

# NORFOLK SOLDIERS SERVING IN THE COUNT OF HOLLAND'S FRIESLAND CAMPAIGN OF 1396

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This article deals with English – and, in particular, Norfolk – involvement in a late fourteenth-century military campaign in the Low Countries which has been almost unheard of in the United Kingdom. That it remains largely unknown to an English-speaking audience is mainly due to the fact that the bulk of relevant sources, both primary and secondary, are written in Dutch. Some English soldiers were involved, but, since the campaign lacks recruitment records comparable to those in The National Archives at Kew, which survive for English royal armies in the same period, their presence there has been identified mainly *via* a remarkable heraldic source, the armorial known as *het Wapenboek Beyeren*. Through their coats of arms, three of those soldiers have now been identified as coming from Norfolk.

Early in 1396, Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault, sent an envoy to his relative, Richard II of England, asking if Richard would permit English knights, esquires and archers to participate in a military expedition against Albert's disobedient lordship of Friesland, because 'Englishmen are in general brave and expert in deeds of arms'.<sup>1</sup> Richard obviously gave his consent because a detachment of English soldiers, including five knights and a large contingent of archers took part in Albert's Frisian campaign later that year. The precise arrangements for raising this force in England and despatching it to Holland remain unknown: since it was not a royal army, no indentures were deposited with the Exchequer as a prerequisite for payment of the troops,<sup>2</sup> so the usual sources for the study of fourteenth-century English military organization are not available in this instance. We can assume, however, that, as in the case of another private initiative, the Bishop of Norwich's crusade of 1383, the English captains involved in this force drew upon their personal and local connexions to raise the necessary manpower.<sup>3</sup>

Three of those five English knights have now been identified as coming from Norfolk (the other two were from Shropshire), reflecting the fact that, in the protracted wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – especially in those conflicts between England and France which today are collectively called the Hundred Years' War – large numbers of Norfolk soldiers had a significant part to play.<sup>4</sup> At any time during those wars, fighting men from the county were to be found in all theatres of war – be it in France, Flanders, Brittany, Guienne, Castile, Portugal or Scotland – and were drawn from all ranks of local society: many of the county's nobility and gentry served as men-at-arms, some of whom also had leadership rôles as captains and commanders, who, in that capacity, played a major part, too, in recruitment of troops;<sup>5</sup> members of the lower levels of Norfolk society functioned equally importantly as archers, who formed the backbone of English armies in this era. The names of well-known Norfolk gentry and noble families who saw active service and who regularly appeared in the records of military campaigns over many decades make a very long list: one which would certainly include Bardolf, Berdewell, Calthorpe, Clifton, Colville, Dagworth, Elmham, Erpingham, Fastolf, Felbrigg, Felton, Harling, Hastings, Ingoldesthorpe, Kerdiston, Morieux, Morley, Noon, Scales, Shelton, Thorpe, Walkefare, and many others. Three of these – Colville, Morley and Scales – feature in our story.

## THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The fourteenth-century phase of the Hundred Years' War witnessed two main periods of open hostilities between England and France, 1337-60 and 1369-89. The war obviously provided numerous soldiering opportunities and, from the 1330s onwards, generations of Englishmen

had become accustomed to fighting in France and elsewhere on the continent, an undertaking which, although dangerous, could also be very profitable.<sup>6</sup> That potential for profit obviously diminished in periods of peace, so English soldiers became adroit at finding other opportunities for military action, with its attendant rewards. For instance, during the nine years of peace which followed the sealing of the Anglo-French Treaty of Brétigny in 1360, many English soldiers became engaged in warfare in the Iberian Peninsula, serving with the Black Prince in the dynastic struggles in Castile,<sup>7</sup> while some participated in the civil war in Brittany, under famous English captains such as Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir John Chandos and Sir Robert Knollys.<sup>8</sup> Others joined the Free Companies who continued to ravage parts of France or else – like the Essex knight, Sir John Hawkwood – crossed into Italy to take advantage of the strife there between various city-states, which provided them with ample opportunities for hire as *condottieri*.<sup>9</sup> Several went even further afield and fought in the Baltic and the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, the 1390s were a decade which witnessed a cessation of hostilities between England and France, the two main adversaries in the Hundred Years' War, who, at Leulinghem, near Calais, in June 1389, agreed a three-year truce. Through subsequent negotiations, the period of peace was extended until 1402, when the truce was finally broken, first, in that year, by France's allies, the Scots, and then, in 1403, by the French themselves.<sup>11</sup> Although the decade witnessed no fighting within the kingdom of France, there were plenty of martial opportunities elsewhere in Europe. Crusades in the Baltic and Prussia, and against the Turks in Hungary and south-eastern Europe presented Englishmen (and Frenchmen) with ample prospects for seeing action. Henry, Earl of Derby and a contingent of English supporters went on crusade to Prussia on two occasions, in 1390-1 and 1392-3,<sup>12</sup> while it has been suggested<sup>13</sup> that some English troops may have participated in the Hungarian crusade, which culminated in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 – an encounter which was a disaster for western Christendom and resulted in a victory for the Ottoman Sultan, Bayezid I.

#### **ALBERT OF BAVARIA, COUNT OF HOLLAND, AND THE FRISIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1396**

Closer to home, events in the Low Countries in 1396 provided an opportunity for some English soldiers to ply their trade in arms there, and, as noted above, among their ranks were several knights and possibly some archers from Norfolk. In that year, Albert of Bavaria (1336-1404), Count of Holland, chose to emphasise his lordship over the Frisians, an independent-minded people, strongly motivated by the concept of *Friese Vrijheid*, or 'Frisian Freedom'.<sup>14</sup> After 1291, Albert's predecessors as counts had styled themselves 'Count of Holland, Zeeland and Lord of Friesland', while from 1299, they had also held the title of Count of Hainault and thus had connexions with the English royal house, Edward III having married Albert's aunt, Philippa of Hainault in 1328.<sup>15</sup> Albert, the third son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ludwig IV, came into possession of these titles in 1388, succeeding, as Albert I, his insane brother, William IV, Count of Holland, as whose regent he had served since 1358. He also held the title of Duke of Bavaria-Straubing, which, as well as making him feudal ruler of the above-mentioned counties in the Low Countries, also provided him with ancestral lands around Straubing in Bavaria.<sup>16</sup>

Although from the mid-twelfth century the Counts of Holland had claimed lordship over Friesland, their authority there had always been tenuous at best. Since the early fourteenth century, they had sought to reinforce their dominion over the recalcitrant Frisians, but with little real success, as evidenced by a series of frustrated negotiations and long periods of extended truce. With a truce due to expire in August 1396, Albert decided to make a concerted

effort to assert his authority over Friesland, a territory today forming part of the modern Dutch province of the same name and lying to the east of the seaway known as the *Vlie(stroom)*. If the Hainaulter chronicler Jean Froissart is to be believed, the idea for the expedition initially came about because Albert's son, William, Count of Ostrevant, had expressed his intention to go on crusade to Hungary, but his father had persuaded him that, rather than 'enter into warfare with people and countries who never gave us the least reasonable occasion to interfere with ... [he should] ... go into the country of Friesland and take possession of our heritage by subduing the Frieslanders, who, by pride and rudeness do deprive us of our right, and will not submit to our authority'.<sup>17</sup> In reality, however, the reasons for the decision to make war on the Frisians in 1396 were more complex and were influenced partly by political events in Holland, but also by Albert's rivalry with the Bishop of Utrecht and wariness of his intentions.<sup>18</sup>

