University of Southampton:

Medieval Military Seminar  
14th June 2013, Avenue Campus, Lecture Theatre C

**Session 1:** 10am-11am

**Becky Holdorph** – *Marital or Martial? Transnational identities of John of Gaunt and Constance of Castile, 1371-1394.*

**Sam Gibbs** – *The Fighting Men of Essex: Service relationships and the Poll Tax in Essex.*

11.00am – **Coffee**

**Session 2**: 11.30am -1pm

**Drew Martinez** – *Military Ordinances: A response to ‘military careerism’ and greed?*

**Aleksandr Lobanov** - *Philip the Good's indenture for the campaign of 1430: the document in context.*

**Dr. Craig Lambert** – *Ships and Port Communities: War, Recruitment and Politics in the Later Middle Ages.*

1pm – **Lunch**

**Session 3**: 2.00pm – 3.00pm

**Dr. Adam Chapman** – *The siege of Harlech in 1468 and the costs of artillery.*

**Daniel Spencer** – *Artillery greater than that of the Duke of Burgundy:  Edward IV and the development of gunpowder weapons in England.*

3.00pm – **Coffee**

**Session 4**: 3.30pm – 5pm

**Dr. Lynda Pidgeon** - *Who Killed Richard III?*

4.00-5.00pm  
**Robert C. Woosnam-Savage**, Curator of European Edged Weapons, Royal Armouries, Leeds. ‘*Killed the Boar; shaved his head’:  The Violent Death of King Richard III.*

Participants

**Becky Holdorph**, PhD Candidate, University of Southampton.  
*Marital or Martial? Transnational Identities of John of Gaunt and Constance of Castile, 1371-1394*

At the highest levels of medieval society, international marriages were frequently used to create or confirm political and military alliances. Scholarly discussion of these marriages has often assumed that foreign spouses either assimilated easily into their new surroundings or experienced problems on account of widespread distrust of foreigners. Treatment of these subjects thus far has failed to acknowledge the ways that foreignness might be manipulated to benefit the members of an international marriage. My paper explores the transnational identities – English and Castilian – of John of Gaunt and Constance of Castile, from 1371-1394.

John of Gaunt’s twenty-three year marriage to Constance of Castile is often chiefly remembered for Gaunt’s unpopular claim to the thrones of Castile and León on behalf of his wife. The military disasters that accompanied Gaunt’s several attempts to conquer Castile and install himself as king have underscored the impression of a naïve dream that was as poorly planned as it was executed. Yet multiple sources reveal that a great deal of thought was put into the public image that Gaunt and Constance projected. Each adopted aspects of the other’s national identity and manipulated these aspects for political and military gain. Examining official documents, English and Iberian chronicles, and symbolic representations of identity found in seals and paintings, I argue that the transnational identities that Gaunt and Constance adopted reflected their political and military goals in England and abroad.

**Sam Gibbs,** PhD Candidate, University of Reading.  
*The Fighting Men of Essex: Service Relationships and the Poll Tax in Essex*

Previous research into service relationships between soldiers and captains has focused on the men who fought as men-at-arms and who held a relatively high position in society. For these men the concept of obligatory military service in the later 14th century has been comprehensively deconstructed. However the same has not been achieved for the men at the lower end of the social scale, the archers. The current PhD is attempting to analyse archers’ patterns of service and their relationships, both with their peers and other ranks.

To achieve this a database was constructed containing all the extant nominal Poll Tax returns of 1377, 1379 and 1381 along with the Exchequer Muster Roll series , primarily taken from the online *Soldier in Later Medieval England* database, for the years 1350-1415. These principal sources are also being supported by further data taken from the Letters of Protection and Attorney, Inquisitions Post Mortem, and Estate Surveys.

A case-study of Essex will be used as a preliminary attempt to test the hypothesis of the PhD. Retinue leaders who held land in Essex will be identified and their retinues’ analysed to see if links between the men serving under them, and those resident in their areas of landed influence, can be identified. Then a second series of queries will be raised, looking instead at the men who lived in Essex and whether they can be identified serving under captains whose lands and influence is concentrated in or outside of the county. Furthermore the social and economic data provided by the Poll Tax returns will be used to construct a clearer picture of who these men were and what they did alongside military service.

**Drew Martinez**, PhD Candidate, University of Southampton.  
*Military Ordinances: A response to ‘military careerism’ and greed?*

In 1385 Richard II led an army into Scotland as his first foray into military endeavours. The campaign achieved little of lasting significance and, accordingly, has received little comment. However, the survival of a copy of military ordinances issued for the campaign provides a rare opportunity to investigate the inner workings and rules that governed the armies of English kings. Whilst the Durham ordinances of 1385 are the earliest surviving set known, other ordinances were issued later, by Henry V, Edward IV and Henry VIII, as well as additional sets that were issued for garrisons and smaller actions.

Historians, such as Andrew Ayton and Simon Walker, have shown that there was an increase in men fulfilling a career in arms in the later fourteenth century – “*gentlemanly military careerists”* and *“ sub-genteel professionals”.* Later, in 15th century occupied Normandy, the need for garrisons and the increasing duration of service specified in indentures, attracted more ‘professionals’ seeking to make their fortune in France, and fewer men tied to interests back home. It is also often noted that the possibility of turning a profit from plunder or prisoners’ ransoms was a major incentive for men to indent in the first place. This paper will examine the clauses of a number of military ordinances to investigate whether this suggestion is borne out in the regulations – were self-profit and greed seen as a major driving force behind the expected reasons for the breaching of the king’s ordinances?

