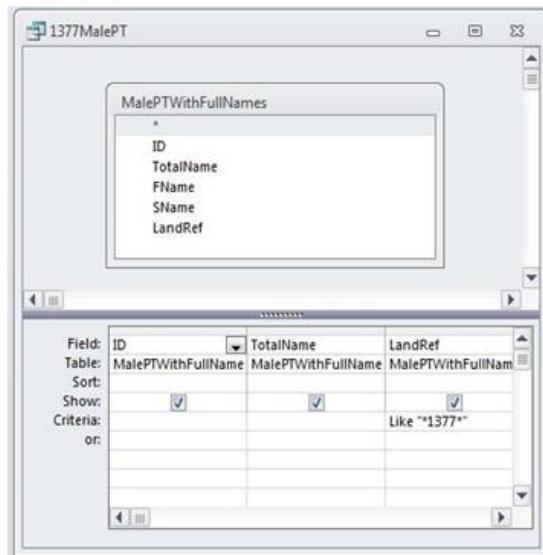
**Figure 4.1: Query identifying unique poll tax return names across whole database**



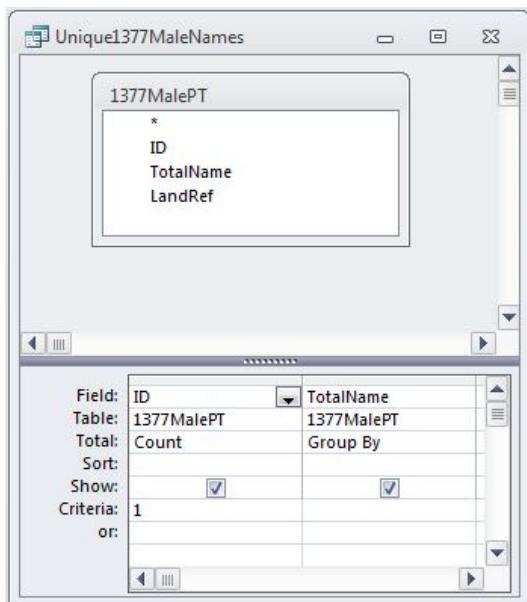
**Stage 1:** In the same manner as Section 1 of each of the counties was identified in Chapter 2, only the male names in the poll tax returns were used, and these were distinguished via the 'Sex' field. This query was then saved as a separate table, rather than remaining as a query on the original 'PollTaxTable'. This was to allow certain records to be deleted without affecting the original data.



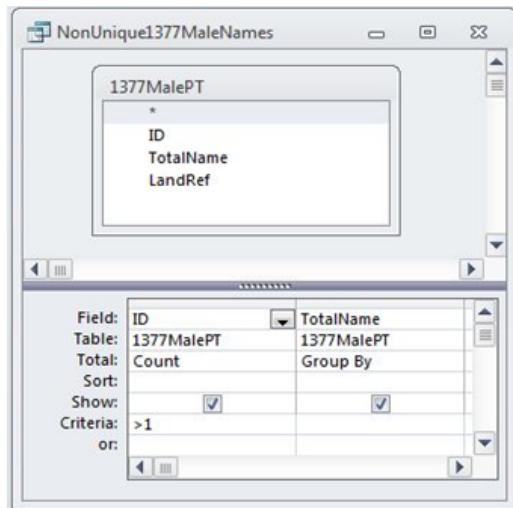
**Stage 2:** Here the records which do not contain full names in the 'TotalName' field were filtered out. These could be records without either a first or surname, or where there were lacuna in the names. The query isolated the 142,178 nominal records in the poll tax returns which were male and contained a full name.



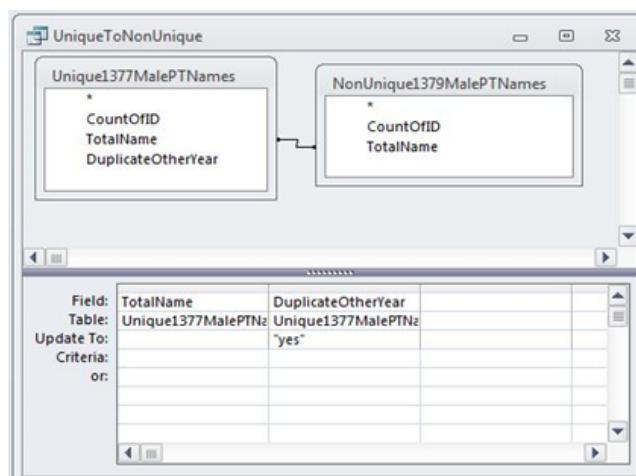
**Stage 3:** The whole poll tax return sample was then split into the three separate tax years, using the dates held as a part of the 'LandRef' field. In this example the year was 1377.



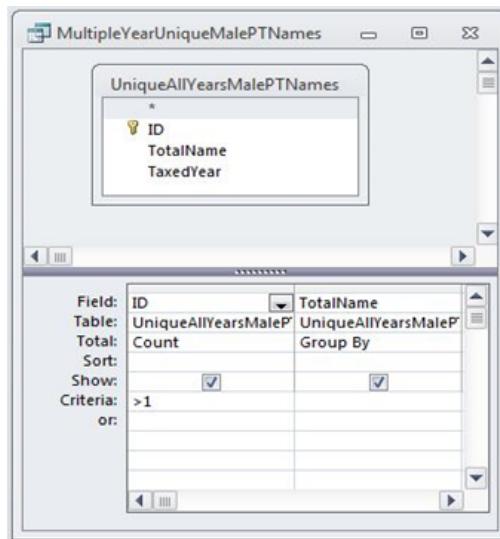
**Stage 4:** The names from each tax year were then grouped to identify which ones appear on only one occasion. This produced a separate object for each tax year which contained all the names which only appear once. Following on from the Stage 3 example, this example is for 1377. However, although this identified unique names in each year, it did not account for names which may appear multiple times in another tax year. For example, 'Adam Emson' is only recorded in Carlisle, Cumberland in 1377, making it unique for that year. However the same name appears in four separate locations in 1379, Lonsdale in Lancashire, and Orton in Westmorland, as well as two vills in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Burley and Austwick. This meant that it could not be considered among the Section 4 names for this case study.



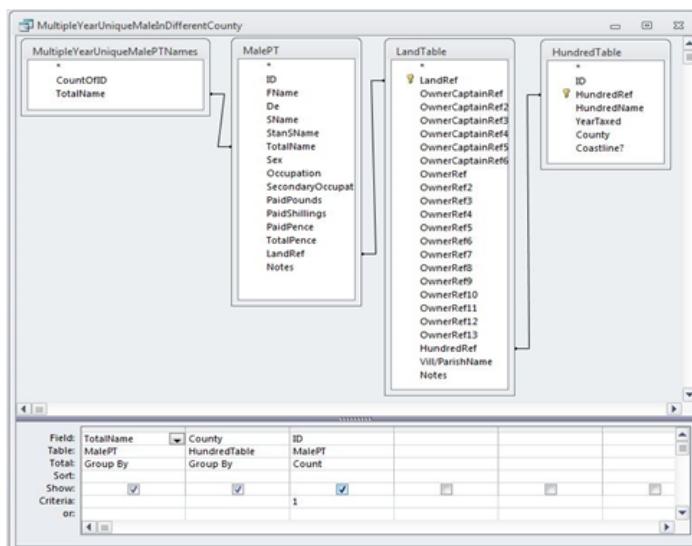
**Stage 5:** To avoid including false positives among the Section 3 names, all of the non-unique names for each tax year also had to be identified. This was achieved through the same query as used for Stage 4, but amending it to return all the names which appear on more than one occasion per year. Once this had been completed the list of unique names for each year was then compared to the non-unique names for the other two tax years. However, due to the limitations of MS Access it is not possible to directly identify the unique names in each year which are non-unique in other years directly. Therefore it was necessary to use the data extracted through these queries to create a separate table for the unique and non-unique names in 1377, 1379, and 1381.



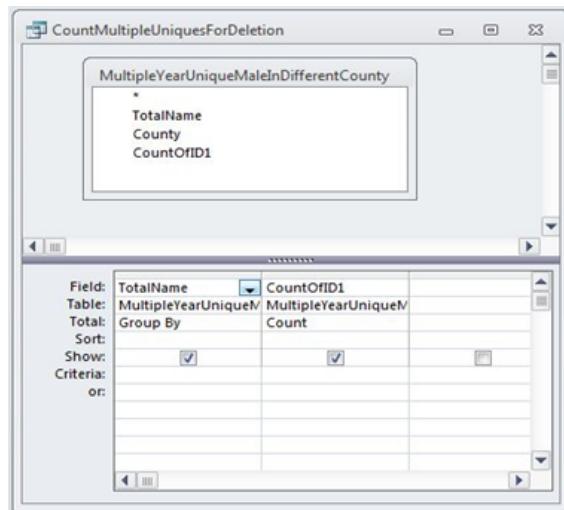
**Stage 6:** Once the aforementioned tables had been created, it was then possible to check for the unique names appearing non-uniquely in other years. Here the 1377 unique names are being checked against the non-unique names for 1379. If there were any matches, these would be marked by updating the field 'DuplicateOtherYear' in the 'Unique1377MalePTNames' table to yes. The same process was repeated for each tax year. Once all the matches had been identified and marked with a 'yes', they could then be deleted from each year's unique names table, leaving only those names which either only appear once in the whole dataset, or only once in any given tax year. At this stage the sample was 77,612 records.



**Stage 7:** Although the issue of unique names in one tax year appearing multiple times in other years had been resolved, there was one further matter to solve. There are 3,471 names which appear in multiple years of the poll tax returns. However, although they only appear once per tax year, the location they were recorded in varied. For example, Alexander Cook appears in Quidenham, Norfolk in 1379, and reappears in Wattlesbrough, Shropshire in 1381. Some of the linked names are geographically closer than this incidence. However, as this chapter is focusing on the strongest possible nominal linkage, it was prudent to exclude those names which despite being unique per year, appear in geographically disparate locations. Therefore any names which appear in multiple years, but in different counties, had to be excluded. These were identified through a multi-step process, beginning by joining together the tables which contained the unique names for each tax year distinguished above. This created a new object 'UniqueAllYearsMalePTNames', which contained all of the 77,612 records from Stage 6, with an additional field containing the tax year in which each record appeared. A query, shown above, was then run on this new table to isolate all the unique names with multiple occurrences, counting the appearance of each name in the table and filtering it by those which appear more than once.



**Stage 8:** The query created in Stage 7 was linked to the county in which each occurrence of the name appeared, as shown above. By limiting the results returned to those which only appeared once in a given county, the names which did not provide secure enough nominal linkage could be identified. This includes the occasions when a name might appear twice in one county, for example in 1377 and 1379, but in a different one in 1381. Although this indicates one person who changed their place of residency, this is difficult to prove and therefore these records would be considered as referring to different individuals.



**Stage 9:** The names identified in Stage 8 were then grouped to so that each name only appeared once, and a query was used to create a new table containing this list of names. This table, 'CountMultipleUniquesForDeletion' was then linked to the 'UniqueAllYearsMalePTNames' table, and those which appeared in the former were then marked and deleted from the latter. The total sample from the whole poll tax return dataset generated by this process is 71,325 unique names.

There are 71,325 names across the whole poll tax sample that only appears on one occasion per tax year in the database. Allowances have been made, as discussed in Figure 4.1, for names which appear only once, but in more than one of the tax returns. As this investigation focuses on the eight counties employed previously, the names connected to the counties in question were then isolated, providing the sample shown below in Figure 4.2.

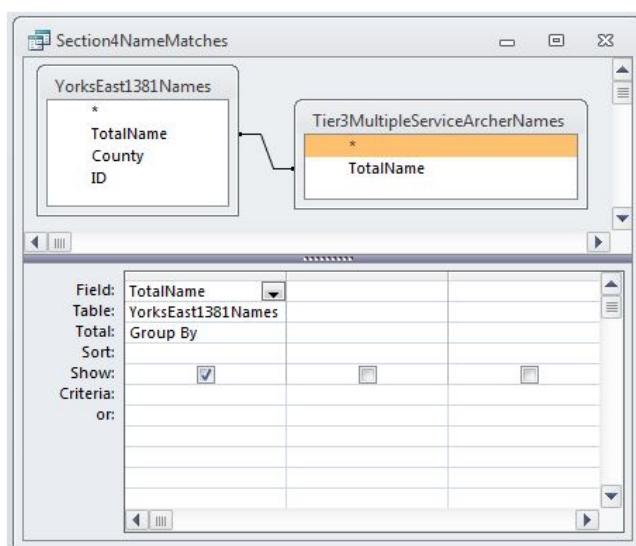
**Figure 4.2: Section 3 samples**

	Number of Section 3 Names		
County	1377	1379	1381
Dorset	0	569	703
Essex	629	0	2,492
Northants	270	1,761	137
Oxon	595	663	937
Salops	567	0	1,049
Sussex	142	3,355	105
Westm	0	391	0
Yorks East	468	853	1,836
<b>Year Totals</b>	<b>2,671</b>	<b>7,592</b>	<b>7,259</b>

This reduced the overall number of Section 3 names being investigated to 17,522. The samples for each year were then cross referenced with the nominal records for archers

who served between 1367 and 1391. This sample group, which was divided into three tiers in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.7), was retained to ensure that the nominal linkage done between the two sources was as strong as possible. Once links have been made, the remaining muster roll data was then reintroduced to identify other possible relationships between the soldiers in the muster rolls and the men in the poll tax returns. An example of the queries used to link these samples can be seen below in Figure 4.3, with the number of matches found using these queries shown in Figure 4.4.

**Figure 4.3: Query matching Section 3 poll tax return names to archers in muster rolls**



This is an example of the queries used to match the Section 3 poll tax return names to the archers in the muster rolls. Here the names from the 1381 Yorkshire East Riding poll tax returns have been linked to the Tier 3 archers from the 1367-1391 sample. The same query structure was used for each of the eight counties tax years, linked to all three Tiers of archers, 1367-1391.

**Figure 4.4: Section 3 matches to archer tiers**

County	Matches to archers 1367-1391					
	Tier 1	% Tier 1 Matches	Tier 2	% Tier 2 Matches	Tier 3	% Tier 3 Matches
Dorset	17	1.3%	3	0.2%	2	0.2%
Essex	58	1.9%	10	0.3%	12	0.4%
Northants	46	2.1%	5	0.2%	4	0.2%
Oxon	38	1.7%	12	0.5%	6	0.3%
Salops	22	1.4%	3	0.2%	0	0.0%
Sussex	38	1.1%	4	0.1%	5	0.1%
Westm	1	0.3%	3	0.8%	1	0.3%
Yorks East	47	1.5%	11	0.3%	9	0.3%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>267</b>		<b>51</b>		<b>39</b>	

The results in Figure 4.4 have been divided between the three tiers first introduced in Chapter 1. By looking at these on a small-scale basis, it is possible to use this evidence productively. The Tier 1 archers are numerous, relative to the other tiers in this approach. As these are a subset of the individuals identified in Chapter 2, it would be expected that they would follow similar patterns of service. The Tier 2 links are relatively weak and although not irrelevant, can only be used in a supporting role as it is possible that these records include men who should be grouped with the Tier 3 careerists, but have not been due to the repetition of their name within the same year. However, of most interest here are the Tier 3 archers, those who served on more than one occasion, as qualitative case studies allow a closer look at these individuals and their patterns of service, and this provides insight into the careerist archers of the later fourteenth century.

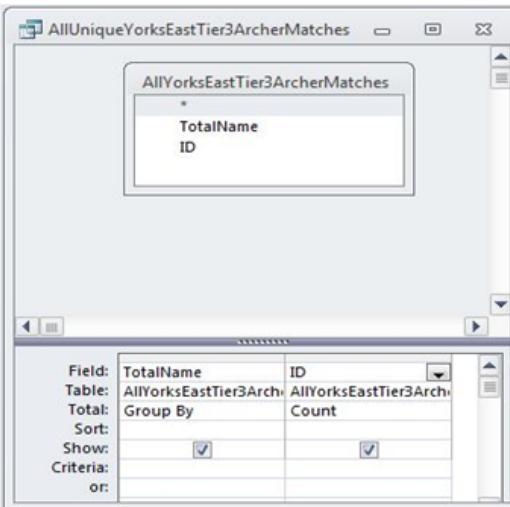
### **Service links**

The first area of consideration was the service links noted between the archers identified with Section 3 to Tier 3 linkage, and their retinue captains. This involved checking if they were serving in the retinues of captains who held lands in the county that they were resident in, and testing the links made in Chapter 2 with a group whose nominal linkage strength is higher than that employed previously. In comparison to the same method used in Figure 2.9,<sup>6</sup> the number of matches is much lower, for example decreasing from sixty matches to two in the case of Dorset. The smaller number enabled the use of the individual archers as the point of reference, rather than relying on the captains and their retinues. Therefore the queries used to analyse the archers were slightly different, as shown in Figure 4.5 below.

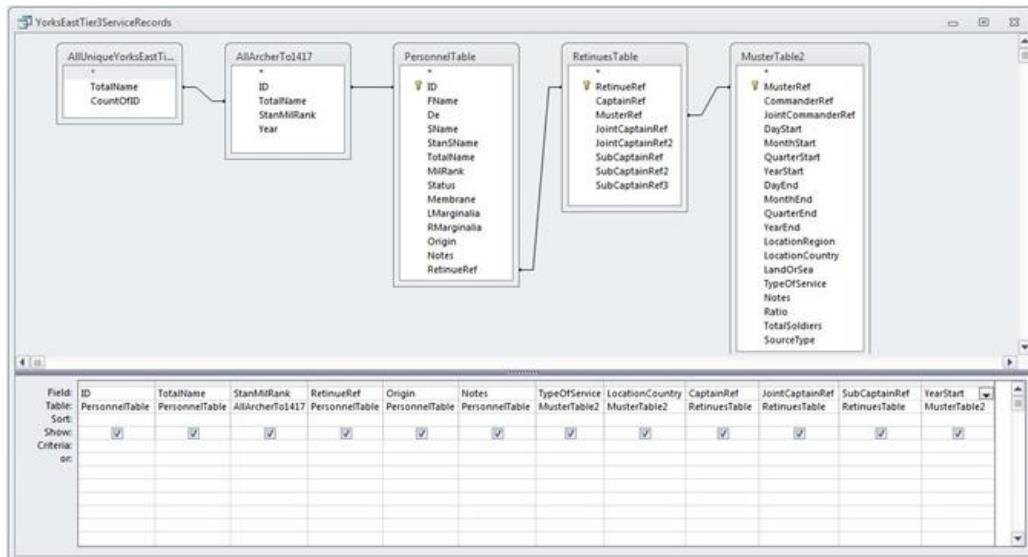
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<sup>6</sup> See p. 65.

Figure 4.5: Query identifying incidences of Tier 3 archers' service



**Stage 1:** This query follows on from that in Figure 4.3. The results of that query, which was used to identify the matches between the Tier 3 archers appearing 1367 to 1391 and the Section 4 names in each year of the poll tax returns, were combined for each county producing a new table. In the case of Yorkshire East Riding this was the object shown above 'AllYorksEastTier3ArcherMatches'. This was then refined further to produce a list of names with no repetitions due to the same poll tax return name from multiple years (which would indicate the same individual paying two or three of the poll taxes collected), and was saved as a new object for each county, in this case 'AllUniqueYorksEastTier3ArcherMatches'.



**Stage 2:** This stage of the query used the objects created in Stage 1 to identify and isolate the relevant service records for each Tier 3 archer, in this example, for Yorkshire East Riding. The relevant information to investigate the archers' service links, and their type and location of service was then saved as 'YorksEastTier3ServiceRecords' and exported into Excel for further analysis.

The query to identify in which retinues the archers noted in Figure 4.4 were serving had to be run for each name. A full list of these names, with their retinue captain, as well as the dates, types, and locations of service (only when described as archers) can

be found in Appendix 4.1.<sup>7</sup> Figure 4.4 included a proportion of the Section 3 samples which could be linked to Tier 3 archer names. A summary of these service links has been presented in Figure 4.6, and includes the number of occasions when a man appears to have served with a retinue captain of significance in the archers' locality.

<b>Figure 4.6: Tier 3 archers' politically determined service</b>			
<b>County</b>	<b>Number of Tier 3 incidents of service</b>	<b>Number with local captain</b>	<b>% of service politically determined</b>
Dorset	4	0	0.0%
Essex	34	10	29.4%
Northants	9	0	0.0%
Oxon	16	2	12.5%
Salops	0	n/a	n/a
Sussex	11	1	9.1%
Westm	3	0	0.0%
Yorks East	21	2	9.5%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15.3%</b>

The proportion of politically determined service among the Tier 3 archers, Figure 4.4, shows some resemblance to the proportions identified previously in Chapter 2, specifically Figures 2.9, 2.10, and 2.11.<sup>8</sup> If the overall proportions of matches between poll tax return samples and the Tier 3 archers are considered, the match rate is lower for the Section 3 names identified in this chapter. Across all three tiers, the proportion of the sample matched is smaller than that shown in Chapter 2. Among the Tier 3 archers, the match rate declined between 1.4 and 2.6 points. The reduction in these Tier 3 matches is not large, and is broadly in line with the proportion of these archers whose military service could be seen as politically determined. The difference could be accounted for by the change in sample size, and the relative rarity of the names in Section 3 of the poll tax returns.

Interestingly, the proportion of politically determined service rises noticeably if the number of incidents of service, rather than the proportion of individual archers, among Tier 3 records are considered. As Figure 4.6 shows, the proportion of politically

<sup>7</sup> See p. 363.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 65 and p. 66.

determined service rises noticeably for all the counties where there are matches between local retinue archers and Section 3 poll tax return names. If the proportions in Figure 4.6 are contrasted specifically with the Tier 3 results in Figure 2.10, it is apparent that the archers matched with Section 3 names from the poll tax returns are more likely to be engaged in politically determined military service at some point in their careers than Tier 3 archers generally. The exceptions to this apparent rise in the level of political military service among the archers identified in this chapter compared to the more general analysis in Chapter 2 are Dorset, Northamptonshire, and Westmorland. However, as these samples comprise few records they may not be representative of the true picture. Here the proportion of politically determined service is the number of times that these men engaged with local captains, rather than the proportion of individuals which undertook political service. Figure 4.7 below shows the number of the archers identified in this chapter who engaged in at least one incidence of politically determined service.

**Figure 4.7: Tier 3 archers who undertook at least one incidence of politically determined service**

County	Number of Tier 3 archer 1367-1391 matched to Section 3 names	Number of archers who undertook any politically determined service	% archers who undertook politically determined service
Dorset	2	0	0.0%
Essex	12	6	50.0%
Northants	4	0	0.0%
Oxon	6	1	16.7%
Salops	0	n/a	n/a
Sussex	5	1	20.0%
Westm	1	0	0.0%
Yorks East	9	1	11.1%

The proportions presented here vary across a wide range. However, they are all larger than the proportion of service incidences which were politically determined. This runs in contrast to the conclusions drawn earlier in the thesis, which demonstrated that when a large sample group is considered it would be more probable to find politically determined service among Tier 1 archers than Tier 3. These samples, which have a greater level of strength in their nominal linkage, should be considered more reliable

than the other samples analysed. However, due to the small sample sizes it is hard to make a sweeping statement based on this analysis. Despite this it is possible to propose some trends based on the results so far. Although the rate of political service appears to be higher for the Tier 3 archers here, it is also true that the proportion of archers who engaged in politically determined military service remains a minority of the archers in Tier 3, except in Essex where the result is exactly 50%, as shown by the percentages in Figure 4.7. It would be expected that some of these men would engage in politically motivated military service, as suggested earlier in the thesis, as although patterns of recruitment had changed, social networks and tenurial obligation remained important elements in the indenture system. Of the thirty-nine men identified in Figure 4.7, only four of them appear in the muster dataset as engaging exclusively in political service.<sup>9</sup> This is a small proportion of the Tier 3 archer group, 10.3%, but does follow the previously identified trend. It is higher than the average match rate of 2.4% between Tier 3 and Section 1 shown in Figure 2.10, and this explains some of the gap between the match rates of Tier 3 archers to Sections 1 and 3 and the proportion of politically determined service that is evident in Figures 4.6 and 4.7.

It is apparent that Tier 3 archers in this case follow similar patterns to their peers in the group. The smaller scale of this study enabled the completion of some analysis that would have been problematic on a larger scale. Here it has been shown that although the majority of careerists did not serve in a politically determined manner, there was still a large minority who did, in line with the broad trends observed earlier. In connection with this, it was possible to consider whether these archers who did engage in politically motivated service were doing so at the start of their careers, which might be logical as an early opportunity for a man to engage in military service, or whether such service was undertaken at another stage of the archers' military lifecycle.

Four archers who exclusively served local retinue captains have already been identified. This leaves five archers who undertook politically determined service, but not exclusively.

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<sup>9</sup> These men are: Richard Holde, Richard Tanner, and William Somerton of Essex as well as William Heyre of Oxfordshire.

**Figure 4.8: Breakdown of politically determined service**

Name	County	Number of service records	Number of politically determined records	Was first incidence of service politically determined?
John Bulsham	Sussex	2	1	no
John Fryth	Essex	3	1	no
John Maldon	Essex	7	2	yes
Richard Holde	Essex	2	2	yes
Richard Tanner	Essex	2	2	yes
Robert Bek	Yorks East	3	2	no
Thomas Bury	Essex	2	1	yes
William Heyre	Oxon	2	2	yes
William Somerton	Essex	2	2	yes

Figure 4.8 above is a breakdown of the service of the politically determined archers and whether their first incidence of service was with a local retinue captain. The four whose service was exclusively politically motivated have been included and coloured green. Across the non-exclusive archer sample two of the archers identified undertook their first military service recorded in this dataset with a local captain. This is just under half of the total which appears to be low if the hypothesis that archers would have been more likely to engage in military service with a local captain at the start of their careers is true. However, at this point in their military lives, with only one incidence of military service, they could be compared to the Tier 1 archers who only appeared once in the muster roll data. In comparison to them, these Tier 3 archers were more likely to serve initially in a politically determined manner, supporting the idea that social networks remained an important part of military recruitment, even under the indenture system. There is also a noticeable difference between these men in terms of the number of service incidences they undertook over their careers. All those men who exclusively engaged in politically motivated service only undertook service as archers on two occasions. In comparison although there were two non-exclusive archers who only engaged in military service as archers twice, the other three all did more than this, and in the case of John Maldon there were seven service incidents. This could indicate that the more service an archer engaged in, the greater the likelihood of engaging in economically, rather than politically, motivated service.

### **Continuity of archers' service**

As well as their initial recruitment, the social network could also impact on future military service. Continuity of service is a topic which has been addressed previously in the historiography of fourteenth-century military service. Bell's study of the Earl of Arundel's naval expeditions in 1387 and 1388 is an example of this, exploring the continuity of service among all the men of the expeditions including the archers. There were 270 archers who campaigned in both the expeditions, representing 19% of the archers in the 1387 expedition and 13% of that in 1388.<sup>10</sup> Of greater relevance to the present work are the trends of repeat service among the archers with the same retinue captains. The group of 270 archers who served in both expeditions can be split into three groups: those who served with the same captain, comprising 29% of the total; those who served under a different captain due to their original captain not serving (34%); and finally those who served under a different captain despite their previous captain serving in 1388 (37%).<sup>11</sup> Another analysis of repeat service among archers is Andrew Ayton's investigation of the retinues of Guy, Lord Brian, for four naval expeditions in the 1370s. The first retinue in the series was raised for service in 1370 with 198 archers enrolled. Only 3% of these could be found in the next retinue in 1371, despite the large number of archers (230) it contained. This was followed in 1372 with a return rate of 20%, of the fifty archers recruited, and of 10% of 60 archers in 1378. Overall 5% of the archers from 1370 served in one of the later retinues. Ayton attributes the low rate of return service between 1370 and 1371 to the large number of archers recruited in this year, not just in Lord Brian's retinue but throughout England's military community, perhaps resulting in the dilution of the archers that Lord Brian had recruited previously between a larger number of retinue captains.<sup>12</sup> These two cases suggest that there is a large variety in the level of continuity of service, although among the archers a minority served across any two expeditions, even those of 1387 and 1388 which had a high level of continuity at the level of retinue captain,

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<sup>10</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 98.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 24.

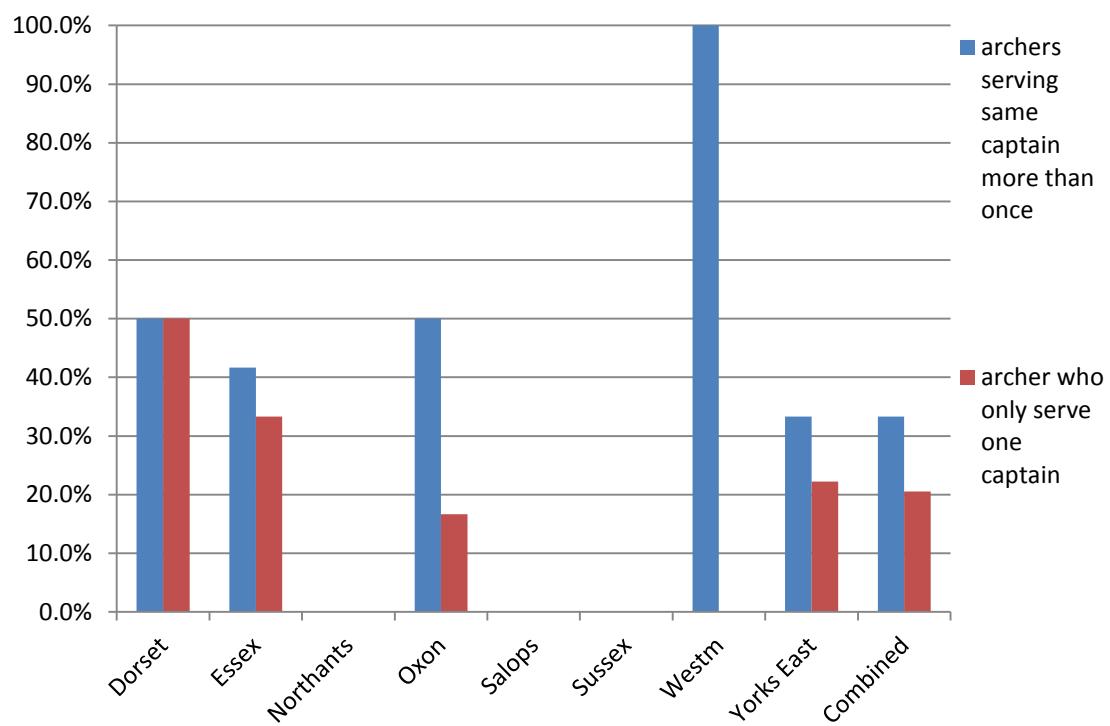
with 66% of those who were retinue captains in 1388 having served in some capacity in 1387.<sup>13</sup>

Are these levels of continuity apparent among the archers identified in this chapter? Given the qualitative nature of this question in relation to the data of the Section 3 to Tier 3 matches held in Appendix 4.1, it is difficult to analyse this using queries through the database. Instead a manual approach was used, looking at each of the thirty-nine archers' service records and whether they served with the same captain on more than one occasion. The results of this are shown below in Figure 4.9, grouped by the counties in which the archers were resident.

<b>Figure 4.9: Continuity of service</b>				
<b>County</b>	<b>Archers resident in county</b>	<b>Archers who serve with same captain more than once</b>	<b>Archers who serve with same captain in non-consecutive years</b>	<b>Archers who only serve one captain</b>
Dorset	2	1	0	1
Essex	12	5	0	4
Northants	4	0	0	0
Oxon	6	3	0	1
Salops	0	n/a		
Sussex	5	0	0	0
Westm	1	1	0	0
Yorks East	9	3	0	2

<sup>13</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 96.

**Figure 4.10: Continuity of archer service by county**



As the graph in Figure 4.10 shows, repeat service with the same captain was not unusual among archers, although it is only among the archers from Dorset, Oxfordshire, and Westmorland that a majority undertook this form of repeat service. It must be remembered that the samples here are small for each county. However, taken as a whole, the combined results on the far right of the graph do provide some insight into the continuity of archer service. All the percentages given are proportions of that county's archer sample, with the 'combined' group including all 129 identifiable incidences of archer service. As mentioned, the level of service with the same captain is a sizeable minority. The actual proportions differ from those presented by Bell and Ayton, although the pattern is the same. Although service with the same captain is not unusual, it was a minority with 29% of archers who served in both 1387 and 1388 serving with the same captain,<sup>14</sup> against 33% of the combined archer sample identified here. The larger percentage shown here can be attributed to the greater number of musters included in this analysis, covering decades of military activity rather than just

<sup>14</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 100.

two years. This breakdown suggests that archers were willing to serve with multiple captains, and that their services were not necessarily tied to social obligation. This is further supported by Bell's observation that 37% of the archers in 1387 who served in 1388 did so with a different retinue captain despite their first captain continuing to serve. Although the data behind the results is different, a similar conclusion can be drawn from Figures 4.9 and 4.10. The proportion of archers who only serve one captain on multiple occasions is consistently lower than the percentage of archers who served with more than one retinue captain. Furthermore, none of the archers identified can be shown to have served with the same captain in non-consecutive years. Although there are incidences of service with the same retinue captain where the opportunity arose, this is not always the case, and there are no examples of an archer serving with a retinue captain, and then returning to serve as an archer again after a gap of more than one year. All this evidence presents a picture similar to that shown in Chapter 2: that Tier 3 archers were willing to undertake military service where opportunities arose. Service with the same captain was not uncommon, and would seem to have a certain logic: if an archer had a pre-existing relationship it would make sense to use that relationship again. Equally captains may have had an interest in recruiting men whom they already knew. However, archers appear to have been willing to serve other captains as well, and do not appear to have tied themselves to serving one individual captain, especially when the service incidents were chronologically distant.