In the lead-up to the expiry, on 1 August, of the truce between him and the Frisians, Albert spent the early months of 1396 preparing for a naval campaign against Friesland.<sup>19</sup> On 17 July, he issued orders to all ports in his domains – most notably to Gouda, Haarlem and Schiedam – for the arrest of all cogs and other large vessels, which were to be sent to Enkhuizen on the Zuiderzee, to await the embarkation of the army to Friesland. At the same time, armaments, including guns, gunpowder, and gunstones, were purchased. Provisions garnered for the army included large stocks of wheat, cattle and sheep for slaughter, and numerous barrels of beer brewed in Delft, Haarlem and elsewhere. To transport these supplies, a flotilla of smaller ships, including some larger cogs from Kuinre, was amassed.<sup>20</sup>

As for the army itself, unlike contemporary English armies which were raised by the indenture system,<sup>21</sup> the force of around 9,000 men which Albert assembled was heavily reliant on the military service due to him from his feudal vassals and from the towns in Holland, Zeeland and Hainault.<sup>22</sup> These were supplemented by a sizeable contingent of soldiers from Albert's ducal lands in Bavaria, as well as by troops from Burgundy, and from France and England, between which realms, as noted above, a truce was in force at the time. Froissart recounts how the Lords of Ligne and Jeumont were despatched by Albert to the French court to solicit military support from the king of France, who responded with 'an army of five hundred spear-men out of France and Picardy', under the command of Charles d'Albret.<sup>23</sup> Fierabras, the Bastard of Vertain<sup>24</sup> was similarly sent to make representations at Richard II's court. Froissart notes that Richard 'sent certain men of arms with two hundred archers, under the direction of three gentlemen: one called Cornewail, another Collevill, knights; the third a squire, I know not his name'.<sup>25</sup> The continuator of the chronicle of Johannes de Beke, however, stated more precisely that there came '*uut Engelant den grave van Scaelgis ende monsieur Corgewaelle, monsieur Collevale, monsieur Bitterleye ende monsieur Moerleye, ridders, mit veel goeder mannen et omtrent vijc artsiers*' ('from England, the Count [*sic*] of Scales, and monsieur Cornwall, monsieur Colville, monsieur Bitterley and monsieur Morley, knights, with many good men and about 600 archers').<sup>26</sup> Although de Beke's chronicle differed from Froissart over the quantity of English archers,<sup>27</sup> it was far more exact about the names and numbers of the knights whom Richard sent.

The elements of Albert's army mustered at Enkhuizen during mid August, then, on Sunday, 27th, they embarked in the large fleet of ships across the Zuiderzee, landing at Kuinre, on the eastern shore, just outside the Frisian border (Plate 1). After meeting resistance from the Frisians, the whole army eventually landed, after suffering some losses.<sup>28</sup> Following a series of skirmishes the next day, a pitched battle took place between Kuinre and the village of Oosterzee, on 29 August, when Albert's army decisively defeated a Frisian force of around 11,000 men.<sup>29</sup> The battle, however, resulted in no distinct advantage and Albert, his armoured

men hampered by the marshy terrain, withdrew his troops from Friesland on 6 September, thus ending what had been an exceedingly brief and not very spectacular campaign. However, all was not done and in 1398, William, Count of Ostrevant crossed the Zuiderzee with another ship-borne invasion force and attacked the Frisian town of Stavoren, returning again in the following year to attempt to consolidate the Count of Holland's position there, although it was to remain very weak for many years thereafter.<sup>30</sup>



Plate 1. Map of the Zuiderzee in the fourteenth century, to illustrate Albert I's Friesland campaign of 1396.

### THE ENGLISH SOLDIERS IN ALBERT'S ARMY

The fact that de Beke's chronicle gives the names of five English knights might suggest that it would be a reasonably simple matter to identify, with certainty, these men and their careers. However, as recent prosopographical studies of medieval soldiers have shown, this is not always a straightforward exercise. One has constantly to overcome the challenge of distinguishing between so many combatants who shared the same name.<sup>31</sup>

If this had been a royal English expedition, and not a campaign of the Count of Holland, the names of the men serving would usually have been found in the extensive records of the English crown, in particular, the large numbers of indentures for service and muster rolls, together with letters of protection and attorney, which survive for this period and which are now held in The National Archives at Kew. In recent years, these records have been put to good use by historians. They provide the main ingredient in the database of *The Soldier in Late Medieval England* project<sup>32</sup> and have been used extensively as the basis of many recent prosopographical studies of individual soldiers and of military organization in general. However, as noted above, the English force which went to Holland appears to have been a private, not a royal initiative, so there is no documentation relating to it in The National Archives. Furthermore, because of the method whereby the Count of Holland raised his army, there are no records relating to recruitment and musters which are comparable to the extensive and detailed English ones.<sup>33</sup>

Fortunately, the *Wapenboek Beyeren*,<sup>34</sup> an early fifteenth-century armorial (Plates 2 and 3), compiled by Beyeren,<sup>35</sup> herald to Albert, Count of Holland, lists the coats of arms of some 404

men-at-arms of noble and gentle birth who participated in the Kuinre campaign.<sup>36</sup> Of these, it appears that only 40 per cent originated from Albert's dominions in Holland, Zeeland and Hainault. Their numbers were swelled by large contingents from his Bavarian homeland, as well as from France and England.<sup>37</sup> Among the shields displayed in the armorial are five English ones, which are ascribed variously to Bitterley, Colville, Cornwall, Morley and Scales, whose names were mentioned by de Beke, and appear in the following forms in the original Dutch and the later French versions of the armorial (the copy in the *Lippische Landesbibliothek*, Detmold is given here as the French example):

The Hague, <i>Koninklijke Bibliotheek</i> , 79 K 21		Detmold, <i>Lippische Landesbibliothek</i> , Mscr 3a	
fo. 40 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Her bitterlay</i>	p. 47	<i>Sieur buterlay</i>
fo. 54 <sup>v</sup>	<i>die heer van collendorp</i>	p. 39	<i>Sieur de colleuille</i>
fo. 55 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Jan conuaelge</i>	p. 40	<i>Jehan corruaelge</i>
fo. 54 <sup>v</sup>	<i>die heer van morley</i>	p. 39	<i>Le sieur de Morlay</i>
fo. 54 <sup>r</sup>	<i>die heer van scaseles</i>	p. 38	<i>Sieur de scalis</i>

Families named Colville, Morley and Scales had well-established connexions with Norfolk during the fourteenth century, although Bitterley and Cornwall did not, both being soldiers from Shropshire. (These last two men will be considered below, after the discussion of the Norfolk soldiers.) Because of the problems of 'nominal record linkage' mentioned above, one can never be absolutely certain of identification, even when thorough checks are made. For instance, the name Colville could relate to several families, one of which was certainly linked with Norfolk, but other, unrelated Colvilles were established in several English counties and also in Scotland. Fortunately, the *Wapenboek Beyeren* performs its primary role in this instance and allows the heraldry to help us with identification, revealing the arms to be those of the Colvilles of Walsoken, Norfolk and Newton, Cambridgeshire.<sup>38</sup> There is also no doubt that the arms given for Morley and Scales relate to the Norfolk families of the same names.<sup>39</sup> Of the non-Norfolk soldiers, the heraldry positively identifies one, but there is some uncertainty over the precise identity of the other.



