

Sir Ralph Shelton's Indenture for Military Service on the Bishop of Norwich's Crusade, 1383

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ABSTRACT: This article looks at a subcontract for military service between two Norfolk soldiers, for the crusade of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, in 1383, and considers its evidential importance, as the only currently known document of its kind surviving from this exceptional campaign.

Among the archives held at Raynham Hall in Norfolk is an indenture executed between Sir Ralph Shelton and John Payn, esquire, of Helhoughton, Norfolk, on 28 April 1383.¹ By this instrument, Payn contracted himself, accompanied by an archer, to serve Shelton for one year in the crusade of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich.² As is explained in more detail below, this indenture between Shelton and Payn is the only currently known original subcontract for military service surviving from this campaign, although many others must have been made.³ Before turning to the indenture itself, we shall first consider the background to Despenser's expedition and the parties involved in the indenture.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH'S CRUSADE

The Bishop of Norwich's 'crusade' was a campaign in Flanders which lasted from May to October 1383.⁴ Following the papal schism of 1378, England supported the Roman pope, Urban VI, while France held for his rival in Avignon, Clement VII. Ostensibly directed at Clement's adherents, the crusade was also an English response to the political, economic and military situation in Flanders in the early 1380s. It stemmed from Urban VI's two bulls, *Dudum cum vinea Domini* ('Since recently the Lord's vineyard') and *Dudum cum filii Belial* ('Since recently the sons of Belial'), issued in 1381.⁵ Although neither instrument appointed Despenser as the crusade's military leader, he adopted this rôle and, on 17 September 1382, acting as papal *nuncio*, he published the bulls from his manor at North Elmham.⁶ Funded through the sale of indulgences and partly from a parliamentary subsidy of £37,475 7s. 6d., the crusade was characterized by gross incompetence. Instead of being aimed at the followers of the antipope, it was misdirected at the Flemings who, with their Count, were Urbanists. It ended in failure, for which Despenser was impeached by Parliament on his return and suffered the loss of his temporalities for two years.

THE PARTIES IN THE INDENTURE

Sir Ralph Shelton

Sir Ralph Shelton II, (1348-1414), of Shelton, and Great and Little Snoring,⁷ was the son and heir of Sir Ralph Shelton I (c. 1315-75), by his first wife, Joan Burgulion. The family took its name from the township of Shelton, thirteen miles south of Norwich. As heir to his maternal grandfather, Hugh Burgulion, Ralph II inherited Great and Little Snoring in north-west Norfolk, and other manors in Norfolk and Lincolnshire, when he was two years old, although they were held in wardship until 1369, when, on his majority, he received livery of them. Sir Ralph II inherited his father's estates on the latter's death, in 1375. By this time, he was married to Alice de Uvedale, the daughter of Sir Thomas de Uvedale of Tacolneston, whom he had probably wed in the previous year.

In common with others of his class, Sir Ralph was active in administrative affairs in Norfolk over a long period. For instance, on 21 December 1382, he, with other prominent local men, received a royal commission to investigate treasonable insurrection in the county and to put down rebels, having, on the previous day, also been appointed to a commission of the peace there. He served

again as a justice of the peace on several occasions until 1399. He was also appointed to commissions of *oyer and terminer* in July 1388 and December 1411,⁸ and was involved in several enquiries into disputes, including one which had arisen between the prior and convent at Walsingham priory in January 1384, and another between the townsfolk of Wymondham and the monks of the priory there, in March 1410.⁹ In January 1388, he was a member of a commission enquiring into the fate of a Scottish ship, driven ashore in a storm and seized in Norfolk, in contravention of the prevailing truce.¹⁰

His administrative activities were wide ranging, including enforcing the statutes relating to weirs, through a commission of June 1398, and serving on commissions *de walliis et fossatis* in June 1406 and November 1408.¹¹ In November 1406, he was appointed with others to determine the worth of the Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex estates of the late Sir Robert de Hemenhale, while, in September of the previous year, he had collected loans to support Henry IV's defensive activities in Wales.¹² Not least, he represented Norfolk as one of its knights of the shire in 1393 and 1402.

Shelton had high standing in the local community. He was frequently a trustee in deeds relating to East Anglian estates, for instance, being named, in 1397, as an overseer of the will of William Wynter of Barningham, and, in 1385, acting as a feoffee of the manors of Joan, the widow of Sir Thomas Felton. In 1390, he was a trustee for Sir John Le Strange of Hunstanton and, in 1406, appeared in the same capacity, in a charter of feoffment of the manor of Saxthorpe Loundhall.¹³ The city of Norwich clearly had great regard for him. In 1397-8, its citizens paid 34s. 7d. for a breakfast at which they entertained Shelton and several other notables, including Sir Edmund de Thorpe and Sir Robert de Berneye, while, in the same year, Shelton, Thorpe and Berneye were included in a party of four knights (the other was Sir Edmund Noon) who were sent to Leicester, on Norwich's behalf, to present the city's petition to Richard II.¹⁴

The Sheltons were a military family of long standing, several generations having variously performed service in Wales, Scotland, France and elsewhere since at least the 1220s. Sir Ralph the elder had had an extensive martial career and, most notably, was connected with Edward, the Black Prince. He fought at Crécy in 1346, receiving a knighthood on the field, and, ten years later, at Poitiers, where he was captured by the French and subsequently ransomed.¹⁵

Sir Ralph II followed in his father's footsteps (but more successfully, since he avoided capture), beginning his military career in the late 1360s and continuing actively in arms until the first decade of the fifteenth century. As well as participating in Despenser's crusade, for which he took out letters of protection on 8 April 1383,¹⁶ he campaigned in France in the retinue of William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, in 1369, served at sea under Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1372, by which time he appears to have been knighted, and saw action in France, again with the Earl of Suffolk, in 1373.¹⁷ He subsequently became a military follower of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, serving as a member of Gaunt's expeditionary force which laid siege to Saint-Malo in 1378, accompanying Gaunt on Richard II's Scottish campaign of 1385 and participating in Gaunt's own 'crusade' in Castile in 1386.¹⁸ In 1388, he was part of the naval force commanded by Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, on an expedition in which he and John Payn, esquire (probably the other party in the indenture of 1383) both served together as men-at-arms.¹⁹ In 1400, he participated with a small retinue of five archers in Henry IV's campaign against the Scots.²⁰ Shelton also played his part in local defence, serving as a commissioner of array for Norfolk on five occasions between 1385 and 1405. For instance, in July 1402, he, with eight other commissioners, was empowered 'to array all men at arms, archers and other fencible men of the county of Norfolk, for the defence of

the sea coast against the king's enemies, who intend invasion', while, in July 1405, he was named in a similar commission 'for the resistance of the king's enemies of France and others, at present assembled with no small force in the parts of Picardy, who propose to besiege and destroy the king's castles and towns in those parts and harm the king's lieges, and to go to Wales to strengthen the rebels there'.²¹ His military service, especially under John of Gaunt, clearly strengthened the relationships which he had with other Norfolk knights, such as Sir Thomas Erpingham, and also stood him in good stead when Gaunt's son became king Henry IV in 1399.