Another example of this tendency away from consistent service to a single retinue captain can be seen in an example from the Calais garrison in 1386. The database contains 510 service records relating to the garrison for that year. Of these, there are forty men, nineteen archers and twenty-one men-at-arms, who can be identified serving in the naval expeditions of 1387. Two captains from the Calais garrison also acted as retinue leaders under the Earl of Arundel, Sir Degary Seys and Sir Thomas West. However, only four of the nineteen archers and twelve of the men-at-arms (including the captains themselves) were recorded in the retinue of either of these captains in 1386. Furthermore, only one of these men-at-arms, and no archers, went on to serve under Sir Degary, and no soldiers at all appear as reprising their

relationship with Sir Thomas. This reinforces the theory that archers do not appear to have relied on pre-existing social relationships, and were willing to turn down service opportunities with their captains for service elsewhere, with another captain, or for no military service at all.<sup>15</sup>

### **Promotions**

Of course, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the gap between archers and men-at-arms was not a chasm, but a permeable and indistinct categorisation. Although the differences at each end of the scale were quite pronounced, there was a blurred area in the middle, somewhat reflective of the blur between the socio-economic ranks of the society from which the soldiers came. In the same manner as the rich peasant appearing to be similar to the poor gentleman, with some social mobility between the two groups, an archer could rise to become a man-at-arms. This could happen as a result of familial connections, where the younger or less well connected members of an extended family could be found serving in different functions whilst on military service. The Massy family, discussed in Chapter 2 are an example of this.<sup>16</sup> Other men used the rewards and connections from military service to rise in rank, such as the previously discussed Sir Robert Knolles.<sup>17</sup>

What is clear is that there was scope for men to move from the ranks of the archers to those of the men-at-arms.<sup>18</sup> The muster roll data provides several examples of this, although these are mostly from the fifteenth-century occupation of Normandy with its requirement for a large and continuous military presence. Prior to 1417, the examples available are from garrison service in Ireland, where two men, Walter Pelleston and Geoffrey Tesson, appear as archers and then later as men-at-arms in the Balymore ward of Ireland's standing army in the 1390s.<sup>19</sup> Part of the paucity of examples prior to the military settlement of Normandy is due to the nature of the warfare in the later fourteenth century, which was intermittent rather than continuous. This has meant

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<sup>15</sup> It is also possible that retinue captains would try and recruit the best available men and that they may decline to offer an archer the opportunity to continue their service with them for a variety of reasons.

<sup>16</sup> See pp. 53-5; also Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 163.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 162-7.

<sup>19</sup> E101/41/39, cited in Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 165.

looking for corroboration of the muster roll data in other sources. The case of Robert de Fishlake has been briefly mentioned previously in this thesis.<sup>20</sup> This example of an archer career has been largely taken from Fishlake's testimony in the Hastings vs. Grey Court of Chivalry case in the early fifteenth century. Here he claimed to have served in 1378, 1379, 1380–1, and 1385 with Sir Hugh Hastings for whom he was acting as a witness in the case. Nowhere does Fishlake state that he was an archer. However, the survival of a muster for one of the mentioned expeditions, 1380–1, does provide evidence for this as he is the fourth archer listed on it.<sup>21</sup> His career as an archer spanned at least a decade from 1378 to 1388, and importantly for a discussion of archers and promotion he appears to have served as a man-at-arms in 1404 in the retinue of Sir William de Etchingham.<sup>22</sup> The long gap in his service record can be accounted for by the outbreak of peace between England and France in the 1390s. However, despite these examples, cases of promotion appear to be rare among the archers of the later fourteenth century, reflecting the structure of armies and warfare in the period.

As well as examples of promotion there are also examples of demotion from man-at-arms to archer. Both Walter Pelleston's and Geoffrey Tesson's 'promotion' to man-at-arms was swiftly followed by further service in the same retinue as an archer.<sup>23</sup> Examples of such changes in status can also be seen in the fifteenth-century garrisons, some of which changes appear to have been long term, others less so.<sup>24</sup> This suggests a lack of social differentiation between the 'middling' military ranks, as well as certain level of professional adaptability.

With these examples in mind, it was possible to interrogate the sample of thirty-nine archers linked to the Section 3 poll tax return names for evidence of changes in military rank. To achieve this it was essential to identify the sample of men-at-arms, not previously used in this thesis. This was a relatively simple query, limiting the main 'PersonnelTable' (which contained the nominal data from the muster rolls) by the

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<sup>20</sup> See p. 105.

<sup>21</sup> E101/39/9, m. 5d, cited in Simpkin, 'Robert de Fishlake'

<sup>22</sup> E101/43/32, m. 4, cited in Simpkin, 'Robert de Fishlake'

<sup>23</sup> E101/41/39 cited in Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 165.

<sup>24</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 165.

standardised rank 'man-at-arms', as well as restricting the date to the period up to 1417, in line with the service records of the archers. This provided a sample of 24,383 service records. These were not treated in the same way as the archer service records, or processed any further at this point as these records were not providing the analytical structure of the investigation. Instead the nominal content of the records was directly compared to the thirty-nine names from the Tier 3 to Section 3 archer matches. Using a query to link the two sets of names created an object which contained all the man-at-arms service records which shared a name with one of the men in the archer sample. This was then processed manually, comparing the service dates of the archer records to that of the men-at-arms. If the service as a man-at-arms took place after that as an archer, the records were linked and considered to represent the same individual. If the man-at-arms service was in between or before any archer service, the nominal link was usually disregarded as tracing a career that moved between military ranks would provide a greater level of uncertainty for nominal record linkage when compared to a career that travels one way. This would exclude the aforementioned Walter Pelleston and Geoffrey Tesson as their period of service as men-at-arms was between episodes of archer service. However, the linkage between their records is unusual for the fourteenth-century as the documentation covers a short time span of continuous service.

This left a small number of the archer sample with links to service as men-at-arms. Of the thirty-nine archers identified in this chapter, only three could be linked to service as a man-at-arms, one of which is less certain than the other two. Their service records are shown below in Figure 4.11. Thomas Bury's and William Staunford's service fulfil the criteria discussed above for identifying a career archer with a promotion to a man-at-arms. William Staunford is described as an 'esquire' in relation to his service as a man-at-arms in 1400, a rank that positively confirms his status outside the knightly and aristocratic elite, and a position that would be expected if he had risen from an archer to a man-at-arms. William Bolde's links between his service as an archer and man-at-arms is less certain as the service as a man-at-arms falls in between the second and third incidences of archer service. However, here it is possible that due to the long gap between the service as a man-at-arms in 1379 and the reprisal as an archer in 1417 it is

possible that William's social or economic status had declined or the records are for different men.

Figure 4.11: Archers with promotions to man-at-arms						
Name	Home County	Date of service	Military rank	Type of service	Location of service	Politically determined
Thomas Bury	Essex	1372	Archer	Naval		y
		1373	Archer	Expedition	France	n
		1378	Man-at-arms	Naval		n
William Bolde	Oxon	1371	Archer	Naval		n
		1372	Archer	Naval		n
		1379	Man-at-arms	Standing army	Gascony	n
		1417	Archer	Expedition	France	n
William Staunford	Northants	1387	Archer	Naval	France	n
		1388	Archer	Naval	France	n
		1400	Man-at-arms	Expedition	Scotland	y

These three men represent only 0.3% of the overall Tier 3 archer sample, and 7.7% of the identified unique archers, reflecting the scarcity of evidence for promotions from archer to man-at-arms discussed above. This suggests that such promotions were rare. This is not an unexpected result, despite the possibility of social mobility in the later fourteenth century, it was an exception rather than the rule. The exceptions, including those shown in Figure 4.11, may have required some luck, and sufficient wealth (possibly gained as a result of military service) to obtain and support the equipment required of a man-at-arms. Additionally, a military career could bring archers into prolonged contact with their social superiors in a positive fashion, enabling those of lower standing to form relationships with their 'bettters' and benefit from some reflected glory.<sup>25</sup> This could result in further non-military advancement. For example, there is a 'William Bolde' recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls being appointed in 1383 as a 'buyer of the household, in accordance with the statue of purveyance'.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that this refers to a different William Bolde, however it does come after his service as a man-at-arms and could represent a step up the socio-economic ladder for

<sup>25</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> G. R. Boynton, 'Richard II, vol.2, p. 310', *Calendar of Patent Rolls Online* (2003) <<http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/>> (accessed 22 April, 2014)

a man who began his military career as an archer, perhaps benefitting from his time spent associating with his social superiors.

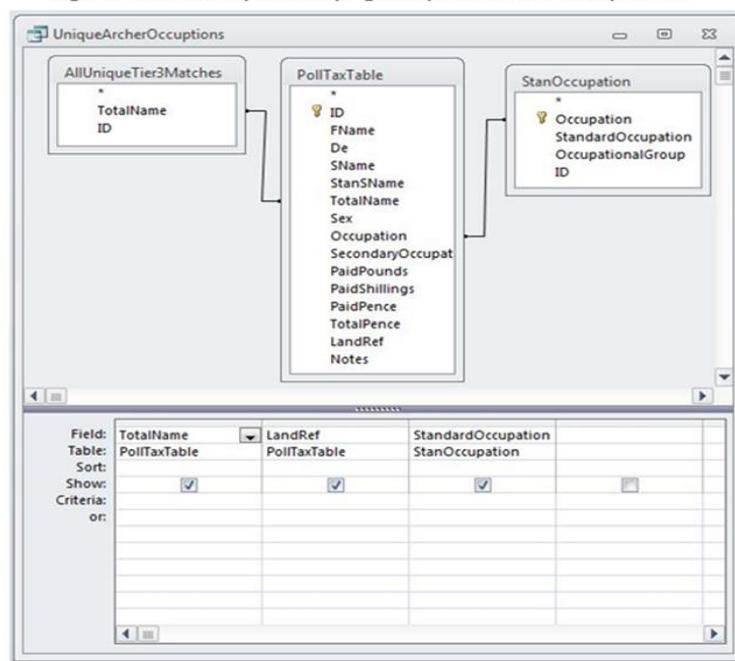
### Wealth and occupations

The service links discussed above provide some detailed insight into the military careers of English archers, generally supporting the conclusions drawn in Chapter 2.

The focus of Chapter 3, on the data from the poll tax returns, is also worth reintroducing in the context of these unique archers and testing whether there were differences between them, and the wider archer groups.

As discussed in depth previously, the data relevant to social and economic is the amounts of tax paid and the occupations recorded in the returns. The 1377 data is unhelpful in this regard as few vills recorded any occupational data in this year as it was not required due to the strict per capita nature of the tax. This also means that the amounts paid are not useable in the framework of this area of investigation. Like the analysis of service links above, the investigation of wealth and occupations will be focused on the thirty-nine archers identified earlier, and will follow a similar approach to that used in the general survey of archers' wealth and occupations in Chapter 3.

**Figure 4.12: Query identifying unique archers' occupations**



This is a relatively simple query built on the foundations developed previously. The list of unique archer names, 'AllUniqueTier3Matches', was linked to the full poll tax return dataset in 'PollTaxTable' and filtered by the standardised occupations in 'StanOccupation'. This returns only those results which have an entry in the occupations field in the poll tax returns.

The occupations of these men will be considered first. The query linking the names of the thirty-nine unique archers back to their records in the poll tax returns is shown below in Figure 4.12 above. There are seventeen of the thirty-nine unique archers with occupations recorded in the poll tax returns, just below half the sample at 43%. This is somewhat larger than the 33% of poll tax records with occupations which can be seen in the whole male poll tax return for 1379 and 1381. The results of this are shown in Figure 4.13 below.

<b>Figure 4.13: Unique archers' occupations</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Place of residence</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Occupational group</b>
Edward Whytyng	Shaftesbury, Boroughs and Ancient Demesnes, Dorset 1379	servant	assistants/servants
Gerard Sape	North Duffield, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding 1379	labourer	agricultural
Henry Staunton	South West Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire 1381	servant	assistants/servants
John Bode	Thaxted, Dunmow, Essex 1381	labourer	agricultural
John Fryth	Great Yeldham, Hinckford, Essex 1381	labourer	agricultural
John Holm	South East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire 1381	dealer	mercantile
John Neweton	Halstead, Hinckford, Essex 1381	labourer	agricultural
John Paucok	Fryer Mayne and East Stafford, Culliford Tree, Dorset 1381	tenant	agricultural
John Sompter	Halstead, Hinckford, Essex 1381	labourer	agricultural
Richard Holde	Finchingfield, Hinckford, Essex 1381	labourer	agricultural
Richard Midelton	Brackenholme, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding 1379	franklin	other
Robert Cotyngham	Beverley Norwood, Harthill, Yorkshire: East Riding 1381	juror	government
Thomas Bury	Heybridge, Thurstable, Essex 1381	shoe maker	artisan
Thomas Conele	North East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire 1381	innkeeper	services
William Bolde	South East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire 1381	dealer	mercantile
William Moys	Falmer, Younsmere, Sussex 1379	labourer	agricultural
William Sape	North Duffield, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding 1379	labourer	agricultural

If the occupational groups are considered first, it is apparent that nine of the seventeen archers with occupations were in the agricultural group, just over half the sample. This roughly follows the trend shown in Chapter 3. Across the whole poll tax return dataset 42% of records with occupations were in the agricultural group close to

the 43% in the sample of unique poll tax return names used in this chapter. This reflects the agricultural bias of the medieval English economy. Curiously, there is only one archer with an occupation in the artisanal group, which is the second largest group in the poll tax returns overall. There are other discrepancies in the proportions of archers in the occupational groups shown here compared to the overall proportions in Figure 3.2: these should probably be attributed to the size of the sample.<sup>27</sup> However, despite the broad agreement in the proportion of men whose occupations lay in the agricultural group there is little here to distinguish these archers from their non-unique and civilian counterparts. This is also true of the occupations listed. There are eight men recorded as labourers, which represents a majority within the agricultural occupational group as well as being the most commonly occurring occupation in the unique archer sample. This runs somewhat contrary to the overall poll tax return dataset in which the most common single occupation was that of 'servants' a broad occupational category covering those who were personally unfree, as well as household servants and artisanal assistants. Drawing conclusions from this small sample is difficult; however the occupational and residency data does indicate that archers may have been more likely to come from rural backgrounds. Where a match to an urban poll tax return record has been made there is an equal division between those who were in lower ranking occupations, such as the types of servant mentioned above, and those in more prestigious jobs and professions such as innkeeper. However, despite this slight trend, these results cannot be interpreted as showing any widespread differences to the analysis in Chapter 3, instead acting as corroboration of the early investigation, suggesting that archers were embedded in their society.

Turning to the information on wealth extracted from the amounts of tax paid in the returns also presents a similar picture to that seen in Chapter 3. The required data was extracted through a similar query to that used for the occupational data, and is shown in Figure 4.14. The results of this query, sorted alphabetically by the archers' names and grouped into the two relevant tax years are shown in Figure 4.15. In comparison to the results for the whole poll tax sample in Figure 3.25,<sup>28</sup> the results here suggest that

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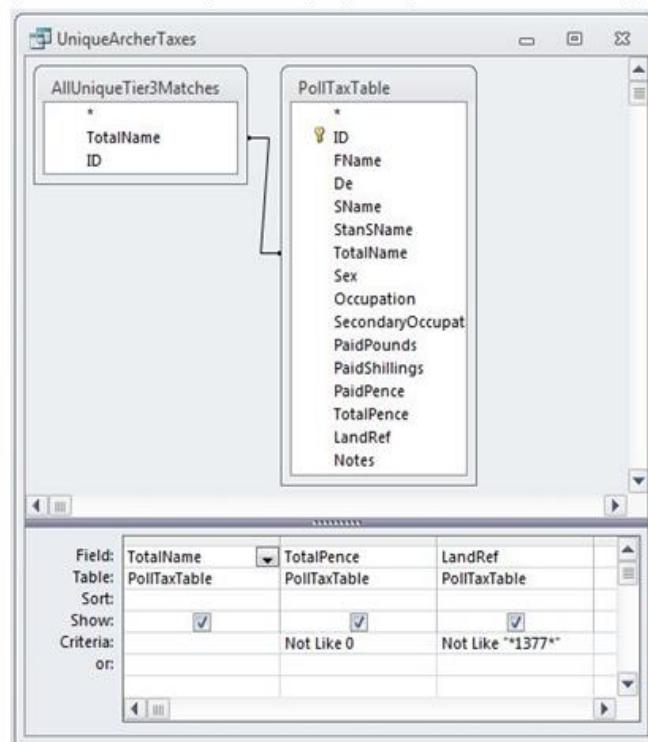
<sup>27</sup> See p. 125.

<sup>28</sup> See p. 153.

unique archers were often from a stronger economic background than the average person recorded in the poll tax returns. This can be seen in both tax years, although it is more apparent in the 1381 data. In the thirteen records from 1379, ten archers are recorded as paying the lowest amount of 4d, 77% of the sample, in comparison to 83% of 1379 records recorded in this tax bracket. There is a corresponding rise in the proportion of archers found in the higher tax brackets. However, due to the small number of matches, it could be argued that this is not a particularly strong trend. Despite this, it follows the same hypothesis made in Chapter 3: that archers were not from the poorest elements of society but rather from a 'middling' sort. This is supported by the data from 1381. Due to the base rate per capita being set at 12d, but allowing for some reduction for the poorer residents of the vill, this tax provides a wider spread of tax brackets. In Chapter 3 it was shown that there was a definite trend towards the middle ground, away from both extremes of the tax spectrum. A similar trend can be seen here. For example, none of the unique archers appear in the 4d tax bracket, compared to the 8% of the whole poll tax return sample. Importantly the proportion appearing in the base 12d bracket declines dramatically from 61% across all the 1381 poll tax returns to 33% for the unique archers. The decline was accounted for by a rise in the higher brackets, for example from 4% to 13% for the 18d bracket, and 3% to 7% for the 30d bracket.

Taken together, the analysis of the wealth and occupational data of the unique archers supports this thesis' earlier hypothesis, that archers were a product of the society they came from; although possibly economically better off than the average individual. This case study has not revealed a great deal of new information beyond that presented in Chapter 3, however it has provided useful confirmation of the earlier hypothesis on a smaller scale, with very strong nominal record linkage, that English archers were socially embedded.

Figure 4.14: Query identifying unique archers' taxes paid



This query is very similar to the one used to identify the unique archers' occupations, replacing the occupational fields with those concerned with the amount of tax paid, using the 'TotalPence' field from the 'PolITaxTable'. The records with a 0 value for tax paid, due to missing or incomplete data in the original returns, have been filtered out of the results, as have any results from the per capita year of 1377.

**Figure 4.15: Unique archers' taxes paid**

Name	Pence paid	Place of residence	Tax Year
Edward Whytyng	4	Shaftesbury, Boroughs and Ancient Demesnes, Dorset	1379
Gerard Sape	4	North Duffield, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding	1379
John Rye	4	Wyckham, West Grinstead, Sussex	1379
John Somervill	4	Newnham, Fawsley, Northamptonshire	1379
Richard Segrave	4	Runcton, Box and Stockbridge, Sussex	1379
Thomas Dobynson	4	Brough with Stainmore, Westmorland Barony, Westmorland	1379
Thomas Marchant	4	Sudborough, Huxloe, Northamptonshire	1379
Walter Bate	4	Kilsby, Fawsley, Northamptonshire	1379
William Sape	4	North Duffield, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding	1379
William Staunford	4	Lilford with Wigsthorpe, Huxloe, Northamptonshire	1379
John Bulsham	6	Aldwick, Pagham, Sussex	1379
William Benham	6	Shortsfield, Steyning, Sussex	1379
Richard Midelton	40	Brackenholme, Howden Liberty and Howdenshire, Yorkshire: East Riding	1379
John Hornby	6	Beverley North Bar infra, Harthill, Yorkshire: East Riding	1381
Richard Holde	6	Finchingfield, Hinckford, Essex	1381
Robert Bek	8	Kexby, Ouse and Derwent, Yorkshire: East Riding	1381
Henry Staunton	12	South West Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire	1381
John Fryth	12	Great Yeldham, Hinckford, Essex	1381
John Hugate	12	Stamford Bridge with Scoreby, Ouse and Derwent, Yorkshire: East Riding	1381
John Neweton	16	Halstead, Hinckford, Essex	1381
John Holm	18	South East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire	1381
William Bolde	18	South East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire	1381
John Paucok	12	Fryer Mayne and East Stafford, Culliford Tree, Dorset	1381
John Thomeson	12	Sledmere, Buckrose, Yorkshire: East Riding	1381
John Sompter	30	Halstead, Hinckford, Essex	1381
Robert Cotyngham	40	Beverley Norwood, Harthill, Yorkshire: East Riding	1381
Thomas Beele	44	Chalgrove, Ewelme, Oxfordshire	1381
Thomas Conele	72	North East Ward, Oxford, Oxfordshire	1381

## **Letters of protection and archers**

This case study has focused so far the two principal sources of the thesis, the poll tax returns and the muster rolls, as discussed in the first chapter. However, there are other sources which can be drawn upon in a study of military service including the letters of protection as discussed in Chapter 1. As mentioned there, the protections are of limited use in a discussion of English archers, mostly due to the nature of the documents and their purpose in providing legal protection to men of property whilst abroad. This means that they have not been used previously in this thesis. However, as the above case study has shown, it was possible for men to earn promotion and rise through society. Therefore it is not unreasonable to link the unique archers identified above to records in the protections dataset.

In the same manner as the previous analysis, the protections data was restricted to the entries up to 1417, within a realistic life span of a person recorded in the poll tax returns. Of course, as the protections are not entirely military in purpose it is feasible that a person might take out a protection when they were too old or infirm to engage in military service. However this is difficult to account for with the evidence contained in the thesis database, and therefore the original cut off point has been maintained. Linking the table containing the thirty-nine unique Tier 3 archer names to the names in the protections only yielded two protections that fell within the required dates. The first of these two was for Richard Midelton of Yorkshire East Riding, with a protection for one year from October 1379, for service with Sir John Devereux.<sup>29</sup> Presumably this relates to Devereux's appointment to the captaincy of Calais in 1380.<sup>30</sup> The second was for Richard Tanner of Essex, whose protection from 1417 notes King Henry V as his captain, suggesting participation in the invasion of Normandy.<sup>31</sup>

This additional evidence supports the suggestion that protections were largely taken by men of sufficient property and wealth to make the difficulty and expense worth it is

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<sup>29</sup> C/76/64, m.22, in Bell, Curry, Simpkin, King, and Chapman, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database*, <<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/>>.

<sup>30</sup> Carole Rawcliffe, 'Devereux, John, Baron Devereux (d. 1393)', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7564> (accessed 25 December, 2014).

<sup>31</sup> C/76/100, m.22, in Bell, Curry, Simpkin, King, and Chapman, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database*, <<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/>>.

borne out. Only 5% of the unique archer sample can be identified in the protections supporting this hypothesis. This can further supported by the one match between the unique archers and protections where the archer has an amount of tax paid in their poll tax return record, as Richard Midelton is recorded as paying 40d in 1379 a not insignificant amount according to the schedule of collection for that year.<sup>32</sup> However, due to the scarcity of links between the archers and protections it is difficult to suggest any further conclusions based on this evidence.

### **Type and location of service**

The final area of investigation in the case study of unique archers is into the type and location of their military service as archers. Like the other areas of investigation in this chapter, it used a previously established format to analyse the available data, in this case, the examination of archers' patterns of service performed in Chapter 2.

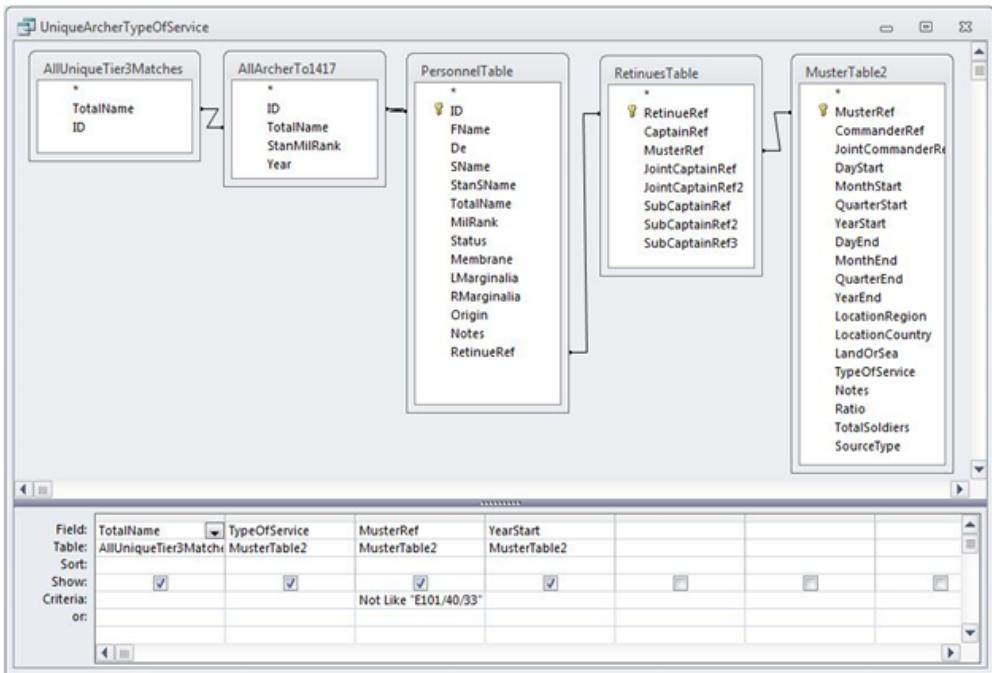
Type of service, whether the muster was for naval, expeditionary, garrison, standing army, or escort service, was considered first. The links from the unique archer names to their service records were used to identify what type of service category each record fell into, as shown in Figure 4.16. The breakdown of the types of service can be seen in Figure 4.17, with a full list of all the archers' service records' type in Appendix 4.2.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, pp. 115-6.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 361.

Figure 4.16: Query identifying unique archers' type of service



The query links the names of the unique archers in the 'AllUniqueTier3Matches' table to the full personnel records allowing the type and location of each incidence of service to be identified. The use of the 'AllArcherTo1417' table limits the query to service records up to 1417. The filter in the 'MusterRef' field has been used to remove the duplicate results from the 1387 naval expedition under the Earl of Arundel. The surviving evidence for this expedition includes the muster roll as well as another document which appears to have been a preliminary nominal roll drawn up prior to the muster. See Bell, *War and the Soldier*.

Figure 4.17: Unique archer types of service

Type of Service	Unique archers type of service	
Escort	3	3%
Expeditionary	17	17%
Garrison	9	9%
Naval	51	52%
Standing army	13	13%
Unknown	5	5%

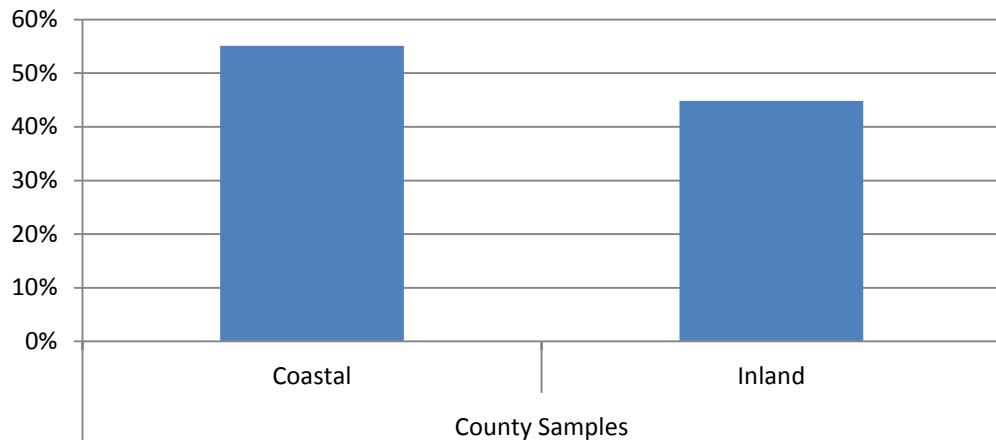
The results shown here show a slightly different composition to those in Chapter 2. This was due to the extended sample range, covering all the musters up to 1417, rather than cutting off at 1391. When compared to the Tier 3 sample of archers, the group from whom this sub-set are drawn, in Figure 2.32 the rate of garrison, expeditionary, and escort service increases with corresponding declines in the percentage of naval and standing army service. The amount of naval service is nine points lower among the unique archers against the larger Tier 3 sample, compensated for by a rise of five points in the expeditionary category, as well as two point rises in the escort and garrison groups. This stems from the large numbers of soldiers required for the expedition to Scotland in 1400, and those to France in 1415 and 1417. With this in mind, a reduction in the proportion of naval service among the unique archers, in comparison to the levels found 1367 to 1391, would be expected.

The similarity between the individuals in this case study and the wider archer samples can also be seen in the comparison of naval service between coastal (Dorset, Essex, Sussex, and Yorkshire East Riding) and inland counties (Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, and Westmorland). In the same way that the proportion of naval service in the overall breakdown of unique archer service declined, there was a reduction in the amounts of naval service in both the coastal and inland counties. This can be seen through a comparison of the levels in Figure 4.18 below, and the original comparison of this trend in Figure 2.34.<sup>34</sup> The actual gap between the coastal and inland rates of naval service increases among the unique archer groups, from the five point gap in Figure 2.34, to the ten point gap shown below. However, the general trend remains the same; that men from coastal counties appear to have been more likely to engage in naval service when compared to their colleagues who hailed from inland counties. This is further evidence that the results of this case study support the conclusions drawn earlier in the thesis.

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<sup>34</sup> See p. 96.

**Figure 4.18: Comparison of % rate of naval service between inland and coastal counties for unique archers**



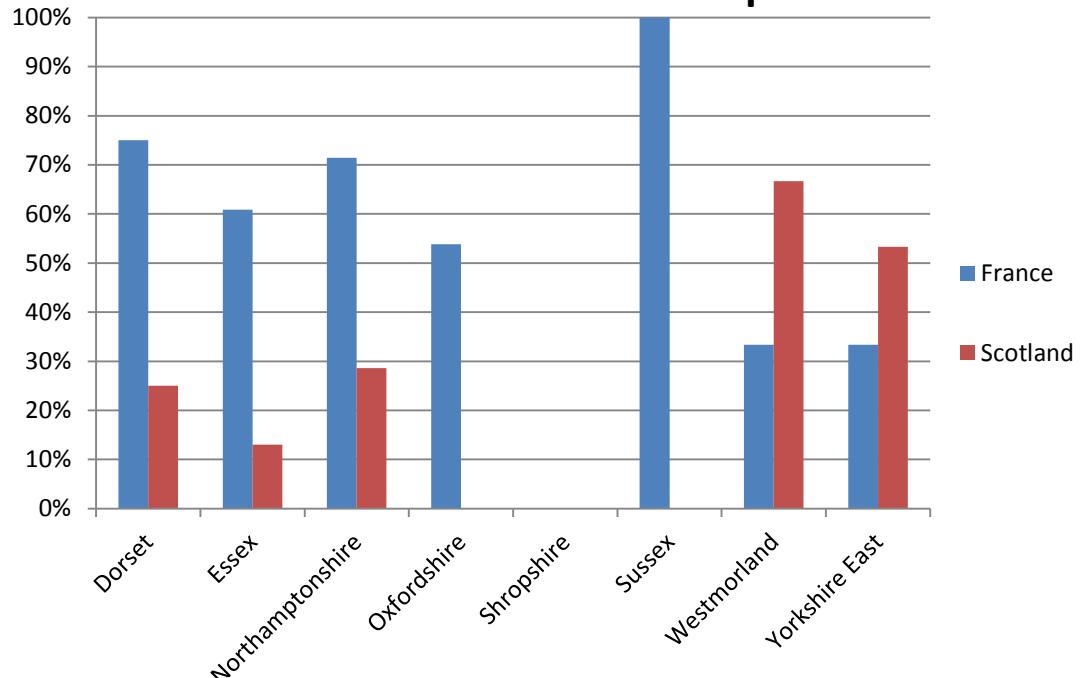
The similarity of the results for the type of service which archers were undertaking is paralleled in the relationship between counties of residence and locations of service seen in Chapter 2. Again the similarities between the unique archer sample, the whole archer sample, and the Tier 3 archers are apparent. For example, the proportion of service to France was 57%, 51%, and 58% respectively. The breakdown of the locations of unique archer service is contained in Figure 4.19, with a full list by service incidence in Appendix 4.2. The results of the case study reinforce the conclusion drawn in Chapter 2, supporting the idea that France was very much the primary focus of English military activity. There is a large increase in the proportion of service to Scotland, in part due to the expeditions of 1400.