Plate 2. Folios from *het Wapenboek Beyeren*, which include the arms of: 1. Morley (*die heer van morley*); 2. Colville (*die heer van collendorp*); 3. Cornwall (*Jan conuaelge*) (The Hague, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 79 K 21, fos 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>).



Plate 3. Folios from *het Wapenboek Beyeren*, which include the arms of: 4. Scales (*die heer van scaseles*); 5. Bitterley (*Her bitterlay*) (The Hague, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>r</sup> (Scales) and fo. 40<sup>r</sup> (Bitterley)).

## THE NORFOLK SOLDIERS

### Colville

Since only the surname of *die heer van collendorp*<sup>40</sup> (*Sieur de colleuille*) is given in the *Wapenboek Beyeren*, the identity of the soldier named Colville, to whom Froissart and de Beke also refer in their chronicles, has required further investigation. There were at least three Colvilles who were militarily active at this period and who could be considered as likely candidates: Sir Thomas Colville (d. 1405), of Coxwold and Yearsley, Yorkshire;<sup>41</sup> Sir John Colville (c. 1350-1405), of Dale, Yorkshire;<sup>42</sup> and Sir John Colville (c.1365-1446), of Walsoken, Norfolk and Newton, Cambridgeshire.<sup>43</sup> In this instance, the heraldry in the *Wapenboek Beyeren* is of assistance, the arms Azure, a lion rampant Argent, over all a label of three points Gules, ascribed in the armorial to *die heer van collendorp*, being those borne, as previously noted, by the Colville family of Walsoken, Norfolk, and Newton, Cambridgeshire. Francis Blomefield, in his account of Walsoken, remarks that arms blazoned thus had been used by Sir John Colville II (c. 1337-94) in 1351-2, also describing Colville's crest as 'on a chapeau gules, turned up, argent, a lion passant of the same, collated, with a label gules'.<sup>44</sup> The other two Colvilles bore different arms, so they can be ruled out.<sup>45</sup>

The English *heer van collendorp* who served with the Count of Holland's invasion force was therefore Sir John Colville III (c.1365-1446), Sir John II's eldest son and heir, who succeeded to his father's estates in 1394. His connexion with the count continued and, in June 1398, he was part of another contingent of Englishmen, who crossed over to Zeeland on twenty-five large ships, from where they travelled on to Friesland, where he is reported to have commanded a sizeable unit of 1,400 men during William, Count of Ostrevant's invasion of that year.<sup>46</sup>

Described as 'perhaps the most remarkable member of the family',<sup>47</sup> he may also have been the John Colvyll who was engaged in military service on the Scottish border in 1383-5 and then in Ireland in 1394 and 1399.<sup>48</sup> What is more certain is that, in 1410, he was appointed as the Constable of Wisbech Castle, a position which he held until his death in 1446.<sup>49</sup> In June 1412, he took out letters of protection in advance of serving with Thomas, Duke of Clarence in the large expeditionary force sent to France to support the Armagnac faction against the Burgundians, which, in August, landed at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue in the Cotentin peninsula, then burned and looted its way across country, before arriving in English-held Bordeaux in December.<sup>50</sup> In the following year, he appears to have served with a naval force in the English Channel. He also participated on Henry V's Agincourt campaign, subsequently receiving an

annuity of £40 for life.<sup>51</sup> In addition, he also had a distinguished career as a diplomat in the service of all three Lancastrian kings, attending the Councils of Pisa (1409) and Basel (1433-4), as well as participating in many other embassies to all parts of western Europe. As the founder of the College of St Mary by the Sea in Newton-in-the-Isle (of Ely), in Cambridgeshire, he gained papal approval for his action.<sup>52</sup> He was also active in local affairs. For example, in February 1393, he, with his father, John Colvyl the elder, his brother, Thomas, and Stephen Gybbons of Brandon Ferry were commissioned to arrest in Norfolk Robert Thurkill of Walsoken and bring him before the king and council.<sup>53</sup>

### **Morley**

Janse identifies *die heer van morley*<sup>54</sup> as Thomas, 4th Lord Morley, KG (c. 1354-1416),<sup>55</sup> of Hingham and Hockering, Norfolk. Thomas is a logical candidate, since he was a famous warrior, with a long and distinguished military career. In 1375, he saw service in Brittany, as a participant in the expedition led by the Duke of Brittany and the Earl of Cambridge, while, in 1386, upon rumours of an intended French invasion, he was commissioned to survey Great Yarmouth and make provisions for its defence. In 1391, he went on crusade in Prussia, while, in 1399, he accompanied Richard II on his disastrous campaign in Ireland. July 1415 saw him mustering with Henry V's army, at the start of the expedition which was to culminate in victory at the Battle of Agincourt, although he appears not to have been present at the battle himself. However, in the following year, he was Lieutenant and Captain-General of forces assembled to proceed to France, but died of an illness at Calais on 24 September, his body being returned to Norwich for burial in the church of the Austin Friars.<sup>56</sup>

As head of the family and of one of the main baronial houses in Norfolk, Thomas bore the undifferenced Morley arms of Argent, a lion rampant Sable, crowned and armed Or.<sup>57</sup> However, the Morley shield which appears in the various versions of the *Wapenboek Beyeren* has a label of five points Gules, indicating that the bearer was from a cadet line.<sup>58</sup> These were, in fact, the arms of Sir Robert de Morley (1363-1416), of Morley, Norfolk and Framsdon, Suffolk, as they appear on his armorial seal appended to a letter of attorney which he issued on 7 January 1389/90 to John Pgrave, clerk, authorising livery of seisin to William Rees, Sir John Howard, Henry Lomynour, citizen of Norwich, Paul de Middilton and Simon Baret, within a manor in Grimston called Morlees, with its appurtenances in adjacent townships, all of which lay in the Norfolk hundred of Freebridge.<sup>59</sup> Sir Robert was the son of another Sir Robert (1325-90), himself the son of Robert de Morley, the 2nd Baron (1295-1360), who was the grandfather of Thomas, the 4th baron.<sup>60</sup> He was thus a cousin of the more famous Thomas, 4th Lord Morley.

As Sir Robert de Morleye, junior, he served as a man-at-arms during John of Gaunt's Castilian expedition in 1386,<sup>61</sup> then was with Richard II in Ireland in 1394.<sup>62</sup> He was on garrison duty at Calais in 1398<sup>63</sup> and also took part in the Agincourt campaign of 1415.<sup>64</sup> However, he is not recorded as having acted in any administrative or official civilian capacity in Norfolk.