Shelton died on 25 October 1414 and is buried in Great Snoring church with his wife, Alice, the effigies on their monumental brass depicting him in armour and a jupon with the Shelton arms of Azure, a cross Or, and her wearing a gown displaying her Uvedale family arms, Argent, a cross moline Gules. The brass has been badly damaged during the past two centuries and all that now remains of Ralph's effigy is part of his head and great bascinet, although Alice's figure is much more intact. John Sell Cotman inspected the brass at some time before 1815, when it was far more complete, and published his drawing of it in 1838, in his study on Norfolk brasses.²² Cotman commented that 'this is remarkable among the Norfolk brasses, as having the field of the knight's coat and the cross Moline, in the lady's enamelled in their proper colours and from his surcoat being the first with sleeves'.

John Payn, Esquire

The other party to the indenture, John Payn, esquire, was the son of Nicholas Payn of Helhoughton. John's biography is difficult to unravel,²³ not least because he shared his name with another contemporary – and perhaps better known – John Payn, who was also probably of Norfolk origin, and who was butler of the household of Henry, Earl of Derby during the 1390s and chief butler of England from 21 August 1399 until his death shortly before 8 November 1402. John Payn, the butler, held a small estate near Wymondham, but he appears to have had no connexions with the family of the same name from Helhoughton, his entry in *The History of Parliament* emphatically stating that 'He is probably not to be identified with John, son of Nicholas Payn of Helhoughton, Norf., esquire'.²⁴

By the late fourteenth century, the Payns were established as a minor gentry family, with some estates in west Norfolk. Few traces of them exist before the 1370s and the family died out in the male line in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, when their Helhoughton lands were acquired by the Townshends of Raynham.²⁵ In instances where families have not survived into modern times, detail about their early years is often lacking, thus, we have scant information about the Payns in the fourteenth century, reinforcing Roger Virgoe's comment that 'very little is known about the private lives of even the most notable figures of late medieval Norfolk'.²⁶

According to Francis Blomefield, Nicholas Payn, the father of John Payn of Helhoughton, 'had a lordship' in Helhoughton in 50 Edward III (1376-7).²⁷ A Nicholas Payn was recorded as acting as a sub-bailiff of the nearby Mitford hundred in 1379, although it is not certain whether this was the same man, as there may just be a coincidence in the names.²⁸ In 1391, John inherited his father's Helhoughton estates,²⁹ while, in August 1397 or February 1398, he received a grant from Catherine, Nicholas's widow, of all her dower lands, tenements and appurtenances in Helhoughton and Tattersett, in return for his paying her the sum of £4 6s. 8d., yearly, for life.³⁰

John Payn of Helhoughton appeared frequently in local deeds. For instance, he was a party in a London statute merchant recognizance of 23 January 1390, by which William Dokking bound himself to Payn in the sum of £100, '*pro mercandis ab eo emptis*' ('for merchandise bought from him'), to be repaid by the following Easter. The document does not specify exactly what the merchandise comprised, although the Payns were known to have had mercantile interests in London, which persisted into the fifteenth century.³¹ In 1391, Payn quitclaimed Sigers manor in Oxwick to John de Burton and eight others³² and he was a party in a similar document on 23 August 1405, when Adam Walsman made a quitclaim to him of an acre of land at Nyneacres in Helhoughton. Payn appeared as a witness in the confirmation of 5 June 1399 by Henry Baker of Helhoughton to John Fawkener and Thomas Berry of three and a half roods, and one and a half acres of meadow in Helhoughton. He was also present, in the same capacity, in a confirmation of half an acre of land in Helhoughton by Adam Walsman to John Bettes on 24 May 1406, and in a grant of a messuage in Helhoughton by Robert Clere to William and Nicholas Fuller on 29 September 1413. This messuage may have been the same one, which, together with an adjoining piece of land, Payn had conveyed to Clere on 25 September, at an annual rent of 6d.³³

On 27 November 1418, he and four others enfeoffed John Drewe, clerk, William Shelton, esquire, Edmund Wynter, esquire, Henry Notyngham, esquire, William Gygge of Wighton, John Grys of Wighton and John de Lyng of Little Walsingham of a manor called Veautres in Burnham St Clements, jointly with its appurtenances, which were widely spread across nine nearby townships. A similar indenture of enfeoffment, regarding the same manor, was executed by him and three others on 26 November 1419.³⁴ He appeared as a witness, to a deed from John Bettys to Robert Bonn of Binham and two others, granting lands, tenements, meadows and pastures lying dispersed in the vill and fields of Helhoughton and Little Raynham, dated Monday before feast of St Lawrence, 3 Henry VI.³⁵

Although he appeared frequently in deeds, there is little evidence that Payn was especially active in administrative affairs within Norfolk. However, he may have been the John Payn, who, in October 1405, was commissioned with John Reymes, Edmund Oldhall, Thomas Hall and the sheriff of Norfolk to enquire into the report of a sum of gold found within the church of Holt Market and which the king was claiming.³⁶ Less certain, since John Payn the butler was still alive at that date, was whether he was the John Payn who appeared in a commission of 11 May 1402, for identifying and arresting persons 'preaching among other things that the king has not kept the promises he made at his advent into the realm and at his coronation and in Parliaments and councils that the laws and laudable customs of the realm should be conserved'.³⁷

He married, before March 1398, a Matilda,³⁸ although, in his will of 13 November 1428, his wife was named as Margaret. Margaret may have been a subsequent wife of Payn, or perhaps there may have been a misreading of the name by the compilers of the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*. Unfortunately, there is insufficient information about her for us to know for certain. However, Payn's last will lists five children, sons John Payn, junior, Michael, William³⁹ and Thomas, who, at the time, had not arrived at 'legal age', and Katherine, his daughter, who was not yet fourteen years old when the will was made.⁴⁰ Like his namesake, the butler, who was well placed with the royal court, John Payn of Helhoughton appears also to have had some Lancastrian connexions. He is known to have received an annuity of £16 13s.4d. from the Duchy of Lancaster's Norfolk estates in around 1400. Moreover, in 1413, another annuity of £20 from the Duchy's estates in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk was granted to a John Payn, whose place of residence was not stated, but who may be the same man.⁴¹

The dates of Payn's birth and death are unknown,⁴² although his last will was dated 13 November 1428.⁴³ His feoffees to uses named in this will, who had previously been appointed by a separate *carta feoffamenti* of 2 June 1425, in respect of his estates and properties in Helhoughton and elsewhere, included Sir Simon de Felbrigg, Sir Edmund Berry, John Le Strange and William Paston.⁴⁴