**Figure 4.19: Unique archer locations of service**

Service Location	Unique archers type of service	
England	3	4%
France	40	57%
Gascony	0	0%
Ireland	7	10%
Scotland	16	23%
Wales	4	6%

The individual counties unique archer populations continue the same broad trend demonstrated above. This is particularly apparent in the contrast between the place of residence and proportional amounts of service to France and Scotland. In Figure 2.45<sup>35</sup> it was shown that the northern counties of Westmorland and Yorkshire East Riding had a higher level of service to Scotland than the more southern counties. In the case of Westmorland this stretched to a majority of service occurring in Scotland. The results for the unique archers, shown in Figure 4.20, indicate the same trend. Indeed, the proportions of service from the two northern counties to Scotland are higher than that shown previously for archer service in general. Furthermore, for both Yorkshire East Riding and Westmorland the amount of Scottish service represents a majority of military service from those counties. This is further supporting evidence of the hypothesis that place of residence could have a noticeable effect of the location of an archers' military service.

**Figure 4.20: Comparison of % service rates to Scotland and France for unique archers**



This case study into the names which only appeared once in the whole of the poll tax return dataset, has provided a great deal of corroborating evidence to that taken from

<sup>35</sup> See p. 111.

the broader study undertaken earlier in the thesis. The method behind the analysis remains the same; however the restrictions on the nominal record linkage were increased to provide a more tightly focused study. Similar questions to those asked in Chapter 2 were used to direct the analysis of the data, and despite some minor differences between the two sets of results, broadly the trends identified remain the same. Of course, taken in isolation, the results of this case study could be deemed to be insufficient, as there were only thirty-nine individuals included. However, it is not a reported generated in isolation, instead acting as support of other avenues of investigation. The small sample size could have caused the results to veer wildly from those seen earlier. That it did not occur is due to the strength of the trends observed in Chapters 2 and 3.

### **4.3 Super Retinues**

#### **Background**

As mentioned above, the difference in the structure and composition of retinues will also be considered due to its impact on the service of archers. The theory of 'super-retinues' was proposed by Andrew Ayton in his article 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Military Recruitment'. Here he demonstrates that there was a shift in the unit of military recruitment from the small retinues of the 1340s to the large super retinues of the 1360s onwards. These retinues were mixed, meaning that they contained both archers and men-at-arms, and had become a particularly striking feature of English military organisation after the resumption of the French war in 1369.<sup>36</sup> For example the expeditionary army in Brittany in 1375 comprised only four retinues despite having 4,000 men. The change was perhaps not as apparent as first appears, as these super retinues appeared to be groupings of smaller recruitment units under one captain, whose 'retinue' was instead a small army. It is possible that a reduction in direct royal involvement in the expeditions after 1369 meant that instead of captains indenting with the Crown directly, they became subcontractors to the greater retinue captains who, by agreeing to provide large numbers of soldiers, removed one of the administrative burdens of fielding armies from the Crown.

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<sup>36</sup> Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment', p. 31.

Furthermore it was not always the case, as might be imagined, that the smaller the retinue, the less likely that there was an indenture directly with the Crown. For example, in 1380, Sir Robert Knolles' subcontracted part of the Duke of Buckingham's retinue was 140 men-at-arms and 240 archers, substantially larger than some of the retinues directly contracted with the Crown.<sup>37</sup> Of course such arrangements are not always easy to investigate as such subcontracts would not necessarily appear in the Exchequer records as the payment for service would flow through the individual who had indented directly with the Crown. However there are some examples of these arrangements. Sir Thomas Felton indented to serve in Brittany for six months in 1381 with 500 men-at-arms and 500 archers. Fifteen subcontracts have survived covering a total of 178 men-at-arms and 181 archers, and it has been suggested that this only represents a portion of the series of subcontracts which could have been made for such a large retinue.<sup>38</sup> Interestingly there are also indications of further subcontracting within the individual parts of the super retinue. Although some of the subcontracts were small—in the case of John Ellis' contract it was only for himself and one archer—the largest subcontract undertaken by Sir William FitzRalph was for sixty men-at-arms and sixty archers.

It was assumed that FitzRalph would enter into further contracts to raise his men, for a clause in his agreement required that all his indentures should provide for continuance of service in the event of his death and the delivery of these indentures to Felton.<sup>39</sup>

Although the subcontracting recruiters may have had social connections to the men they recruited, the period after 1369 saw an increase in military service which was disengaged from social networks, in effect shifting from politically to economically determine service. The prevalence of economically motivated service has already been discussed in Chapter 2. However, that investigation did not acknowledge the difference between retinues, instead treating all retinues as compositionally identical. Ayton's theory of super-retinues states that to raise a super retinue would involve the retinue captain to look beyond established recruiting networks based on landholdings,

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<sup>37</sup> Sherbourne, 'Indentured Retinues', p. 743.

<sup>38</sup> Sherbourne, 'Indentured Retinues', p. 743.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, p. 743.

lordship, and social connections. This has been tested in the context of the present research using a combination of the muster roll and poll tax return data. A sizeable minority of archer service has been observed as being determined by economic motivations. The 'super' retinue, by the definition discussed here, exploits economic determinations of service in an effort to recruit enough soldiers to fulfil its manpower requirements. Therefore can the rise of the super retinue be seen as a factor in the rise of economic determinations of military service and the 'professionalisation' of the English archers?

### **What constitutes a 'super retinue'?**

The investigation into super retinues focused on those retinues which have already been identified and used in this thesis, namely those of captains with landholdings in one of the eight counties sampled. Identifying which ones count as a super retinue was a tricky process, as the category includes a lot of variation. The main criterion is the size of the retinue, and that the number of soldiers included in it was beyond the scope of the retinue captains' recruitment network. This appears quite clear, but quantifying what constituted the 'normal' number of soldiers for that captain could vary dramatically, according to the rank and status of the captain in question. For example, although there was an expansion in the ranks of retinue captains outside of the traditional warrior aristocracy as the fourteenth century progressed, social status remained tied to military obligation, even if the actual service was influenced somewhat by market forces in some form. Therefore it would be expected that a duke would, and indeed should, provide a larger retinue than a knight, reflecting their relative wealth and status. This was true to a great extent, and can be seen in the Earl of Arundel's 1387 expeditionary force, where his retinue of 382 men is 65% larger than the next largest and four times the average retinue size of ninety-three men.<sup>40</sup> In contrast all the sub-knightly retinue captains had retinues of fifty or fewer men, with the exception of John Sly who led a retinue of seventy-one.<sup>41</sup> There are a few other issues apparent in the categorisation of super retinues. Firstly, that what constitutes a super retinue may change depending on the requirements of the muster: a larger army

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<sup>40</sup> Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p. 56.

might require more super retinues. Secondly, a captain's social and economic status could change throughout their career, due to inheritance or other forms of 'promotion', and it is possible that their recruitment network would change throughout their lives. Therefore, there are no consistent criteria to judge whether a retinue was 'super' or not. However, to analyse whether the composition of a retinue affected the type of service of the archers contained in it, some broad categories were necessarily identified which contain some overlap. This was based around deviation from the average number of soldiers in each retinue. This average will be calculated separately for three different military-social groups, the aristocratic, knightly, and sub-knightly.

Figure 4.21: Average size of retinues 1367-1417						
Retinue rank	Number of retinues	Mean number of soldiers	Standard deviation	Minimum size of super retinue (mean plus standard deviation)	Number of super retinues	Number of normal retinues
Aristocratic	149	143.7	188.6	332.3	18	103
Knightly	548	62.8	144.8	207.6	31	386
Sub-Knightly	812	14.1	35.0	49.1	53	643

It must be noted that the average size of an aristocratic retinue does not include those retinues where a 'sub-captain' is present. These incidences are usually subcontracted and therefore not directly recruited by the primary captain, and have therefore been grouped into the knightly or sub-knightly category as appropriate. This has also been applied to the knightly rank where a sub-knightly captain appears as a possible subcontractor. The division of retinues into 'super' and 'normal' was done by identifying the mean number of soldiers in a retinue for each category. Any retinue which contained less than this number of soldiers was considered 'normal'. Super retinues were defined as those who comprised a number of soldiers greater than one standard deviation above the mean value.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Using this approach did result in the potential omission of men who may have brought a sub-retinue that was not apparent from the surviving documentation. This level of detail would require a different approach looking at a few specific cases, rather than the larger scale approach used here.

The proportion of super retinues is slightly different in each category, the highest is the aristocratic at 12%, with the knightly and sub-knightly being six points lower. This suggests that not only were the higher ranks of society likely to have a larger retinue, as demonstrated by the average sizes, but also that they were more likely to recruit and lead a composite super retinue. Neither of these points is a large departure from what might have been expected as the aristocrats were from the apex of the social and economic pyramid and had the resources to maintain large affinities which could form the basis for military retinues. Equally they were, due to their landholdings and social position, expected to provide large amounts of military resources as a part of their duty and obligations from their position. The larger proportion of super retinues is also partly due to the tendency for the highest-ranked member of an expedition to be the *de jure* commander of an expedition, even if he were relying heavily on others for tactical and strategic experience. There were experiments in non-aristocratic commanders. However, outside of small-scale garrisons these were not especially successful in the fourteenth century, as demonstrated by the failure of Sir Robert Knolles' expedition in 1370. The trend of high military office being linked to high social status may partially explain why the aristocratic category has the highest proportion of super retinues. Furthermore, it is possible that the Crown was more willing to contract for large amounts of men to those individuals who were known and, to an extent, trusted to fulfil their obligations. This would limit the pool of commanders and super retinue leaders to those with whom the Crown had close associations, or those who came from elements of society who had traditionally provided the higher military officers.

Having identified what constituted a super retinue for the purpose of the current research it was then possible to group the retinues which had been used previously in this thesis into 'normal' and 'super' categories. Figure 4.22 shows the number of 'super' and 'normal' retinues, with the number of archers in each category. The full list of retinues in Appendix 2.2<sup>43</sup> was used to identify the different types of retinue. The breakdown of the retinue sample presented here makes it clear that the majority of archers appeared in super retinues. Westmorland's retinues are the only exception to

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<sup>43</sup> See p. 259.

this, but this is due to the absence of super retinues led by captains holding land in that county. In the other seven counties the proportion of archers in super retinues is in a definite majority.

County	Number of super retinues			Number of normal retinues			Number of archers in super retinues	Number of archers in normal retinues	% archers in super retinues	% archers in normal retinues
	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly				
Dorset	3	1	0	8	10	1	1,205	334	78.3%	21.7%
Essex	3	1	0	3	6	8	1,808	168	91.5%	8.5%
Northamptonshire	5	2	0	14	5	2	1,637	410	80.0%	20.0%
Oxfordshire	8	0	0	16	1	2	2,846	529	84.3%	15.7%
Shropshire	2	0	0	18	9	1	658	550	54.5%	45.5%
Sussex	4	0	0	13	27	4	1,190	677	63.7%	36.3%
Westmorland	0	0	0	2	5	2	0	101	0.0%	100.0%
Yorkshire East	1	2	1	13	9	2	1,780	431	80.5%	19.5%

### Service links in super retinues

Having identified the super retinues from the sample used previously, it was possible to compare the service links between the archers identified in the 'normal' retinues with those in super retinues. It would be expected that there would be a higher rate of politically determined service among the normal retinues as the nature of the composite super retinue would suggest that the retinue captain would have to reach outside of his traditional military-social network.

Testing this hypothesis involved a reanalysis of the politically motivated archers identified in Chapter 2, specifically those in Figures 2.14 and 2.15,<sup>44</sup> as well as in Appendix 2.3.<sup>45</sup> Here, archers in retinues were compared to the poll tax return nominal lists if their captain held land within one of the eight counties studied in this thesis. The queries used to complete this comparison were reemployed to compare the super and normal retinues identified above, modified to only consider the links between archers in these retinues, rather than all of the retinues in the dataset. There was a further

<sup>44</sup> See p. 74.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 267.

slight modification that the matches will only be those from the county-wide poll tax return samples, due to the very low match rate for most retinue captains to their landholdings and the smaller archer sample size being employed as a result of reducing the number of retinues involved in the analysis.

The results of matching the names in the retinues of captains with lands in each county to that county's poll tax return records are shown below in Figure 4.23. However this will not be the only approach from Chapter 2 reemployed, as the comparison of retinue archers from retinues led by captains with lands in one of the eight sampled counties to other counties' poll tax returns will also be used (see Figures 2.21 to 2.26).<sup>46</sup> This provides a point of comparison for politically and economically motivated service. If the first approach was used exclusively, it would be expected that there would be a greater number of archers from super retinues matched to names in the county poll tax returns, suggesting that economically determined service links were more likely in super retinues than normal retinues. However, this could be due to the greater number of names in the super retinue samples, and therefore the hypothesis needs to be tested for economically motivated service as well. These results are contained in Figure 4.24. It could be hypothesised that there would be a higher proportion of matches for the super retinue samples for both politically and economically motivated soldiers, due to there being a greater number of archers recorded in the super retinues used in this analysis than the normal retinues. Furthermore, it might be expected that super retinues would have a greater proportion of archers identified as serving for economic reasons due to the wider recruitment net over the more personal, normal retinues.

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<sup>46</sup> See pp. 82-6. Some slight modifications have been made. As the sample of retinues is smaller, and to make direct comparison between the political and economic results easier, the restrictions imposed in Chapter 2 (to only Tier 1 and Section 1 names) have been removed.

**Figure 4.23: Politically determined service in super retinues**

County	Matches between county super retinues and county poll tax returns			Matches between county normal retinues and county poll tax returns		
	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly
Dorset	47	4	n/a	5	3	0
Essex	128	16	n/a	11	8	3
Northamptonshire	106	36	n/a	45	5	0
Oxfordshire	143	n/a	n/a	39	5	2
Shropshire	25	n/a	n/a	20	4	0
Sussex	95	n/a	n/a	27	20	1
Westmorland	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	4	0
Yorkshire East	33	21	0	24	17	0
County	% archers in super retinues matched to county poll tax returns			% archers in normal retinues matched to county poll tax returns		
	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly
Dorset	3.9%	0.3%	n/a	1.5%	0.9%	0.0%
Essex	7.1%	0.9%	n/a	6.5%	4.8%	1.8%
Northamptonshire	6.5%	2.2%	n/a	11.0%	1.2%	0.0%
Oxfordshire	5.0%	n/a	n/a	7.4%	0.9%	0.4%
Shropshire	3.8%	n/a	n/a	3.6%	0.7%	0.0%
Sussex	8.0%	n/a	n/a	4.0%	3.0%	0.1%
Westmorland	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.0%	4.0%	0.0%
Yorkshire East	1.9%	1.2%	0.0%	5.6%	3.9%	0.0%

**Figure 4.24: Economically determined service in super retinues**

County	Matches between other county super retinues and county poll tax returns			Matches between other county normal retinues and county poll tax returns		
	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly
Dorset	98	1	n/a	16	5	0
Essex	149	4	n/a	0	7	1
Northamptonshire	95	13	n/a	13	5	0
Oxfordshire	144	n/a	n/a	33	2	0
Shropshire	71	n/a	n/a	22	5	0
Sussex	113	n/a	n/a	15	9	1
Westmorland	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	11	0
Yorkshire East	36	12	3	9	12	0
County	% archers in super retinues matched to other county poll tax returns			% archers in normal retinues matched to other county poll tax returns		
	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly	Aristocratic	Knightly	Sub-knightly
Dorset	8.1%	0.1%	n/a	4.8%	1.5%	0.0%
Essex	8.2%	0.2%	n/a	0.0%	4.2%	0.6%
Northamptonshire	5.8%	2.2%	n/a	3.2%	1.2%	0.0%
Oxfordshire	5.1%	n/a	n/a	6.2%	0.4%	0.0%
Shropshire	10.8%	n/a	n/a	4.0%	0.9%	0.0%
Sussex	9.5%	n/a	n/a	2.2%	1.3%	0.1%
Westmorland	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0%	10.9%	0.0%
Yorkshire East	2.0%	0.7%	0.2%	2.1%	2.8%	0.0%

One of the most obvious things shown in both Figures 4.23 and 4.24 is the gap in the super retinues among the knightly and sub-knightly categories. Only Yorkshire East Riding has retinues which fit the above criteria identifying super retinues for all three groups. Dorset, Essex, and Northamptonshire have a few knightly super retinues, but the other five counties only have super retinues in the aristocratic group. This contrasts strongly with the normal retinues, which appear in all three categories for all eight counties.<sup>47</sup> This links to some of earlier hypothesis about super retinues, that they were composites of smaller personal groups of soldiers, in effect small armies, and as such would be more likely to be led by those of high social and economic rank who would subcontract out sections of his recruitment commitments.

The relative number of archers in each category correlates with the overall number of matches for both politically and economically motivated matches. In both the figures above, the aristocratic category usually has the greatest number of matches, reflective of the greater number of archers for each county within this group. The main exception is for Westmorland, where the number of archers in the retinues identified as normal was twenty-six for aristocratic and sixty-six for knightly. The same correlation can also be seen between the numbers matches for super and normal retinues. The super retinue samples, except for Westmorland, always outnumber the normal retinue samples. As a result the number of matches is always greater among the super retinues for any given category than for the normal ones.

The final observation to be made regarding these results is the relative number of matches made for politically and economically determined service. Turning first to the super retinues, it is possible to see that of the twelve data points for which super retinues are available, the proportion of matches is greater for economically-motivated service in seven of them. This trend, where more matches can be identified for economically determined service in super retinues, is particularly pronounced among the aristocratic group. Here, only Northamptonshire retinues have more matches with politically determined service, although it should be observed that the proportions are very similar for Oxfordshire and Yorkshire East Riding. However,

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<sup>47</sup> Although this could be influenced by 'unofficial' sub-contracting that does not appear in the data.

despite this there is a suggestion that economically motivated service was more likely in super retinues than politically determined service.

Among the normal retinues the situation is reversed. Here the proportion of matches is higher for politically motivated service in 50% of the data points, and equal to economically determined service in seven others. The gaps are less pronounced here between the two sets of results, although this can be attributed to the lower number of records available. However, it is possible to draw a general conclusion that politically motivated service was more common among normal retinues than economic. Taken in conjunction with the observations made in about super retinues in the previous paragraph, it is apparent that economically motivated service links were more common in super retinues than normal ones. Equally, it can also be seen that politically determined service links were more common in normal retinues than super ones.

This fits with the hypothesis proposed above, and although a majority of archers remain outside the scope of this analysis with only a minority linkable from either super or normal retinues to the poll tax returns, where a link is made there is an observable trend away from 'traditional' recruitment pools among the super retinues. This is consistent with conclusions drawn in the earlier chapters of the thesis, which saw a reasonable proportion of archers engaging in economically determined service. Perhaps here is a factor which influenced the rise of the 'professional' archer. As the number of expeditions led directly by the king declined, the rise of the super retinue, and the greater number of soldiers needed by any given recruiting captain led to a situation where regular military service could provide a high proportion of a person's employment. The increasing military demands on the military active captains could have left them in economic difficulties had they drawn heavily on the tenants and those with obligations to them. Instead they increasingly drew on wider networks, outside those of traditional service, resulting in a larger amount of economically motivated service among super retinues.

## **4.4 Conclusion**

These case studies provide new insights into the lives of archers' as well as the implications and possibilities of the method and approaches used in this thesis. They build on the foundations laid in previous chapters, rather than providing a new approach to the evidence. They also provide a test of the method used previously, and examining whether the conclusions drawn on a large scale were applicable to smaller samples, and whether new light could be shed on the results if the evidence is interpreted in a new fashion.

The first of the two cases presented here, the unique archers, is more concerned with testing the method used earlier in the thesis. By concentrating on a very small and refined group, with the strongest possible nominal linkage given the available evidence in the database, the approaches used in Chapters 2 and 3 could be reemployed on a much smaller scale. Broadly, the unique archers' patterns of service, occupation, and wealth agreed with those identified for the wider archer population, a factor which increases the reliability and potential worth of the conclusions drawn in this thesis. Especially pleasing was the agreement of the case study with the trends observed in archers' patterns of service regarding naval expeditions and the division between inland and coastal counties, as well as the importance geography on the location of service to Scotland or France. These trends were clear in Chapter 2, and the distinct continuance of these trends among the population of the case study makes them harder to disregard.

The investigation into 'super' retinues differs from the unique archers in that it did not attempt to test the thesis' method, but instead employed a different departure point from that used previously to see if the trends observed elsewhere had an underlying cause. Although the concept of the super retinue has been introduced and considered in other work, no strict definition had been proposed. The definition employed here is not intended to be a catch all for this interesting historical concept, but to provide a framework usable in the context of the present research. Within this limitation the analysis does highlight some interesting trends in service links between retinue captains and archers. Although the archers identified remained a minority of the

samples, where matches could be made between retinue archers and the nominal poll tax returns, it was more common to find a link between a retinue archer from a 'normal' retinue and a poll tax record in the same county as the retinue captain's landholdings, i.e. politically motivated, than it was to link the archers in 'normal' retinues to economic service. In contrast, archers in 'super' retinues were more frequently linked to economically determined service. These results suggest that there may have been a relationship between the rise of super retinues and the increased professionalisation of archers, and that this relationship may have not just been correlational, but causal, and with a certain degree of feedback. Although archers may have been encouraged in their profession by the availability of service opportunities in super retinues, the captains who indented to provide these larger retinues would have needed to know that they would be able to recruit the required numbers. Therefore, it is not possible to attribute the rise of super retinue to the increased professionalisation of the English archers throughout the late fourteenth century, but it is reasonable to suggest that it may have been a factor in this development.



## Chapter 5: Conclusions

### **5.1 Introduction**

The role of the English archer in the military victories in the Hundred Years War retains a grip on the popular imagination over half a millennium later. Throughout the centuries there have been many admiring assessments of the role of the military archer in the English victories at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. It is perhaps ironic that the archers are not mentioned in the most enduring and renowned accounts of the English experience during the long wars with France, the history plays of Shakespeare. Despite not being performed until 1599, nearly two centuries after the event, these plays form the basis of some of the mythos around the English soldiers of the Hundred Years War and has been incorporated into the legend of the longbowman, despite the lack of references to this specific group. Chaucer's portrait of the Yeoman easily fits into the character of the military archer, and may have coloured historical perspectives, yet this was not his primary role.<sup>1</sup> This heritage has ensured that detailed study of English archers has a long historiographical tradition, and the uses of archery in battle and on campaign, the archers' exploits, technology, and tactics are all subjects which have been considered in depth on several occasions, often reassessed as new evidence has come to light.

However, despite this fascination, the men who served as archers have remained shadowy. Revealing individual details about, for example, the archers of the Agincourt campaign is a difficult proposition as they do not appear as a conveniently grouped corps of men in most of the materials on which historians rely for investigations into the social and economic structure of late medieval England. This link between the military and 'civilian' sides of the English archers was the focus of this research, and was essential in framing the research questions that this thesis sought to answer.

These questions can be rendered into three major themes which have been considered throughout this thesis, namely service links, patterns of service, and socio-economic background. These three elements, when drawn together, provide an

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson, 'Chaucer's Warrior Bowman', pp. 403-4.

overarching picture of the place of English archers within medieval society, their motivations for fighting, their status, and their activities when not engaging in military service.

## **5.2 Evidence**

Investigating these themes was a difficult prospect considering the available evidence. The scarcity of data for residency, occupations, and wealth across a wide cross-section of medieval English society was problematic for an exploration of archers' 'civilian' lives and service links. Outside of the aristocracy and gentry, the social elite, the sources for day-to-day life vary greatly, in their detail, and both geographic and chronological extent. Few sources exist that can be used to identify individual persons of non-elite status in a consistent manner. Furthermore, overlap between sources, whether in content or period, is often absent, making linking and comparing different evidentiary bodies a challenging task.

To fulfil the research aims of this thesis it was necessary to identify coinciding sources accounting for both military and 'civilian' activities. Fortunately, there are materials that can be used in this capacity. The muster rolls, which had already been digitalised in the AHRC funded 'Soldier in Later Medieval England Database' and published in 2009, were the principal military source employed in this research.<sup>2</sup> The underlying transcribed data from this project was kindly provided by the authors, enabling the revision and modification of the 94,962 service records which had been extracted from the Exchequer muster rolls held predominately in the National Archives for use in this new project. Importantly for the present research, the muster roll data was predominantly nominal, providing lists of the names of the men who served in the English armies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The second of the principal sources used in the thesis, the poll tax returns of 1377, 1379, and 1381, were more problematic, both in content and format. Although the original documents had been transcribed into three printed volumes, there was no

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<sup>2</sup> Bell, Curry, Simpkin, King, and Chapman, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England Database* <<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/>> (accessed 30 September, 2009).

available digital copy of the data.<sup>3</sup> Although the format of the volumes provided an accurate representation of the documents themselves, as a source for the type of analysis required to fulfil the research aims of this investigation they were somewhat lacking. Therefore the decision was taken to digitise the material. However, the content itself made this an awkward proposition, due to the variations in the original documentation. This not only stemmed from the common issues when handling medieval documentary evidence, such as degradation, damage, and scribal discrepancies, but also the nature of the data recorded for each of the three taxes. Each tax, despite all being levied on a per capita basis, varied in much of the detail. The only true poll tax, a flat rate per capita tax, that of 1377, differed from its 1379 successor in both the amounts people were deemed liable for, and the age, gender, and marital status of the persons liable. The tax of 1381 differed again.

These inconsistencies had resulted in the poll tax returns being treated critically in the historiography, although their usage as a historical source had undergone something of a rehabilitation in the last few decades, reassessing what the returns represented and how they could be employed.<sup>4</sup> There is a more in depth discussion of this evidence in Chapter 1. However, it is important to note that the poll tax returns, along with the muster rolls, represent one of the few nominal sources for the late medieval period which includes a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds. This point is crucial to the whole endeavour, as the two principal sources overlap chronologically and, to an extent, in format as they are both primarily nominal lists. This overlap allowed the two sources to be linked drawing together the disparate data relating to different aspects of late medieval life.

### **5.3 Method**

The method behind the investigation was the product of several factors. These included the stated objectives of the research, the nature of the evidence, and the historiographical precedent as established in the literature review. In its most elementary form the method was centred on the construction of a relational database,

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<sup>3</sup> Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*.

<sup>4</sup> Fenwick, 'English Poll Taxes'.

specifically created for this thesis, comprising all nominal records in the two principal sources noted above. This included the 94,962 muster service records as well as the 264,350 records from the poll tax returns. Although, as noted above, the muster roll data had already been processed and fashioned into a database, the poll tax return records had to be manually entered into the database, due to the peculiarities of the data mentioned earlier.

Alongside the processing of the two principal data sources there was also the construction of the database itself. The full details of this process have been outlined in Chapter 1, with a map of the database in Appendix 1.1.<sup>5</sup> However, the linking point between the two principal sources should be mentioned. Although it was possible to link the muster rolls directly to the poll tax returns, the research aims of the thesis required more ability to analyse the data that could be provided in this manner. Therefore another source of information, the *inquisitions post mortem* (*IPMs*) was incorporated to enable deeper analytical work.

The *IPMs* are another large scale resource. However, instead of nominal lists they contain details of the estates of tenants in chief of the Crown upon their death. This provided a way to attach retinue captains, who were men of property, to the locations taxed in the three poll tax assessments. By identifying where retinue captains held land, it became possible to consider the impact of retinue captains' landed influence on military recruitment and whether captains were drawing on the population of their estates and nearby areas to fulfil their military contracts. These contracts were a part of the indenture system, which by the late fourteenth century had become the most common approach to raising soldiers for the English armies. In essence it was a semi-privatised manner of gathering armies, almost an early form of the private finance initiatives created 600 years later to fund public infrastructure and services through public-private partnerships, as the captains contracted with the Crown to recruit a certain number of soldiers on its behalf. This method of recruitment created the possibility of a career in military service, not only for the social elite, whose obligations had long included service as military men, but for the bulk of the population as well.

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<sup>5</sup> See p. 247.

However, the distinctions between different types of military service are somewhat blurred. For example, the difference between a mercenary and a professional soldier could often be one of timing and convenience rather than any theoretical distinctions. Therefore it was necessary to determine what would be meant by 'professional soldier' throughout the thesis. The central theory adopted was that proposed by Stephen Morillo, which endeavours to provide a system which can incorporate all the different types of military service throughout history, and provide a reference framework for comparative analysis.<sup>6</sup>

Morillo's theory, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 1, suggests that it is possible to categorise any form of military service by its relative position along two axes. The first axis accounts for the terms of service, from economic to political determination. The second axis plots the nature of military service and whether the soldiers engaging in it were embedded in their society, or unembedded outsiders.<sup>7</sup> Combining these characteristics enables the variation in military obligations, cultural variation, and rewards of service to be accounted for, including the various types of 'soldier' seen in English armies in the late medieval period, ranging from the politically obligated 'militia', to the knights whose military service was, in theory, tied to their landed property, and the foreign mercenary who served for monetary reward.

When considering the archers it was difficult to determine the relative importance of the motivations on his first axis, the political and economic, in their terms of service. The semi-private indentured soldier was recognised by Morillo as being primarily economically motivated. However, this is a difficult point to prove. Whilst it is true that the armies raised via indenture were paid a daily wage as terms of their contract, it is challenging to demonstrate that this was the principal motivation for engaging in military service.

The political motivations for undertaking military service have left less evidence, as they not necessarily reliant on formal tenurial obligations. Although landed influence and obligations formed the basis for late medieval social networks, they were not the only factor that could influence the formation of social networks and 'affinities'. There

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<sup>6</sup> Morillo, 'Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia', pp. 243-60

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 9-13.

were also informal pressures that landowners could bring to bear through the exercise of local lordship that could influence archers into serving them. The idea of the medieval non-knightly soldier as the oppressed victim of the ‘feudal’ system still has some traction among popular imaginations, despite the historiography demonstrating that this was not an accurate stereotype. The concept of the ‘affinity’, the group of men whose relationship with the affinity leader was defined by socio-economic interests, was of greater relevance, although the affinity is a normally a ‘top down’ model, rather than considering the social networks present between those within each level of society. The politically motivated archer would be one whose service was predominately or wholly with retinue captains who held landed interests in the geographical area in which the archer was normally resident, while the opposite would be true of the economically motivated archer. The balance between these two determinants of military service is crucial in investigating whether they had the freedom to provide their skills in an increasingly developed military service market.

The second axis Morillo proposes is the difference between socially embedded and unembedded service, defined as the relationship between a soldier and the society he was fighting for.<sup>8</sup> This distinction is a useful framework for considering the position of archers within late medieval English society and if they were representative of the general population or whether they have a distinct profile that marks them as a separate group. The poll tax return data contains information regarding occupations and taxes paid, which taken together can provide an insight into individual’s socio-economic position. If the records from the poll tax returns that can be linked to archers from the muster rolls show a similar occupational and wealth profile as the wider ‘civilian’ population then it can be concluded that archers’ military service was socially embedded.

As well as the theoretical concerns of service links and defining military service, the practicalities of conducting the analysis had to be considered. Nominal record linkage is a well-established approach to the analysis of large scale sources such as the muster rolls and poll tax returns. Chapter 1 goes into some detail regarding the efficiency and reliability of this method and its development throughout the historiography. There

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<sup>8</sup> Morillo, ‘Mercenaries, Mamluks and Militia’, p.247.

will always be difficulties when attempting to employ this particular approach to documentary sources, despite the best efforts of the researcher. Therefore, nominal record linkage must always be used with data that has been sorted and processed to achieve the best possible level of reliability. This thesis was no exception and all of the research chapters presented here include in-depth discussion of what data has been used, and the method behind its usage, to qualify the conclusions drawn from the results.

The two principal sources for this thesis were divided into sub-groups based on the occurrence of the names within the source material. The poll tax returns were divided into two sections, Section 1 being those that only appeared once in any given county, and Section 2 those who appeared on multiple occasions in the same county. The former were the most reliable names for nominal linkage. This was due to the scarcity of individual names within the county, making links to corresponding names in the muster rolls relatively strong. In contrast the Section 2 names were of less use to the research as it would be difficult, with the information gathered here, to conclude that a particular incidence of a name should be the one linked to another record. A final sub-group of the poll tax return names was also employed, with an even higher level of reliability. These Section 3 names were those which only appeared once in the entire dataset from the poll tax returns, making their linkage very secure.

The muster rolls were similarly divided into sub-groups based on the number of occurrences of any given name. Tier 1 included all the names that appeared once amongst the archers who served up to 1417. Tier 2 comprised all the names that appeared on more than one occasion in a year. Similar to the multiple occurrences in the poll tax returns, a name which appeared more than once would have been difficult to link to other records as the reliability of the identification would never have been certain. However, unlike the returns, the names which appear more than once were not all included in one group. The names that appear more than once, but on only one occasion in a year were grouped into Tier 3. This group was used to identify those names that could relate to men who served on more than one occasion and therefore could represent the more professional soldiers among the archers.

## **5.4 Service links**

Having briefly reviewed the foundations and introduction of this thesis, the discussion can return to the findings relating to the main research themes. The first of these was the consideration of service links between the archers and their captains, specifically whether their military service was performed in a politically or economically motivated fashion.

Instead of investigating the whole of England covered by the poll tax returns, the decision was taken to focus on a smaller sample of the counties included. This was to create a manageable sample which could be compared more easily. England was divided into eight regions, shown in Figure 2.1,<sup>9</sup> and the most average county, in terms of the number of extant records and the number of vills, in each region was selected for analysis. The counties identified included a balance of coastal and inland sites, as well as relatively even distribution across England. Having identified the sample counties, the relevant poll tax return data was extracted and processed into Sections 1 and 2 for each county. Several different approaches were used to compare the poll tax return data to that of the muster rolls, which tested the records for evidence of linkage between the two sources. These approaches covered both examples of politically and economically determined service.