### **Scales**

The arms attributed to *die heer van Scaseles (sire de scales)*<sup>65</sup> are blazoned as Gules, six escallops Argent, 3, 2, 1 and are those of Robert de Scales, 5th Baron Scales (c.1372-1402). He was a member of a Norfolk family with a long military pedigree, although his father, Roger, 4th Lord Scales (1354-87), had suffered the ignominy of being captured by the rebels in Norfolk during the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.<sup>66</sup> Robert's second son, Thomas, 7th Lord Scales

(1397-1460), was one of the main English military commanders during the last phases of the Hundred Years' War and also fought on the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses. The Scales formed one of the three leading baronial houses in Norfolk (the other two were Bardolf and Morley) and held extensive estates, mainly in the west of the county, including ones at Clenchwarton, Hardwick, Hockwold cum Wilton, Runcton, Tilney cum Islington, and West Lynn, although their main manor was at Middleton.<sup>67</sup>

Compared with the other two Norfolk knights who took part in the Friesland campaign of 1396, details of Robert, Lord Scales's early military career are somewhat sketchy, suggesting the possibility that this episode may have been his first experience of active military service. (Indeed, he had only achieved his majority in June 1393, having been a ward of the king since he was four years old.<sup>68</sup>) Like Sir Walter Bitterley, Sir John Colville and Sir John Cornwall, he, too, returned to Friesland in 1398 to participate in William, Count of Ostrevant's campaign against the Frisians.<sup>69</sup> He is known subsequently to have served on Richard II's ill-fated Irish campaign in 1399,<sup>70</sup> but, after the accession of Henry IV, he became a Lancastrian supporter and, in 1401, took part in Henry IV's invasion of Scotland,<sup>71</sup> while, in the following year, he was involved as a man-at-arms in an expedition to Aquitaine.<sup>72</sup> He was summoned as a peer to Parliament between 1396 and 1402, being one of the Lords who voted in October 1399, for the incarceration of the deposed king, Richard II, while in March 1401 he was present in Parliament when the estates of Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey and Earl of Kent, and of other rebels against Henry IV were declared forfeit.<sup>73</sup> He died at around the age of thirty in 1402 and was buried in Blackborough Priory near Lynn, leaving as his heir his six-year old son, Robert.<sup>74</sup>

## THE SHROPSHIRE SOLDIERS

Although the other two English soldiers were not from Norfolk, they need to be considered here because they were comrades in arms with the Norfolk men, whose military careers were, in essence, similar to theirs, reflecting the universality of the martial experience shared by soldiers from many different parts of the country. Although the three Norfolk soldiers involved in the Friesland campaign formed a small, clearly identifiable group, they, like the other two English knights from Shropshire, were all of gentry or noble stock, thus all five had a great deal in common with one another: in civilian life within their own counties, they all belonged to a local élite which operated firmly within its own social networks, and such networks were easily translated to the wider canvas of the military sphere. Indeed, it was through connexions such as these that soldiers got to know one another, often over long periods of time, and this stood them in good stead when manpower was sought for the next campaign: it was useful to be able to call upon one's trusted contacts to supply troops whenever they were needed, and it would certainly have been reassuring to fight alongside men with whom one was already familiar, whose mettle was recognised and, most importantly, who could be relied upon in the field.<sup>75</sup>

For the English soldiers who were present in Friesland in 1396, the links between them – in some cases probably pre-existing, but in others, forged on the campaign itself – obviously remained strong. Thus four out of the five of them – Bitterley, Colville, Cornwall and Scales – returned to fight for the Count of Holland again in 1398, when they were joined by another Norfolk knight, Thomas, 5th Lord Bardolf of Wormegay,<sup>76</sup> as well as the Navarrese adventurer, Janico Dartasso,<sup>77</sup> who had previously served in Ireland as a comrade of Sir Walter Bitterley,<sup>78</sup> who is the next soldier to be considered.

## **Bitterley**

The arms of *Her bitterlay* given in the *Wapenboek Beyeren*<sup>79</sup> are those Sir Walter Bitterley (d. 1403), a knight with estates at Cleeton and Farlow.<sup>80</sup> His earliest known military service was in 1388, when he took part in the Earl of Arundel's naval expedition,<sup>81</sup> while, in the following year, he was a member of the garrison of Calais, then appears to have been involved in a crusade to Prussia.<sup>82</sup> With a small retinue of three archers, he participated in Richard II's first Irish expedition of 1394-5, during which he was knighted in October 1394. Military service in Ireland was a prominent feature in Sir Walter's career. He took part in Richard II's second expedition there in 1399, before coming back to England, where he led a small retinue in the army which had been raised to oppose the return of Henry Bolingbroke. Although this resulted in his arrest by the victorious usurper, by then king Henry IV, he was soon back in royal favour, being made a king's knight in December 1399 and taking part in Henry's Scottish campaign in the following year. In 1401, he was again in Ireland, where, in the following year, he was successively appointed deputy marshal of the army in Ireland, steward of Ulster, and, finally, deputy to Thomas of Lancaster as Lord-Lieutenant. It was in Ireland that his career and life ended in May 1403, when he and thirty other men were slain by the king's enemies in circumstances unknown.<sup>83</sup>

Janse speculated that Bitterley may have been the soldier with the silver chin whom Froissart mentioned, but there is no firm evidence to support this.<sup>84</sup> However, he appears to have stayed on in the domains of Albert of Bavaria after the *Kuinre* campaign. In 1397, he took part in a passage of arms at Mons in Hainault, against Clignes de Braibant, and may have been one of the eighteen Englishmen staying in The Hague in the winter of 1397-8, who then travelled on campaign from there to Enkhuizen *via* Haarlem. Also associated with this group were John Colville, John Cornwall and Lord Scales, who had all served in the 1396 expedition, together with, as mentioned above, Janico Dartasso, a Navarrese soldier of fortune with whom Bitterley had been closely connected in Ireland, and another Norfolk soldier, Lord Bardolf.<sup>85</sup> Janse notes that, at the end of the campaign, the soldier with the silver chin was left at Hoorn with a leg wound 'and he probably died of his injuries after a short time'. If this were so, then the knight with the prosthesis could not have been Bitterley, who, as is known, died from other causes in 1403.<sup>86</sup>

In 1401, Bitterley was involved in a dispute in the Court of Chivalry with Sir John Colville of Dale over the arms *de auro et una fees et tribus tortellis de rubio in capite* (Or, a fess Gules and three torteaux in chief).<sup>87</sup> From the blazonment of the arms involved, it is clear that this John Colville of Dale was not the John Colville who served in the Friesland expedition of 1396, as has been explained above.

## **Cornwall**

*Jan conuaelge*<sup>88</sup> could be one of two John Cornwalls who were active militarily in the 1390s. The first was Sir John Cornwall, KG, later 1st Baron Fanhope and Milbroke (c.1364-1443), the son and heir of Sir John Cornewall (d. c. 1392), of Burford in Shropshire; the other possibility is John Cornwall, esquire (c. 1366-1414), of Kilet in the same county. As the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* makes clear, the latter's 'career, especially in its earlier stages, is difficult to disentangle from that of his more famous namesake, the future Lord Fanhope'.<sup>89</sup>

The first John Cornwall, one of the most respected chivalric figures of his era, had a long and distinguished military career and was, not least, famed for his prowess in tournaments. Already knighted by 1396, he served with Richard II in Scotland in 1385, on Richard's Irish campaign of 1399, then with Henry IV against Owain Glyndŵr. In 1410, he became a knight of the Garter, and in 1412, he was one of the commanders of the French expedition under Thomas, duke of Clarence. He was involved in the Agincourt campaign and in Henry V's conquest of Normandy, amassing, in the process, a sizeable fortune through profits of war, although he lost his son and heir at the siege of Meaux in 1421 and subsequently withdrew from military service until the Calais campaign of 1436.<sup>90</sup> In 1396, he is known to have accompanied Richard II to his meeting with the French king, Charles VI, at Ardres, which, at first sight, might suggest that he could not have served on the Friesland campaign. However, the royal conference at Ardres took place on 28 October, Richard's retinue having ridden out from Calais on the previous day, while Albert of Bavaria had withdrawn his army from Friesland, well in advance of this, on 6 September.