In terms of his military service, it is clear from his indenture with Shelton and from his letters of protection of 8 April 1383⁴⁵ that Payn was involved in Despenser's crusade, although it is uncertain whether the crusade was the first campaign in which he participated. There are instances of a man-at-arms (or different men-at-arms) of that name being present on several expeditions, particularly naval ones, during the 1370s. For instance, a John Payn served in that capacity in John, Lord Neville's naval force, for the keeping of the sea, in 1371. In 1374, the same man, or a namesake, featured as a man-at-arms in the retinue of John Malwayn, serving in the fleet commanded by Sir William de Neville and Sir Philip de Courtenay, then, later in that year, with the captain, Laurence Sebrok, under the command of Sir William de Neville. A John Payn served again, this time, with Sir William de Neville as his captain, in the naval force led by John of Gaunt in 1378. A namesake also participated as a man-at-arms in retinue of Edward, Lord Despenser, in the French expedition of 1375, which was commanded by Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, and John, Duke of Brittany.⁴⁶

The difficulties of precisely identifying individuals from the large corpus of surviving fourteenth-century soldiers' records have been noted.⁴⁷ This caveat must be borne in mind when considering whether the John Payn of the Shelton indenture served in one or more of the above-mentioned expeditions of the 1370s. Payn's will indicates that he was still alive in November 1428, so it is also possible that he may have been the John Payn who was a man-at-arms with John Knollys in a naval expedition of the same year.⁴⁸ However, if that were the case, he would have been quite advanced in years by this date, which might preclude his being identified with any of the John Payns who served in the campaigns of the 1370s.

On the other hand, it is feasible that the man in Shelton's indenture may have been the John Payn, esquire, who served under Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, in his naval expedition of 1388,⁴⁹ while a John Payn was also a member of John Fulthorp's retinue in the expedition to Scotland in 1400.⁵⁰ Furthermore, an undated and defective Exchequer account from Richard II's reign indicates a John Payn serving at some time, under a captain named Elmham, apparently on a naval expedition.⁵¹ In view of Sir William de Elmham's possible involvement in recruiting Sir Ralph Shelton and his retinue for Despenser's crusade, which is further discussed below, it may well be that this was another episode of service in the military career of John Payn of Helhoughton.

The Identity of the Archer

The archer was not named in the indenture, so identifying him presents a problem and there appears to be little likelihood of discovering who he was, given that, for English armies of this period, it has been noted that 'although archers were the largest group of combatants, they are also the most elusive since it is difficult to trace them in other records, such as those relating to landholding'.⁵² Furthermore, there is no known extant muster roll for Shelton's retinue, which might have helped to trace the man, while another standard source also provides little assistance in this instance: some 600 or so letters of protection or of general attorney survive for Despenser's crusade,⁵³ among them

Sir Ralph Shelton's and John Payn's,⁵⁴ but an archer, with fewer assets than a knight or esquire, would have a less compelling reason to acquire such letters before a campaign.⁵⁵ It is therefore unlikely that this particular archer would be among the recipients of the letters of protection and general attorney issued in 1383. Through new research, scholars are now discovering much more about the lives of individual archers than was hitherto thought possible,⁵⁶ but, for the moment, the identity of Payn's archer remains obscure.

THE INDENTURE SYSTEM AND SUBCONTRACTS

The agreement between Shelton and Payn was a product of the system whereby English fighting forces were raised by indentures for military service, a practice first found in the late thirteenth century, but which was refined during the long periods of war of the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Under this system, an army was, effectively, a collection of individual retainues, brought together on a contractual basis, so as to make up the total size of the force required. The first English army wholly to be raised on this basis was that sent to Scotland in 1337,⁵⁸ but, thereafter, the practice became increasingly common and it was how the crown assembled armies from the 1370s onwards.

The king entered into contracts with captains for the provision of specified quantities and types of soldiers, the terms usually including length of service, wages, payment of any 'regard' to cover expenses and the costs of warhorses, place of muster, and arrangements for dividing spoils of war and ransoms of captured prisoners. Other clauses might concern provision of sustenance and servants, compensation, and indications of remedies or penalties for non-compliance with any of the conditions of the contract. Such agreements were executed as bipartite indentures, the document's text being written twice on a piece of parchment, which, to prevent forgery, was then cut in an indented (hence the name) fashion, so as to make two matching parts, each party sealing one of the parts and interchanging it with the other contracting party. For royal armies, the indentee's part would usually be sent to the Exchequer, to enable payment to be made. Thus, in The National Archives there remains a large corpus of main indentures between captains and the crown. To fulfil their agreements, captains, in their turn, raised their retainues through subcontracts with other soldiers, but the indentures made between captains and the subordinates with whom they subcontracted to supply the troops to make up the numbers required by the main contract are much less common, as they were not normally lodged with the Exchequer, thus, for most campaigns, comparatively few subcontracts survive.⁵⁹

Since Despenser's army of 1383 was not a royal force, no indentures were deposited with the Exchequer as a prerequisite for payment, thus, for the crusade, there is, unfortunately, a huge dearth of such documents.⁶⁰ Despenser himself almost certainly contracted with Richard II to provide 2,500 men-at-arms and 2,500 archers, to serve for one year, but no record of his indenture with the crown survives,⁶¹ although, as noted above, the names of some 600 crusaders are known from surviving letters of protection and of general attorney. The lack of surviving indentures has prompted some historians to question whether the crusading host was assembled using the contract system. However, most agree that it must have been and that Despenser, in order to gather his army, followed the usual recruitment processes, relying on a group of trusted captains to raise and lead the force.⁶² These included experienced knights such as Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir William de Elmham, Sir Henry Ferrers, Sir Richard Grene, Sir Richard Redeman and Sir Thomas Trivet,⁶³ who through their family, social and territorial connexions would have attracted the service of many soldiers. Magee also suggested the likelihood that some archers took the Cross as individuals, attracted by wages and the indulgences offered to crusaders.⁶⁴ Chancery enrolments of letters of

general attorney and protection obtained by intending crusaders give some imprecise indication of the size of the crusading army, but, unfortunately, they do not throw direct light on recruitment patterns, in the way that surviving indentures and muster rolls, lodged with the Exchequer, do for other campaigns. However, a small number of surviving documentary texts strongly suggest that the usual process of recruitment by indentured retinue was generally followed.