The links made between the principal sources of the investigation revealed much regarding the military service of archers and their links to retinue captains. One of the first points is the amount of the male population that engaged in military service compared to other occupations. This was shown in a comparison between the average match rate between the Section 1 samples of the eight counties and the archer names in Tiers 1, 2, and 3. This rate was 11%, very close to the 10% of the 40,543 men in the poll tax returns who were recorded as labourers. Of course the opportunities for military service were more limited than, for example, labouring, so the amount of time dedicated to these two occupations would have varied widely. However, it does suggest that a similar percentage of the male population were engaged in both occupations at some point in their lives. Of course, the match rate of 11% is a minority

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<sup>9</sup> See p. 56.

of the population, suggesting that military service was not a universal undertaking, but a 'profession' with comparable numbers to those who were 'officially' considered labourers by the assessors of the returns.

Service links between archers and retinue captains was further illuminated by linking the archers serving in the retinues of the captains who held land within the eight counties to the poll tax returns of each of the eight counties. There were several different levels of analysis, including on a local scale, comparing the archers' names to men resident in the vills the captain held land in, a county scale, and on a regional scale. This revealed that the number of recruits apparently being drawn from a captains' landholdings was very low, suggesting that captains were reluctant or unable to use the human resources of their estates. The number of matches found on a county scale was significantly larger, and proportional to the relative sample sizes between landholdings and county poll tax returns, a much greater number of matches. Despite this increase the proportion of archers matched across all the counties was 7.1%; a minority result. This has been interpreted to indicate that politically determined military service was not the norm for archers. This conclusion, based on the general study presented in Chapter 2, was also supported by the case study of unique archers completed in Chapter 4. Here the proportion of incidences of service that could be seen as politically determined approximated the levels seen in the general study. Despite this, there were slight differences in the service links of these unique archers as it appears that they were slightly more likely to engage in politically determined military service at some point in their careers, which indicates that there was a lot of variation between individual archers and their service links.

This interpretation of politically determined service must be qualified by the conclusions drawn regarding economically determined service, without which there is little context to ascertain the existence of a military service market with relatively free service links between archers and recruiting captains. Two separate approaches were employed to identify cases of economic service among archers. The first, which looked at the same retinues considered for political service but linked them to the poll tax returns outside the county of the captains' landholdings, revealed that fewer men of the eight counties poll tax returns could be linked to service records for archers serving

with captains who held lands locally, than had been observed for the politically determined analysis. However, they did represent consistently greater proportions than the matches made directly to the men resident in the captains' landholdings. Indicating that although politically motivated service was an important part of military recruitment, it was not necessarily the defining feature, and few archers were truly 'local' to their captains' estates. Furthermore, in the cases of Dorset and Westmorland the proportion of archers serving in an economically determined fashion was actually greater than the political cases.

The second test of economically determined service resulted in similar outcomes. There is a greater level of variation in the range of proportions of identifiable archers in comparison to the first set of economically determined results, but they remain comparable. Part of the difference appears to be caused by the changes in the size of the samples used in the two approaches. However, despite this the economically motivated service results present a consistent trend.

These trends between politically and economically determined service are also broadly observed in the analysis of the unique archers. The actual proportions and numbers differ from the more general study, a factor not unexpected considering the vastly differing sample sizes and accompanying reduction in the range of possibilities. However, it was still apparent that both political and economic service could be detected, and that economically determined incidences of service rivalled the political ones in number. It was also possible to perceive that these unique archers, who as careerist soldiers with multiple service records, were more likely to be engaging in politically determined service towards the start of their careers. The evidence presented here is not conclusive on this point, however it does indicate that it was likely that the more service an archer undertook, the greater the likelihood of it being economically motivated. Perhaps then the recruiting captains were not exploiting their landed influence to provide soldiers, and were operating within an environment which did allow for some free movement of what was in essence a skilled and specialised form of labour. The apparent slight proportional advantage of politically determined service, which is shown in Figure 2.28 as 52% to 48%, should be at least partially attributed to the limitations of communication which would be needed to raise

soldiers, resulting in an over-representation of those who, despite not having tenurial obligations, were resident relatively close by. As the archers engaged in more service, and made contacts with their fellow soldiers, including social superiors such as retinue captains, their military opportunities increased, enabling further, economically determined service.

## **5.5 Patterns of service**

Alongside the investigation of service links, this thesis has also considered archers' patterns of military service. There were two topics within this research theme, the type and location of archers' military service, relative to the location they resided in. The investigation into these patterns of service was partially built on the foundations which had been laid by the analysis of service links, as it was the men who could be found in both the poll tax returns and the muster rolls whose service type and location was of interest.

The period 1367 to 1391 saw a large amount of naval activity for England's armies, with twelve of the forty-three extant musters in this period relating to that form of military service. As a result a large proportion, 47%, of archers service records relate to service at sea, with the next largest categories being standing armies and expeditionary forces at 25% and 15% respectively. This predominance of naval service provided an opportunity to consider whether the place of residence had an impact on the type of service that an archer was likely to undertake. The archers identified through the analysis of politically and economically motivated service were studied for any observable patterns. This revealed that there was a link between naval service and residency in a coastal county. The effect was not pronounced, which is probably due to the dominance of naval service overall, but it was noteworthy. Among the politically motivated archers, the rate of naval service was 62% for the archers from Essex, Sussex, Dorset, and Yorkshire East Riding, greater than the 56% rate for the inland counties of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Westmorland, and Shropshire. The trend continued among the economically motivated archers, with 66% of the archer service records for these archers from coastal counties resulting from naval service, against 55% of those from the inland places of residence.

There was also a noteworthy difference between the Tier 1 and Tier 3 archers who could be linked to men in the poll tax returns. The Tier 3 archers, who were those names which appear multiple times in the muster rolls and represent careerist soldiers, demonstrate a slightly lower rate (although still a majority of service records) of naval service than their Tier 1 colleagues, perhaps indicating a willingness or ability to serve in a wider variety of contexts. This was apparent among both the politically and economically motivated archers and was also evident when these samples were divided into coastal and inland counties.

The same trend was recognised among the unique archers case study in Chapter 4. Although the proportion of service records in each of the service type categories was actually closer to that for the muster roll sample as a whole, rather than the archers identified in Chapter 2, the gap in proportion of naval service between coastal and inland counties remained.

As well as the type of service archers undertook being influenced by their place of residence, the location of service was also affected. This was most apparent in the case study of unique archers, where relative levels of service to France and Scotland appear to have been heavily influenced by point of origin. The most northern counties sampled, Westmorland and Yorkshire East Riding, both displayed greater proportions of their resident archers engaging in service to Scotland over the perhaps more prestigious French theatre. This goes against the pattern seen among the mustered archers generally which had a majority, 51%, of archers serving in France. Aside from the two aforementioned counties, the remaining archers linked to the poll tax returns showed more 'normal' patterns of service, in line with the muster roll sample generally.

Although the pattern of northern archers serving in Scotland was most apparent in the unique archer case study, it was also readily apparent among the larger scale investigation in Chapter 2. Here the proportion of service to Scotland was much greater among Westmorland and Yorkshire East Riding archers, although it was only a majority among those from Westmorland. This theory was also supported by the breakdown of political and economic service by location. Again the northern counties

demonstrated a much higher rate of service to Scotland than most of the others. There was an exception in the case of Essex, but this appears to have been skewed by heavy representation of Essex archers in the service of Thomas, Earl of Nottingham in his appointment as warden of the East March, and the relatively easy transportation option from Essex to Scotland via the east coast.

Such geographical influences could also be observed in patterns of service to Ireland, although it is less pronounced when compared to the Scottish example. In this case, the sampled counties with relatively easy access to Ireland, Westmorland, Yorkshire East Riding, and Shropshire, all demonstrated a greater proportion of service records connected to Ireland than the other five counties.

Although the English archers can appear to be something of a homogenous blob, an impression partially linked to their battlefield purpose and use. What this thesis has made clear is that, along with different service links which might encourage archers to undertake military service, their backgrounds, specifically place of origin, were an influential factor in determining how their military careers would progress. For example, it may appear to be something of a redundant or obvious conclusion that the manpower of the north of England would be encouraged to stay there to ensure that both defensive and offensive military action could be undertaken against Scotland successfully. However, this investigation has provided an evidentiary basis for this 'common-sense' argument and this achievement extends into recognising other patterns of service among English archers.

## **5.6 Archers as 'civilians'**

The final research aim was studying archers outside of the military. The questions of background and employment beyond warfare are essential to understanding the English archer and whether their military service was embedded within late medieval English society.

Drawing on the archers previously identified in the poll tax returns enabled their occupational background and wealth to be contrasted to the general population of the returns. The first topic investigated was that of occupations. The returns contain a

large amount of occupational data, which varies in form and purpose depending on the tax year of the document, as well as mostly unquantifiable regional and scribal variations. The individual occupations were standardised and sorted into occupational groups to assist in the analysis of occupational patterns within the poll tax returns. A brief overview of the general population showed that the occupations recorded in the poll tax returns reflected the composition of the late medieval English economy, with a majority of occupations recorded in the returns appearing in the agricultural occupational group. The next largest groups were the artisanal and the assistants and servants; the latter included both those whose 'occupation' marked them as personally unfree, and those whose occupation of servant could indicate a household servant or artisan's assistant. The 'servants' were also the single most common occupation listed in the returns overall, followed by the labourers and cultivators from the agricultural group.

Breaking down the occupational data into the eight sample counties revealed that the nature of the vills included in the extant poll tax returns could have an effect on the information which has survived. The largest occupational group in each county was the agricultural, artisanal, or assistants and servants, which reflects the broader trend across the returns. The counties differed individually as a greater proportion of data survived from urban areas, such as Oxford, which resulted in greater representation of the professions and occupations associated with artisans, usually at the expense of the agricultural group. This replicates the tendency of urban areas towards increased specialisation.

Analysis of the archers linked to records in the poll tax returns revealed a picture very similar to the norm for the entire dataset. This was not an unexpected outcome as the successes of the English Bowman in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could partly be attributed to the universality of the warbow and its use in a large proportion of the English population. As Chaucer's portrayal of the Yeoman demonstrates an archer could fulfil many roles, such as forester or bodyguard, which involved using their skills with the bow.<sup>10</sup> The archers, both those serving through politically and economically motivated links, do not appear to have had a unique occupational profile which could

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<sup>10</sup> Thompson, 'Chaucer's Warrior Bowman', pp. 403-4.

be used to isolate them from the general population, nor are certain occupations over represented among their ranks. Archers, it appears, came from a variety of occupational backgrounds, representative of the wider society from which they came and were, in Morillo's typology, socially embedded. Furthermore, it is possible to suggest that this further supports the idea of a military service market, where the 'worker' was able to find employment as an archer regardless of his previous occupation.

The analysis of the wealth data from the poll tax returns was undertaken in a very similar fashion to that for the occupations. The returns from 1377 were of little use here due to the strict 4d per capita payments made, which leaves little room for interrogation for differences in taxpayers wealth. The other two tax years, 1379 and 1381, both presented the opportunity for this kind of investigation as they were based on a rough assessment of means. That of 1379 was codified in in parliament in the schedule of collection, which detailed different levels of tax payable by those of different social and economic ranks.<sup>11</sup> However, the base rate was still 4d, with only those who were not liable due to poverty being exempt. The 1381 collection was less rigidly structured than that of 1379, and the base rate was set at 12d per adult taxpayer resident in the vill, with the instruction that people would still be assessed according to their means and that the rich would help the poor. In principle it would be possible for a richer person to pay 20d to allow a poorer resident to be subsidised and only have to pay 4d. In practice it is difficult to demonstrate how effective this subsidisation was at sharing the tax burden more fairly among the taxpayers according to their wealth. However, the possibility of a 'reduction' in tax liability and no set tax brackets at least enables a more detailed picture of whether tax payers were above or below average in wealth at the time of assessment.

The breakdown of the tax paid among the general population, in the same manner as the occupational data, was reflective of the current historiographical understanding of the income distribution of late medieval England: there were vastly more people in the lower economic percentiles (the 4d and 12d taxed amounts for 1379 and 1381 respectively), than there were in higher ones.

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<sup>11</sup> Martin and Given-Wilson (eds.), *Parliament Rolls*, pp.115-6.

The archers, both in the universal study in Chapter 3 and the unique archer case study in Chapter 4, also broadly followed this trend, concurring with the conclusions regarding the occupational data that they were an inclusive group with members from a wide range of backgrounds. However, there were some slight differences which could be observed. The archers, both those identified as politically and economically motivated do not appear with the same proportional frequency in the lower levels of tax paid. This indicates that perhaps the average archer was not from the poorest part of society, but that they were often relatively prosperous and wealthy compared to their 'civilian' compatriots. This tendency becomes less pronounced however the higher the amount of tax paid, and at the higher levels there are proportionally more persons in the general population of the returns than among the archers. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that, although the average archer may not come from the poorer levels of society, he did not come from the upper economic levels either. Instead this tighter distribution suggests that archers occupied the economic middle ground. However, despite this trend, the difference is not pronounced and supports the hypothesis of archers being embedded within society.

## **5.7 Further research**

Although this thesis represents a large body of work and a thorough investigation of the research aims, there is scope for further inquiry into several aspects which fell outside the purview of this investigation. This is reflective of the nature of the research conducted, and the limitations of the method, both in terms of the relational database and the nominal record linkage. The database centred approach, and the data entry that was completed, has created an environment of opportunity for the development of further research. Despite the aims of the thesis, the database was 'over-constructed' in two ways. Firstly, the structure makes it relatively easy to expand the number of nominal sources contained within the database, opening up new avenues of analysis. Secondly, the data was entered with more detail than was required to fulfil the thesis objectives. An example of this is the inclusion of the female tax records, including wives, from the returns. None of these women would have been contracted for military service, however they were included for data integrity, and their inclusion has created further avenues of investigation.

The most obvious place to extend the work here would be enlarging the study from the eight counties used throughout the thesis as the geographical foundation, expanding the coverage to employ the whole of the extant poll tax return records which have been incorporated into the database. This would also involve further use of the land holding information contained in the *IPMs*. The more detailed approach would test the conclusions and theories of this thesis further, and the production of more results would be of benefit to a wide ranging prosopographical study such as this. The introduction of more data points would increase reliability further by expanding the sample size and the making the conclusions even more representative of the English population at the time.

The data from the *IPMs* can also be used to expand the amount of nominal data that can be connected to particular counties. The lists of jurors, who were selected due to their local expertise, provides another source of names that can be strongly linked to specific geographic areas.<sup>12</sup> Using these would provide corroboration for the nominal record linkage that would support evidence from extracted from other sources.

Another area of extension would be employing the currently unused data from the poll tax returns to delve into the topic of families of the archers found in the returns. This could potentially include family structure, such as the number of married persons or number of children, for both the general population of taxpayers as well as the subset who engaged in military service as archers. Furthermore it would also be possible to use familial relationships to explore if the military service links identified in this thesis were heritable. Did the sons of archers serve as archers as well? If so, did they draw on the relationships of their father and serve with the same retinue captain, or a captains' heir? Such analysis would further our understanding of the motivations of these semi-professional careerist soldiers and the factors, on a more personal level, that drove them to undertake military service.

An additional topic for extension of this work would be to move away from the archer-centric research conducted thus far. Although this thesis was focused on the archers due to the relative paucity of literature on their backgrounds and lives, examining their

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<sup>12</sup> Hicks, 'Introduction', p.22.

better catalogued military colleagues, the men-at-arms, using the approaches and methods employed here would be an interesting study in its own right. Attempting to establish whether the trends identified in the patterns of archer service can be seen among men-at-arms would provide a fascinating contrast, as would considering the relative levels of political and economic motivations between those serving as archers and those serving as man-at-arms. This could reveal further links between archers and those men-at-arms not recorded as retinue captains.

The final recommended area for further research is perhaps the largest, and should be considered an expansion, rather than an extension. Due to the database's construction it is possible to introduce new nominal sources into the dataset, opening up the possibility of linking the muster rolls and poll tax returns to other resources of information. Not only could this increase the material available to further the analysis of the English archers, but also other groups and sections of English late medieval society. The potential of this is difficult to quantify, although the concept of a 'Medieval Nominal Database' is an appealing one. In the more immediate future two sources have been identified with potential for contributing to the analysis of English archers.

The first of these new sources are the Chancery rolls relating to pardons issued by the king to individuals accused or found to have committed a crime. Although not necessarily a military document, there appears to have been a strong correlation between pardons being granted and past or future military service to the Crown.<sup>13</sup> Crucially, the pardons include not only the name of the person being pardoned, but also other details that can be used to corroborate the recipient of the pardons military position, as well as other details such as place of origin or residence. For example, it was not unknown for the pardon to be granted conditionally on the condition that the recipient would undertake military service in the near future. Past service could also influence the pardon process: William Halifax, who killed a man in a dispute over some stones, was pardoned at least partially due to his military relationship with the Earl of Warwick.<sup>14</sup> In addition, there are extant pardons which relate directly to the events of

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<sup>13</sup> Bell, Curry, King, and Simpkin, *Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 127

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, in part triggered by the collection of the successive poll taxes. Therefore it should be possible to use nominal linkage to combine these pardons into the database, taking advantage of their close relationship to both the military and tax documentation, to further illuminate the lives of English archers.

The second new source, which is of less direct impact but nonetheless interesting possibilities, are the feet of fines. Although in form these documents are the records of legal cases in the Court of Common Pleas regarding disputes over freehold property, there are many incidences that appear to have been a form of property conveyance, with the roles of plaintiff and defendant being taken by the buyer and seller respectively. Individuals' involvement in these cases could provide further insight into the economic and social background of the English archers and provide new scope for questions. For example, can archers be identified as active participants in a 'property market'? If so, how do their activities compare to the rest of the population? These sorts of research questions may not relate to a large group of identifiable archers in the same manner as the poll tax returns, but nonetheless the evidence would broaden the understanding of the lives of the English archers.

The image of the English archer to their contemporaries is not an easy concept to explore. Their effects in battle appear to have been well known. Walsingham's account of the expedition of 1383 suggested that 'such was the density of flying arrows that the sky grew dark as if from a black cloud',<sup>15</sup> and in his telling of the battle of Crécy, Froissart explains that the English archers 'poured out their arrows... so thickly and evenly that they fell like snow.'<sup>16</sup> However, the lives and stories of the men themselves had not been explored. The current popular picture of the English archer is more complicated, influenced by the centuries of re-telling and creative interpretation of the most well-known battles of the Hundred Years War; Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. Their image today is often tied to the idea of the English yeoman, a sturdy and honest contrast to the perfidious French aristocrats they fought. The historiography of Anglo-French military activities has demonstrated the inaccuracy of this representation, and gone on to reveal a more nuanced portrayal of the archer military service. This thesis

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<sup>15</sup> Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, p. 202.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, G. Brereton (ed. and trans.) (London, 1968), p. 88.

has furthered this research, providing a large scale analysis of the English archers' service links and obligations, their military careers, and some consideration of their lives beyond the martial world.

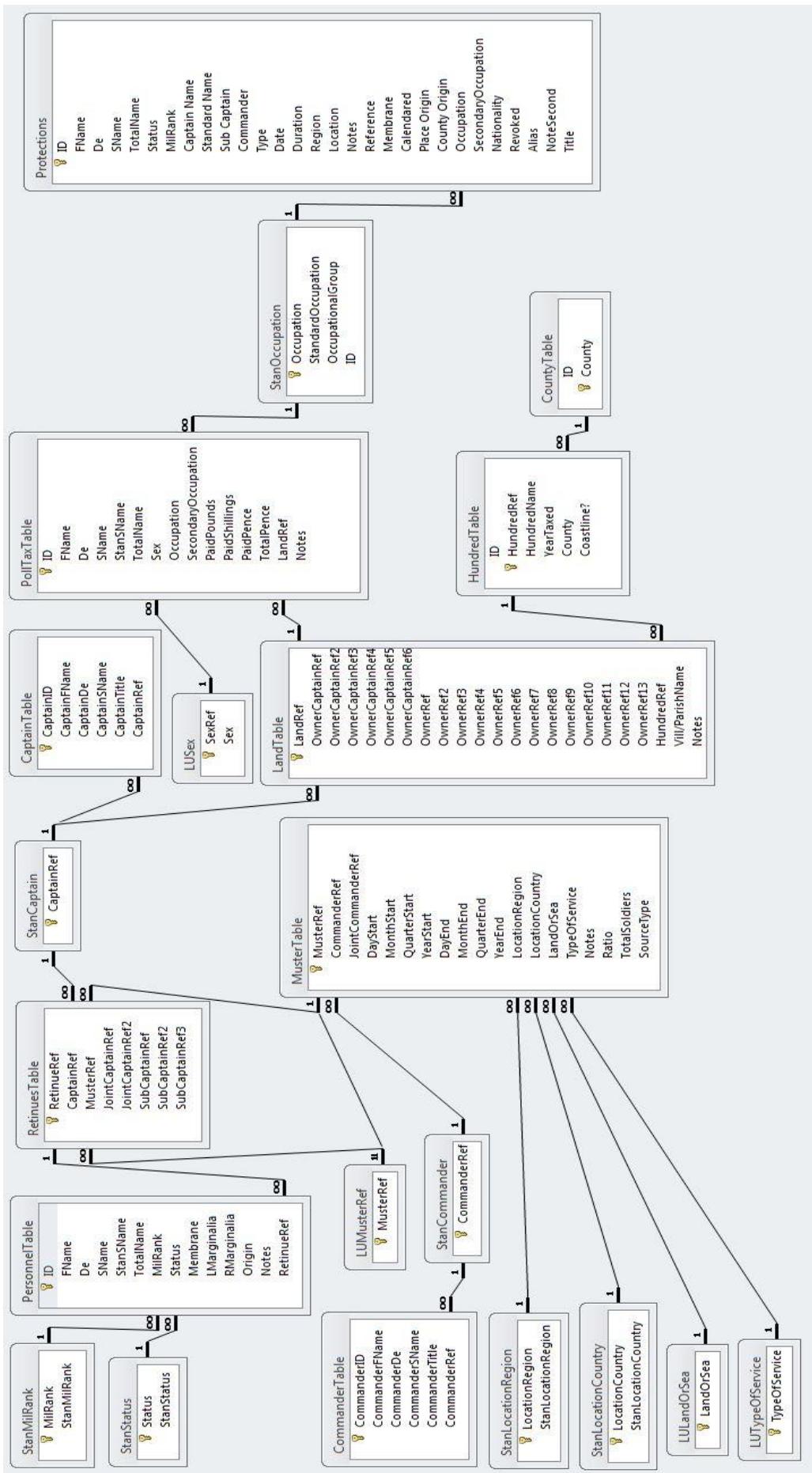
# **Appendices**



# **Appendix 1**



## Appendix 1.1



## Appendix 1.2

Military Rank in Database	Standardised Military Rank	Military Rank
A	Archer	Archer
A [?]	Archer	Archer
A?	Archer	Archer
Aarm	Armed archer	Archer
Aarm/C	Armed Archer/Crossbowman	Archer
Aarm?	Armed Archer	Archer
Aarm_ Officers	Armed Archer	Archer
Af	Archer foot	Archer
Af?	Archer foot	Archer
Am	Archer	Archer
Am?	Archer	Archer
Archer	Archer	Archer
Archer armee	Armed Archer	Archer
Archer OfficerPossible	Archer OfficerPossible	Archer
Archer/Gunner	Archer/Gunner	Archer
Archer/Mynour	Archer/Miner	Archer
ArcherPossible	ArcherPossible	Archer
archers armez	Armed Archer	Archer
Archers Minours	Archer/Miner	Archer
Archiers at arbalestreres	Archer	Archer
Armed Archer	Armed Archer	Archer
Armed Archer/Crossbowman	Armed Archer/Crossbowman	Archer
Armed ArcherPossible	Armed ArcherPossible	Archer
Foot Archer	Foot Archer	Archer
Offic' et sagittar' armat	Archer Officer	Archer
Offic' et sagittar' armati	Archer Officer	Archer
Officiar' et sagittar'	Archer Officer	Archer
sagitt' armati	Armed Archer	Archer
Sagittar' armat'	Armed Archer	Archer
sagittar armat'	Armed Archer	Archer
Sagittar' armati	Armed Archer	Archer
Sagittarii armati	Armed Archer	Archer
ar'	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
armat'	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
armiger	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
Armigeri	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
Baneour	Baneour	Man-at-Arms
Foot Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
homes armez	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
homes darmes	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
homines ad arma	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
homines armat'	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
Homines armati	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
hommes armez	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
hommes darmes	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
M	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
M [?]	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
M?	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
M_A?	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
Mf	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
Mf?	Man-at-arms	Man-at-Arms
mil'	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
miles	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
militari	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
Scutifer	Man-at-Arms	Man-at-Arms
C	Crossbowman	Other
Carpenter	Carpenter	Other

Military Rank in Database	Standardised Military Rank	Military Rank
Chaplain	Chaplain	Other
Clerk	Clerk	Other
Clerk of the Bakehouse	Clerk of the Bakehouse	Other
Clerk of the Buttery	Clerk of the Buttery	Other
Clerk of the Catery	Clerk of the Catery	Other
Clerk of the Cellar	Clerk of the Cellar	Other
Clerk of the Larder	Clerk of the Larder	Other
Clerk of the Saucerie	Clerk of the Saucerie	Other
Clerk of the Scullery	Clerk of the Scullery	Other
Clerk A	Clerk	Other
Crossbowman	Crossbowman	Other
F	Footsoldier	Other
Footsoldier	Footsoldier	Other
Gun	Gunner	Other
Gunn	Gunner	Other
Gunner	Gunner	Other
H	Hobelar	Other
Hobelar	Hobelar	Other
Household Servant	Household Servant	Other
Mariner	Mariner	Other
Penoner	Penoner	Other
Surgeon	Surgeon	Other
Under Clerk of the Spicery	Under Clerk of the Spicery	Other
Unknown	Unknown	Other

## Appendix 1.3

<b>Status in Database</b>	<b>Standardised Status</b>
Ban	Banneret
Banneret	Banneret
B	Baron
Baron	Baron
Bishop	Bishop
Bishop of Meath	Bishop of Meath
Brother	Brother
Clerk	Clerk
Clk	Clerk
D	Duke
Duke	Duke
E	Earl
Earl	Earl
Esq	Esquire
Esquire	Esquire
Esquire/Master	Esquire/Master
G	Gentleman
gentils hommez armes	Gentleman
gentils hommez armez	Gentleman
G_Gunn	Gunner
Dominus	Knight
K	Knight
K_Ban?	Knight
Knight	Knight
milites de novo creati	Knight
Knight/Banneret	Knight/Banneret
Esq_Mst	Master
Master	Master
Mst	Master
Mstr	Master
vadlett	Yeoman
valet	Yeoman
valett	Yeoman
valett'	Yeoman
vallet	Yeoman
Yeman	Yeoman
Yeoman	Yeoman
Yeoman/Valettus	Yeoman
Y	Yeoman / Valettus

## Appendix 1.4

Captain Database ID Number	Captain's First Name	Captain's Middle Name	Captain's Surname	Captain's Title	Captain Database Reference
878				Earl of Northumberland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland
1288			Asshton		Hugh Ashton
1289	Hugh		Asshton		Hugh Ashton
1294	Hugh		Banaster		Hugh Banaster
1299	Hopkyn		Bard		Hopkyn Bard
197	Hamond		Belknap		Hamond Belknap
1327			Blundel		Henry Blundell
1328	Henry		Blundell		Henry Blundell
633	Humphrey	de	Bohun	Earl of Hereford	Humphrey, Earl of Hereford
1341			Bower		Henry Bowes
1342	Henry		Bowes		Henry Bowes
1343			Bowys		Henry Bowes
1344			Boys		Henry Bowes
262	Henry		Bromley		Henry Bromley
1390	Hugh		Calverley		Hugh Calverley
375	Hugh		Connewey		Hugh Conway
441	Hugh		Courtenay	Earl of Devon	Hugh, Earl of Devon
396	Hugh		Crese		Hugh Crese
410	Hugh		Curtays		Hugh Curtays
412	Hugh		Curteys		Hugh Curtays
1493	Hugh		Donewalleclyfe		Hugh Donewalleclyfe
1502	Henry		Dumelton		Henry Dumelton
454	Hugh	de	Dutton		Hugh Dutton
491	Henry		Fasakerley		Henry Fasakerley
1520	Hugh		Fastolf		Hugh Fastolf
1539	Henry		Forster		Henry Forster
520	Henry		Fouler		Henry Fouler
548	Henry		Godard		Henry Godard
1555	Henry		Godard		Henry Godard
584	Henry		Griffith		Henry Griffith
1567	Henry		Griffith		Henry Griffith
1579	Henry		Hamwode		Henry Hamwode
1580	Henry		Hamwode		Henry Hamwode
1593	Nikill		Hauberk	Herr	Herr Nikill Hauberk
693	John		Here		Here John
1606	Hugh		Heynes of Baldok		Hugh Heynes
1614	H		Holand		H Holand
1616	Hugh		Holte		Hugh Holte
1622	Henry		Hoyer?		Henry Hoyer
702			King		Henry V
720	Henry	de	Langley		Henry Langley
730	Helmyng		Leget		Helmyng Leget
733	Hugh	de	Legh		Hugh Legh
762	Henry		Lound	Esq	Henry Lound
784	Henry		Mancestre		Henry Mancestre

Captain Database ID Number	Captain's First Name	Captain's Middle Name	Captain's Surname	Captain's Title	Captain Database Reference
1699	Hugh		Manynton		Hugh Manynton
1711	Hugh		Middleton		Hugh Middleton
838	Hugh		Mortemer		Hugh Mortimer
1723	Hugh		Mortimer		Hugh Mortimer
841			Morton		Hugh Morton
842			Morton		Hugh Morton
843	Hugh		Morton		Hugh Morton
1728	Henry		Mulso		Henry Mulso
853			Mulsoo		Henry Mulso
854	Henry		Mulsoo		Henry Mulso
1729	Hugh	de	Mylynton		Hugh Mylynton
874			Noon		Henry Noon
875	Henry		Noon		Henry Noon
908	Henry	de	Percy	Earl of Northumberland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland
1782	Henry		Pudsay		Henry Pudsay
944	Henry		Pudsey		Henry Pudsey
1013	Henry		Saynel of Coplay		Henry Saynell
1015	Henry		Saynell		Henry Saynell
1882	Hugh	de	Sulton		Hugh Sulton
1149	Henry		Tebbe		Henry Tebbe
1908	Henry		Ugan		Henry Ugan
1190	Henry		Vavasour		Henry Vavasour
1919	Henry		Walker		Henry Walker
1943	Hugh		Wigan		Hugh Wigan
1944	Hugh		Wilton		Hugh Wilton
1961	Hugh		Wylton		Hugh Wylton
482				Count of Eu	Henry, Count of Eu
483	Henry			Count of Eu	Henry, Count of Eu
273				Duke of Buckingham	Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham
545				Duke of Gloucester	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester
546	Humphrey			Duke of Gloucester	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester

## Appendix 2.1

Occupation ID in Database	Occupation in Database	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
276	batell	boatman	maritime
277	batell'	boatman	maritime
278	batellar'	boatman	maritime
279	batellarius	boatman	maritime
280	batillar'	boatman	maritime
150	art' pistor	craftsman/fisher	maritime
281	battellarius	cultivator/boatman	maritime
1078	faryman	ferryman	maritime
1091	ferr'	ferryman	maritime
1094	feryman	ferryman	maritime
149	art' piscator	fisher	maritime
1127	fischer	fisher	maritime
1128	fischer'	fisher	maritime
1129	fischermong'	fisher	maritime
1130	fisher	fisher	maritime
1131	fisher'	fisher	maritime
1132	fisherman	fisher	maritime
1133	fishmonger	fisher	maritime
1141	fissh'	fisher	maritime
1142	fisshe...	fisher	maritime
1145	fissher	fisher	maritime
1146	fissher'	fisher	maritime
1147	fisshere	fisher	maritime
1148	fisshmen soli	fisher	maritime
1241	fysch	fisher	maritime
1242	fyscher'	fisher	maritime
1243	fysher	fisher	maritime
1244	fysher'	fisher	maritime
1245	fysscher'	fisher	maritime
1246	fysschere	fisher	maritime
1247	fyssh'	fisher	maritime
1248	fyssher'	fisher	maritime
1249	fysshere	fisher	maritime
1250	fysshmonger	fisher	maritime
1251	fysshmongere	fisher	maritime
2190	Pictor	fisher	maritime
2192	pictore	fisher	maritime
2202	pis'	fisher	maritime
2203	piscar' coniugatus	fisher	maritime
2204	piscarius	fisher	maritime
2205	piscat	fisher	maritime
2206	piscat'	fisher	maritime
2207	piscator	fisher	maritime
2208	piscator'	fisher	maritime
2209	piscatore	fisher	maritime
2210	piscatores	fisher	maritime
2211	piscenar'	fisher	maritime
2212	piscinar'	fisher	maritime