The other John Cornwall also undertook military service during the 1390s. As an esquire in John of Gaunt's household, he entered into an indenture, in March 1395, to serve Gaunt in peace and war, receiving an annuity of 20 marks, until he became a knight, and, thereafter, he was to receive one of £20. He may have accompanied Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the king's lieutenant, to Ireland in 1397, although whether it was him or the other Cornwall is uncertain. However, John Cornwall of Kinlet held lands from Mortimer at Kinlet and Ashton, so there may have been a connexion. He or his namesake certainly went to Ireland on royal service in the following year and again, on Richard II's last expedition, in 1399. Despite that, both men soon found favour with Henry IV. John Cornwall of Kinlet had been knighted by September 1399 when he was appointed sheriff of Shropshire, on the first day of Henry IV's reign. In the following February, Henry endorsed an annuity for him, charged on the Duchy of Lancaster. In later years, Cornwall fell somewhat from grace, for allegedly having illegally seized cattle, while he was also indicted for also harbouring a fugitive from justice.

It has thus not been possible positively to identify which of the two John Cornwalls was the man present on the Friesland campaign. However, the preference may lean slightly towards John Cornwall of Kinlet, who was still an esquire at the time of the campaign, which perhaps explains why the *Wapenboek Beyeren*<sup>91</sup> describes the participant simply as *Jan conuaelge*. Moreover, in the armorial, the arms of *Jan conuaelge* are emblazoned as Argent, a lion rampant Gules crowned Or, a bordure Sable bezanty, whereas, on his Garter stall-plate in St George's Chapel, Windsor, the field of Lord Fanhope's arms appears as Ermine, rather than Argent, while the lion has, on its shoulder, a brisure for difference comprising a mullet of five points, pierced, Or.

## CONCLUSION

Albert, Count of Holland's Friesland campaign of 1396 may have proved inconclusive in respect of resolving the issues which he had with his Frisian subjects, but it has served to provide us with a clear example of how English soldiers eagerly took opportunities to find martial employment in periods when their own country was at peace with its usual French adversary. It is perhaps significant that, of the five named English soldiers who participated in the campaign, three came from well-known military families in Norfolk, two of whom, moreover, were from the senior baronial families of the county. Moving in the same strata of society, all three men would doubtless have been known to one another in 'civilian' life in Norfolk<sup>92</sup> and, as mentioned, those personal contacts could certainly also be brought to bear

when it came to military matters, turning county neighbours into comrades in arms and ones who might also bring with them retainers from their own manors.<sup>93</sup> The same could be said for the two Shropshire soldiers. As Philip Caudrey and James Magee have clearly shown, such personal and local connexions were always important elements which could be – and were – drawn upon in the recruitment of English fighting forces during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>94</sup> It is fortunate, also, that an unexpected, but significant primary source, in the form of the *Wappenboek Beyeren*, has survived to give us, through its remarkable heraldic evidence, information about the English and particularly the Norfolk soldiers who took part in the campaign.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, The Hague, for permission to reproduce images from KB, 79 K 21, fos 40<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup> and 55<sup>r</sup>; to Gary Tuson, County Archivist of Norfolk, for permission to reproduce the image of the seal from NRO, BL/O/PP 169; to Susan Maddock, Honorary Research Fellow, School of History, University of East Anglia, who read an early draft of this paper and helped with the cartography; and to Professor Christopher Joby, Department of Dutch and South African Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, for his guidance on currencies.

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## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> *The Antient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart*, ed. J. Berners (4 vols, London, 1814-16), iv, 381. This edition contains Lord Berners's sixteenth-century English translation, which is used for quotations throughout this article. The original French text is in *Oeuvres de Froissart, Chroniques*, ed. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove (25 vols, Brussels, 1867-77), xv, 228-9. See also *Johannes de Beke, Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, ed. H. Bruch (The Hague, 1982), 254.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the indenture system, see A.E. Prince, 'The Indenture System under Edward III', *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), 283-97; A.E. Prince, 'The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III', *English Historical Review* [hereafter, *EHR*], xlvi (1931), 353-71; J.W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and the English Expeditions to France, 1369-80', *EHR*, lxxix (1964), 718-46, repr. in *War, Politics and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. A. Tuck (London, 1994), 1-28; A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses. Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994). It also appears that no letters of protection were issued to the English participants.

<sup>3</sup> J. Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment for Henry Despenser's Crusade of 1383', *Medieval Prosopography*, xx (1999), 181-90; and J.R. Alban, 'Sir Ralph Shelton's Indenture for Military Service on the Bishop of Norwich's Crusade, 1383', *Norfolk Archaeology* [hereafter, *NA*], xlvii, part iv (2017), 465-78.

<sup>4</sup> For a general indication of the extent of that participation, see, for example, P.J. Caudrey, 'War and Society in Medieval Norfolk: the Warrior Gentry, c. 1350-c. 1430' (PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2010); *idem*, *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry in the Age of the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2019); J. Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade in England and France, 1378-1400' (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1997). For some individual local examples, see J.R. Alban, 'An East Anglian Knight's Indenture for Military Service at Sea, 1388', *NA*, xlvii, part i (2014), 1-12; *idem*, 'The Last Will of Hamon Le Strange, Esquire, a Norfolk Combatant at Agincourt', *NA*, xlvii, part ii (2015), 256-63; *idem*, 'Sir Ralph Shelton's Indenture for Military Service', 465-78. From time immemorial, Norfolk, because of its geographical location, has always had close links with the Low Countries, so this episode of 1396 could also be viewed as fitting into that context. For general background, see *Norfolk and the Netherlands/Norfolk en Nederland*, ed. J.R. Alban (Norwich, 2005); *idem*, 'Sources in the Norfolk Record Office which Relate to the History of Norfolk and the Low Countries', *Dutch Crossing. Journal of Low Countries Studies*, xxxviii, no. 2 (July 2014), 101-15.

<sup>5</sup> For recruiting activities in general, see Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment', 181-90.

<sup>6</sup> For a general indication of the potential for profit, see M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT, 1996), 100-13 and the sources cited there, and also D. Hay, 'The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 5, iv (1954), 91-109; S. Walker, 'Profit and Loss in the Hundred Years War: the Subcontracts of Sir John Strother, 1374', *Historical Research*, lviii, issue 137 (May 1985), 100-6; M. M. Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years' War', *Past and Present*, xxvii (April 1964), 34-53.

<sup>7</sup> J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, ii: Trial by Fire* (London, 1999), 546-61; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, ii*, 490, 516-20; M. Jones, *Ducal Brittany, 1364-99* (Oxford, 1970), 43-51. Although born in Cheshire, in later life Sir Robert Knollys held estates at Sculthorpe in Norfolk (F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols, London, 1805-10), vii, 174-6; J.C. Bridge, 'Two Cheshire Soldiers of Fortune: Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir Robert Knolles', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, xiv (1908), 167, 207; M.J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), 182, 188). A roof boss in the cloister at Norwich Cathedral depicts Knollys and his wife, Constance, at prayer, flanking a representation of the Holy Trinity (M. Jones, 'Knolles [Knollys], Sir Robert (d. 1407)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter, *ODNB*] (Oxford, 2004), online edn, May 2009 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15758>], accessed 28 January 2019).