In this respect, the indenture between Sir Ralph Shelton and John Payn supplies us with an important piece of evidence. Significantly, it is the only extant original subcontract relating to Despenser's crusade which has, to date, come to light. However, the texts of several other indentures for the crusade are known, but through later copies, not original documents. One is a seventeenth-century note and partial transcript made by the antiquary, Sir Peter Leycester, of a now apparently lost subcontract between the Cheshire men, Sir Thomas Danyers (or Danyel) and Thomas de Beeston, both of whom served on the crusade in the retinue of the Cheshire knight, Sir Hugh Calveley. This indenture, in French and dated 24 March 1383, recited that Thomas, the son of Henry de Beeston, had contracted to serve Sir Thomas with one archer 'for the warre', for one whole year, for £40, taking £15 in advance for the first quarter and a half. Under its terms, Beeston was to render to Sir Thomas *'le tierce de luy et de ses soens gaignes par voye de guerre et toutes aultres covenants que le dit monsieur Thomas est tenu a faire vers Monsieur Hugh de Calveley son meistre'* ('the third of [whatever] he and his [men] may win by way of war and all other covenants which the said Sir Thomas is held to make towards Sir Hugh de Calveley, his master').⁶⁵ Moreover, Sir Thomas was not the only known Cheshire soldier who had contracted to serve under Calveley on the crusade. On the same page of the document is a note of a receipt from him and fellow subcontractors, John de Masey of Puddington, Sir Thomas de Carington, and Robert Danyers of Rydelegh, for an advance by Sir Hugh Calveley of £100, in respect of their wages on the *'viage Evesque de Norwys'* ('the Bishop of Norwich's expedition'). We also know something of Sir Thomas de Carington's retinue in Calveley's service: it appears (from the evidence of another lost subcontract) that, 'in the 6th year of Richard II', Carington indented with Thomas Cotton of Cotton, Cheshire, who was to serve him 'with one horseman and three archers, in the crusade made by the Bishop of Norwich.'⁶⁶

Details of a further known subcontract come from a now lost fragment of an indenture of April 1383, which was described by Blomefield in his monograph on Norfolk. By this instrument, Sir William de Berdewell, of Bardwell, Suffolk, and West Harling and Gasthorpe, Norfolk, subcontracted with John, Lord Clifton, of Buckenham Castle, to serve with seven men-at-arms and six mounted archers for one year on 'the voyage of Croyserye', in return for 100 marks for himself and 392 marks for his men, plus food and other necessaries. Half the moneys were to be paid in advance, and the rest quarterly, as and when the bishop paid Lord Clifton.⁶⁷

Other tantalizing references reinforce the idea that there were many other crusading contracts, now lost. One example, known only through a resulting legal case, is the agreement whereby the Northumberland knight, Sir John Drewe, undertook to serve on the crusade with Sir Henry de Ferrers. Drewe arranged for Roger Galliard of London to stand surety for him in the sum of £100, but, after receiving an advance of £25, he absconded. Ferrers sued Galliard, who was imprisoned late in 1383, and was still captive in April 1388, when his wife petitioned for his release, as a consequence of which the sheriff and escheator of Northumberland were ordered to arrest Drewe and bring him before king.⁶⁸

THE INDENTURE BETWEEN SHELTON AND PAYN

The Raynham subcontract, being an original document, contains much more detail than the other examples above, which give only incomplete, second-hand information. Shelton's indenture was executed at London on 28 April 1383 and, by it, Payn was retained to stay with him for an entire year, serving in his retinue with a good and sufficient archer, '*mountetz et bien arraietz*' ('mounted and well arrayed'), for the crusading expedition, on the king's service and in the company of the Bishop of Norwich. The term of service was to begin on the first day that Shelton's retinue was at sea. Payn was to receive £37 6s. 8d. as payment of the year's wages for himself and his archer, the first half year's moneys being advanced to him before his passage beyond the sea, while '*pur laultre demi aan il serra paie en mesme la manere comme le dit mons*' Rauf paiera a lez soudeours de sa retenuz' ('for the other half year he shall be paid in the same manner as the said Sir Rauf shall pay the soldiers of his retinue'). The wording of the agreement suggests that the moneys would be paid directly to Payn, who would then be responsible for paying his archer himself. The sum involved also appears to be somewhat above the customary rates of *vadia guerre* for this period. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, an esquire usually received daily pay of 1s. and a horse archer 6d. a day, making their annual wages respectively £18 5s. and £9 2s.6d. If Payn and the archer had received standard wages, the resulting total would have been £27 7s. 6d., which was around £10 lower than the payment of £37 6s. 8d. offered by Shelton. The annual payment of £40 by Sir Thomas Danyers to Thomas de Beeston for him and his archer was also higher than the usual rate. However, it was not unknown for subcontracted soldiers occasionally to receive more (or even less) than the customary wage, and it may be that, because this was not a royal expedition, captains had more flexibility in offering payment. Alternatively, the additional payment may have included an element for regard, which was not specifically mentioned in the indenture, but which was usually allowed, to support the expenses of men-at-arms on campaign.

As in the indenture between Danyers and Beeston, the Raynham subcontract laid down that a third of any profits of war gained by Payn and those serving with him would be due to Sir Ralph, terms which were fairly standard for such indentures at this period. The agreement further specified that if a castle, fortified town or other fortress were taken by Payn and his archer, the distribution of the spoils should be divided '*qe bon lui sembles*' ('as appears satisfactory to him [i.e., Payn]'). Moreover, if a royal person or a *Cheueutayn de guerre* were taken by Payn and his companions, these prisoners would be reserved to Sir Ralph, who would make reasonable compensation to Payn and the others involved in the capture. Again, this was fairly typical for such indentures, although this clause was followed by another, which was specific to this campaign. It provided that, if Payn or his companions captured the antipope, Clement VII, or any of his adherents named in the '*bulle del power*⁶⁹ *qe le dit reuerente Euesque ... [illegible] ... seynt piere le pape vrban*' ('the authorizing bull which the said reverend bishop [has received from] the Holy Father, Pope Urban'), the prisoners were to be placed in the direct custody of the Bishop of Norwich. Another provision of this document, which was particular to the crusade, was that Payn and his companion would gain the bishop's favour and praise, and their sins would be expiated by their participation in it. This was in keeping with *Dudum cum vinea Domini*, which granted a full indulgence to all who served on crusade against the antipope for a year.⁷⁰

By the terms of the indenture, Payn and his archer were to have sufficient shipping costs (*eskypsoun*) for themselves and their horses, while he himself swore to uphold the covenants into which he had entered, again, standard clauses which frequently occur in such agreements. The

indenture was interchangeably sealed by both parties, interestingly, not in Norfolk, but in London, emphasizing that the city was the main centre for recruitment for the crusade.⁷¹ Shelton may have entered into similar agreements there with other soldiers at the same time.