Occupation ID in Database	Occupation in Database	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
2214	piss'	fisher	maritime
2215	pissenar'	fisher	maritime
2217	pist'	fisher	maritime
2218	pist' ln	fisher	maritime
2221	pistor	fisher	maritime
2222	pistor'	fisher	maritime
2223	Pistor' pot'	fisher	maritime
2224	pistore	fisher	maritime
2226	pistores	fisher	maritime
2304	pystor'	fisher	maritime
2636	sol' & piscar'	fisher	maritime
3130	wayder	fisher	maritime
2225	Pistore artific'	fisher/craftsmen	maritime
1711	marin'	mariner	maritime
1712	marin' coniugatus	mariner	maritime
1713	marinar	mariner	maritime
1714	mariner	mariner	maritime
1715	mariner & merchant	mariner	maritime
1716	mariner (master of one of the said admiral's ships)	mariner	maritime
1717	marreys	mariner	maritime
1720	maryn'	mariner	maritime
1721	maryn' coniugatus	mariner	maritime
1722	maryner	mariner	maritime
1723	maryner coniugatus	mariner	maritime
1724	maryners coniugati	mariner	maritime
2585	shipman	mariner	maritime
2587	shipman or mariner	mariner	maritime
2588	shipman, alias mariner	mariner	maritime
2589	shipman, mariner or merchant	mariner	maritime
1673	magr' marin'	master mariner	maritime
1674	magr' marin' coniugatus	master mariner	maritime
1675	magr marin' coniugatus	master mariner	maritime
1676	magr' marin' sol'	master mariner	maritime
340	boteman	sailor	maritime
1907	naut'	sailor	maritime
1908	nauta	sailor	maritime
2399	sailor	sailor	maritime
1371	homines maries	sea man	maritime
2464	sefarer'	seafarer	maritime
323	Boatman? (Boteman)	shipman	maritime
254	botman	shipman	maritime

# **Appendix 2**



## Appendix 2.1

VIII	Hundred	County	Tax Year	Captain 1	Captain 2	Captain 3	Captain 4	Captain 5	Captain 6
Corfe Castle	Ancient Demesnes	Dorset	1381	John, Earl of Somerset	Sir William Bonville	Thomas Holland			
Wareham	Ancient Demesnes	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Beaminster	Beaminster	Dorset	1379	Sir Robert de Assheton					
Gillingham	Boroughs and Ancient Demesnes	Dorset	1379	William, Earl of Salisbury					
Shaftesbury	Boroughs and Ancient Demesnes	Dorset	1379	Sir John Berkeley					
Petersham	Cranborne	Dorset	1379	Edmund, Earl of March	Sir John Berkeley				
Broadway	Culford Tree	Dorset	1379	Edmund, Earl of March					
Chickereill	Culford Tree	Dorset	1379	William, Earl of Salisbury	John Frome	Lord John Maltravers	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury		
Broadway	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Chickereill	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury	John Frome	Lord John Maltravers	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury		
Holwell	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Sutton Poyntz	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Upwey	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
West Stafford	Culford Tree	Dorset	1381	John Frome					
Burton Bradstock	Frampton Liberty	Dorset	1379	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury					
Burton Bradstock	Frampton Liberty	Dorset	1381	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury					
Compton Valence	Frampton Liberty	Dorset	1381	Sir Thomas West					

Vill	Hundred	County	Tax Year	Captain 1	Captain 2	Captain 3	Captain 4	Captain 5	Captain 6
Church Knowle	Hasler	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Creech	Hasler	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Langton Matravers	Hasler	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury	Lord John Maltravers	Sir Reginald Cobham	Sir John Arundel		
Child Okeford	Redlane	Dorset	1381	Hugh, Earl of Devon	Thomas Broke				
Free Tithing Gillingham minor	Redlane	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury					
Iwerne Courtney	Redlane	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March	Sir Edward Courtenay	Edward, Earl of Devon	Hugh, Earl of Devon	Morris Brune	Sir John Grey
Kington Magna	Redlane	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury					
Stour Provost	Redlane	Dorset	1381	Sir William d'Angle					
Afflington	Rowbarrow	Dorset	1381	Sir William Bonville					
Rollington	Rowbarrow	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March					
Lydlinch	Sherborne	Dorset	1379	Sir Ion Fitz Warin	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury				
Melbury Abbas	Sixpenny Handley	Dorset	1379	Hugh, Earl of Devon	Lord John Maltravers				
Broadmayne	St George	Dorset	1381	Sir Edmund Fitz Herbert					
Charlton and Herringston	St George	Dorset	1381	Lord John Maltravers					
Frome Whitfield	St George	Dorset	1381	Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	Lord John Maltravers	Sir Reginald Cobham	Sir John Arundel		
Kingston Maurward	St George	Dorset	1381	John Frome	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury				
Stinsford	St George	Dorset	1381	Lord John Maltravers	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury				
CruXTon	Tollerford	Dorset	1379	Sir Hugh Luttrell					
Frome Vowchurch	Tollerford	Dorset	1379	Edmund, Earl of March	Lord John Maltravers				

Vill	Hundred	County	Tax Year	Captain 1	Captain 2	Captain 3	Captain 4	Captain 5	Captain 6
Litton Cheney	Uggescombe	Dorset	1379	Sir Robert de Assheton	Sir Reginald Cobham				
Abbotsbury	Uggescombe	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March	William, Earl of Salisbury	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury			
Corton	Uggescombe	Dorset	1381	Hugh, Earl of Devon					
Fleet	Uggescombe	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury				
Langton Herring	Uggescombe	Dorset	1381	William, Earl of Salisbury					
Winterbourne Steepleton	Uggescombe	Dorset	1381	Edmund, Earl of March	Sir John Devereux				
Marshwood	Whitchurch Canoniconorum	Dorset	1379	Edmund, Earl of March	Hugh, Earl of Devon	Sir Reginald Cobham	Sir John Arundel		
Ibberton	Whiteway	Dorset	1379	Edward, Earl of Devon	Sir Edward Courtenay	Hugh, Earl of Devon			
Melbury Osmond	Yetminster	Dorset	1379	William, Earl of Salisbury					
Yetminster	Yetminster	Dorset	1379	Sir Robert Ursewyk					

## Appendix 2.2

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
24	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1388	407	188	219	E101/41/5	
33	Sir Hugh le Despenser	Naval	1387	100	45	55	E101/40/33	
87	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1388	2	0	2	E101/41/5	
88	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	406	173	215	E101/40/33	
89	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	159	109	32	E101/40/34	
96	Sir Hugh le Despenser	Naval	1388	178	78	100	E101/41/5	
130	Lord John Roos	Unknown	1383	23	9	14	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	
138	Sir John Blount	Unknown	1383	4	2	2	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	
174	Lord John Roos	Expedition	1415	9	9	0	BL/Harley/782	
222	Edward, Prince of Wales	Standing Army	1368	124	122	2	E101/29/24	
256	Sir John de Lisle	Expedition	1370	4	4	0	E101/30/25	
472	Sir Roger de Swillington	Expedition	1400	22	4	18	E101/41/1	
513	Sir John Neville	Standing Army	1395	406	86	320	E101/41/39	
570	Sir John Trussell	Standing Army	1399	9	1 (unnamed)	8	E101/42/12	1 man-at-arms (John Trussell), and 8 unnamed archers
585	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	Expedition	1400	323	144	179	E101/42/16	
611	Sir John de Copuldyk	Expedition	1400	16	2	14	E101/42/16	
662	Lord William Zouche	Escort	1402	64	21	43	E101/43/18	
739	Lord John Roos	Expedition	1415	27	8	19	E101/44/30/no1	
858	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	92	1	91	E101/45/19	
859	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/2	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
914	Ralph Neville	Expedition	1415	13	4	9	E101/45/4	
934	Sir John Lumley	Expedition	1415	60	20	40	E101/45/4	
1164	Lord John Roos	Expedition	1415	27	8	19	E101/50/26	
1212	Lord John Roos	Expedition	1417	45	10	35	E101/51/2	
1215	Lord William Lovell	Expedition	1417	24	6	18	E101/51/2	
1226	Sir John Blount	Expedition	1417	240	62	178	E101/51/2	
1233	Sir John Neville	Expedition	1417	166	44	122	E101/51/2	
1387	Sir John Golofre	Garrison	1378	140	15	71	E101/37/2	Joint-captain with Sir Richard Abberbury in this retinue
1515	John Lovell	Expedition	1375	1	54	1	E101/34/3	Sub-captain listed in retinue 2146
1524	Sir Thomas Latimer	Naval	1378	1	1	0	E101/36/39	Sub-captain listed in retinue 344
1534	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	3	0	E101/40/34	
1535	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	5	2	3	E101/40/34	
1536	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	2	0	2	E101/40/34	
1537	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	14	11	3	E101/40/34	
1538	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1539	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1540	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	1	2	E101/40/34	
1541	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	5	5	0	E101/40/34	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1543	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1544	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	1	2	E101/40/34	
1545	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1546	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1547	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1548	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	1	2	E101/40/34	
1549	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	0	1	E101/40/34	
1550	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	3	0	E101/40/34	
1551	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	2	2	0	E101/40/34	
1552	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	3	1	2	E101/40/34	
1554	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	2	0	2	E101/40/34	
1555	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1556	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	22	10	12	E101/40/34	
1557	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	4	4	0	E101/40/34	
1558	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	6	2	4	E101/40/34	
1559	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	4	0	4	E101/40/34	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1561	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	15	6	9	E101/40/34	
1562	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	16	7	9	E101/40/34	
1563	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	1	1	0	E101/40/34	
1572	Sir John Roos	Expedition	1384	23	9	14	E101/40/5	Sub-captain listed in this retinue
1582	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	Expedition	1400	2	2	0	E101/42/16	
1583	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	Expedition	1400	1	1	0	E101/42/16	
1584	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	Expedition	1400	1	1	0	E101/42/16	
1585	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	Expedition	1400	1	1	0	E101/42/16	
1708	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1709	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	12	3	9	E101/45/19	
1710	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1711	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	9	3	6	E101/45/19	
1712	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	5	1	4	E101/45/19	
1713	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	4	12	E101/45/19	
1714	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	10	10	0	E101/45/19	
1714	Lord William Lovell	Expedition	1415	10	10	0	E101/45/19	
1715	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	7	2	5	E101/45/19	
1716	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	5	11	E101/45/19	
1717	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	22	4	18	E101/45/19	
1718	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1719	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	25	6	19	E101/45/19	
1720	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	11	1	10	E101/45/19	
1721	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	14	3	11	E101/45/19	
1722	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1723	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	1	1	0	E101/45/19	
1724	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1725	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1726	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1727	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	11	1	10	E101/45/19	
1728	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	9	3	6	E101/45/19	
1729	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1730	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	5	1	4	E101/45/19	
1731	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	6	1	5	E101/45/19	
1733	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	13	4	9	E101/45/19	
1735	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	4	12	E101/45/19	
1736	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1737	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	6	1	5	E101/45/19	
1738	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	7	1	6	E101/45/19	
1739	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	11	3	8	E101/45/19	
1740	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1741	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	20	6	14	E101/45/19	
1742	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	11	3	8	E101/45/19	
1743	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1744	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/19	
1745	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1746	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1747	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	10	3	7	E101/45/19	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1748	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/19	
1749	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	14	4	10	E101/45/19	
1750	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1751	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/19	
1752	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/19	
1753	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1754	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/19	
1755	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	21	6	15	E101/45/19	
1756	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/19	
1757	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1758	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1759	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1760	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	12	3	9	E101/45/2	
1762	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1763	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1764	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	7	2	5	E101/45/2	
1765	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	20	6	14	E101/45/2	
1766	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1767	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	18	5	13	E101/45/2	
1768	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	7	1	6	E101/45/2	
1769	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1770	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1771	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	13	4	9	E101/45/2	
1772	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1773	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1774	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1775	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	9	3	6	E101/45/2	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1776	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1777	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	25	6	19	E101/45/2	
1778	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	1	1	0	E101/45/2	
1779	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1780	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1781	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	9	3	6	E101/45/2	
1782	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	4	12	E101/45/2	
1783	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1784	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1785	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1786	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1787	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	21	6	15	E101/45/2	
1788	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	14	3	11	E101/45/2	
1789	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	5	11	E101/45/2	
1790	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	10	10	0	E101/45/2	
1790	Lord William Lovell	Expedition	1415	10	10	0	E101/45/2	Sub-captain listed in this retinue
1791	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	9	3	6	E101/45/2	
1792	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1793	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1794	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/2	
1795	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	4	1	3	E101/45/2	
1796	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/2	
1797	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1798	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	22	4	18	E101/45/2	
1799	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	1	2	E101/45/2	
1800	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	16	4	12	E101/45/2	

Retinue Ref	Retinue Captain	Type of Service	Year	Total Retinue Size	Number of Men-at-arms	Number of Archers	Reference	Notes
1933	Hugh Holte	Expedition	1417	4	1	3	E101/51/2	
1978	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	Expedition	1417	423	104	319	E101/51/2	Sub-captain listed in this retinue
2123	Richard, Earl of Oxford	Expedition	1415	29	29	0	BL/Harley/782	
2128	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	3	3	0	BL/Harley/782	
2144	Thomas, Earl of Warwick	Expedition	1373	427	209	218	E101/32/39	
2153	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1378	370	192	168	E101/36/32	
2161	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Naval	1387	2	2	0	E101/40/34	
2182	Richard, Earl of Oxford	Expedition	1415	41	9	32	E101/44/30/no1	
2197	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	8	2	6	E101/45/19	
2198	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	6	1	5	E101/45/19	
2199	Edward, Duke of York	Expedition	1415	27	8	19	E101/45/2	
2204	Richard, Earl of Oxford	Expedition	1415	264	80	184	E101/46/36	
2216	Richard, Earl of Oxford	Expedition	1415	41	9	32	E101/50/26	
279	Lord William Zouche	Escort	1370	29	5	16	E101/30/40	

## Appendix 2.3

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched region wide	County
Edmund, Earl of March	346	410	7	15	44	2.0%	4.3%	12.7%	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	303	55	0	18	51	0.0%	5.9%	16.8%	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	504	20	1	17	51	0.2%	3.4%	10.1%	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	100	17	0	1	9	0.0%	1.0%	9.0%	Dorset
John Frome	1	41	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Lord John Maltravers	133	159	1	9	29	0.8%	6.8%	21.8%	Dorset
Sir Esmund Fitz Herbert	3	35	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir Hugh Lutrell	122	7	0	3	19	0.0%	2.5%	15.6%	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	45	58	1	1	6	2.2%	2.2%	13.3%	Dorset
Sir John Berkeley	5	125	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	Dorset
Sir Robert de Assheton	200	115	0	4	11	0.0%	2.0%	5.5%	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	11	55	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	105	9	0	7	12	0.0%	6.7%	11.4%	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	8	29	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	5	30	0	1	1	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	162	6	26	63	1.9%	8.2%	19.7%	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	151	171	1	10	16	0.7%	6.6%	10.6%	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	163	0	13	23	0.0%	7.3%	12.8%	Essex
Edward Sakyle	4	49	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Essex
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	504	84	4	52	80	0.8%	10.3%	15.9%	Essex
John Coggeshale	1	60	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Essex
John Driver	1	27	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	Essex
John Sutton	10	12	0	3	3	0.0%	30.0%	30.0%	Essex
Lord John Cobham	112	39	1	15	21	0.9%	13.4%	18.8%	Essex
Lord Walter Fitz Walter	124	77	0	19	25	0.0%	15.3%	20.2%	Essex

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched to region wide	County
Richard Beaumont	9	256	0	1	2	0.0%	11.1%	22.2%	Essex
Sir Edward Burnell	24	50	0	2	3	0.0%	8.3%	12.5%	Essex
Sir Henry le Scrope	49	1434	1	6	9	2.0%	12.2%	18.4%	Essex
Sir John Bourchier	200(but no names)	406	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Essex
Sir John Bohun	41	42	0	3	9	0.0%	7.3%	22.0%	Essex
Sir John Neville	442	166	2	24	34	0.5%	5.4%	7.7%	Essex
Sir Walter atte Lee	10 (but no names)	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Essex
Sir William Bourchier	123	210	3	24	33	2.4%	19.5%	26.8%	Essex
Sir William Marny	52	134	1	9	12	1.9%	17.3%	23.1%	Essex
Thomas Holand	2	116	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	46	2	39	63	0.4%	7.9%	12.8%	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham	883	20	0	77	151	0.0%	8.7%	17.1%	Essex
Lord John Clifford	176	426	10	12	23	5.7%	6.8%	13.1%	Westmorland
Sir John Gray	117	23	0	1	4	0.0%	0.9%	3.4%	Westmorland
Sir John Holand	6	15	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	Westmorland
Sir Richard Hastings	24	10	0	1	1	0.0%	4.2%	4.2%	Westmorland
Sir Thomas Clifford	5	448	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Westmorland
Sir William Fulthorpe	36	14	0	3	4	0.0%	8.3%	11.1%	Westmorland
William de Louthier	9	10	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Westmorland
Westmorland	373	946	10	17	33	0.8%	2.9%	6.9%	Westmorland
Edmund, Earl of March	346	639	16	31	46	4.6%	9.0%	13.3%	Sussex
John Cambrey	2	76	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
John Heron	33	65	0	1	2	0.0%	3.0%	6.1%	Sussex
John Pelham	38	15	0	7	8	0.0%	18.4%	21.1%	Sussex
John Tyrell	18	23	0	3	4	0.0%	16.7%	22.2%	Sussex

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched to county wide	No. Retinue archers matched to region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched to region wide	County
John, Earl of Norfolk	558	348	4	42	63	0.7%	7.5%	11.3%	Sussex
Lord Thomas Camoys	165	284	0	17	31	0.0%	10.3%	18.8%	Sussex
Sir Alan de Buxhill	101	49	0	9	12	0.0%	8.9%	11.9%	Sussex
Sir Arnold Savage	113	22	0	9	14	0.0%	8.0%	12.4%	Sussex
Sir Henry Husee	140	50	1	14	22	0.7%	10.0%	15.7%	Sussex
Sir John Arundel	429	314	9	43	64	2.1%	10.0%	14.9%	Sussex
Sir John Bohun	41	536	2	3	10	4.9%	7.3%	24.4%	Sussex
Sir John Brewes	40	166	1	5	6	2.5%	12.5%	15.0%	Sussex
Sir John Grey	45	639	5	7	10	11.1%	15.6%	22.2%	Sussex
Sir John Mortimer	1	143	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
Sir John Philip	4	23	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	Sussex
Sir Thomas de Poynings	100	220	2	8	11	2.0%	8.0%	11.0%	Sussex
Sir Thomas West	105	267	2	10	14	1.9%	9.5%	13.3%	Sussex
Sir William Heron	139	223	0	13	18	0.0%	9.4%	12.9%	Sussex
Sir William Phillip	75	65	1	9	11	1.3%	12.0%	14.7%	Sussex
Thomas Skelton	16	45	0	1	4	0.0%	6.3%	25.0%	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	958	38	36	51	7.7%	7.3%	10.4%	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	18	0	14	20	0.0%	6.4%	9.2%	Sussex
Walter Tyrell	9	23	0	1	1	0.0%	11.1%	11.1%	Sussex
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	858	12	9	30	6.7%	5.0%	16.8%	Northamptonshire
Edward, Duke of York	658	40	0	65	109	0.0%	9.9%	16.6%	Northamptonshire
Edward, Prince of Wales	2	166	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Hugh Holte	3	131	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Lord John Roos	87	89	2	8	16	2.3%	9.2%	18.4%	Northamptonshire
Lord William Lovell	18	64	0	0	3	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	Northamptonshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched to region wide	County
Lord William Zouche	59	690	4	11	18	6.8%	18.6%	30.5%	Northamptonshire
Ralph Neville	9	39	0	0	2	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Arundel	693	273	8	54	119	1.2%	7.8%	17.2%	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Oxford	248	32	0	30	46	0.0%	12.1%	18.5%	Northamptonshire
Sir Hugh le Despencer	155	13	0	10	25	0.0%	6.5%	16.1%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Blount	180	105	2	21	34	1.1%	11.7%	18.9%	Northamptonshire
Sir John de Coupul dyk	14	68	0	0	4	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Golofre	71	223	3	11	17	4.2%	15.5%	23.9%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Lumley	40	64	0	3	9	0.0%	7.5%	22.5%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Neville	442	39	0	21	46	0.0%	4.8%	10.4%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Roos	14	312	7	1	3	50.0%	7.1%	21.4%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Trussell	8 (but no names)	13	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	Northamptonshire
Sir Roger de Swillington	18	36	0	1	2	0.0%	5.6%	11.1%	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	87	4	49	83	1.3%	15.4%	26.0%	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	223	1	14	30	0.5%	6.4%	13.8%	Northamptonshire
Edmund, Earl of March	346	399	8	15	57	2.3%	4.3%	16.5%	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	336	3	4	19	1.7%	2.2%	10.6%	Shropshire
John Lovell	1	35	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Shropshire
Lord John Maltravers	133	8	0	4	25	0.0%	3.0%	18.8%	Shropshire
Lord John Roos	87	20	0	2	10	0.0%	2.3%	11.5%	Shropshire
Lord John Talbot	103	6	0	5	14	0.0%	4.9%	13.6%	Shropshire
Lord William Ferrers	32	45	0	8	9	0.0%	25.0%	28.1%	Shropshire
Lord William Zouche	59	217	1	3	12	1.7%	5.1%	20.3%	Shropshire
Sir Edward Burnell	24	205	2	2	3	8.3%	8.3%	12.5%	Shropshire
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin	3	86	0	0	1	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	Shropshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched region wide	County
Sir Gilbert Talbot	130	89	0	6	21	0.0%	4.6%	16.2%	Shropshire
Sir Henry Ferrers	18	45	0	0	2	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	Shropshire
Sir John Arundel	429	108	0	18	56	0.0%	4.2%	13.1%	Shropshire
Sir John Cornwall	121	33	0	5	23	0.0%	4.1%	19.0%	Shropshire
Sir John de Charlton	82	236	1	2	7	1.2%	2.4%	8.5%	Shropshire
Sir John Grey	45	22	0	3	8	0.0%	6.7%	17.8%	Shropshire
Sir Richard Talbot	9	74	0	0	3	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	Shropshire
Sir William Lucy	2 (not named)	8	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	Shropshire
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	74	0	15	49	0.0%	3.0%	10.0%	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of March	346	377	12	33	70	3.5%	9.5%	20.2%	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	1663	27	12	23	15.1%	6.7%	12.8%	Oxfordshire
John, Earl of Norfolk	558	495	34	38	80	6.1%	6.8%	14.3%	Oxfordshire
Lord Edward Despencer	1156	26	0	57	125	0.0%	4.9%	10.8%	Oxfordshire
Lord John Clifford	176	62	0	13	22	0.0%	7.4%	12.5%	Oxfordshire
Lord John Talbot	103	42	0	6	10	0.0%	5.8%	9.7%	Oxfordshire
Lord Richard Grey	120	27	0	15	21	0.0%	12.5%	17.5%	Oxfordshire
Lord Thomas Neville	719	67	2	29	55	0.3%	4.0%	7.6%	Oxfordshire
Lord William Lovell	18	117	0	0	2	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	Oxfordshire
Lord William Zouche	59	148	0	10	14	0.0%	16.9%	23.7%	Oxfordshire
Robert Langford	3	39	0	2	2	0.0%	66.7%	66.7%	Oxfordshire
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	222	491	20	19	38	9.0%	8.6%	17.1%	Oxfordshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	130	75	0	20	30	0.0%	15.4%	23.1%	Oxfordshire
Sir John Arundel	429	37	2	41	85	0.5%	9.6%	19.8%	Oxfordshire
Sir Thomas Camoys	75	104	0	10	18	0.0%	13.3%	24.0%	Oxfordshire
Sir William de Molyns	16	206	0	5	7	0.0%	31.3%	43.8%	Oxfordshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of male poll tax residents	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county wide	No. Retinue archers matched region wide	% Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	% Retinue archers matched to county wide	% Retinue archers matched to region wide	County
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	60	4	39	82	1.3%	12.2%	25.7%	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	68	2	10	22	0.9%	4.6%	10.1%	Oxfordshire
William, Earl of Salisbury	151	60	0	11	24	0.0%	7.3%	15.9%	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of March	346	329	7	35	56	2.0%	10.1%	16.2%	Yorkshire: East
Edward, Duke of York	658	911	33	53	86	5.0%	8.1%	13.1%	Yorkshire: East
John Colville	50	7	0	0	2	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	Yorkshire: East
Lord John Clifford	176	27	1	22	49	0.6%	12.5%	27.8%	Yorkshire: East
Lord John Roos	87	476	6	8	16	6.9%	9.2%	18.4%	Yorkshire: East
Ralph Neville	9	316	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Brian Stapleton	399	42	0	42	78	0.0%	10.5%	19.5%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry Brounfielte	36	549	1	6	10	2.8%	16.7%	27.8%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry le Scrope	49	1030	4	5	9	8.2%	10.2%	18.4%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry Vavasour	5	29	0	1	1	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Hugh Hastings	71	29	0	5	14	0.0%	7.0%	19.7%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	155	72	0	10	20	0.0%	6.5%	12.9%	Yorkshire: East
Sir John Neville	442	209	17	27	63	3.8%	6.1%	14.3%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	1121	1008	21	14	43	1.9%	1.2%	3.8%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Thomas Clifford	5	27	0	1	1	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	Yorkshire: East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	16	41	3	4	6	18.8%	25.0%	37.5%	Yorkshire: East
Sir William Heron	54	31	0	3	9	0.0%	5.6%	16.7%	Yorkshire: East
Thomas Davyke	10	71	0	0	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire: East
Thomas Umfraville	20	211	0	1	3	0.0%	5.0%	15.0%	Yorkshire: East

## Appendix 2.4

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
Edmund, Earl of March	346	188	16	4.6%	8.5%	Yorkshire East
Edward, Duke of York	658	119	6	0.9%	5.0%	Yorkshire East
John Colville	50	36	2	4.0%	5.6%	Yorkshire East
Lord John Clifford	176	97	11	6.3%	11.3%	Yorkshire East
Lord John Roos	87	30	2	2.3%	6.7%	Yorkshire East
Ralph Neville	9	4	0	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire East
Sir Brian Stapleton	399	230	19	4.8%	8.3%	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Brounfielte	36	21	2	5.6%	9.5%	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry le Scrope	49	33	4	8.2%	12.1%	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Vavasour	5	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh Hastings	71	41	1	1.4%	2.4%	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	155	59	4	2.6%	6.8%	Yorkshire East
Sir John Neville	442	165	9	2.0%	5.5%	Yorkshire East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	1121	160	3	0.3%	1.9%	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Clifford	5	2	0	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	16	4	0	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire East
Sir William Heron	54	33	3	5.6%	9.1%	Yorkshire East
Thomas Davyile	10	6	0	0.0%	0.0%	Yorkshire East
Thomas Umfraville	20	13	1	5.0%	7.7%	Yorkshire East
Edmund, Earl of March	346	188	17	4.9%	9.0%	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	130	10	5.6%	7.7%	Oxfordshire
John, Earl of Norfolk	558	252	22	3.9%	8.7%	Oxfordshire
Lord Edward Despencer	1156	429	23	2.0%	5.4%	Oxfordshire
Lord John Clifford	176	97	10	5.7%	10.3%	Oxfordshire
Lord John Talbot	103	75	3	2.9%	4.0%	Oxfordshire
Lord Richard Grey	120	75	5	4.2%	6.7%	Oxfordshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
Lord Thomas Neville	719	63	3	0.4%	4.8%	Oxfordshire
Lord William Lovell	18	12	1	5.6%	8.3%	Oxfordshire
Lord William Zouche	59	39	5	8.5%	12.8%	Oxfordshire
Robert Langford	3	1	0	0.0%	0.0%	Oxfordshire
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	222	89	8	3.6%	9.0%	Oxfordshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	130	69	10	7.7%	14.5%	Oxfordshire
Sir John Arundel	429	271	18	4.2%	6.6%	Oxfordshire
Sir Thomas Camoys	75	39	4	5.3%	10.3%	Oxfordshire
Sir William de Molyns	16	8	2	12.5%	25.0%	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	181	15	4.7%	8.3%	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	173	11	5.0%	6.4%	Oxfordshire
William, Earl of Salisbury	151	105	5	3.3%	4.8%	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of March	346	188	17	4.9%	9.0%	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	130	11	6.1%	8.5%	Shropshire
John Lovell	1	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Shropshire
Lord John Maltravers	133	74	5	3.8%	6.8%	Shropshire
Lord John Roos	87	30	2	2.3%	6.7%	Shropshire
Lord John Talbot	103	75	3	2.9%	4.0%	Shropshire
Lord William Ferrers	32	21	4	12.5%	19.0%	Shropshire
Lord William Zouche	59	39	5	8.5%	12.8%	Shropshire
Sir Edward Burrell	24	16	0	0.0%	0.0%	Shropshire
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin	3	2	1	33.3%	50.0%	Shropshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	130	69	10	7.7%	14.5%	Shropshire
Sir Henry Ferrers	18	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Shropshire
Sir John Arundel	429	271	19	4.4%	7.0%	Shropshire
Sir John Cornwall	121	73	6	5.0%	8.2%	Shropshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
Sir John de Charlton	82	74	3	3.7%	4.1%	Shropshire
Sir John Grey	45	22	2	4.4%	9.1%	Shropshire
Sir Richard Talbot	9	1	0	0.0%	0.0%	Shropshire
Sir William Lucy	2 (not named)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Shropshire
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	248	14	2.8%	5.6%	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	130	12	6.7%	9.2%	Northamptonshire
Edward, Duke of York	658	119	5	0.8%	4.2%	Northamptonshire
Edward, Prince of Wales	2	2	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Hugh Holte	3	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Lord John Roos	87	30	2	2.3%	6.7%	Northamptonshire
Lord William Lovell	18	12	1	5.6%	8.3%	Northamptonshire
Lord William Zouche	59	39	4	6.8%	10.3%	Northamptonshire
Ralph Neville	9	4	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Arundel	693	365	30	4.3%	8.2%	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Oxford	248	38	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Sir Hugh le Despencer	155	59	5	3.2%	8.5%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Blount	180	114	4	2.2%	3.5%	Northamptonshire
Sir John de Coupuldyk	14	8	2	14.3%	25.0%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Golofre	71	52	6	8.5%	11.5%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Lumley	40	26	2	5.0%	7.7%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Neville	442	165	8	1.8%	4.8%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Roos	14	4	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Sir John Trussell	8 (but no names)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Northamptonshire
Sir Roger de Swillington	18	16	2	11.1%	12.5%	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	181	0	0.0%	0.0%	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	173	11	5.0%	6.4%	Northamptonshire

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
Edmund, Earl of March	346	188	16	4.6%	8.5%	Sussex
John Cambrey	2	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Sussex
John Heron	33	21	1	3.0%	4.8%	Sussex
John Pelham	38	6	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
John Tyrell	18	8	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
John, Earl of Norfolk	558	252	22	3.9%	8.7%	Sussex
Lord Thomas Camoys	165	82	6	3.6%	7.3%	Sussex
Sir Alan de Buxhill	101	33	1	1.0%	3.0%	Sussex
Sir Arnold Savage	113	42	5	4.4%	11.9%	Sussex
Sir Henry Husse	140	52	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
Sir John Arundel	429	271	20	4.7%	7.4%	Sussex
Sir John Bohun	41	22	2	4.9%	9.1%	Sussex
Sir John Brewes	40	26	3	7.5%	11.5%	Sussex
Sir John Grey	45	22	2	4.4%	9.1%	Sussex
Sir John Mortimer	1	1	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
Sir John Philip	4	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
Sir Thomas de Poynings	100	50	4	4.0%	8.0%	Sussex
Sir Thomas West	105	69	3	2.9%	4.3%	Sussex
Sir William Heron	139	86	10	7.2%	11.6%	Sussex
Sir William Phillip	75	48	4	5.3%	8.3%	Sussex
Thomas Skelton	16	10	1	6.3%	10.0%	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	248	14	2.8%	5.6%	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	218	173	10	4.6%	5.8%	Sussex
Walter Tyrell	9	2	0	0.0%	0.0%	Sussex
Lord John Clifford	176	97	11	6.3%	11.3%	Westmorland
Sir John Gray	117	76	8	6.8%	10.5%	Westmorland

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
Sir John Holand	6	4	2	33.3%	50.0%	Westmorland
Sir Richard Hastings	24	18	3	12.5%	16.7%	Westmorland
Sir Thomas Clifford	5	2	0	0.0%	0.0%	Westmorland
Sir William Fulthorpe	36	12	1	2.8%	8.3%	Westmorland
William de Louthier	9	7	0	0.0%	0.0%	Westmorland
Edmund, Earl of March	346	188	17	4.9%	9.0%	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	303	162	17	5.6%	10.5%	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	504	241	18	3.6%	7.5%	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	100	66	3	3.0%	4.5%	Dorset
John Frome	1	1	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Lord John Maltravers	133	74	4	3.0%	5.4%	Dorset
Sir Esmund Fitz Herbet	3	1	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir Hugh Lutrell	122	58	6	4.9%	10.3%	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	45	32	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir John Berkeley	5	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir Robert de Assheton	200	25	1	0.5%	4.0%	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	11	6	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	105	69	3	2.9%	4.3%	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	8	8	1	12.5%	12.5%	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	5	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	319	181	15	4.7%	8.3%	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	151	105	5	3.3%	4.8%	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	179	130	13	7.3%	10.0%	Essex
Edward Sakvile	4	3	0	0.0%	0.0%	Essex
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	504	241	17	3.4%	7.1%	Essex
John Coggeshale	1	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Essex