<sup>9</sup> W. Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Baltimore, 2006); F.S. Saunders, *Hawkwood: Diabolical Englishman* (London, 2004); J. Temple-Leader, *Sir John Hawkwood: Story of a Condottiere* (London, 1889).

<sup>10</sup> A. Luttrell, 'English Levantine Crusaders, 1363-7', *Renaissance Studies*, ii, no. 2 (October 1988), 143-53. See also: T. Jones, *Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (London, 1980), 4-140; and M. Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. Scattergood and J. Sherborne (London, 1983), 45-61.

<sup>11</sup> See J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, iii: Divided Houses* (London, 2009), 774 ff, although Henry IV himself had entered Scotland with a large army in 1400, in response to Scots' raids on Wark and Penrith, but the campaign had resulted in little actual fighting (*idem*, *The Hundred Years War: iv, Cursed Kings* (London, 2015), 52, 54-5).

<sup>12</sup> *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in the years 1390-1 and 1392-3. Being the Accounts kept by his Treasurer during two Years*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, Camden 2nd series, lii (London, 1894); F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'Henry of Derby's Expeditions to Prussia, 1390-1 and 1392', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay and C. Barron (London, 1971), 153-72; A. Hoyle, *Boston's Forgotten Crusade* (Boston, 2017). Henry's second departure was from the port of Lynn (Toulmin Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia*, xlvii-xlviii, lxxii).

<sup>13</sup> E.g., by D. Nicolle, *Nicopolis, 1396* (Oxford, 1999), 36, and, especially, A. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934), 45. Several chroniclers and other contemporary commentators mentioned the presence of English troops, including the anonymous Florentine chronicler, who gave their number at least as *mille cavalli di buona gente d'arme* ('1,000 horses of good men-at-arms') (*Cronica volgare di anonimo fiorentino dall'anno 1385 al 1409, già attribuita a Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti*, ed. E. Bellondi (Città di Castello, 1922), 208). However, more detailed research has now cast serious doubt on their presence (C.L. Tipton, 'The English at Nicopolis', *Speculum*, xxxvii, no. 4 (October 1962), 528-40); and L. Veszprémy, 'Some Remarks on Recent Historiography of the Crusade of Nicopolis (1396)', *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), 223-30.

<sup>14</sup> O. Vries, 'Frisonica Libertas: Frisian Freedom as an Instance of Medieval Liberty', *Journal of Medieval History*, xli, no. 2 (2015), 229-48.

<sup>15</sup> Albert was the son of Ludwig IV (c. 1282-1347) and his second wife, Margaret of Avesnes (1308-56), who later became, in her own right, Countess of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, the oldest daughter of William I (c. 1286-1337), Count of Hainault. Margaret's younger sister was Philippa of Hainault (c. 1313-69), Queen of England and grandmother of Richard II, who was therefore Albert's first cousin, once removed.

<sup>16</sup> L. Boehm, 'Das Haus Wittelsbach in den Niederlanden', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, xlv (1981), 93-130; H. Rall, 'Albrecht I, Herzog von Bayern, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, Graf von Hennegau, Holland, Seeland, Herr zu Friesland', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (26 vols, Berlin, 1953-2016), i, 155-6.

<sup>17</sup> Berners, *Froissart*, iv, 379-80; Lettenhove, *Froissart*, xv, 227-8.

<sup>18</sup> A. Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht. De Friese Oorlog van de Graven van Holland omstreeks 1400* [Limits on Power. The Frisian War of the Counts of Holland around 1400] (The Hague, 1993), 433-4. This magisterial study by Janse meticulously covers this campaign and Albert's subsequent wars in Friesland. It is essential reading on the subject and, although it is written in Dutch, it has a summary in English on 433-7. An earlier, but still useful study, which includes transcripts of primary sources, is E. Verwijs, *De Oorlogen van Hertog Albrecht van Beieren met de Friezen in de Laatste Jaren der XIV<sup>e</sup> Eeuw, naar Onuitgegeven Bescheiden* [The Wars of Duke Albert of Bavaria with the Frisians in the Last Years of the Fourteenth Century, from Unpublished Documents] (Utrecht, 1869).

<sup>19</sup> The details of the preparations and the invasion are taken from Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 103-22 and Verwijs, *De Oorlogen van Hertog Albrecht van Beieren*, xxxvi-xxxvii, 16-18, 25-6, 75-9.

<sup>20</sup> Verwijs, *De Oorlogen van Hertog Albrecht van Beieren*, xxxvii, 75-9.

<sup>21</sup> See note 2 above.

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<sup>22</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 258-61, 435, and for some background information, see H.P.H. Jansen and P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Military Obligation in Medieval Holland. The Burden of the Host', *The Low Countries History Yearbook. Acta Historicae Neerlandicae*, xiii (1980), 1-24, a translation of the same authors' 'Heervaart in Holland', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, xciv (1979), 1-26; J.W.J. Burgers and M. Damen, 'Feudal Obligation or Paid Service? The Recruitment of Princely Armies in the Late Medieval Low Countries', *English Historical Review*, cxxxiii, no. 563 (August 2018), 777-805. For a comparative study within another specific principality of the Low Countries, see S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant, 1356-1406* (Woodbridge, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Charles d'Albret (1368-1415) later served as Constable of France, 1402-11 and 1413-15. He was the joint-commander of the French army at Agincourt, where he was killed.

<sup>24</sup> Wauthier de Bousies, nicknamed 'Fierabras', the Bastard of Vertain (fl. 1390-1411), was a member of a noble family from Hainault. The nickname, meaning 'proud-' or 'brave-arm' (*fier-à-bras*), may possibly be a reflection of his martial prowess, although this sobriquet was also borne by several continental noblemen during the middle ages and may have been influenced by the fictional character Fierabras, a Saracen knight, who became a Christian and one of Charlemagne's paladins, who appears in several *chansons de geste*, the earliest of which dates from c. 1170 (C. Hogetoorn, 'Fierabras', *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes. Characters in Medieval Narrative Traditions and their Afterlife in Literature, Theatre and the Visual Arts*, ed. W.P. Gerritsen and A.G. Van Melle, trans. T. Guest (Woodbridge, 1998), 103-5).

<sup>25</sup> Of the esquire, he added that 'I was credibly informed that he was a valiant man of arms: he had his chin cut off in a duel a short time before, and he had a chin made of silver tied about his neck with a lace of silk'. He has not since been positively identified (Berners, *Froissart*, iv. 414; Lettenhove, *Froissart*, xv. 276).

<sup>26</sup> *Johannes de Beke, Croniken*, 254.

<sup>27</sup> Whatever their actual number, details of some of the English archers sent by Richard appear in some surviving account rolls for the expedition. E.g., William, Count of Ostrevant's accounts of July and August 1396 mention seventy *Engleschen archiers*, of whom are named the following: Jan of Giwoert (?Gaywood, Norfolk), Nyclaes Herbot, Jan die Leedse, Wiliaem Parkyer, Jan Sadelair, Heynric Staf and Ritzaert Ton (Verwijs, *De Oorloggen van Hertog Albrecht van Beieren*, 12-16).