SHELTON AND THE CRUSADING ARMY

This leads us to consider how Shelton and his retinue may have integrated with other elements of the bishop's army. Shelton's subcontract with Payn does not mention the name of a superior captain, but Magee has convincingly argued that Shelton served under the Norfolk knight, Sir William de Elmham (c. 1336-1403). Elmham, who was related to Despenser by marriage, and who played a major rôle during the campaign itself, was a 'key figure in the recruitment' of the crusading force, and, as a banneret, would have raised a company estimated at around a hundred men.⁷²

Elmham had a long and illustrious military and diplomatic career,⁷³ during which acquired a reputation equal to those of the leading soldiers of his day, men such as Sir Hugh Calveley, alongside whom he had frequently served and, like whom, he became a king's knight and a banneret. Elements of his early military activities are obscure, but, by the mid-1360s, he had been knighted and had seen service with the Free Companies, then fought alongside the Black Prince at the battle of Nájera in 1367. He participated in Guy, Lord Bryan's naval expedition in 1371, was with John of Gaunt in France in 1373, served with distinction in Aquitaine in the late 1370s and took part in John, Lord Arundel's Brittany expedition of 1379. In 1381, he had a hand in suppressing the Peasants' Revolt in East Anglia. Interspersed with his military activities, both before and after Despenser's crusade, were many diplomatic missions to France, Iberia and Scotland, as well as administrative duties at home, including representing Suffolk in parliament on three occasions. In the 1380s and 1390s, his military activities included involvement in several naval campaigns and he was admiral of the north in 1380-2. In 1394, he accompanied Richard II to Ireland and in 1399 raised a small force to support the king against Henry Bolingbroke, despite which, he retained the favour of Bolingbroke when he became Henry IV. Unfortunately, Elmham did not emerge with glory from Despenser's crusade. The chronicler, Thomas Walsingham attributed the failure of the campaign chiefly to Despenser's captains, including Elmham, who, afterwards, was briefly imprisoned, although later pardoned, for allegedly treating with the enemy and receiving moneys from them.⁷⁴

Magee remarked on how striking it was that a number of soldiers on the crusade to Flanders could be linked to Elmham. These included Norfolk men such as Sir John de Brewes, Sir Thomas Gerberge and, most particularly, Sir Ralph Shelton, all of whom had either previously served with him or had been associated with him in other ways.⁷⁵ Magee therefore concluded that Elmham used his regional associations to raise at least some of the men who served under him on the crusade. Elmham and Shelton had a friendship which began well before the crusade and lasted for a long time afterwards. Indeed, when Elmham received letters of protection to serve in Aquitaine with the Black Prince in 1364, he named Shelton as his attorney.⁷⁶ The pair were also associated together in a number of non-military, administrative activities, such as, for instance, in 1372, when Edward III instructed them and William de Kerdeston, as king's knights, to levy 1,000 marks in Norfolk, or, as in April 1386, when they were both included in a joint commission of the peace and of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the county.⁷⁷

Although there is a high probability that Shelton did serve under Elmham, no record of a contract between them survives. Magee also concluded that the men who would have been brought by

subcontractors such as Shelton were probably not wealthy enough to bother taking out letters of protection, although it can be seen that John Payn did so. We are therefore fortunate that the subcontract between Shelton and Payn – a unique survival in itself at this level – has come down to us. It has given us the name of an esquire in Despenser's army who did indeed take out letters of protection for himself, but, most importantly, it is strong evidence to suggest that at least some elements of the crusading force were raised *via* the indenture system. The loss of the potentially huge mass of other contracts and subcontracts which must have been executed in advance of the crusade is therefore to be regretted.

APPENDIX

Indenture between Sir Ralph de Shelton and John Payn, Esquire, of Helhoughton, 28 April, 6 Richard II 1383 (Raynham Hall, RL, box 11 (a). Helhoughton. Helhoughton deeds). *French.*

Transcript⁷⁸

Ceste endenture feite' par entre mons' Rauf de Shelton' dune part et Johan Payn de Helgetoun esquier daultre part tesmoigne qe le dit Johan est retenuz et demourant ouesque le dit mons' Rauf pur lui seruiet en feite de guerre en la viaige de Croyserie et eusement' en le seruisse du Roy en la cumpagnye du reuerente piere en dieux Henry par diuine prouidence Euesque de Norwicz par le terme dune an entier ouesque vn archer bon et suffisant' bien mountetz et bien arraietz comme assiert a lours estatz commensant soun terme la primere iour qe le serrount al mier prist pur lour monstre et passer. Et le dit Johan prendra pur lui et soun dit archer trente et sept liures sis soudz oeut deniers pour laan auandit de gree qil serra paie pur la primere demi an deuant son passage oultre mier et pur laultre demi an il serra paie en mesme la manere comme le dit mons' Rauf paiera a lez soudeours de sa retenuz. Et le dit mons' Rauf auera le tierce de tut ceo qe serra gainye par voye de guerre par le dit Johan et lez soenz et serra obeysantz et entendantz a dit mons' Rauf' ensembles et chescun par soi en totes couenables seruises de guerre tutz des paiementz et assignementz. Et si chastel ville Clos ou Forteresse soiount prises par le dit Johan ou soenz apres la distribuacion du lespoil diceux lez dit Fortz ou Fortereses serount ou de ... [illegible] ... ceo qe bon lui sembles. Et si person Real ou Cheueutayn de guerre soyent prises par le dit Johan ou lez soenz le dit mons' Rauf les auera par de Vers lui deuant toutz aultres faisant a ceux qe les aueront pris resonable gree. Et mieign' qe le dit Johan ou ascun de soenz pregnount le antipape ou ascun de sez adherentz expresses et nommes en la bulle del power⁷⁹ qe le dit reuerente Euesque ... [illegible] ... seynt piere le pape vrban yceux serrount sauetz et mys en la garde de dit Euesque. Et le dit Johan auera sufficientz eskypsoun pur lui sez gentz et lours cheuaux. Et ferront et procurront le dit Johan et lez soenz le bien et loouer de dit Euesque et soun mal esthueront par tut lour power.⁸⁰ Et tutz les couenantz qe desus est dit le dit Johan et lez soenz ount promys et ... [illegible] ... bien et loyalment saunz fraude ou mal engyme. En tesmoigne de queles chose les partietz auantditz entrenchablement a yceux endentures ount mys lours sealz. Donne a loundres la Vynt et oeutisme iour Dapril lan du regne le Roy Richard seconde puis la conquest syme.

Pendent seal of Sir Ralph de Shelton, on tag, sur double queue. Red wax. Notionally circular, 23.8 mm x 25.4 mm. Armorial, accouché shield of arms, charged with a cross, surmounted with a great helm and mantling. Legend illegible.

Translation

This indenture made between Sir Ralph de Shelton of [the] one part and John Payn of Helgetoun, esquire, of [the] other part, witnesseth that the said John is retained and staying with the said Sir Ralph, to serve him in a feat of war on the expedition of crusade and likewise in the king's service, in the company of the reverend father in God, Henry, by divine providence, Bishop of Norwich, for the term of one entire year, with a good and sufficient archer, well mounted and well arrayed, as is appropriate to their status, beginning his term the first day on which they shall be at the sea, ready for their muster and to cross [over]. And the said John shall take for him and his said archer £37 6s. 8d. for the aforesaid year, in recompense, of which he shall be paid for the first half year before his passage beyond the sea, and for the other half year he shall be paid in the same manner as the said Sir Ralph shall pay the soldiers of his retinue. And the said Sir Ralph shall have the third of all that shall be gained by way of war by the said John and his [companions] and [they] shall be obedient and intendant to [the] said Sir Ralph, jointly and severally, by him in all necessary services of war, all payments and assignments. And if [a] castle, enclosed town or fortress may be taken by the said John or his [companions], after[wards] the distribution of the spoils from those, the said forts or fortresses, shall ... [illegible] ..., that which appears good to him. And if a royal person or chieftain of war may be taken by the said John or his [companions], the said Sir Ralph, before all others, shall have them for himself, making reasonable recompense to those who have taken them. And should it happen that the said John or any of his [companions] may capture the antipope or any of his adherents, expressed and named in the bull of authority⁷⁹ which the reverend bishop [?has received from the] holy father, the pope Urban, these shall be saved and placed in the custody of the said bishop. And the said John shall have sufficient shipping costs for his men and their horses. And the said John and his [companions] shall make and procure the favour and praise of [the] said bishop and their sins shall be expiated by all their power.⁸⁰ And the said John and his [companions] have promised and [?sworn to uphold] all the covenants which are above, well and loyally, without fraud or deception. In witness of which thing, the aforesaid parties have interchangeably set their seals to these indentures. Given at London, the twenty-eighth day of April in the sixth year of the reign of King Richard, the second after the conquest.