Captains	No. Retinue Archers	No. of Retinue Archers in Tier 1 1350-1417 Sample	No. Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue archers matched to other counties section 1 poll tax records	% Retinue Archers in Tier 1 matched to other county section 1 poll tax records	County
John Driver	1	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Essex
John Sutton	10	6	1	10.0%	16.7%	Essex
Lord John Cobham	112	69	2	1.8%	2.9%	Essex
Lord Walter Fitz Walter	124	85	6	4.8%	7.1%	Essex
Richard Beaumont	9	6	0	0.0%	0.0%	Essex
Sir Edward Burnell	24	16	0	0.0%	0.0%	Essex
Sir Henry le Scrope	49	33	4	8.2%	12.1%	Essex
Sir John Bourchier	200 (but no	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Essex
Sir John Bohun	41	22	2	4.9%	9.1%	Essex
Sir John Neville	442	165	8	1.8%	4.8%	Essex
Sir Walter atte Lee	10 (but no	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Essex
Sir William Bourchier	123	0	10	8.1%	n/a	Essex
Sir William Marmy	52	32	5	9.6%	15.6%	Essex
Thomas Holand	2	0	0	0.0%	n/a	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	492	248	12	2.4%	4.8%	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham	883	573	49	5.5%	8.6%	Essex

## Appendix 2.5

Number of matches between section 1 of county poll tax and tier 1 archers in sample 1367 to 1391																
Type of Service	Tier 1 archers						Tier 3 archers									
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
Escort	5	17	22	19	16	15	3	17	16	38	38	32	21	25	7	32
Expeditionary	14	23	23	26	7	16	2	13	16	26	14	22	8	15	2	14
Garrison	15	34	36	33	16	34	10	38	28	45	48	57	16	33	4	37
Naval	4	6	2	4	2	5	0	2	4	4	3	6	3	5	0	1
Standing Army	1	12	2	7	1	1	8	23	3	10	14	5	9	11	9	7
Unknown	69	184	148	141	62	147	13	121	88	191	205	197	80	165	24	127

% matches between section 1 of county poll tax and tier 1 archers in sample 1367 to 1391																
Type of Service	Tier 1 archers						Tier 3 archers									
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
Escort	5%	6%	9%	8%	15%	7%	8%	8%	10%	12%	10%	15%	10%	15%	15%	15%
Expeditionary	13%	8%	10%	11%	7%	7%	6%	6%	10%	8%	4%	7%	6%	6%	4%	6%
Garrison	14%	12%	15%	14%	15%	16%	28%	18%	18%	14%	15%	18%	12%	13%	9%	17%
Naval	4%	2%	1%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	3%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	0%	0%
Standing Army	1%	4%	1%	3%	1%	0%	22%	11%	2%	3%	4%	2%	7%	4%	20%	3%
Unknown	64%	67%	64%	61%	60%	67%	36%	57%	61%	64%	62%	58%	65%	52%	58%	

**No. of matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of county poll tax**

Type of Service	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
Escort	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expeditionary	0	0	0	9	4	16	1	19	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	1
Garrison	0	1	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	1
Naval	3	28	15	93	11	59	28	59	2	12	15	21	0	0	5	16
Standing Army	0	28	20	22	0	3	0	14	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	4
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	6	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>31</b>

**No. of matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of non-county poll tax**

Type of Service	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
Escort	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expeditionary	0	3	0	4	11	7	21	4	0	2	10	3	1	2	1	11
Garrison	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	3	12	0	0	0	2
Naval	61	59	40	58	42	13	75	29	33	12	51	28	0	1	16	8
Standing Army	1	2	62	19	0	1	0	6	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	3
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	1	1	0	6	3	0	3	2	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>34</b>

% matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of county poll tax																
	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
Type of Service	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
Escort	0%	0%	0%	1%	6%	0%	9%	1%	33%	0%	0%	0%	n/a	n/a	0%	0%
Expeditionary	0%	0%	0%	7%	25%	18%	3%	19%	0%	0%	15%	11%	n/a	n/a	17%	32%
Garrison	0%	2%	0%	2%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	5%	13%	13%	n/a	n/a	0%	3%
Naval	100%	49%	43%	73%	69%	66%	88%	60%	67%	100%	75%	55%	n/a	n/a	83%	52%
Standing Army	0%	49%	57%	17%	0%	3%	0%	14%	0%	0%	16%	n/a	n/a	n/a	0%	13%
Unknown	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	6%	0%	0%	5%	5%	n/a	n/a	0%	0%

% matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of non-county poll tax																
	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
Type of Service	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
Escort	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	3%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Expeditionary	0%	5%	0%	5%	18%	27%	21%	10%	0%	11%	14%	6%	100%	33%	5%	32%
Garrison	3%	2%	0%	0%	10%	0%	2%	0%	0%	4%	23%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%
Naval	95%	91%	39%	72%	69%	50%	76%	71%	94%	67%	73%	54%	0%	17%	84%	24%
Standing Army	2%	3%	61%	23%	0%	4%	0%	15%	0%	22%	0%	12%	0%	0%	0%	9%
Unknown	0%	0%	0%	2%	19%	0%	2%	3%	0%	9%	6%	50%	11%	29%	0%	0%

## Appendix 2.6

Number of matches between section 1 of county poll tax and tier 1 archers in sample 1367 to 1391												
Service Location	Tier 1 archers						Tier 3 archers					
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Yorks: Westm
England	13	14	19	15	3	11	1	10	14	10	6	14
England/France	10	12	10	13	5	10	2	6	6	8	8	5
France	37	116	88	97	46	94	9	71	48	121	121	119
Gascony	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	7	8	6
Ireland	5	12	14	8	9	12	6	18	12	24	26	32
Scotland	10	34	22	32	11	21	11	43	12	28	37	43
Wales	1	0	2	2	0	1	1	2	4	2	3	2

% matches between section 1 of county poll tax and tier 1 archers in sample 1367 to 1391												
Service Location	Tier 1 archers						Tier 3 archers					
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Yorks: Westm
England	17%	7%	12%	9%	4%	7%	3%	7%	15%	5%	3%	6%
England/France	13%	6%	6%	8%	7%	7%	7%	4%	6%	3%	4%	4%
France	49%	61%	56%	58%	61%	62%	30%	47%	50%	61%	58%	53%
Gascony	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	4%	4%	3%
Ireland	7%	6%	9%	5%	12%	8%	20%	12%	13%	12%	12%	14%
Scotland	13%	18%	14%	19%	15%	14%	37%	29%	13%	14%	18%	19%
Wales	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	3%	1%	4%	1%	1%	2%

**No. of matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of county poll tax**

Service Location	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
England	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	11	5	32	15	38	25	41	1	7	15	23	0	0	6	11
Gascony	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	0	26	0	2	0	2	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Scotland	0	0	20	16	0	11	0	11	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	18
Wales	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	1	39	25	55	15	52	25	65	1	7	16	31	0	0	6	29

**No. of matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of non-county poll tax**

Service Location	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
England	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	32	15	13	22	50	10	74	23	15	7	50	34	0	1	0	13
Gascony	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0
Scotland	0	1	62	15	1	11	0	3	1	4	6	6	1	5	0	19
Wales	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	33	18	75	41	51	21	74	32	16	15	56	43	1	6	0	33

% matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of county poll tax										
	Dorset	Tier 1	Tier 3	Essex	Tier 1	Tier 3	Northants	Tier 1	Tier 3	Yorks: East
Service Location										
England	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
France	100%	28%	20%	58%	100%	73%	100%	63%	100%	94%
Gascony	0%	5%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%
Ireland	0%	67%	0%	4%	0%	4%	0%	14%	0%	0%
Scotland	0%	0%	80%	29%	0%	21%	0%	17%	0%	6%
Wales	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%

% matches between tier 1 and 3 archers in county retinues and section 1 of non-county poll tax										
	Dorset	Tier 1	Tier 3	Essex	Tier 1	Tier 3	Northants	Tier 1	Tier 3	Yorks: East
Service Location										
England	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%
France	97%	83%	17%	54%	98%	48%	100%	72%	94%	47%
Gascony	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Ireland	3%	6%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	16%	0%	0%
Scotland	0%	6%	83%	37%	2%	52%	0%	9%	6%	27%
Wales	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%



# **Appendix 3**



## Appendix 3.1

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
10054	servant	assistant/servants
7137	laborer	agricultural
6574	cultivator	agricultural
2494	tenant	agricultural
2020	craftsman	artisan
1600	tailor	artisan
1529	free tenant	agricultural
1113	weaver	artisan
902	carpenter	artisan
712	shoe maker	artisan
666	smith	artisan
663	brewer	artisan
635	merchant	mercantile
578	husbandman	agricultural
551	butcher	artisan
434	shepherd	agricultural
430	fisher	maritime
377	franklin	other
357	constable	government
353	fuller	artisan
336	ploughman	agricultural
322	squire	gentry
317	textile merchant	mercantile
294	farmer	agricultural
279	juror	government
236	draper	artisan
225	mason	artisan
208	wright	artisan
207	workman	other
142	innkeeper	services
134	cottar	agricultural
133	miller	services
130	chapman	mercantile
124	spinster	none
124	thresher	agricultural
124	tiler	artisan
114	cooper	artisan
109	skinner	mercantile
108	widow	none
106	villein	agricultural
104	baker	artisan
98	cutler	artisan
98	thatcher	artisan
92	dyer	artisan
88	swineherd	agricultural
81	knight	gentry

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
81	shoemaker	artisan
79	clerk	legal
71	cook	services
62	peddler	mercantile
60	apprentice	other
60	spice dealer	mercantile
59	tilman	artisan
58	glover	artisan
58	leather processor	artisan
57	carter	mercantile
56	merchant/purchaser	mercantile
56	nobleman	gentry
53	saddler	artisan
53	victualler	mercantile
48	wheelwright	artisan
45	fletcher	artisan
44	sawyer	artisan
42	mariner	maritime
42	tanner	artisan
42	villein tenant	agricultural
40	candle maker	artisan
37	ostler	services
37	potter	artisan
32	goldsmith	artisan
32	stone cutter	artisan
31	bailiff	government
31	painter	artisan
30	marshal	other
28	craftsman/tailor	artisan
28	woodworker	artisan
27	shearman	agricultural
26	barber	medical
26	esquire	gentry
26	kindred	other
26	sheathmaker	artisan
25	cobbler	artisan
25	wife	none
24	bowyer	artisan
24	girdler	artisan
24	tavern keeper	services
23	boatman	maritime
23	drover	agricultural
23	fish seller	mercantile
23	roper	artisan
22	iron seller	mercantile
22	slater	artisan

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
21	attorney	legal
21	sergeant	government
20	dragger	other
19	malt seller	mercantile
18	blanket maker	artisan
18	cartwright	artisan
18	hosier	artisan
18	locksmith	services
18	lord	gentry
18	pardoner	ecclesiastic
18	wheeler	artisan
17	salter	mercantile
17	trader	mercantile
15	cap maker	artisan
15	master	other
15	netmaker	artisan
15	wool handling	artisan
14	mower	agricultural
14	pinmaker	artisan
14	plumber	artisan
13	hopman	artisan
12	armourer	artisan
12	beggar	none
12	habitant	other
12	herberior	agricultural
12	poulterer	agricultural
12	services	services
11	comber	agricultural
11	gentleman	gentry
11	huckster	mercantile
10	barman	services
10	card maker	artisan
10	ferryman	maritime
10	glasswright	artisan
10	grocer	mercantile
10	shipman	maritime
9	burgess	gentry
8	cowherd	agricultural
8	craftsman smith	artisan
8	dealer	mercantile
8	doctor	medical
8	herdman	agricultural
8	shipwright	artisan
8	teacher	services
7	apprentice lawyer	legal
7	minstral	services

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
7	parchment seller	mercantile
7	white tanner	artisan
7	wool merchant	mercantile
6	bird catcher	agricultural
6	coal maker	artisan
6	glasier	artisan
6	grain merchant	mercantile
6	horner	other
6	horse merchant	mercantile
6	hurdler	artisan
6	huxster and candle maker	artisan
6	maltmaker	artisan
6	spurrier	artisan
6	waxmaker	artisan
5	bachelor	gentry
5	cattleherd	agricultural
5	gardener	artisan
5	hackneyman	services
5	lawyer	legal
5	master mariner	maritime
5	mendicant	ecclesiastic
5	mustardmaker	artisan
5	notary	legal
5	summoner	government
5	tailor	artisan
4	arrowsmith	artisan
4	bondman	assistant/servants
4	clothier	artisan
4	craftsman/carpenter	artisan
4	craftsman/weaver	artisan
4	ditcher	agricultural
4	harper	services
4	hayward	government
4	reeder	other
4	sailor	maritime
4	scrivener	legal
4	soaper	artisan
4	steward/butler	services
4	textile worker	artisan
4	victualler/merchant	mercantile
4	wine merchant	mercantile
3	craftsman/butcher	artisan
3	flaxer	agricultural
3	garlic seller	mercantile
3	grinder	other
3	hatter	artisan

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
3	hedger	agricultural
3	leper	none
3	loader	other
3	metal worker	none
3	minister	ecclesiastic
3	nailer	services
3	parker	other
3	servant shoe maker	artisan
3	tinker	artisan
3	wine taverner	services
3	wiredrawer	artisan
3	wool seller	mercantile
3	woolmerchant	mercantile
3	workwoman	other
2	bellman	other
2	bladesmith	artisan
2	chandler	mercantile
2	craftsman/cardmaker	artisan
2	cultivator/drinker	agricultural
2	cultivator/wheeler	agricultural
2	deacon	ecclesiastic
2	dubber	other
2	forester	services
2	glazier	artisan
2	grain loader	agricultural
2	importer	mercantile
2	importer/merchant	mercantile
2	ivory worker	artisan
2	lime worker	other
2	maid/servant	assistant/servants
2	mayor	gentry
2	merchant fish	mercantile
2	midwife	services
2	musician	services
2	officer	other
2	oil maker	artisan
2	packer	other
2	pattenmaker	artisan
2	pharmacist	medical
2	pinner	artisan
2	piper	artisan
2	pouch maker	artisan
2	refiner of metals	artisan
2	scalder	other
2	sea man	maritime
2	servant weaver	artisan

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
2	stonebreaker	artisan
2	subconstable	government
2	verger	agricultural
2	vicar	ecclesiastic
1	actor	other
1	agricultural labourer	agricultural
1	apothecary	medical
1	artificer goldsmith	artisan
1	artificer skinner	artisan
1	artisan baker	artisan
1	artisan merchant	mercantile
1	ashburner	other
1	axeburner	other
1	bailiff servant	assistant/servants
1	banneret	gentry
1	barber/craftsman	medical
1	barwomen	services
1	basketmaker	artisan
1	beadle	other
1	bellringer	other
1	berghamaker	artisan
1	bottle maker	artisan
1	brewer/fuller	artisan
1	brewer/shoe maker	artisan
1	broker	services
1	candler	artisan
1	cellarer	services
1	chair maker	artisan
1	chaplain	ecclesiastic
1	cheeseman	other
1	clockmaker	artisan
1	cloth seller	mercantile
1	combsmith	artisan
1	constables servant	assistant/servants
1	cottar/labour	agricultural
1	craftsman shoe maker	artisan
1	craftsman weaver	artisan
1	craftsman/bowyer	artisan
1	craftsman/brewer	artisan
1	craftsman/fisher	maritime
1	craftsman/fuller	artisan
1	craftsman/saddler	artisan
1	craftsman/wheelwright	artisan
1	cripple	other
1	cultivator/labourer	agricultural
1	cultivator/merchant	mercantile

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
1	cultivator/victualler	mercantile
1	dairying person	agricultural
1	farmer/franklin	agricultural
1	farmer/unknown	agricultural
1	fARRIER	artisan
1	fENCER	artisan
1	fIDDLER	services
1	fish seller inland	mercantile
1	forbour	other
1	frANKLIN/innkeeper	services
1	gentleman pauper	gentry
1	goldsmith/brewer	artisan
1	haberdasher merchant	mercantile
1	honey seller	mercantile
1	iron nails maker	artisan
1	major	other
1	mayor of Liverpool	gentry
1	mayor of Oxford	gentry
1	merchant bread	mercantile
1	miner	services
1	nAILER	artisan
1	needler	artisan
1	nURSE	medical
1	old widow	none
1	osteler	services
1	parson	ecclesiastic
1	planter	other
1	plasterer	artisan
1	ploughman/cultivator	agricultural
1	poor farmer	agricultural
1	poor labourer	agricultural
1	puddingwife	other
1	quiltmaker	artisan
1	rector	ecclesiastic
1	roaster of meats	services
1	saucemaker	artisan
1	scholt	other
1	schoolmaster	services
1	seafarer	maritime
1	seller	mercantile
1	seller/craftsman	mercantile
1	servant/brewer	assistant/servants
1	servant/carpenter	artisan
1	sexton	other
1	shearwoman	agricultural
1	skin merchant	mercantile

Number of Records	Standardised Occupation	Occupational Group
1	spooner	other
1	tailor/brewer	artisan
1	tailor/chapman	mercantile
1	tailor/drinker	artisan
1	tailor/fripperer	artisan
1	tasker	other
1	textile	artisan
1	tilman/brewer	artisan
1	traveller	other
1	waterman	maritime
1	wool trader	mercantile
1	workwoman (drying something)	other

## Appendix 3.2

**Number of Section 1 matches to Tier 1 and 3 archers in each occupational group**

Occupational Group	County												Yorks: East			
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1				
agricultural	57	34	63	30	5	2	6	5	24	12	31	16	1	0	45	22
artisan	12	8	21	12	15	5	36	8	13	4	11	5	7	0	13	11
ecclesiastic	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
gentry	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
government	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	6
legal	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
maritime	0	0	5	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mercantile	0	1	1	2	0	0	9	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0
none	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	17	7	0	0	0	0	2
other	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
services	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
assistants/ servants	3	2	7	4	13	3	27	16	6	1	7	7	1	1	16	6

**% breakdown of Tier 1 archers occupational groups by county**

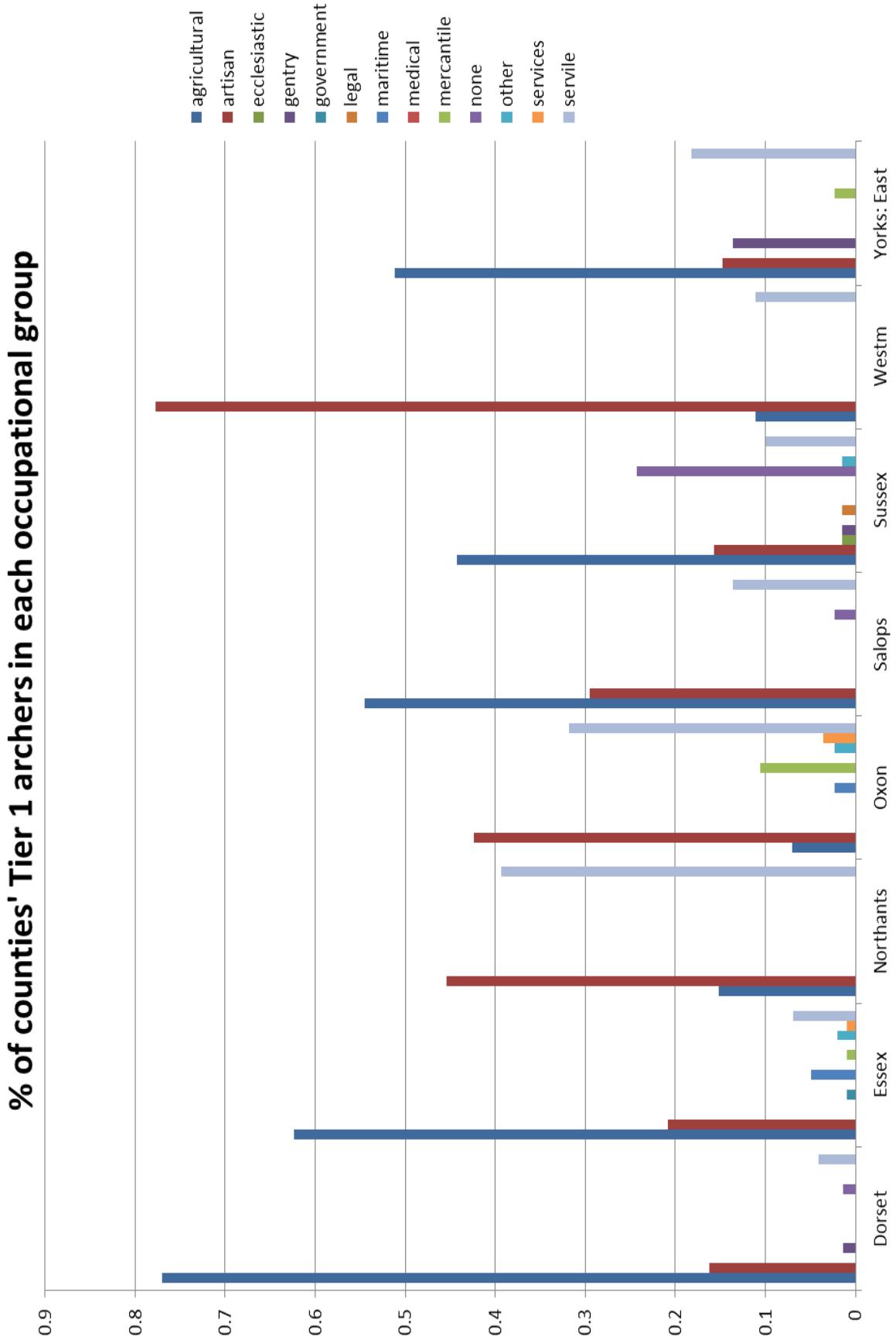
Occupational Group	Dorset	Essex	Northant	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
agricultural	77.0%	62.4%	15.2%	7.1%	54.5%	44.3%	11.1%	51.1%
artisan	16.2%	20.8%	45.5%	42.4%	29.5%	15.7%	77.8%	14.8%
ecclesiastic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
gentry	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	13.6%
government	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
legal	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
maritime	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
medical	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
mercantile	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	10.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%
none	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	24.3%	0.0%	0.0%
other	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
services	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
assistants/ servants	4.1%	6.9%	39.4%	31.8%	13.6%	10.0%	11.1%	18.2%

**% breakdown of Tier 3 archers occupational groups by county**

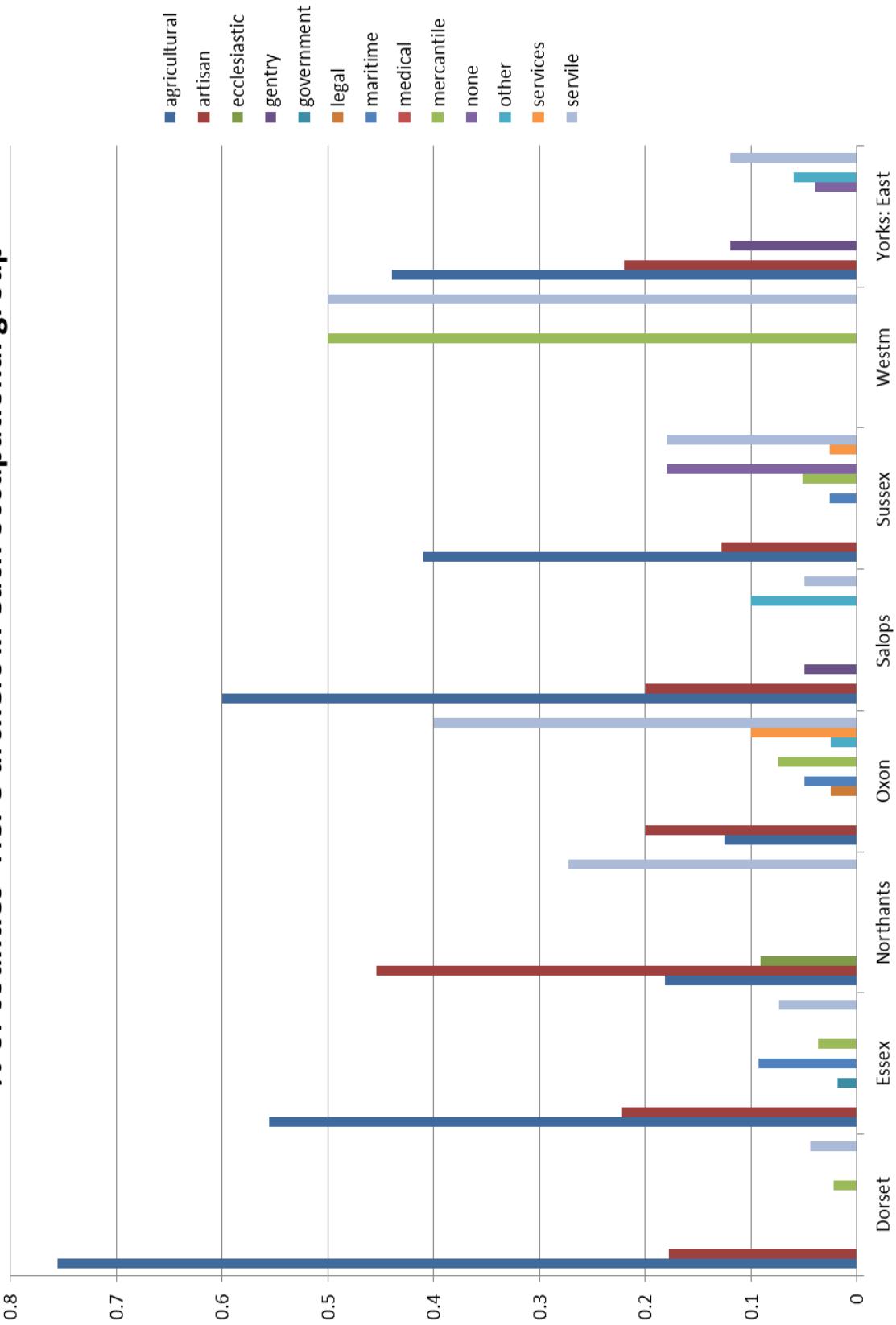
Occupational Group	Dorset	Essex	Northant	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
agricultural	75.6%	55.6%	18.2%	12.5%	60.0%	41.0%	0.0%	44.0%
artisan	17.8%	22.2%	45.5%	20.0%	20.0%	12.8%	0.0%	22.0%
ecclesiastic	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
gentry	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.0%
government	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
legal	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
maritime	0.0%	9.3%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
medical	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
mercantile	2.2%	3.7%	0.0%	7.5%	0.0%	5.1%	50.0%	0.0%
none	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.9%	0.0%	4.0%
other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.0%
services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
assistant/ servants	4.4%	7.4%	27.3%	40.0%	5.0%	17.9%	50.0%	12.0%

**% breakdown of combined Tier 1 and Tier 3 archers occupational groups by county**

Occupational Group	Dorset	Essex	Northant	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East
<b>agricultural</b>	<b>76.3%</b>	<b>59.0%</b>	<b>16.7%</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>57.3%</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>5.6%</b>	<b>47.6%</b>
<b>artisan</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>21.5%</b>	<b>45.5%</b>	<b>31.2%</b>	<b>24.8%</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>38.9%</b>	<b>18.4%</b>
<b>ecclesiastic</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>gentry</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>2.5%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>12.8%</b>
<b>government</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>legal</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>maritime</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>7.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>medical</b>	<b>0.0%</b>							
<b>mercantile</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>
<b>none</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>
<b>other</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>
<b>services</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>1.3%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>assistant/ servants</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>7.2%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>35.9%</b>	<b>9.3%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>30.6%</b>	<b>15.1%</b>



## % of counties' Tier 3 archers in each occupational group



**Tier 1 and 3 archers with occupation among most common occupations**

Standardised Occupation	Dorset			Essex			Northants			Oxon			Salops			Sussex			Westm			Yorks: East		
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
servant	3	2	7	3	13	3	27	16	6	1	7	7	1	1	16	6								
labourer	2	5	45	25	2	0	2	2	0	31	16	0	0	0	23	10								
cultivator	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
tenant	49	23	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
craftsman	3	0	6	0	9	5	1	1	6	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
tailor	1	2	1	2	1	0	7	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
free tenant	0	2	14	4	0	0	0	0	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
weaver	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
carpenter	1	3	2	2	3	0	5	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
shoe maker	0	2	2	1	0	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
smith	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
brewer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
merchant	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
husbandman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
butcher	5	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
shepherd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
fisher	0	0	5	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
franklin	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
constable	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
fuller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ploughman	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
squire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
textile merchant	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
farmer	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
alderman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
draper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

### Appendix 3.3

Captains	No. Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with occupation	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with occupation	County
Edmund, Earl of March	7	15	2	18	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	0	18	0	11	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	1	17	0	17	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	0	1	0	2	Dorset
John Frome	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Lord John Maltravers	1	9	1	8	Dorset
Sir Esmund Fitz Herbert	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Hugh Luterell	0	3	0	4	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	1	1	1	1	Dorset
Sir John Berkeley	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert de Assheton	0	4	0	1	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	0	7	0	6	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	0	1	0	1	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	6	26	6	20	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	1	10	0	14	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	13	0	16	Essex
Edward Sakyle	0	0	0	0	Essex
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	4	52	3	54	Essex
John Coggeshale	0	0	0	0	Essex
John Driver	0	0	0	0	Essex
John Sutton	0	3	0	1	Essex
Lord John Cobham	1	15	0	13	Essex
Lord Walter Fitz Walter	0	19	0	11	Essex
Richard Beamond	0	1	0	3	Essex
Sir Edward Burnell	0	2	0	8	Essex
Sir Henry le Scrope	1	6	1	16	Essex
Sir John Bohun	0	3	0	1	Essex
Sir John Neville	2	24	2	31	Essex
Sir William Bourchier	3	24	0	27	Essex
Sir William Marny	1	9	0	4	Essex
Thomas Holand	0	0	0	0	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	2	39	2	57	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham	0	77	0	69	Essex
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	12	9	3	10	Northamptonshire
Edward, Duke of York	0	65	0	34	Northamptonshire
Edward, Prince of Wales	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire

Captains	No. Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with occupation	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with occupation	County
Hugh Holte	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord John Roos	2	8	1	6	Northamptonshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord William Zouche	4	11	0	4	Northamptonshire
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Arundel	8	54	0	15	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Oxford	0	30	0	15	Northamptonshire
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	10	0	5	Northamptonshire
Sir John Blount	2	21	1	7	Northamptonshire
Sir John de Coupuldyk	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Sir John Golofre	3	11	0	1	Northamptonshire
Sir John Lumley	0	3	0	4	Northamptonshire
Sir John Neville	0	21	0	15	Northamptonshire
Sir John Roos	7	1	0	0	Northamptonshire
Sir Roger de Swillington	0	1	0	0	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	4	49	0	23	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	1	14	0	4	Northamptonshire
Edmund, Earl of March	12	33	1	29	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	27	12	6	10	Oxfordshire
John, Earl of Norfolk	34	38	7	29	Oxfordshire
Lord Edward Despencer	0	57	0	34	Oxfordshire
Lord John Clifford	0	13	0	8	Oxfordshire
Lord John Talbot	0	6	0	3	Oxfordshire
Lord Richard Grey	0	15	0	12	Oxfordshire
Lord Thomas Neville	2	29	0	15	Oxfordshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire
Lord William Zouche	0	10	0	1	Oxfordshire
Robert Langford	0	2	0	0	Oxfordshire
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	20	19	2	11	Oxfordshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	20	0	8	Oxfordshire
Sir John Arundel	2	41	0	28	Oxfordshire
Sir Thomas Camoys	0	10	0	6	Oxfordshire
Sir William de Molyns	0	5	0	0	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	4	39	0	31	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	2	10	0	6	Oxfordshire
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	11	0	12	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of March	8	15	4	12	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	3	4	1	2	Shropshire

Captains	No. Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with occupation	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with occupation	County
John Lovell	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord John Maltravers	0	4	0	3	Shropshire
Lord John Roos	0	2	0	2	Shropshire
Lord John Talbot	0	5	0	4	Shropshire
Lord William Ferrers	0	8	0	6	Shropshire
Lord William Zouche	1	3	0	1	Shropshire
Sir Edward Burnell	2	2	1	1	Shropshire
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	6	0	3	Shropshire
Sir Henry Ferrers	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir John Arundel	0	18	0	15	Shropshire
Sir John Cornwall	0	5	0	1	Shropshire
Sir John de Charlton	1	2	0	1	Shropshire
Sir John Grey	0	3	0	3	Shropshire
Sir Richard Talbot	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	0	15	0	8	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of March	16	31	1	19	Sussex
John Cambrey	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Heron	0	1	0	0	Sussex
John Pelham	0	7	0	2	Sussex
John Tyrell	0	3	0	0	Sussex
John, Earl of Norfolk	4	42	2	42	Sussex
Lord Thomas Camoys	0	17	0	8	Sussex
Sir Alan de Buxhill	0	9	0	1	Sussex
Sir Arnold Savage	0	9	0	2	Sussex
Sir Henry Hussee	1	14	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Arundel	9	43	2	15	Sussex
Sir John Bohun	2	3	1	1	Sussex
Sir John Brewes	1	5	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Grey	5	7	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Mortimer	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Philip	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir Thomas de Poynings	2	8	1	2	Sussex
Sir Thomas West	2	10	0	2	Sussex
Sir William Heron	0	13	0	0	Sussex
Sir William Phillip	1	9	1	1	Sussex
Thomas Skelton	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	38	38	12	64	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	14	0	0	Sussex
Walter Tyrell	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Lord John Clifford	10	12	3	5	Westmorland
Sir John Gray	0	1	0	0	Westmorland