**Aleksandr Lobanov**, PhD Candidate, University of Southampton.*Philip the Good's indenture for the campaign of 1430: placing the document in the context.*

The subject of this paper is the indenture concluded on 12 February 1430 between Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and Cardinal Henry Beaufort for the duke’s service to Henry VI, king of France and England, against the adherents of Charles VII. The campaign that followed is most known for the siege of Compiegne where Joan of Arc was captured by the Burgundians on 23 May 1430.

The paper will discuss the contents of the document, which has survived in a contemporary paper copy in the Archives Départamentales du Nord in Lille, and its place in the extensive Anglo-Burgundian diplomatic interaction between 1429-1431; reconsidering the relations between the allies after the successes of Charles VII in summer 1429. The duke’s indenture will also be discussed in the context of a comparison with contemporary English indentures of war, relating to both the conditions of military service, and their implementation.

**Dr. Craig Lambert.***Ships and Port Communities: War, Recruitment and Politics in the Later Middle Ages*

 Ship-owners, shipmasters and mariners, the ‘shipboard community,’ were a vibrant and dynamic section of medieval society. Not only, through fishing, did they provide food to eat, freight goods and other necessities by established coastal and deep sea trade routes, but they also provided the vehicles that drove the martial and diplomatic ambitions of medieval kings. The aim of this paper is shine the spotlight on shipboard communities at a time when a major European war was fought. It will begin by showing the immense contribution shipboard communities made to logistical operations during the Hundred Years War, before moving on to discuss the social, political and economic impact such warfare had on maritime communities. It will aim to show that for port towns their involvement in war was a double edge sword, for while naval warfare placed heavy demands on maritime communities it also allowed them to develop a new political discourse with the crown.

**Dr. Adam Chapman.***The siege of Harlech in 1468 and the costs of artillery*

In the second half of the 1460s, a Welsh poet noted that ‘*Ni bu ond Harddlech fechan  / Gywir neb i’r goron wan - No one but little Harlech has been true to the weak crown*’. Alone in the English realm, the castle of Harlech – or more accurately the entire shire of Merioneth – resisted the establishment of Edward IV as king of England after 1461 and wholly alone after the fall of Bamburgh in 1464 and held out for the cause of Henry VI. As such, this remote castle on the north-west coast of Wales held a particular importance and its capture, in August 1468, brought its captor, William, lord Herbert of Raglan a conspicuous reward in the form of the earldom of Pembroke.

Edward IV’s concern for the development of gunpowder artillery is generally seen as a particular characteristic of his ‘second reign’ (1471-83) but the accounts relating to William Herbert’s successful assault on Harlech demonstrate the scale of the king’s resources towards the end of his ‘first reign’. The costs of the use of artillery in civil wars in the fifteenth century require careful consideration and evidence is generally limited and one-sided. Royal accounts fail to take account of the resources of the enemy. This paper will argue that the costs of the use of artillery should be examined in financial and political terms. The resources which took ‘little Harlech’– both weapons and money – were intended, primarily, for use against foreign enemies; their use in Wales had political consequences.

**Dan Spencer**, PhD Candidate, University of Southampton  
*Artillery greater than that of the Duke of Burgundy:  Edward IV and the development of gunpowder weapons in England*

 On the 21st of August 1475, Salvator de Clarices wrote to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and contended that “The artillery which the King of England is bringing is greater than that of Mons. of Burgundy, which is almost incredible”.  The large artillery train Edward IV of England brought with his army, during his invasion of France, was the culmination of his alliance with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.  This expensively assembled artillery train was later used in the campaigns against Scotland in 1481-1482.  Edward’s involvement in conflict against France and Scotland therefore led to changes in the numbers and the prestige of English ordnance.

 The late fifteenth century was an important period in the development and use of gunpowder weapon technology in England.  This paper will focus on changes that occurred during the kingship of Edward IV, particularly during his “second reign” (1471-1483).  Despite the inglorious outcomes of the campaigns of 1475 and 1481-1482, they were party to important innovations in the use of artillery and handguns.    This paper will argue that Edward IV played a crucial role in the development of gunpowder weapons, initiating many of the changes which reached fulfilment under his Tudor successors.

**Dr. Lynda Pidgeon***'Who Killed Richard III?'*

'A number of people have claimed to be responsible for the death of Richard III, is this myth or reality? This paper will look at the claimants, examine if they existed and if they could have been at Bosworth.

**Bob Woosnam-Savage,** Curator of European Edged Weapons, Royal Armouries, Leeds*‘Killed the Boar; shaved his head’:  The Violent Death of King Richard III*

In September 2012 a skeleton was excavated during an archaeological project at the former site of Greyfriars Church in Leicester, England, which lay under a local council car park. Part of the projects remit was also to seek out any remains of the grave or tomb of the last Plantagenet king Richard IIII who had been buried in the choir of the church in August 1485 following his death at the battle of Bosworth. The skeleton, amazingly, bore signs of both scoliosis and, tellingly, the trauma of battle. Had Richard really been found after nearly 530 years?  In February 2013 it was publicly announced to the world that the skeleton was indeed that of Richard III, the last king of England to die in battle.

Bob, Project Weapons Expert for the University of Leicester ‘Search for Richard III’ Archaeological Team as well as part of the Search Team on the ‘Greyfriars Project’, has been studying the skeleton of Richard III since its discovery. He was employed to help find and examine the weapons trauma on the skeleton and attempt to identify the various types of weapons that may have been used to make them. As a result, using both historical and archaeological evidence, it is only now that we can begin to create a potential sequence of events that lets us discover the possible last moments and death of Richard III  - ‘the king under the car park’.