Notes

¹ Raynham Hall Archives, RL, box 11 (a). Helhoughton. Helhoughton deeds. I am grateful to the Most Honourable the Marquess Townshend for granting me access to this document and for permission to publish it, and to Dr Anthony Smith, the Raynham archivist, for bringing it to my attention and for his subsequent advice. My thanks are also due to Susan Maddock, Honorary Research Fellow in the School of History at the University of East Anglia. For a useful summary of the finding aids to the Raynham Hall Archives, see N. Vincent, 'The Wills of Godfrey and Henry of Helhoughton (1270 and 1274)', in *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records Edited in Honour of David Crook*, ed. P.A. Brand and S. Cunningham (York, 2008), 109, note 7. For an overview of the history of the Raynham archive, see the introduction to *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, 1556-77*, ed. A Hassell Smith, G.M. Baker and R.W. Kenny, *Norfolk Record Society*, xlvii (Norwich, 1979), xviii-xxxvii. Some of the Townshend family archive, originally held at Raynham, has been dispersed and for details of repositories holding items from it, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Principal Family and Estate Collections, L-W* (London, 1999), 120-5 [<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F24629>]. A transcript and a translation of the indenture appear as an appendix to this article.

² Henry Despenser (c. 1341-1406) was Bishop of Norwich from 1370 to 1406. For his biographical details, see R.G. Davies, 'Despenser, Henry (d. 1406)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7551>, accessed 5 Nov 2015]; R. Allington-Smith, *Henry Despenser, the Fighting Bishop. A New View of an Extraordinary Medieval Prelate* (Dereham, 2003); M. Aston, 'The Impeachment of Bishop Despenser', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (hereafter, *BIHR*), xxxviii (1965), 127-48; and A.E.

Oliver, 'Battling Bishops. Late Fourteenth-Century Episcopal Masculinity Admired and Decried', *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 2005), 272-86.

³ See below, pp. 9-13.

⁴ For background information, see Allington-Smith, *Henry Despenser*, 54-81; N. Housley, 'The Bishop of Norwich's Crusade', *History Today*, xxxiii, no. 5 (1 May 1983), 15-20; J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972), 44-50; J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, vol. iii: Divided Houses* (London, 2009), 456-510. Two older studies are G.M. Wrong, *The Crusade of 1383, known as that of the Bishop of Norwich* (Oxford, 1892) and G. Skalweit, *Der Kreuzzug des Bischofs Heinrich von Norwich im Jahre 1383* (Königsberg, 1898). An explanation of why the crusade happened as it did is given in K. DeVries, 'The Reasons for the Bishop of Norwich's Attack on Flanders', *Fourteenth Century England, iii*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), 155-66.

⁵ See note 69 below.

⁶ R. Coulborn, 'The Economic and Political Preliminaries of the Crusade of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, in 1383' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1931), 198.

⁷ Much of the information on Shelton here is derived from L.S. Woodger, 'Shelton, Sir Ralph (1348-1414), of Shelton and Great Snoring, Norfolk', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1386-1421*, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (4 vols, Stroud, 1992), iv. 355-7.

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter, *CPR*), 1381-5, 248, 252; *History of Parliament*, iv. 356; *CPR*, 1385-9, 545; *CPR*, 1408-13, 375.

⁹ *CPR*, 1381-5, 421; *CPR*, 1408-13, 312.

¹⁰ *CPR*, 1385-9, 396.

¹¹ *CPR*, 1396-9, 370; *CPR*, 1405-8, 233; *CPR*, 1408-13, 66.

¹² *History of Parliament*, iv. 356; *CPR*, 1405-8, 304.

¹³ *History of Parliament*, iv. 356; Norfolk Record Office (hereafter, NRO), NRS 13763, 28E1.

¹⁴ W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey, *The Records of the City of Norwich* (2 vols, Norwich, 1906-10), ii. 41, 51. Hudson and Tingey suggest that this petition was 'perhaps for a licence to elect a Mayor'.

¹⁵ *CPR*, 1345-8, 481; 'Shelton, Sir Ralph', *History of Parliament*, iv. 356; D.S. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince' (2 vols, PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1998), ii. 181; F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols, London, 1805-10), v. 263-6.

¹⁶ The National Archives (hereafter, TNA), C76/67, m. 6.

¹⁷ TNA, C76/52, mm. 9, 16; E101/32/20, m. 1; C76/56, mm. 21, 25.

¹⁸ TNA, C76/70, mm. 12, 20; *History of Parliament*, iv. 356.

¹⁹ TNA, E101/41/5, m. 1. For the background to this campaign, see A.R. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), 34-79. For its local impact, see J.R. Alban, 'An East Anglian Knight's Indenture for Military Service at Sea, 1388', *Norfolk Archaeology* (hereafter, *NA*), xlvii (2014), 1-12. See also note 49 below.

²⁰ TNA, E101/42/16, mm. 13-14. See also D. Simpkin, 'New Muster-Related Sources for Henry IV's Army in Scotland, August 1400', *Archives. The Journal of the British Records Association*, xxxv, no. 123 (October 2010), 14.

²¹ *CPR*, 1401-5, 114; *CPR*, 1405-8, 61.