Captains	No. Retinue archers matched to captain's landholdings	No. Retinue archers matched county	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with occupation	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with occupation	County
Sir John Holand	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir Richard Hastings	0	1	0	1	Westmorland
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir William Fulthorp	0	3	0	1	Westmorland
William de Louther	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Edmund, Earl of March	7	35	1	37	Yorkshire: East
Edward, Duke of York	33	53	5	55	Yorkshire: East
John Colville	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Lord John Clifford	1	22	0	20	Yorkshire: East
Lord John Roos	6	8	0	12	Yorkshire: East
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Sir Brian Stapleton	0	42	0	43	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry Brounflete	1	6	0	2	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry le Scrope	4	5	1	7	Yorkshire: East
Sir Henry Vavasour	0	1	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Sir Hugh Hastings	0	5	0	8	Yorkshire: East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	10	0	2	Yorkshire: East
Sir John Neville	17	27	2	26	Yorkshire: East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	21	14	0	10	Yorkshire: East
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	1	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	3	4	0	1	Yorkshire: East
Sir William Heron	0	3	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Thomas Dayvyle	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire: East
Thomas Umfraville	0	1	0	0	Yorkshire: East

		Captains		County	
		co.	local	Dorset	Dorset
assistants/ servants		co.	local	0 0 1	0 0 0
services	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
other	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
none	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
mercantile	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
medical	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
maritime	co.	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
legal	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
government	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
gentry	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
ecclesiastic	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
artisan	co.	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	0 0 0	0 0 2	0 0 0	0 0 0
agricultural	co.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
	local	2 11 4	8 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 0
		Edmund, Earl of March	1 12 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Edward, Earl of Devon	0 6 0	3 0 0	0 0 0
		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0 12 0	2 0 0	0 0 0
		John, Earl of Somerset	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		John Frome	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Lord John Maltravers	0 4 0	1 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Edmund Fitz Herbert	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Hugh Lutrell	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Ion Fitz Warin	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir John Berkeley	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Robert de Assheton	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Robert Ursewyk	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir Thomas West	0 5 0	1 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir William Bonville	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Sir William D'Angle	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	2 11 4	8 0 0	0 0 0
		William, Earl of Salisbury	0 10 0	4 0 0	0 0 0
		Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0 8 0	4 0 0	0 0 0
		Edward Sakvyle	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	3 27 0	16 0 0	0 0 0
		John Coggshall	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		John Driver	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
		John Sutton	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0

		Captains		County	
assistants/ servants		co.	1	Essex	Essex
services		local	0	0	0
other		co.	0	0	0
none		local	1	0	0
mercantile		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
medical		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
maritime		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
legal		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
government		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
gentry		co.	0	0	0
local		local	1	0	0
ecclesiastic		co.	0	0	0
local		local	0	0	0
artisan		co.	4	0	0
local		local	19	0	0
agricultural		co.	3	0	0
local		local	1	1	0
Lord John Cobham		0	7	0	5
Lord Walter Fitz Walter		0	6	0	4
Richard Beaumont		0	1	0	1
Sir Edward Burnell		0	4	0	2
Sir Henry le Scrope		1	7	0	5
Sir John Bohun		0	1	0	0
Sir John Neville		2	18	0	9
Sir William Bourchier		0	12	0	9
Sir William Marny		0	1	0	1
Thomas Holand		0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Arundel		0	26	0	14
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham		0	37	0	18
Edmund, Earl of Stafford		1	2	1	4
Edward, Duke of York		0	3	0	19
Edward, Prince of Wales		0	0	0	0
Hugh Holte		0	0	0	0
Lord John Roos		0	1	1	3
Lord William Lovell		0	0	0	0
Lord William Zouche		0	0	3	0
Ralph Neville		0	0	0	0
Richard, Earl of Arundel		0	2	0	6
Richard, Earl of Oxford		0	1	0	10
Sir Hugh le Despencer		0	1	0	2

		Captains		County	
		co.	local	3	Northants
		co.	local	0	0
assistants/ servants	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
services	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
other	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	1	0
none	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
mercantile	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
medical	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
maritime	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
legal	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
government	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
gentry	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
ecclesiastic	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
artisan	co.	1	3	0	0
	local	1	1	0	0
agricultural	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	1	0	0	0
		Sir John Blount	0	0	0
		Sir John de Coupuldyk	0	0	0
		Sir John Golofre	0	0	0
		Sir John Lumley	0	1	0
		Sir John Neville	0	4	0
		Sir John Roos	0	0	0
		Sir Roger de Swillington	0	0	0
		Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	2	0
		Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	1	0
		Edmund, Earl of March	1	5	0
		Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	3	0
		John, Earl of Norfolk	0	3	12
		Lord Edward Despencer	0	5	0
		Lord John Clifford	0	1	0
		Lord John Talbot	0	0	0
		Lord Richard Grey	0	0	0
		Lord Thomas Neville	0	3	0
		Lord William Lovell	0	0	0
		Lord William Zouche	0	0	0
		Robert Langford	0	0	0
		Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	0	2	5
		Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	1	0
		Sir John Arundel	0	2	10
		Sir Thomas Camoys	0	0	0

		Captains		County	
		co.	local	co.	local
assistants/ servants	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	15	0
services	co.	0	0	0	4
	local	0	0	5	0
other	co.	0	0	1	0
	local	0	0	0	0
none	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	1	0
mercantile	co.	0	0	1	0
	local	0	0	1	0
medical	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
maritime	co.	0	2	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
legal	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
government	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
gentry	co.	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
ecclesiastic	co.	0	10	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
artisan	co.	0	1	0	0
	local	0	0	2	0
agricultural	co.	0	3	0	0
	local	0	0	8	0
Sir William de Molyns		0	0	1	0
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury		0	3	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Warwick		0	0	1	0
William, Earl of Salisbury		0	3	0	0
Edmund, Earl of March		1	8	1	2
Edmund, Earl of Stafford		1	2	0	0
John Lovell		0	0	0	0
Lord John Mautravers		0	3	0	0
Lord John Roos		0	2	0	0
Lord John Talbot		0	3	0	0
Lord William Ferrers		0	4	0	2
Lord William Zouche		0	1	0	0
Sir Edward Burnell		0	0	0	0
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin		0	0	0	0
Sir Gilbert Talbot		0	3	0	0
Sir Henry Ferrers		0	0	0	0
Sir John Arundel		0	8	0	4
Sir John Cornwall		0	1	0	0
Sir John de Charlton		0	0	1	0
Sir John Grey		0	2	0	0
Sir Richard Talbot		0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Arundel		0	1	0	3
Edmund, Earl of March		0	0	14	0
John Cambrey		0	0	0	0

		Captains		County	
		co.	0	0	Sussex
		local	0	0	1
assistants/ servants	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
services	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
other	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	14	0
none	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
mercantile	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	1	0
medical	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
maritime	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
legal	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	1	0
government	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
gentry	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	0	0	0
ecclesiastic	co.	0	0	0	Sussex
	local	0	1	0	0
artisan	co.	0	0	2	Sussex
	local	0	1	0	0
agricultural	co.	0	3	0	Sussex
	local	0	1	8	0
		John Heron	0	0	0
		John Pelham	0	1	0
		John Tyrell	0	0	0
		John, Earl of Norfolk	2	28	0
		Lord Thomas Camoys	3	0	0
		Sir Alan de Buxhill	1	0	0
		Sir Arnold Savage	0	0	1
		Sir Henry Hussee	0	0	0
		Sir John Arundel	4	0	0
		Sir John Bohun	1	1	0
		Sir John Brewes	0	0	0
		Sir John Grey	0	0	0
		Sir John Mortimer	0	0	0
		Sir John Philip	0	0	0
		Sir Thomas de Poynings	1	0	0
		Sir Thomas West	1	0	0
		Sir William Heron	0	0	0
		Sir William Phillip	1	0	0
		Thomas Skelton	0	0	0
		Thomas, Earl of Arundel	7	39	4
		Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	0	13
		Walter Tyrell	0	0	0
		Lord John Clifford	3	5	0
		Sir John Gray	0	0	0

		Captains		County				
		co.	0	Westm	0	0	Westm	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
assistants/ servants		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
services		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
other		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
none		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
mercantile		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
medical		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
maritime		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
legal		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
government		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
gentry		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
ecclesiastic		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
artisan		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
agricultural		co.	0	0	0	0	0	
		local	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir John Holland	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir Richard Hastings	0	0	1	0	0	
		Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir William Fulthorpe	0	0	1	0	0	
		William de Louther	0	0	0	0	0	
		Edmund, Earl of March	1	15	0	0	0	
		Edward, Duke of York	1	25	1	14	0	
		John Colville	0	0	0	0	0	
		Lord John Clifford	0	7	0	5	0	
		Lord John Roos	0	0	0	0	0	
		Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir Brian Stapleton	0	16	0	11	0	
		Sir Henry Brounfielte	0	2	0	0	0	
		Sir Henry le Scrope	0	4	1	1	0	
		Sir Henry Vavasour	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir Hugh Hastings	0	4	0	1	0	
		Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	2	0	0	0	
		Sir John Neville	2	14	0	2	0	
		Sir Stephen le Scrope	0	5	0	1	0	
		Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir Thomas Ughtred	0	0	0	0	0	
		Sir William Heron	0	0	0	0	0	
		Thomas Dayvyle	0	0	0	0	0	
		Thomas Umfraville	0	0	0	0	0	

		County	county	0	0	Dors
		local	0	0	0	Dors
alderman	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
ploughman	county	2	2	2	2	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	1	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	1	0	1	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	1	1	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
shepherd	county	1	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
smith	county	2	0	0	1	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	1	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	1	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
weaver	county	1	0	1	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	0	1	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	1	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	1	0	0	Dors
	local	1	0	0	0	0
tenant	county	1	8	0	4	Dors
	local	1	0	0	0	0
cultivator	county	1	0	0	0	Dors
	local	0	0	0	0	0
labourer	county	1	0	2	0	Dors
	local	1	0	0	0	0
servant	county	1	1	0	1	Dors
	local	1	0	0	0	0
Captains		Edmund, Earl of March	0	0	0	Dors
		Edward, Earl of Devon	0	0	0	Dors
		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0	0	0	Dors
		John, Earl of Somerset	0	0	0	Dors
		John Frome	0	0	0	Dors
		Lord John Maltravers	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Esmund Fitz Herbert	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Hugh Lutrell	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Ion Fitz Warin	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir John Berkeley	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Robert de Asheton	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Robert Ursewyk	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir Thomas West	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir William Bonville	0	0	0	Dors
		Sir William D'Angle	0	1	0	Dors
		Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	0	0	Dors

		County			
		county	0	0	Dors
		local	0	0	0
draper	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
alderman	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
ploughman	county	0	1	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
shepherd	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	1	0
	local	0	0	0	0
smith	county	0	1	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	0	1	0
	local	0	0	0	0
weaver	county	0	2	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	0	3	0
	local	0	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	1	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
tenant	county	0	8	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
cultivator	county	0	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0	0
labourer	county	0	1	2	19
	local	0	0	0	0
servant	county	0	0	2	0
	local	0	0	0	5
	Captains				
	William, Earl of Salisbury				
	Edmund, Earl of Stratford				
	Edward Sakyle				
	Humphrey, Earl of Hereford				
	John Coggeshale				
	John Driver				
	John Sutton				
	Lord John Cobham				
	Lord Walter Fitz Walter				
	Richard				
	Beaumont				
	Sir Edward Burnell				
	Sir Henry le Scrope				
	Sir John Bohun				
	Sir John Neville				
	Sir William Bourchier				
	Sir William Marny				



		County		
		county	0	Nort
		local	0	0
draper	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
alderman	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
ploughman	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
shepherd	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	1	Nort
	local	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
smith	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
weaver	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	1	Nort
	local	0	4	0
tenant	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
cultivator	county	0	0	Nort
	local	0	0	0
labourer	county	0	1	Nort
	local	0	4	0
servant	county	0	1	Nort
	local	0	8	0
	Captains			
	Sir John de Coupuldyk	0	0	
	Sir John Golofre	0	0	
	Sir John Lumley	0	1	
	Sir John Neville	0	4	
	Sir John Roos	0	0	
	Sir Roger de Swillington	0	0	
	Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	3	
	Edmund, Earl of March	0	0	
	Edmund, Earl of Stafford	2	0	
	John, Earl of Norfolk	3	10	
	Lord Edward Despencer	0	15	
	Lord John Clifford	0	3	
	Lord John Talbot	0	0	
	Lord Richard Grey	6	0	
	Lord Thomas Neville	0	4	

		County																
		county	Oxon								Sal							
		local	Oxon								Sal							
draper	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
draper	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
alderman	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
alderman	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
farmer	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
squire	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ploughman	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ploughman	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fuller	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
constable	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
franklin	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fisher	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
shepherd	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
shepherd	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
butcher	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
husbandman	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
merchant	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
brewer	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
smith	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
smith	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
carpenter	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
weaver	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
weaver	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
free tenant	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
tailor	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
crafts man	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
tenant	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
tenant	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
cultivator	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
cultivator	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
labourer	county	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
labourer	local	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
servant	county	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
servant	local	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Captains	Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Lord William Zouche	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Robert Langford	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sir Aymer de Saint Anand	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	13	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sir John Arundel	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sir Thomas Camoys	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sir William de Molyns	0	15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		William, Earl of Salisbury	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Edmund, Earl of March	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		John Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Lord John Maltravers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Lord John Roos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

		County		
		county	0	Sal
		local	0	0
draper	county	0	0	Sal
	local	0	0	0
alderman	county	0	0	Sal
	local	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
ploughman	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
shepherd	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
smith	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
weaver	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	1	0
	local	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	0	1
	local	0	0	0
tenant	county	0	0	0
	local	0	0	0
cultivator	county	0	2	0
	local	0	0	0
labourer	county	0	0	1
	local	0	0	0
servant	county	0	1	0
	local	0	0	0
	Captains			
	Lord John Talbot	0	1	0
	Lord William Ferrers	0	0	1
	Lord William Zouche	0	0	0
	Sir Edward Burnell	0	0	0
	Sir Fulk Fitz Warin	0	0	0
	Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	0	0
	Sir Henry Ferrers	0	0	0
	Sir John de Charlton	0	0	0
	Sir John Grey	0	0	0
	Sir John Cornwall	0	0	0
	Sir Richard Talbot	0	0	0
	Thomas, Earl of Arundel	0	2	0
	Edmund, Earl of March	1	1	0
	John Cambrey	0	0	0
	John Heron	0	0	0
	John Pelham	0	1	0

		County	Sus		
		county	0	0	Sus
		local	0	0	0
draper	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
alderman	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
farmer	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
squire	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
ploughman	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
fuller	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
constable	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
franklin	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
fisher	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
shepherd	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
butcher	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
husbandman	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
merchant	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
brewer	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
smith	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
carpenter	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
weaver	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
free tenant	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
tailor	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
crafts man	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
tenant	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
cultivator	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
labourer	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
servant	county	0	0	0	Sus
	local	0	0	0	0
		Captains			
		John Tyrell	0	0	Sus
		John, Earl of Norfolk	0	28	Sus
		Lord Thomas Camoys	0	0	Sus
		Sir Alan de Buxhill	0	0	Sus
		Sir Arnold Savage	0	0	Sus
		Sir Henry Hussey	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Arundel	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Bohun	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Brewes	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Grey	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Mortimer	0	0	Sus
		Sir John Philip	0	0	Sus
		Sir Thomas de Poyntings	0	1	Sus
		Sir Thomas West	0	0	Sus
		Sir William Heron	0	0	Sus
		Sir William Phillip	0	1	Sus





### Appendix 3.4

Occupational Groups								
	Dorset	Essex	Northant	Oxon	Salop	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
agricultural	12	18	22	32	16	20	4	11
artisan	8	11	8	14	7	8	3	4
ecclesiastic	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
gentry	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
government	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
legal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
maritime	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mercantile	2	3	0	3	2	3	0	1
none	1	3	0	1	1	4	0	0
other	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
services	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
assistants/servants	1	11	4	5	5	8	1	4

Occupations								
	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East
servant	1	11	4	5	5	8	1	4
laborer	2	4	6	10	7	9	1	3
cultivator	6	7	9	16	5	8	1	5
tenant	2	1	1	2	2	2	0	0
craftsman	3	2	0	4	0	2	1	1
tailor	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
free tenant	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	0
weaver	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
carpenter	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
shoe maker	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
smith	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
brewer	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
merchant	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0
husbandman	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	0
butcher	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
shepherd	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
fisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
franklin	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
constable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fuller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ploughman	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1
squire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
textile merchant	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
farmer	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
juror	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
draper	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

### Appendix 3.5

Tax Year				
Total pence paid	1379 number of tax payers	1381 number of tax payers	% of taxpayers 1379	% of taxpayers 1381
3		29	0.00%	0.07%
4	75365	3398	83.40%	7.96%
5		14	0.00%	0.03%
6	9020	2341	9.98%	5.49%
7		4	0.00%	0.01%
8	445	1974	0.49%	4.63%
9		172	0.00%	0.40%
10	5	192	0.01%	0.45%
11		9	0.00%	0.02%
12	3115	26061	3.45%	61.08%
13		14	0.00%	0.03%
14		65	0.00%	0.15%
15		39	0.00%	0.09%
16	45	886	0.05%	2.08%
17		1	0.00%	0.00%
18	31	1595	0.03%	3.74%
19		7	0.00%	0.02%
20	42	785	0.05%	1.84%
21		58	0.00%	0.14%
22		50	0.00%	0.12%
23		2	0.00%	0.00%
24	1136		1.26%	0.00%
25		12	0.00%	0.03%
26		130	0.00%	0.30%
27		65	0.00%	0.15%
28		444	0.00%	1.04%
29		5	0.00%	0.01%
30		1253	0.00%	2.94%
31		4	0.00%	0.01%
32		240	0.00%	0.56%
33		9	0.00%	0.02%
34		17	0.00%	0.04%

Tax Year				
Total pence paid	1379 number of tax payers	1381 number of tax payers	% of taxpayers 1379	% of taxpayers 1381
36		1348	0.00%	3.16%
38		14	0.00%	0.03%
39		6	0.00%	0.01%
40	706	292	0.78%	0.68%
42		113	0.00%	0.26%
44		21	0.00%	0.05%
45		6	0.00%	0.01%
46		2	0.00%	0.00%
47		1	0.00%	0.00%
48	2	381	0.00%	0.89%
50		4	0.00%	0.01%
52		17	0.00%	0.04%
54		23	0.00%	0.05%
56	9	12	0.01%	0.03%
58		1	0.00%	0.00%
59		2	0.00%	0.00%
60	3	178	0.00%	0.42%
62		1	0.00%	0.00%
64		3	0.00%	0.01%
66		4	0.00%	0.01%
68		10	0.00%	0.02%
70		1	0.00%	0.00%
72		96	0.00%	0.22%
74		1	0.00%	0.00%
76		3	0.00%	0.01%
78		3	0.00%	0.01%
80	261	66	0.29%	0.15%
84		24	0.00%	0.06%
86		1	0.00%	0.00%
88		2	0.00%	0.00%
90		1	0.00%	0.00%
92		3	0.00%	0.01%

	Tax Year			
Total pence paid	1379 number of tax payers	1381 number of tax payers	% of taxpayers 1379	% of taxpayers 1381
96		38	0.00%	0.09%
98		3	0.00%	0.01%
100		4	0.00%	0.01%
104		2	0.00%	0.00%
108		14	0.00%	0.03%
112		1	0.00%	0.00%
116		2	0.00%	0.00%
120	4	28	0.00%	0.07%
124		3	0.00%	0.01%
132		2	0.00%	0.00%
140		3	0.00%	0.01%
144		19	0.00%	0.04%
150		1	0.00%	0.00%
156		2	0.00%	0.00%
160	15	16	0.02%	0.04%
168		2	0.00%	0.00%
192		1	0.00%	0.00%
208		1	0.00%	0.00%
212		1	0.00%	0.00%
216		3	0.00%	0.01%
240	149	5	0.16%	0.01%
242		1	0.00%	0.00%
480	7		0.01%	0.00%
1200	1		0.00%	0.00%
<b>Total Taxpayers</b>	<b>90361</b>	<b>42667</b>		

## Appendix 3.6

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total
3	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1	1381
4	853	32	n/a	32	3283	23	1174	185	n/a
5	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	4	n/a	0
6	113	22	n/a	67	493	18	211	88	n/a
7	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	n/a	0
8	0	20	n/a	56	9	12	15	132	n/a
9	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	4	n/a	2
10	0	0	n/a	8	1	3	0	25	n/a
11	0	0	n/a	2	0	0	1	n/a	0
12	78	1069	n/a	1368	113	249	93	950	n/a
13	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	3	n/a	0
14	0	1	n/a	1	0	2	n/a	12	0
15	0	1	n/a	1	0	0	9	n/a	0
16	0	8	n/a	38	2	7	0	40	n/a
17	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
18	0	64	n/a	78	2	7	0	58	n/a
19	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
20	0	14	n/a	21	0	10	0	34	n/a
21	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	1	n/a	0
22	0	0	n/a	2	0	2	n/a	0	0
23	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
24	13	0	n/a	0	22	0	10	0	n/a
25	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	2	n/a	0
26	0	3	n/a	2	0	0	6	n/a	0
27	0	1	n/a	0	0	0	1	n/a	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total
1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
28	0	10	n/a	18	0	3	0	31	n/a 1
29	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0 22
30	0	59	n/a	183	0	4	0	48	n/a 0 11
31	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0 0 0
32	0	29	n/a	3	0	1	0	15	n/a 0 0 0
33	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0 0 0
34	0	1	n/a	0	0	0	2	n/a 0	0 0 0
36	0	27	n/a	75	0	5	0	87	n/a 0 16 0
38	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	1	n/a 0	0 0 0
39	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0 0 0
40	19	9	n/a	16	18	2	14	28	n/a 3 43 4 10
42	0	0	n/a	3	0	0	3	n/a 0	0 0 0
44	0	1	n/a	0	0	0	3	n/a 0	0 0 0
45	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0	0 0 0
46	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0	0 1 0 1
47	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0	0 0 0 0
48	0	2	n/a	9	0	2	0	22	n/a 0 0 6 0
50	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0	0 0 0 1 0 1
52	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1
54	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1	
56	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1
58	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1	
59	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1	
60	0	0	n/a	6	0	0	0	12	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 4 0 1
62	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total
1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
64	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
66	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
68	0	0	n/a	0	0	2	n/a	0	0
70	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
72	0	0	n/a	1	0	5	n/a	0	20
74	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
76	0	0	n/a	0	0	1	n/a	0	1
78	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	2
80	6	0	n/a	1	5	14	n/a	24	59
84	0	0	n/a	0	0	1	n/a	3	24
86	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
88	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
90	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
92	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
96	0	0	n/a	0	0	5	n/a	4	9
98	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
100	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
104	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
108	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1	2
112	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
116	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
120	1	0	n/a	0	0	3	n/a	2	8
124	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1	1
132	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1	1
140	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379
144	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	0
150	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
156	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
160	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
168	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
192	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
208	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
212	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
216	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
240	2	1	n/a	0	6	0	3	n/a	0
242	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
480	1	0	n/a	0	0	0	1	n/a	0
1200	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0

## Appendix 3.7

Number of Section 1 matches to Tier 1 archers in most common tax brackets												
Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	1379	1381	1379	1381
4d	44	0	n/a	2	184	90	87	6	n/a	2	155	6
6d	7	1	n/a	2	24	8	17	8	n/a	1	17	0
8d	0	1	n/a	2	0	0	2	11	n/a	2	1	4
12d	6	60	n/a	56	4	3	12	54	n/a	57	9	8
16d	0	1	n/a	1	0	0	0	2	n/a	3	0	0
18d	0	3	n/a	2	0	0	0	4	n/a	2	0	0
20d	0	0	n/a	2	0	0	0	4	n/a	3	0	1
24d	1	0	n/a	0	0	1	0	0	n/a	0	7	0
28d	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	3	n/a	0	0	0
30d	0	1	n/a	11	0	0	0	3	n/a	0	1	0
36d	0	0	n/a	3	0	0	0	6	n/a	0	1	9

Number of Section 1 matches to Tier 3 archers in most common tax brackets												
Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	1379	1381	1379	1381
4d	27	3	n/a	0	5	53	8	n/a	4	71	0	8
6d	5	0	n/a	1	4	0	10	1	n/a	1	8	0
8d	0	1	n/a	3	0	2	0	1	n/a	3	0	2
12d	4	30	n/a	17	17	10	5	26	n/a	32	5	4
16d	0	0	n/a	2	0	0	0	1	n/a	1	0	0
18d	0	3	n/a	1	0	0	0	6	n/a	0	2	0
20d	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	0	n/a	2	0	0
24d	0	0	n/a	0	4	0	0	0	n/a	0	3	0
28d	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a	0	0	0
30d	0	1	n/a	6	2	0	0	1	n/a	0	0	0
36d	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	n/a	0	0	0

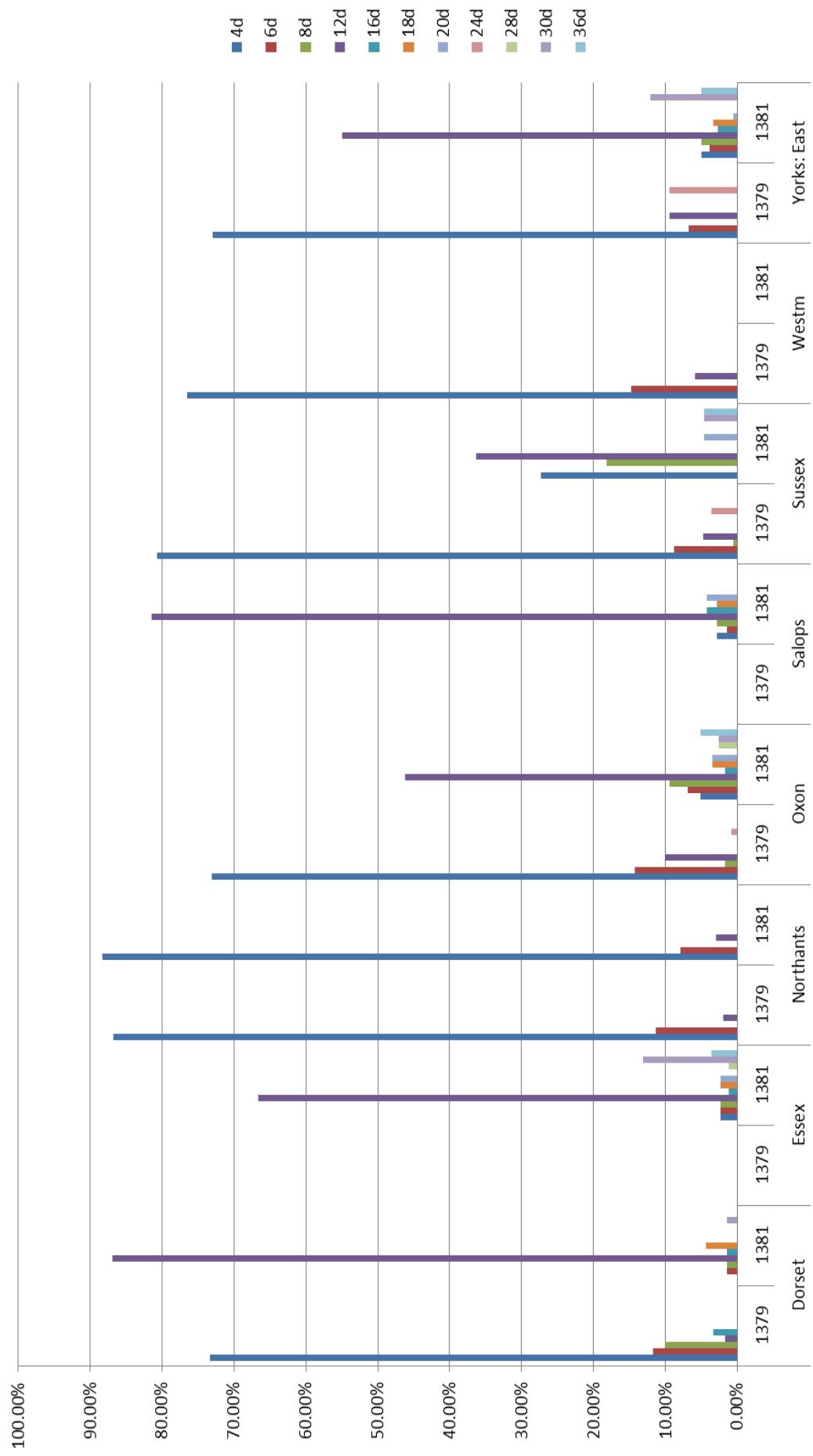
### Number of Section 1 matches to Tier 1 archers in most common tax brackets

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
4d	73.3%	0.0%	n/a	2.4%	86.8%	88.2%	73.1%	5.1%	n/a	2.9%	80.7%	27.3%	76.5%	n/a	73.0%	5.2%
6d	11.7%	1.4%	n/a	2.4%	11.3%	7.8%	14.3%	6.8%	n/a	1.4%	8.9%	0.0%	14.7%	n/a	6.8%	4.0%
8d	0.0%	1.4%	n/a	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	9.4%	n/a	2.9%	0.5%	18.2%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	5.2%
12d	10.0%	87.0%	n/a	66.7%	1.9%	2.9%	10.1%	46.2%	n/a	81.4%	4.7%	36.4%	5.9%	n/a	9.5%	57.8%
16d	0.0%	1.4%	n/a	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	n/a	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	2.9%
18d	0.0%	4.3%	n/a	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	n/a	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	3.5%
20d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	n/a	4.3%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.6%
24d	1.7%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	9.5%	0.0%
28d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%
30d	0.0%	1.4%	n/a	13.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	12.7%
36d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	5.1%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	5.2%

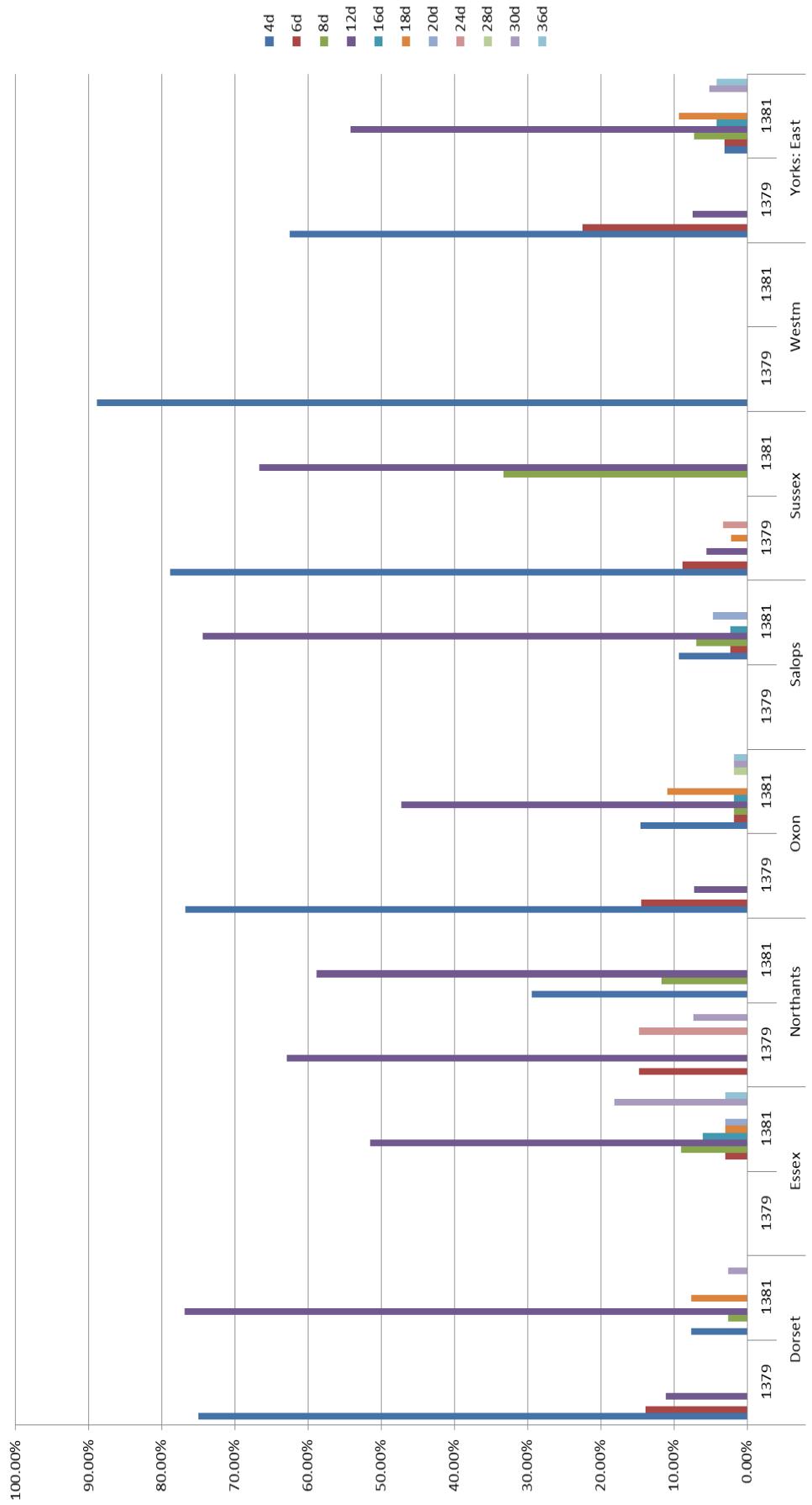
### Number of Section 1 matches to Tier 3 archers in most common tax brackets