<sup>28</sup> Froissart records that, during the landing, a Frisian woman taunted the invaders by turning her back to them and, in the words of Berners's translation, she 'plucked up her clothes and shamefully exposed herself, crying in her language Sirs, take this to your welcome. As soon as they saw the lewdness of this woman, they shot arrows and darts, so that she was stricken in her legs and loins ... then some lept out of their ships into the water, and ran after this foolish woman with their swords, and overtook her and hewed her in small pieces' (Berners, *Froissart*, iv. 422). Froissart's original French text is a little less coy: '*Tantost ceste femme là venue se tourna et leva ses draps c'est-assavoir sa robe et sa chemise, et monstra son derrière aux Haynnuyers, Hollandois et Zéellandois et à toute la compaignie, qui veoir le vout!*' (Lettenhove, *Froissart*, xv. 291).

<sup>29</sup> Some modern works refer to this as the Battle of Schoterzijl. The Frisian army was commanded by a notable Frisian chieftain, Juw Juwinga of Bolsward (c. 1360-96), whom Friesland's dominant *Schieringers* faction had elected as the Frisian *potestaat*, expressly to lead opposition to Albert I's threat to their territory. Juwinga was slain in the battle (*Encyclopedie van Friesland*, ed. H. Brouwer, J.J. Kalma, W. Cook and M. Wiegersma (Amsterdam, 1958), online edn at [<http://www.mpaginae.nl/At/EvF1958.htm>]). On the rôle of the *potestaat*, see Vries, '*Frisonica Libertas*', 244-7 and, generally, on the political and administrative organization of non-feudal Friesland in the fourteenth century, see H.S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-47* (repr. Philadelphia, 1976), 19-21

<sup>30</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 434.

<sup>31</sup> A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, and D. Simpkin (*The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), 17) draw attention to 'the potential and the limitations of what is termed "nominal record linkage"', asking the question 'how can we be sure that the career profiles [of soldiers] ... are accurate; that, for instance, the Sir John Copuldyk serving in France with the duke of Lancaster in 1369 is the same man as the Sir John Copuldyk going to Flanders on the "crusade" of the bishop of Norwich in 1383?' See also R. Gorski, 'A Methodological Holy Grail: Nominal Record Linkage in a Medieval Context', *Medieval Prosopography*, xvii (1996), 178.

<sup>32</sup> Website at [<https://www.medievalsoldier.org/>].

<sup>33</sup> See Jansen and Hoppenbrouwers, 'Military Obligation in Medieval Holland', 1-24; Burgers and Damen, 'Feudal Obligation or Paid Service?', 777-805. However, the surviving *rekeningen van de tocht des Heeren van Oostervant naar Friesland* ('accounts of the expedition of the Lord of Ostrevant to Friesland') for the period show that English archers were paid at the daily rate of 6 *groten*, which, taking account of exchange rates, was roughly the same as the pay of 6d. a day which they would have received serving in an English army (Verwijs, *De Oorloggen van Hertog Albrecht van Beieren*, 12-13).

<sup>34</sup> The original, written in Dutch and probably completed in 1405, is in The Hague, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (hereafter, KB), 79 K 21. A fully digitized version is available online at <https://www.kb.nl/themas/middeleeuwen/wapenboek-beyeren-1405>. At least five later copies of *het Wapenboek Beyeren*, with text in French, are held

in other repositories in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands. The earliest of these, dating from c. 1480, is in Detmold, Germany: *Lippische Landesbibliothek*, Mscr 3a, fully digitized at <http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de/llb/urn/urn:nbn:de:hbz:51:1-13936>.

<sup>35</sup> Claes Heynenzoon (c. 1350-1414), was Beyerens Herald at the court of Holland from 1403 until his death. He had previously served the Duke of Guelders as Gelre Herald, 1380-1401/2 (J. Verbij-Schillings, 'Heraut Beyerens', in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy and C. Bratu (2 vols, Leiden, 2010). Consulted online on 26 January 2019 [[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emc\\_SIM\\_00319](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00319)]. First published online 2016).

<sup>36</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 52<sup>v</sup>: 'Item dit sijn die hertogen, die greuen, die borchgreuen, die bannerheren die ritderen, ende die knechten, die mit hertoge Aelbrecht van Beyerens greue van Henegouwen, van Hollant, van Zelant, ende heer van Vrieslant, waren ther Cwnre in Vrieslant Int lair ons Heren dusent, driehonderd, ende ses ende tnegentich ende dier waren iij.c ende vier off dair omtrent' ('Item. These are the dukes, the counts, the viscounts, the bannerets, the knights and the esquires who went with Duke Albert of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland and Lord of Friesland, to Kuinre in Friesland in the year of our Lord 1396 and there were about 404 of them'). The shields of arms of the participants in the Kuinre campaign are on fos 52<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>. The volume was rebound with its folios out of sequence in 1581, but the online digitized version affords a virtual recreation of the original sequence. The volume also includes the arms of 337 participants in a tournament at Compiègne in 1238; 191 participants in a tournament in Mons in 1310; 122 participants in the siege of Gorinchem in 1402; and 14 series of 'the Three Best', i.e., the best Johns, Williams, Adolfs, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Burgers and Damen, 'Feudal Obligation or Paid Service?', 802.

<sup>38</sup> The Colville arms in the *Wapenboek Beyerens* (KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>) are Azure, a lion rampant Argent, over all, a label of three points Gules, which, as Francis Blomefield notes, were the arms of the Colvilles of Walsoken, Norfolk and Newton, Cambridgeshire (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ix. 124). Other unrelated families, who can be discounted through their different armorial bearings, include the Yorkshire Colvilles of Coxwold and Yearsley (Or, on a fess Gules, three lioncels rampant Argent) and of Dale (Or, a fess Gules, three torteaux in chief), and the Scottish Colvilles (Argent, a cross moline Sable).

<sup>39</sup> The arms of Morley and Scales, although not those of Colville, also appear in the Norfolk and Suffolk Roll of Arms of c. 1400 (Oxford, Queen's College MS. 158, pp. 295-304). See P.J. Caudrey, 'The Erpingham Window and the Norfolk and Suffolk Roll of Arms: War, Memory and Society in Fifteenth-Century East Anglia', *NA*, xlvi (2013), 467-80.

<sup>40</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>. This is a literal translation of the name. While in modern Dutch *dorp* means 'village', its meanings in Middle Dutch included 'vill' or 'estate' (*Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* online [<https://ivdnt.org/zoeken-in-woordenboeken?w=dorp>]). The form of the name in the later, French-language copies of the *Wapenboek Beyerens* is closer to the English version of it, thus *Colleuille*.

<sup>41</sup> For his biographical details, see C. Rawcliffe, 'Colville, Sir Thomas (d.1405), of Coxwold, Yorks', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, C. Rawcliffe (4 vols, Stroud, 1992), ii. 638-9.

<sup>42</sup> *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1812), 363. Along with Sir John Fauconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir John FitzRandolf and others, he was involved in the insurrection against Henry IV in 1405, for which they were beheaded on 20 July at Durham. He appears in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 2* as the character 'Sir John Colville of the Dale'.

<sup>43</sup> T.D. Atkinson, E.M. Hampson, E.T. Long, C.A.F. Meekings, E. Miller, H.B. Wells and G.M.G. Woodgate, 'Wisbech Hundred: Newton', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 4, City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R.B. Pugh (London, 2002), 201-6.