²² J.S. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk ... with an Introductory Essay by Dawson Turner, Esq.* (London, 1838), 17 and plate XIX. When Cotman inspected it, the brass still had a legend around the edge which read 'hic iacent Radulphus Shelton, miles, qui obiit xxv. die Octobris, Anno Domini M.cccc.xxiiij. [sic] et Alicia uxor ejus filia Thome de Uvedale militis de Tacolnestone, qui quidem Alicia obiit xij. die mensis Maii, Anno Domini ...' ('here lie Ralph Shelton, knight, who died on 15 October, in the year of the Lord 1424 [the actual year was 1414] and Alice his wife, the daughter of Thomas de Uvedale, knight, of Tacolneston, which Alice died on 13th day of the month of May, in the year of the Lord ...'). The effigies originally had two shields (now missing) above their heads, one with the arms of Shelton impaling Burgulion (quarterly, Or and Gules, in the 2nd and 3rd quarters three annulets Argent, over all, a bend Sable), the other, Shelton impaling de Uvedale. At their feet were two shields (also now missing), one, Burgulion impaling Plays or Plaitz (per pale Or and Gules, a lion passant Argent), the other, Burgulion impaling Shelton. Enquiries at the church failed to reveal when the damage to the brass occurred, but it was before 1926, when Mill Stephenson, in his *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926, repr. 1964), 365, noted that Shelton's image was 'all now lost but head', and 'marg. inscr., foot inscr. and 4 sh[ield]s. lost'. Stephenson, who had consulted Cotman's work, repeated the dating error. Cotman's original rubbing was later deposited in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (G.A.E. Ruck, 'An Account of the University Collection of Brass Rubbings in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (hereafter, *PCAS*), xlv (1950) [published 1951], 38 and plate IXb), but was transferred, in 1987, to Cambridge University Library, where it now resides in the Map Department.

²³ Although some details of his immediate descendants in the fifteenth century are found in C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk, c. 1450-1551* (Oxford, 1992), 85-91.

- ²⁴ L. S. Woodger, 'Payn, John II (d.1402), of Wymondham, Norfolk', *History of Parliament*, iv. 28-9, which has a postscript note on John Payn of Helhoughton after the main entry; H. Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster. Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1462* (Oxford, 2000), 59-67.
- ²⁵ Moreton, *The Townshends*, 88.
- ²⁶ R. Virgoe, 'The Divorce of Thomas Tuddenham', *NA*, xxxiv (1969), 406. W.J. Blake's important article on 'Norfolk Manorial Lords in 1316', *NA*, xxx, part 3 (1951), 234-61 and xxx, part 4 (1952), 263-86 makes no mention of the Payns, although Blake noted that his paper dealt with 'manorial lords only and not with any other landowners', adding that 'it is very difficult to place the families below the rank of knights, our information is so scanty' (pp. 245, 247).
- ²⁷ Blomefield, vii. 103.
- ²⁸ H.M. Cam, 'The King's Government, as Administered by the Greater Abbots of East Anglia', *PCAS*, xxix (1928), 40-1.
- ²⁹ 'Payn, John II', *History of Parliament*, iv. 29.
- ³⁰ NRO, BL/MD 2/14. There is a question mark over the exact date of this deed because of uncertainty about the feast day mentioned in it. The document is dated Friday next after the feast of St Lawrence, 21 Richard II (1397-8), but the two most popular feasts of St Lawrence in England fell on 3 February (St Lawrence, Archbishop of Canterbury) and on 10 August (St Lawrence the Martyr). The date of the deed could be either 17 August 1397 or 8 February 1398. John Payn may have been Catherine's son, although, as he is not described as such in the document, perhaps she was a subsequent wife of Nicholas and, thus, John's stepmother. Unfortunately, insufficient information is known about these generations of the Payn family.
- ³¹ NRO, BL/MD 17/5; Moreton, *The Townshends*, 86. Blake mentions that fourteenth-century Norfolk witnessed the arrival of a new class of manorial lords, since 'wealthy merchants from the towns were beginning to purchase manors' ('Norfolk Manorial Lords', 247).
- ³² 'Payn, John II', *History of Parliament*, iv. 29.
- ³³ These deeds are all in Raynham Hall Archives, RL, box 11 (a).
- ³⁴ TNA, WARD 2/52/177/143 (1418); WARD 2/52A/178/6 (1419).
- ³⁵ NRO, BL/MD 2/18. The date could either be 29 January or 6 August 1425. See note 30 above.
- ³⁶ *CPR*, 1405-8, 147.
- ³⁷ *CPR*, 1401-5, 128.
- ³⁸ On 6 March 1398, John Payn of Helweton and his wife, Matilda, both of the diocese of Norwich, received a full papal remission of sins ('Lateran *Regesta*, lviii: 1397-8', in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. v, 1396-1404, ed. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (London, 1904), 123.
- ³⁹ William, the last of his line to bear the Payn surname, became a priest, eventually inheriting the Payn lands in around 1471, then selling the reversionary interest in them to Roger Townshend (Moreton, *The Townshends*, 88).
- ⁴⁰ The original will, on parchment and sealed with the armorial seal of John Payn, is at NRO, MS 11990, 35 B3. The seal, in red wax, is damaged, but a heater shield bearing the heavily worn charges of a fess, fretty, between three birds (possibly martlets) is just discernible. This accords with the arms of 'a fess between three birds' ascribed to Payn of Helhoughton in W. Rye, *A List of Coat Armour used in Norfolk before the Date of the first Herald's Visitation of 1563* (Norwich, 1917), 41, while Blomefield noted that John's father, Nicholas, used an armorial seal with this device on a deed granting land to John Chosele of Brunsthorpe in 1376-7 (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vii. 103-4). There is also a paper copy of the will at NRO, BL/MD 26/28. Since the will stipulates that '*unde una copia eiusdem remanet penes Edmundo Berry milite unius feoffatorum predictorum*', this may be the copy referred to. However, the copy appears to be written in a hand which is slightly later than that of the will, so it may have been made some time afterwards, possibly at the time when title to the Payn estates was under dispute, during the 1460s and 1480s. Details of the complexities of the property issues involved are given in Moreton, *The Townshends*, 86-91.
- ⁴¹ 'Payn, John II', *History of Parliament*, iv. 29.
- ⁴² Moreton gives his date of death as c. 1430 (Moreton, *The Townshends*, 86).
- ⁴³ See note 40 above. For the background to last wills of this kind, see M.M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963), 193-5; *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43*, ed. E.F. Jacob (4 vols, Oxford, 1938-47), ii. xix-xxi; A.J. Camp, *Wills and their Whereabouts* (4th edn, London, 1974), x; and for another local example, see J.R. Alban, 'The Last Will of Hamon Le Strange, Esquire, a Norfolk Combatant at Agincourt', *NA*, xlvii, part 2 (2015), 256-63.
- ⁴⁴ NRO, BL/MD 26/27. The estates and properties lay in Helhoughton, Raynham Magna, Raynham Parva, East Rudham, Broomsthorpe, Tattersett and Tatterford, plus a tenement called *Saundes* in the town of Castle Acre, which was associated the bailiffship of the fee of the Earl of Arundel. These properties were also all listed in Payn's last will, with the addition of Sengham. On uses, in general, before and after the Statute of Uses, 1536, see J. Baker, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Volume vi: 1483-1558* (Oxford, 2003), 653-86; and A.A. Dibben, *Title Deeds* (revd edn, London, 1990), 9; while, on their significance, particularly when undertaken on behalf of the military classes in the

later middle ages, see J.M.W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540* (Manchester, 1968), 144-8; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 68-76.

⁴⁵ TNA, C76/67, m. 6.