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
4d	75.0%	7.7%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	29.4%	76.8%	14.8%	n/a	9.3%	78.9%	0.0%	88.9%	n/a	62.5%	3.1%
6d	13.9%	0.0%	n/a	3.0%	14.8%	0.0%	14.5%	1.9%	n/a	2.3%	8.9%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	22.5%	3.1%
8d	0.0%	2.6%	n/a	9.1%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%	1.9%	n/a	7.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	7.3%
12d	11.1%	76.9%	n/a	51.5%	63.0%	58.8%	7.2%	48.1%	n/a	74.4%	5.6%	66.7%	0.0%	n/a	7.5%	54.2%
16d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	n/a	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	4.2%
18d	0.0%	7.7%	n/a	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	9.4%
20d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%
24d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%
28d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%
30d	0.0%	2.6%	n/a	18.2%	7.4%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	5.2%
36d	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	n/a	0.0%	4.2%

## % of counties' Tier 1 archers in most common tax brackets



### % of counties' Tier 3 archers in most common tax brackets



Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks: East		Total		
	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	ier	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 1	Tier 3	
1379	1381	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4	44	0	27	3	2	0	184	90	0	5	87	6	53	8	2	4	155	6	71
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6	7	1	5	2	1	24	8	4	0	17	8	10	1	1	17	0	8	0	
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
8	0	1	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	2	11	0	1	2	0	0	9	
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
12	6	60	4	30	56	17	4	3	17	10	12	54	5	26	57	32	9	8	
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
16	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	5	0	
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	
18	0	3	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	4	0	6	2	0	0	2	0	12	
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
20	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total			
									Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	1	0	11	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	6	0	1	0
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex			Northants			Oxon			Salops			Sussex			Westm			Yorks: East			Total			
		Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3	
1379	1381	1379	1381	1381	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks: East	Total			
									Tier 1	Tier 3	Tier 1	Tier 3
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
108	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
124	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
140	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
144	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
160	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
168	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
192	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
208	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
212	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
216	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
240	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
242	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
480	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379
1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1381	1379	1381	1379

Captains	1379		1381		County
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	
Edmund, Earl of March	0	12	5	18	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	0	12	0	14	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0	10	0	16	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	0	1	0	1	Dorset
John Froune	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Lord John Maltravers	1	6	0	5	Dorset
Sir Esmund Fitz Herbert	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Hugh Lutrell	0	2	0	5	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	1	1	0	0	Dorset
Sir John Berkeley	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert de Ascheton	0	1	0	3	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	0	5	0	7	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	0	1	0	0	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	4	23	1	16	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	6	0	13	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford			0	14	Essex
Edward Sakvyle			0	0	Essex
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			4	46	Essex
John Coggeshale			0	0	Essex
John Driver			0	0	Essex
John Sutton			0	2	Essex
Lord John Cobham			0	5	Essex
Lord Walter Fitz Walter			0	5	Essex
Richard Beaumont			0	1	Essex
Sir Edward Burnell			0	6	Essex
Sir Henry le Scrope			0	9	Essex
Sir John Bohun			0	2	Essex
Sir John Neville			3	20	Essex
Sir William Bourchier			0	6	Essex
Sir William Marmy			0	2	Essex

Captains	1379		1381		County
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	
Thomas Holand			0	0	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel			0	25	Essex
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham			0	49	Essex
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	8	14	0	2	Northamptonshire
Edward, Duke of York	0	80	0	12	Northamptonshire
Edward, Prince of Wales	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Hugh Holte	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord John Roos	4	10	0	2	Northamptonshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord William Zouche	0	13	0	0	Northamptonshire
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Arundel	5	54	0	10	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Oxford	0	36	0	4	Northamptonshire
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	11	0	1	Northamptonshire
Sir John Blount	2	25	0	1	Northamptonshire
Sir John de Coupuldyk	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Sir John Golofre	3	10	0	3	Northamptonshire
Sir John Lumley	0	3	0	1	Northamptonshire
Sir John Neville	0	29	0	7	Northamptonshire
Sir John Roos	1	1	0	0	Northamptonshire
Sir Roger de Swillington	0	2	0	0	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	4	65	0	3	Northamptonshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	1	14	0	2	Northamptonshire
Edmund, Earl of March	1	26	5	43	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	9	9	10	Oxfordshire
John, Earl of Norfolk	11	32	0	35	Oxfordshire
Lord Edward Despencer	0	40	0	53	Oxfordshire
Lord John Clifford	0	7	0	16	Oxfordshire
Lord John Talbot	0	2	0	7	Oxfordshire
Lord Richard Grey	0	10	0	12	Oxfordshire
Lord Thomas Neville	1	17	0	26	Oxfordshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire

Captains	1379		1381		County
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	
Lord William Zouche	0	6	0	0	Oxfordshire
Robert Langford	0	3	0	0	Oxfordshire
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	7	19	3	3	Oxfordshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	14	0	0	Oxfordshire
Sir John Arundel	1	35	3	3	Oxfordshire
Sir Thomas Camoys	0	4	0	0	Oxfordshire
Sir William de Molyns	0	3	0	0	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	4	35	0	0	Oxfordshire
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	2	8	0	0	Oxfordshire
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	9	0	0	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of March			6	16	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford			1	15	Shropshire
John Lovell			1	2	Shropshire
Lord John Maltravers			0	0	Shropshire
Lord John Roos			0	6	Shropshire
Lord John Talbot			0	1	Shropshire
Lord William Ferrers			0	5	Shropshire
Lord William Zouche			0	10	Shropshire
Sir Edward Burnell			1	2	Shropshire
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin			2	2	Shropshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot			0	0	Shropshire
Sir Henry Ferrers			0	5	Shropshire
Sir John Arundel			0	0	Shropshire
Sir John Cornwall			0	21	Shropshire
Sir John de Charlton			0	2	Shropshire
Sir John Grey			0	4	Shropshire
Sir Richard Talbot			0	0	Shropshire
Thomas, Earl of Arundel			0	11	Sussex
Edmund, Earl of March	0	50	3	3	Sussex
John Cambrey	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Heron	0	2	0	0	Sussex
John Pelham	0	14	0	0	Sussex

Captains	1379		1381		County
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	
John Tyrell	0	12	0	0	Sussex
John, Earl of Norfolk	4	58	0	4	Sussex
Lord Thomas Camoys	0	22	0	0	Sussex
Sir Alan de Buxhill	0	10	0	1	Sussex
Sir Arnold Savage	0	16	0	1	Sussex
Sir Henry Hussey	1	16	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Arundel	6	56	0	5	Sussex
Sir John Bohun	1	3	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Brewes	0	6	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Grey	0	11	3	3	Sussex
Sir John Mortimer	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Philip	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir Thomas de Poyntz	2	9	0	0	Sussex
Sir Thomas West	1	13	0	0	Sussex
Sir William Heron	0	19	0	3	Sussex
Sir William Phillip	1	10	0	1	Sussex
Thomas Skeleton	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	23	51	0	3	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	20	0	2	Sussex
Walter Tyrell	0	1	0	0	Westmorland
Lord John Clifford	7	13	0	0	Westmorland
Sir John Gray	0	1	0	0	Westmorland
Sir John Holand	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir Richard Hastings	0	1	0	0	Westmorland
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir William Fulthorpe	0	3	0	0	Westmorland
William de Louthier	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Edmund, Earl of March	0	45	7	95	Yorkshire East
Edward, Duke of York	1	41	4	80	Yorkshire East
John Colville	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Lord John Clifford	0	12	0	40	Yorkshire East
Lord John Roos	0	7	3	19	Yorkshire East

Captains	1379		1381		County
	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched to landholdings with tax paid	No. Retinue archers matched county wide with tax paid	
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Brian Stapleton	0	29	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Brounfielte	0	4	1	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry le Scrope	0	3	1	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Vavasour	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh Hastings	0	4	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	3	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir John Neville	5	18	1	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	0	7	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	0	1	2	2	Yorkshire East
Sir William Heron	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Davyile	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Umfraville	0	2	0	0	Yorkshire East

Captain	1379												County
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d		
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county
Edmund, Earl of March	0	8	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	0	9	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
John Frome	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Lord John Maitravers	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Edmund Fitz Herbert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Hugh Lutrell	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir John Berkley	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert de Assheton	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	12	6	7	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	6	7	1	4	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Edward, Duke of York	0	58	0	14	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Edward, Prince of Wales	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Hugh Holte	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord John Roos	1	6	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Lord William Zouche	0	10	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Arundel	5	45	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire
Richard, Earl of Oxford	0	26	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Northamptonshire
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	Northamptonshire

Captain	1379										County
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county
Sir John Blount	1	19	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sir John de Coupuldyk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Golofre	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Lumley	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Neville	0	19	0	6	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Sir John Roos	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Roger de Swillington	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	2	44	2	14	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	1	12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edmund, Earl of March	0	16	1	7	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
John, Earl of Norfolk	6	15	3	8	0	1	2	8	0	0	0
Lord Edward Despencer	0	28	0	7	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
Lord John Clifford	0	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Lord John Talbot	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord Richard Grey	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Lord Thomas Neville	0	11	1	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord William Zouche	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Langford	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	5	12	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	10	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Arundel	0	21	1	8	0	1	0	5	0	0	0
Sir Thomas Camoys	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sir William de Molyns	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	1	21	2	8	0	1	1	5	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	6	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Captain	1379												County			
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d	county	local	county	local	county
Edmund, Earl of March	0	25	0	16	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Sussex
John Cambrey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Heron	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Pelham	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Tyrell	0	7	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John, Earl of Norfolk	4	30	0	14	0	1	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Lord Thomas Camoys	0	12	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	Sussex
Sir Alan de Buxhill	0	7	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Sir Arnold Savage	0	8	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir Henry Hussey	1	12	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Arundel	5	32	1	14	0	2	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	Sussex
Sir John Bohun	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Brewes	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Grey	0	6	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Mortimer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir John Philip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir Thomas de Poynings	1	6	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Sir Thomas West	1	8	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Sir William Heron	0	10	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	Sussex
Sir William Phillip	1	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Thomas Skelton	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	11	30	6	10	2	2	4	7	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	Westmorland
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	14	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Westmorland
Walter Tyrell	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Lord John Clifford	3	8	2	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir John Gray	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir John Holand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir Richard Hastings	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland

Captain	1379										County
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Sir William Fulthorpe	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
William de Louther	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Westmorland
Edmund, Earl of March	0	27	0	16	0	0	1	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Edward, Duke of York	1	24	0	12	0	0	4	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
John Colville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Lord John Clifford	0	5	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Lord John Roos	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Brian Stapleton	0	16	0	10	0	0	1	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Brounfile	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry le Scrope	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Vavasour	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh Hastings	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir John Neville	2	12	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir William Heron	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Davyde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Umfraville	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East

Captain	1381												County				
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d	county	local	county	local	county	
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	
Edmund, Earl of March	1	2	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	Dorset
Edward, Earl of Devon	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	Dorset
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Dorset
John, Earl of Somerset	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
John Frome	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Lord John Maltravers	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Esmund Fitz Herbert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Hugh Lutrell	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Dorset
Sir Ion Fitz Warin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir John Berkeley	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert de Assheton	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Robert Ursewyk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir Thomas West	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William Bonville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Sir William D'Angle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Dorset
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	2	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	Dorset
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	1	0	0	1	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Dorset
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	Essex
Edward Sakvyle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Essex
Humphrey, Earl of Hereford	0	0	3	0	0	3	27	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	Essex
John Coggeshale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Essex
John Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Essex
John Sutton	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Essex
Lord John Cobham	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	Essex

Captain	1381										County		
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d	county	local
Lord Walter Fitz Walter	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Richard Beaumont	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sir Edward Burnell	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Henry le Scrope	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sir John Bohun	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Neville	0	0	0	1	2	11	0	1	0	0	1	1	5
Sir William Bourchier	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Sir William Marny	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas Holand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	0	1	0	1	0	16	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Thomas, Earl of Nottingham	0	2	0	1	0	31	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edward, Duke of York	0	2	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	0
Edward, Prince of Wales	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hugh Holte	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord John Roos	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord William Zouche	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Richard, Earl of Arundel	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Richard, Earl of Oxford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Blount	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John de Coupldyk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Captain	1381												County										
	4d		6d		8d		12d		16d		18d		20d		24d		28d		30d		36d		
	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county											
Sir John Golofre	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Lumley	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Neville	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir John Roos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Roger de Swillington	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Edmund, Earl of March	0	5	1	3	0	2	3	17	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	2	3	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	Oxfordshire
John, Earl of Norfolk	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	14	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	Oxfordshire
Lord Edward Despencer	0	6	0	4	0	5	0	23	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	4
Lord John Clifford	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Oxfordshire
Lord John Talbot	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	Oxfordshire
Lord Richard Grey	0	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire
Lord Thomas Neville	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	Oxfordshire
Lord William Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire
Lord William Zouche	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Oxfordshire
Robert Langford	0	1	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire
Sir Aymer de Saint Amand	0	1	1	1	2	1	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Oxfordshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	9	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Oxfordshire
Sir John Arundel	1	5	1	3	0	1	1	13	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	Oxfordshire	
Sir Thomas Camoys	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Oxfordshire	
Sir William de Molyns	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Oxfordshire	
Thomas, Earl of Salisbury	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	17	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	Oxfordshire	

Captain	1381												County				
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d						
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county		
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	Oxfordshire
William, Earl of Salisbury	0	3	0	2	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Oxfordshire
Edmund, Earl of March	0	1	0	0	1	6	12	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Edmund, Earl of Stafford	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
John Lovell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord John Maltravers	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord John Roos	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord John Talbot	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord William Ferrers	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Lord William Zouche	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Edward Burnell	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Fulk Fitz Warin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Gilbert Talbot	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Henry Ferrers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir John Arundel	0	2	0	0	0	0	17	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir John Cornwall	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir John de Charlton	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir John Grey	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Sir Richard Talbot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Shropshire
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	0	2	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Sussex
Edmund, Earl of March	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Sussex
John Cambrey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Heron	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex
John Pelham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex

Captain	1381												County					
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d							
	county	local	county	county	local	county	local											
John Tyrell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex			
John, Earl of Norfolk	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Sussex		
Lord Thomas Camoys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir Alan de Buxhill	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir Arnold Savage	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir Henry Husee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Arundel	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Bohun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Brewes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Grey	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Mortimer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir John Philip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir Thomas de Poynings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir Thomas West	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Sir William Heron	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Sussex	
Sir William Phillip	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Thomas Skelton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Thomas, Earl of Arundel	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Thomas, Earl of Warwick	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Sussex		
Walter Tyrell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Sussex		
Edmund, Earl of March	0	11	0	5	0	4	3	40	0	3	1	10	0	0	1	0	5	Yorkshire East
Edward, Duke of York	1	10	0	6	0	3	1	27	0	3	0	8	0	0	3	0	5	Yorkshire East
John Colville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Lord John Clifford	0	5	0	1	0	2	0	11	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	5	Yorkshire East

Captain	1381												County								
	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	36d										
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county						
Lord John Roos	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	4	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	3	0	2	Yorkshire East		
Ralph Neville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East		
Sir Brian Stapleton	0	8	0	4	0	0	22	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	3	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Brounfielte	0	2	0	0	1	1	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry le Scrope	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Henry Vavasour	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh Hastings	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Hugh le Despencer	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Yorkshire East
Sir John Neville	0	4	0	3	0	2	0	15	0	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	4	Yorkshire East
Sir Stephen le Scrope	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	9	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Clifford	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Sir Thomas Ughtred	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Yorkshire East
Sir William Heron	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Dayvyle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East
Thomas Umfraville	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yorkshire East

County		1379										1381										
		4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	county	local									
Dorset	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Essex												n/a										
Northamptonshire	1	12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Oxfordshire	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Shropshire												n/a										
Sussex	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Westmorland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Yorkshire East	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Dorset	1	8	0	0	1	1	67	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	
Essex	0	5	0	3	5	87	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	22	0	3	0	0	
Northamptonshire	0	3	0	0	0	7	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Oxfordshire	3	40	3	25	1	18	9	159	0	5	1	19	0	20	0	0	0	5	1	11	1	
Shropshire	0	7	0	0	0	3	9	74	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Sussex	2	6	0	0	2	8	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	
Westmorland												n/a										
Yorkshire East	1	50	0	26	1	17	8	145	1	15	3	45	0	1	0	2	32	2	31	0	0	0

County		1379										1381									
		4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d	4d	6d	8d	12d	16d	18d	20d	24d	28d	30d
local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county	local	county
Dorset	16.7%	65.0%	66.7%	23.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Essex																					
Northamptonshire	67.9%	72.8%	28.6%	16.9%	0.0%	0.5%	3.6%	7.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Oxfordshire	44.4%	65.2%	37.0%	19.7%	3.7%	1.8%	14.8%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Shropshire																					
Sussex	61.5%	72.5%	17.9%	27.8%	7.7%	3.4%	12.8%	11.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Westmorland	42.9%	61.1%	28.6%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Yorkshire East	50.0%	59.1%	33.3%	29.5%	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

### Appendix 3.8

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	OXON	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East	1379	1381
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
3	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	n/a
4	37	0	n/a	2	133	0	30	5	n/a	2
5	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
6	5	1	n/a	2	22	1	10	3	n/a	1
7	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
8	0	2	n/a	2	0	0	1	6	n/a	2
9	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
10	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
11	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
12	4	41	n/a	44	4	15	5	27	n/a	54
13	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
14	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	2
15	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
16	0	1	n/a	1	0	0	0	n/a	3	0
17	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
18	0	0	n/a	2	0	0	0	3	n/a	2
19	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
20	0	0	n/a	3	0	1	0	2	n/a	3
21	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
22	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
23	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
24	1	0	n/a	0	0	0	1	0	n/a	0
25	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a	0
26	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a	0
27	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
28	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	2	n/a	0
29	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
30	0	0	n/a	11	0	0	0	2	n/a	0
31	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
32	0	2	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
33	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
34	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
36	0	0	n/a	2	0	0	0	3	n/a	0
38	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
39	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
40	2	0	n/a	0	0	0	1	2	n/a	0
42	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
44	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
45	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
46	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
47	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
48	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
50	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
52	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
54	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
56	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
58	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
59	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
60	0	0	n/a	1	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
62	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
64	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
66	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
68	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	1
70	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
72	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
74	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
76	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
78	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
80	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	1	0	1	n/a	1	0
84	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
86	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
88	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
90	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
92	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
96	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
98	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
100	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
104	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
108	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
112	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
116	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
120	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
124	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
132	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
140	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
144	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
150	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
156	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
160	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
168	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
192	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
208	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
212	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
216	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
240	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0
242	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East	
480	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
1200	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a	0
1379	1379	1381	1379	1379	1381	1379	1379	1381	1381

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset		Essex		Northants		Oxon		Salops		Sussex		Westm		Yorks East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	60	1	83	5	71	9	117	7	75	0	83	7	20	0	68	3
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	8	2	8	4	5	3	6	4	6	1	11	2	4	0	6	2
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	3	1	4	0	1	0	0
9	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	3	31	5	54	1	33	9	46	4	22	4	33	2	7	2	20
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
16	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	3
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	4	0	4	0	3	0	8	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	3
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	3	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	5	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	1	0	5	0	2	0	10	0	2	0	5	0	1	0	2
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	OXON	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
84	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
112	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
124	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
144	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
160	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
168	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
192	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
208	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
212	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
216	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
240	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
242	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Amount Paid (d)	Dorset	Essex	Northants	Oxon	Salops	Sussex	Westm	Yorks East	
	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1379	1381	1381
480	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



# **Appendix 4**



## Appendix 4.1

Name	Year	Type of service	Location of service	Captain	Joint Captain	Sub-Captain	Muster	County
Edward Whytyng	1387	Naval	France	Lord John Beaumont			E101/40/34	Dorset
Edward Whytyng	1388	Naval	France	Lord John Welles			E101/41/5	Dorset
Gerard Sape	1383		Scotland	Sir Henry Percy junior			BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	Yorks East
Gerard Sape	1384	Expedition	Scotland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland			E101/40/5	Yorks East
Henry Staunton	1374	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir William de Windsor			E101/33/34	Essex
Henry Staunton	1375	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir William de Windsor			E101/33/38	Essex
Henry Staunton	1415	Expedition	France	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester	Sir Lewis Berney		E101/45/13	Essex
John Bode	1374	Naval		Sir William Neville			E101/33/13	Essex
John Bode	1387	Naval	France	Sir Thomas Trivet			E101/40/34	Essex
John Bode	1415	Expedition	France				E101/45/1	Essex
John Bode	1417	Expedition	France	Sir William Phillip			E101/51/2	Essex
John Bulsham	1387	Naval	France	Richard, Earl of Arundel	Sir Henry Husse		E101/40/34	Sussex
John Bulsham	1388	Naval	France	Sir John Bohun			E101/41/5	Sussex
John Fryth	1380	Expedition	France	Sir Hugh Hastings			E101/39/9	Essex
John Fryth	1384	Standing Army	Scotland	Lord Walter Fitz-Walter			E101/39/38	Essex
John Fryth	1388	Naval	France	Sir Thomas de Poynings			E101/41/5	Essex
John Holm	1375	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir William de Windsor			E101/33/38	Essex
John Holm	1388	Naval	France	Lord John Welles			E101/41/5	Essex
John Holm	1402	Escort	France	Sir Richard Arundel			E101/43/19	Essex
John Holm	1403	Standing Army	Wales	Sir Richard Arundel			E101/43/21	Essex
John Hornby	1378	Naval		Thomas, Earl of Buckingham			E101/38/2	Yorks East
John Hornby	1388	Naval	France	Sir Nicholas Clifton			E101/41/5	Yorks East
John Hornby	1403	Standing Army	Wales	Sir John Tiptoft			E101/43/21	Yorks East
John Hornby	1404	Garrison	Wales	Sir Rustin de Villa Nova			E101/43/29	Yorks East
John Hugate	1383		Scotland	Sir Henry Percy junior			BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	Yorks East
John Hugate	1384	Expedition	Scotland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland			E101/40/5	Yorks East
John Maldon	1371	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/31/15	Essex
John Maldon	1372	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/32/20	Essex
John Maldon	1378	Naval		Thomas, Earl of Buckingham			E101/38/2	Essex
John Maldon	1385	Naval		Sir Thomas Percy	Thomas Broun		E101/40/39	Essex
John Maldon	1388	Naval	France	Sir Thomas West			E101/41/5	Essex
John Maldon	1415	Expedition	France	Morris Brune			E101/45/4	Essex
John Maldon	1415	Expedition	France	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester			E101/45/13	Essex

Name	Year	Type of service	Location of service	Captain	Joint Captain	Sub-Captain	Muster	County
John Neweton	1372	Naval	France	Lord Edward Despencer			E101/32/26	Essex
John Neweton	1389	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir John de Stanley			E101/41/18	Essex
John Paucok	1388	Naval	France	Thomas, Earl of Nottingham			E101/41/5	Dorset
John Paucok	1389	Standing Army	Scotland	Thomas, Earl of Nottingham			E101/41/17	Dorset
John Rye	1374	Naval		Sir William Neville			E101/33/13	Sussex
John Rye	1377	Naval		Sir Michael de la Pole			E101/37/10	Sussex
John Rye	1417	Expedition	France	Sir John Gray			E101/51/2	Sussex
John Somervill	1387	Naval	France	Edward, Earl of Devon			E101/40/34	Northants
John Somervill	1388	Naval	France	Richard Cryse			E101/41/5	Northants
John Somervill	1400	Expedition	Scotland	Henry Tebhe			E101/41/1	Northants
John Sompter	1369	Garrison	England	Sir Waryn de Lisle			E199/1/35	Essex
John Sompter	1370	Escort	France				E101/29/29/no4	Essex
John Sompter	1404	Garrison	Wales	Sir Rustin de Villa Nova			C47/2/49/19	Essex
John Thomeson	1371	Naval		Sir Ralph Ferrers			E101/31/28	Yorks East
John Thomeson	1386	Garrison	France				E101/42/14	Yorks East
John Wyton	1377	Naval		Sir Gilbert Talbot			E101/36/25	Essex
John Wyton	1389	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir John de Stanley			E101/41/18	Essex
John Wyton	1403	Garrison	Scotland	John of Lancaster			E101/43/26	Essex
Richard Colne	1387	Naval	France	Sir John de Wingfield			E101/40/33	Essex
Richard Colne	1388	Naval	France	Sir John de Wingfield			E101/41/5	Essex
Richard Holde	1371	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/31/15	Essex
Richard Holde	1372	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/32/20	Essex
Richard Midelton	1377	Naval		Sir Thomas Percy			E101/37/28	Yorks East
Richard Midelton	1378	Naval		Sir Thomas Percy			E101/36/39	Yorks East
Richard Segrave	1372	Naval		Helmyng Leget			E101/32/1	Sussex
Richard Segrave	1377	Naval		Sir Michael de la Pole			E101/37/10	Sussex
Richard Tanner	1388	Naval	France	Sir John Bohun			E101/41/5	Essex
Richard Tanner	1389	Standing Army	Scotland	Thomas, Earl of Nottingham			E101/41/17	Essex
Robert Bek	1377	Naval		Sir Thomas Percy			E101/37/28	Yorks East
Robert Bek	1383	Scotland		Sir Thomas Ughtred			Bl/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	Yorks East
Robert Bek	1384	Expedition	Scotland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland		Sir Thomas Ughtred	E101/40/5	Yorks East
Robert Cokyngham	1370	Garrison	France	Sir Alan de Buxhill			E101/30/38	Yorks East
Robert Cokyngham	1371	Garrison	France	Sir Alan de Buxhill			E101/31/18	Yorks East

Name	Year	Type of service	Location of service	Captain	Joint Captain	Sub-Captain	Muster	County
Simon Burdon	1371	Naval		Lord John Neville			E101/31/17	Yorks East
Simon Burdon	1388	Naval	France	Sir Peter de Bokton			E101/41/5	Yorks East
Thomas Beele	1380	Expedition	France	Sir Hugh Calveye			E101/39/9	Oxon
Thomas Beele	1388	Naval	France	Robert Bland	John Creghton		E101/41/5	Oxon
Thomas Bury	1372	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/32/20	Essex
Thomas Bury	1373	Expedition	France	Thomas, Earl of Warwick			E101/32/39	Essex
Thomas Chaumbre	1374	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir William de Windsor			E101/33/34	Essex
Thomas Chaumbre	1375	Standing Army	Ireland	Sir William de Windsor			E101/33/38	Essex
Thomas Conele	1369	Garrison	England	Sir Waryn de Lisle			E101/29/32	Oxon
Thomas Conele	1387	Naval	France	Edward, Earl of Devon			E101/40/34	Oxon
Thomas Dobynson	1383		Scotland	Sir Matthew Redman			BL/Cotton/Roll/XII.8	Westm
Thomas Dobynson	1384	Expedition	Scotland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland			E101/40/5	Westm
Thomas Dobynson	1417	Expedition	France	Sir Thomas Rokeby			E101/51/2	Westm
Thomas Merchant	1378	Naval		Thomas, Earl of Buckingham			E101/38/2	Northants
Thomas Merchant	1387	Naval	France	Sir Arnold Savage			E101/40/34	Northants
Walter Bate	1374	Naval		Thomas Murdak			E101/33/16	Northants
Walter Bate	1389	Standing Army	Scotland	Thomas, Earl of Nottingham			E101/41/17	Northants
William Benham	1387	Naval	France	Richard, Earl of Arundel			E101/40/34	Sussex
William Benham	1388	Naval	France	Sir Gilbert Talbot			E101/41/5	Sussex
William Bolde	1371	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/31/15	Oxon
William Bolde	1372	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/32/20	Oxon
William Bolde	1417	Expedition	France	Lord Richard Beauchamp	Alard Scales		E101/51/2	Oxon
William Heyre	1369	Garrison	England	Sir Aymer de Saint Amand senior			E101/29/29/no1	Oxon
William Heyre	1370	Escort	Navarre	Sir Aymer de Saint Amand senior			E101/29/29/no2	Oxon
William Moys	1377	Naval		Sir Thomas Percy			E101/37/28	Sussex
William Moys	1387	Naval	France	Richard, Earl of Arundel			E101/40/34	Sussex
William Sape	1383		Scotland	Sir Henry Percy junior			BL/Cotton/Roll/XII.8	Yorks East
William Sape	1384	Expedition	Scotland	Henry, Earl of Northumberland			E101/40/5	Yorks East
William Somerton	1371	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/31/15	Essex
William Somerton	1372	Naval		Humphrey, Earl of Hereford			E101/32/20	Essex
William Staunford	1387	Naval	France	Lord John Beaumont			E101/40/34	Northants
William Staunford	1388	Naval	France	Benet Cely	John Treverbin		E101/41/5	Northants

## Appendix 4.2

Name	Type of service	Location	Muster reference	Year
Edward Whytyng	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
Edward Whytyng	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
Gerard Sape	Unknown	Scotland	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	1383
Gerard Sape	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/40/5	1384
Henry Staunton	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/33/34	1374
Henry Staunton	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/33/38	1375
Henry Staunton	Expeditionary	France	E101/45/13	1415
John Bode	Naval	Unknown	E101/33/13	1374
John Bode	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
John Bode	Expeditionary	France	E101/45/1	1415
John Bode	Expeditionary	France	E101/51/2	1417
John Bulsham	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
John Bulsham	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Fryth	Expeditionary	France	E101/39/9	1380
John Fryth	Standing Army	Scotland	E101/39/38	1384
John Fryth	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Holm	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/33/38	1375
John Holm	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Holm	Escort	England/France	E101/43/19	1402
John Holm	Standing Army	Wales	E101/43/21	1403
John Hornby	Naval	Unknown	E101/38/2	1378
John Hornby	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Hornby	Standing Army	Wales	E101/43/21	1403
John Hornby	Garrison	Wales	E101/43/29	1404
John Hugate	Unknown	Scotland	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	1383
John Hugate	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/40/5	1384
John Maldon	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/15	1371
John Maldon	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/20	1372
John Maldon	Naval	Unknown	E101/38/2	1378
John Maldon	Naval	Unknown	E101/40/39	1385
John Maldon	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Maldon	Expeditionary	France	E101/45/13	1415
John Maldon	Expeditionary	France	E101/45/4	1415
John Neweton	Naval	France	E101/32/26	1372
John Neweton	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/41/18	1389
John Paucok	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Paucok	Standing Army	Scotland	E101/41/17	1389
John Rye	Naval	Unknown	E101/33/13	1374
John Rye	Naval	Unknown	E101/37/10	1377
John Rye	Expeditionary	France	E101/51/2	1417
John Somervill	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
John Somervill	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
John Somervill	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/41/1	1400
John Sompter	Garrison	England	E199/1/35	1369
John Sompter	Escort	France	E101/29/29/no4	1370
John Sompter	Garrison	Wales	C47/2/49/19	1404

Name	Type of service	Location	Muster reference	Year
John Thomeson	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/28	1371
John Thomeson	Garrison	France	E101/42/14	1386
John Wytton	Naval	Unknown	E101/36/25	1377
John Wytton	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/41/18	1389
John Wytton	Garrison	Scotland	E101/43/26	1403
Richard Colne	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
Richard Colne	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
Richard Holde	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/15	1371
Richard Holde	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/20	1372
Richard Midelton	Naval	Unknown	E101/37/28	1377
Richard Midelton	Naval	Unknown	E101/36/39	1378
Richard Segrave	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/1	1372
Richard Segrave	Naval	Unknown	E101/37/10	1377
Richard Tanner	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
Richard Tanner	Standing Army	Scotland	E101/41/17	1389
Robert Bek	Naval	Unknown	E101/37/28	1377
Robert Bek	Unknown	Scotland	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	1383
Robert Bek	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/40/5	1384
Robert Cotyngham	Garrison	France	E101/30/38	1370
Robert Cotyngham	Garrison	France	E101/31/18	1371
Simon Burdon	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/17	1371
Simon Burdon	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
Thomas Beele	Expeditionary	France	E101/39/9	1380
Thomas Beele	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
Thomas Bury	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/20	1372
Thomas Bury	Expeditionary	France	E101/32/39	1373
Thomas Chaumbre	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/33/34	1374
Thomas Chaumbre	Standing Army	Ireland	E101/33/38	1375
Thomas Conele	Garrison	England	E101/29/32	1369
Thomas Conele	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
Thomas Dobynson	Unknown	Scotland	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	1383
Thomas Dobynson	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/40/5	1384
Thomas Dobynson	Expeditionary	France	E101/51/2	1417
Thomas Marchant	Naval	Unknown	E101/38/2	1378
Thomas Marchant	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
Walter Bate	Naval	Unknown	E101/33/16	1374
Walter Bate	Standing Army	Scotland	E101/41/17	1389
William Benham	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
William Benham	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388
William Bolde	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/15	1371
William Bolde	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/20	1372
William Bolde	Expeditionary	France	E101/51/2	1417
William Heyre	Garrison	England	E101/29/29/no1	1369
William Heyre	Escort	Navarre	E101/29/29/no2	1370
William Moys	Naval	Unknown	E101/37/28	1377
William Moys	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387

Name	Type of service	Location	Muster reference	Year
William Sape	Unknown	Scotland	BL/Cotton/Roll/XIII.8	1383
William Sape	Expeditionary	Scotland	E101/40/5	1384
William Somerton	Naval	Unknown	E101/31/15	1371
William Somerton	Naval	Unknown	E101/32/20	1372
William Staunford	Naval	France	E101/40/34	1387
William Staunford	Naval	France	E101/41/5	1388

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