Some brief details of him are also given in his father's biography, L.S. Woodger 'Colville, Sir John (c.1337-1394), of Newton, Cambs. and Walsoken, Norf.', *History of Parliament*, ii. 635-7.

<sup>44</sup> See note 38 above.

<sup>45</sup> See note 38 above and note 87 below.

<sup>46</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 267, citing *Johannes de Beke, Croniken*, 260-1.

<sup>47</sup> Atkinson *et al.*, *A History of the County of Cambridge*, 201-6.

<sup>48</sup> The National Archives [hereafter, TNA], E101/40/5, m. 1; *Calendar of Patent Rolls* [hereafter, *CPR*], 1391-96, 474; *CPR*, 1396-9, 559. These and other similar references which appear throughout this article are taken from *The Soldier in Medieval England* database at [<https://www.medievalsoldier.org/>].

<sup>49</sup> Atkinson *et al.*, *A History of the County of Cambridge*, 201; G. Annis, *A History of Wisbech Castle* (Ely, 1977), 5.

<sup>50</sup> TNA, C76/95, m. 12. For details of the campaign, see Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, iv. 323-31.

<sup>51</sup> N.H. Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt* (3rd edn, London, 1833), 378 and appendix, 15.

<sup>52</sup> Woodger 'Colville, Sir John', ii. 635-7.

<sup>53</sup> *CPR*, 1391-6, 236.

<sup>54</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>.

- <sup>55</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 386.
- <sup>56</sup> On Thomas, Lord Morley, see J.O. Morley, 'The Norfolk Morleys: the Tewkesbury Abbey Connection', *NA*, xlvii (2015), 227-39); and P. Morgan, 'Going to the Wars: Thomas, Lord Morley in France, 1416', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III). Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Brill, 2013), 285-314.
- <sup>57</sup> Famously, on two occasions, these arms were the subject of heraldic disputes: *Burnell v Morley*, at the siege of Calais in 1346-7, and *Lovell v Morley*, before the Court of Chivalry in 1385-6 (see A. Ayton, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: the Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in *The Medieval Military Revolution. State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J.L. Price (London, 1995), 81-104, espec. 86-8; Caudrey, *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry*, espec. 171-84).
- <sup>58</sup> E.g., see KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>.
- <sup>59</sup> Norfolk Record Office, BL/O/PP 169: 'in *Grymmeston Bawseye Muston Wyuelyngge Childerhouse Rydon Congham Rundham et Geyton*'.
- <sup>60</sup> Morley, 'The Norfolk Morleys', 227-30.
- <sup>61</sup> TNA, C76/70, m. 12.
- <sup>62</sup> *CPR, 1391-6*, 471.
- <sup>63</sup> TNA, C76/83, m. 8.
- <sup>64</sup> TNA, E101/47/1, m. 1.
- <sup>65</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>66</sup> *Chronicon Angliae ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388 Auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, ed. E.M. Thompson (London, 1874), 305; *Thomae Walsingham, quondam Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.T. Riley (2 vols., London, 1863-4), ii. 5.
- <sup>67</sup> They also held estates in Rivenhall, Essex, Newsells and Barkway in Hertfordshire, and Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire.
- <sup>68</sup> *CPR, 1391-6*, 289.
- <sup>69</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 267.
- <sup>70</sup> G.E.C[ockayne], *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant* (14 vols, London, 1910-98), xi. 503.
- <sup>71</sup> TNA, E101/41/1, m. 37.
- <sup>72</sup> TNA, C61/108, m. 7.
- <sup>73</sup> *Complete Peerage*, xi. 503.
- <sup>74</sup> Caudrey, 'War and Society in Medieval Norfolk', 284.
- <sup>75</sup> On the importance of such networks, see A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), 227-32.
- <sup>76</sup> For information on Bardolf, see Caudrey, 'War and Society in Medieval Norfolk', 253. Whichever of the two John Cornwalls participated in William, Count of Ostrevant's campaign of 1398, he is reported to have commanded a sizeable unit of English troops: '*ende uut Engelant mesiere de Corgewale mit ridderen, knechten ende artsiers xiiij<sup>e</sup> sterc*' ('and from England, mesire de Cornwall with knights, esquires and archers 1,400 strong') (*Johannes de Beke, Croniken*, 260-1).
- <sup>77</sup> For his biographical details, see S. Walker, 'Janico Dartasso: Chivalry, Nationality and the Man-at-Arms', *History*, lxxxiv, issue 273 (January 1999), 31-51; *idem*, 'Dartasso, Janico (d. 1426)', *ODNB*, online edn, January 2008 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/71411>, accessed 28 January 2019].
- <sup>78</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 267.
- <sup>79</sup> Or, a fess Gules, three torteaux in chief, over all a label of three points Argent (in some later copies of the armorial, the label is Azure) (KB, MS 79 K 21, fo. 40<sup>r</sup>).
- <sup>80</sup> His details which follow are largely based on R. Jones, 'Sir Walter Bitterley', *The Soldier in Later Medieval England: Soldier Profiles* [<https://www.medievalsoldier.org/about/soldier-profiles/sir-walter-bitterley>].
- <sup>81</sup> For details of which, see A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), espec. 34-78; Alban, 'An East Anglian Knight's Indenture', 1-12.
- <sup>82</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 391.
- <sup>83</sup> *The Chronicle of Ireland, by Henry Marleburrough. Continued from the Collection of Doctor Meredith Hanmer, in the Yeare 1571.* (repr. Dublin, 1809), 18.
- <sup>84</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 391.
- <sup>85</sup> Probably Thomas Bardolf, 5th Baron Bardolf (1369-1408), of Wormegay, Norfolk, Shelford and Stoke Bardolph, Nottinghamshire, and Hallaton, Leicestershire.
- <sup>86</sup> Janse, *Grenzen aan de Macht*, 267 (incl. note 123), 391; Jones, 'Sir Walter Bitterley'.
- <sup>87</sup> *Chronicon Adae de Usk, AD 1377-1421*, ed. E.M. Thompson (2nd edn, London, 1904), 63-4.
- <sup>88</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 55<sup>r</sup>.
- <sup>89</sup> S.J. Payling, 'Cornwall, John, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443)', *ODNB*, online edn, September, 2004 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54423>, accessed 28 January 2019]. See also L.S. Woodger, 'Cornwall, Sir John (c.1366-1414), of Kinlet, Salop.', *History of Parliament*, ii. 661-3.

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<sup>90</sup> Payling, ‘Cornewall, John, Baron Fanhope (*d.* 1443)’.

<sup>91</sup> KB, 79 K 21, fo. 54<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> For example, in April 1392, John Colvill served on a commission *de wallis et fossatis* for Elm, on the Norfolk-Cambridgeshire border with Thomas de Bardolf, who served in Friesland with him in 1398, and Thomas de Morley, the cousin of Robert de Morley who was in Friesland with him in 1396 (*CPR, 1391-6*, 84).

<sup>93</sup> De Beke mentions that the five knights came not just with archers, but ‘*mit veel goeder mannen*’ (‘with many good men’) (*Johannes de Beke, Croniken*, 254).

<sup>94</sup> Caudrey, *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry, passim*; Magee, ‘Sir William Elmham and Recruitment’, 181-90.