⁴⁶ TNA, E101/31/17, m. 2; E101/33/14, m. 1; E101/33/15, m. 2; E101/34/3, m.2; E101/34/5, m. 2; E101/36/39, m. 2.

⁴⁷ A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King, and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), 17, for instance, stated that ‘it is important to be clear from the outset about the potential and the limitations of what is termed “nominal record linkage”’. Details of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded project on *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* will be found in this book and also appear on the project’s website at [<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/>], which contains a massive database on over 250,000 individual soldiers who served between 1369 and 1453. Since Despenser’s crusade was not a royal venture, there are no indentures and associated documents for it among the Exchequer records, thus the muster rolls database on *The Soldier* website contains no details of those who participated. However, the website’s database of letters of protection or attorney includes the names of some of the soldiers who may have served in that campaign, but these need to be used with caution, as, unlike the muster rolls, acquisition of letters of protection or attorney only indicated an intention to serve and was no guarantee of actual service.

⁴⁸ TNA, E101/51/28, m. 1. There are several examples of soldiers of an advanced age actively participating on military service. Perhaps the best known is Sir Thomas Erpingham, Shakespeare’s ‘good old commander and a most kind gentleman’, who was around fifty-eight years old when he fought at the battle of Agincourt. Thomas, Lord Camoys, was even older at the time of that battle, being aged about sixty-five when he commanded Henry V’s rearguard, while Sir Edmund de Thorpe was probably in his late sixties when he lost his life at the siege of Louviers in September 1418.

⁴⁹ TNA, E101/41/5, m.1. See note 19 above. Shelton also served with this naval force.

⁵⁰ TNA, E101/41/1, m.1.

⁵¹ TNA, E101/50/27, m.11. Sir William de Elmham captained a large retinue in the Earl of Arundel’s naval campaign of 1387, although a John Payn does not appear in the records for this retinue (TNA, E 101/40/33, mm. 11-11^v, 20).

⁵² Bell, Curry, King and Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, 152. However, while bowmen were less likely than men-at-arms to be landholders, mounted archers nevertheless needed a certain amount of capital for their arms and equipment and, in particular, for at least one horse. ‘The average cost of a hackney, perhaps a typical mount of a mounted archer, amounted to 20 shillings, the equivalent of 40 days’ wages at 6d per day’ (ibid., 152), which was the standard wage of a mounted archer.

⁵³ Coulborn, ‘The Economic and Political Preliminaries’, 232.

⁵⁴ TNA, C76/67, m. 16. Appendix 1 of J. Magee, ‘Politics, Society and the Crusade in England and France, 1378-1400’ (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1997), 232, 243 contains a list of persons issued with letters of protection and letters of attorney, in advance of their going as ‘Crusaders on the Expedition to Flanders, 1383’. In this appendix, Magee lists both Shelton and Payn, but does not give the dates of their letters of protection. However, while Shelton is included among the knights, Payn does not appear in the group of esquires, but is to be found in the list of ‘others’.

⁵⁵ As Magee comments, ‘letters of protection and general attorney were purchased by the upper elements of the men-at-arms in an army, as the common footsoldiers and archers were too low in the social scale to have afforded (or needed) to request them’ (‘Politics, Society and the Crusade’, 43).

⁵⁶ See D.M. Large, ‘Using the Poll Tax to Identify Medieval Archers?’ (2010), *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* website [<http://www.medievalsoldier.org/large.php>] and, particularly, S. Gibbs, ‘The Service Patterns and Social-Economic Status of English Archers, 1367-1417: the Evidence of the Muster Rolls and Poll Tax Returns’ (PhD thesis, University of Reading, 2015).

⁵⁷ 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’, *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); D. Hay, ‘The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth-Century England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, iv (1954), 91-109; A. Curry, ‘English Armies in the Fifteenth Century’, *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), 39-68. See also ‘Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War, 1278-1476’, ed. M. Jones and S. Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, xxxii, Camden Society, Fifth Series, iii (London, 1994), 1-190.

⁵⁸ N.B. Lewis, ‘The Recruitment and Organization of a Contract Army, May to November 1337’, *BIHR*, xxxvii (1964), 1-19.

⁵⁹ Several commentators have remarked on the significant rarity of subcontracts. Sherborne (‘Indentured Retinues’, *EHR*, lxxix (1964), 718) estimated that only some forty such indentures at this level survive for the period 1369-80. Twenty-four subcontracts held in the Norfolk Record Office, relating to troops for the Earl of Buckingham’s French

campaign of 1380, have been discussed in A. Goodman, 'The Military Subcontracts of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1380', *EHR*, xciv (1980), 114-20, citing NRO, MR 314, 242X5. Other examples have been considered in Alban, 'An East Anglian Knight's Indenture for Military Service', 1-12; P. Caudrey, 'War, Chivalry and Regional Society: East Anglia's Warrior Gentry before the Court of Chivalry', *Fourteenth Century England*, viii, ed. J.S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2014), 119-45; P. Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire, 1277-1403* (Manchester, 1987), 164; and S. Walker, 'Profit and Loss in the Hundred Years War: the Subcontracts of Sir John Strother, 1374', *BIHR*, lviii (1985), 100-6.

⁶⁰ Indeed, Coulborn ('The Economic and Political Preliminaries', xiii) also ruefully noted 'the non-existence at Norwich of any records of the episcopate of Henry Despenser, 1369-1406, except an Institution Book [NRO, DCN/Reg 3, book 6]', adding that 'we regret in particular the loss of all the bishop's records of the crusade'. On the paucity of Despenser's surviving records as bishop, see also J.R. Alban, 'Some Depictions of the Arms of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich', *The Norfolk Standard. Magazine of the Norfolk Heraldry Society*, 3rd series, iv, part 10 (January 2017), 189-97.

⁶¹ Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade', 19, 45, 47; J. Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment for Henry Despenser's Crusade of 1383', *Medieval Prosopography*, xx (1999), 185. It is unlikely that Despenser succeeded in raising those actual numbers of troops.

⁶² See the works by Magee cited in the previous footnote and also C.K. Paine, 'The Bishop of Norwich's Crusade, its Origins and Participants' (MLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1995), 161.

⁶³ For details of their military careers, see Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment', 182-7.

⁶⁴ Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade', 78.

⁶⁵ Cheshire Record Office, DLT/B3, fo. 244, cited as Leicester-Warren MSS, Liber C, fo. 244, in M.J. Bennett, 'Sources and Problems in the Study of Social Mobility: Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages', *Medieval Cheshire, Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxviii (Liverpool, 1979), 71, 92. The transcript is contained in a volume entitled 'Antiquities Bucloiniane, viz., Collections touching Bucklowe Hundred', and is one of the 'Charters extracted from the originals with Peter Danyell of Over Tabley, by mee Peter Leycester, 1651'.

⁶⁶ J. H. Hanshall, *The History of the County Palatine of Chester* (Chester, 1823), 597.

⁶⁷ Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 301, and described in Alban, 'An East Anglian Knight's Indenture for Military Service at Sea', 3.

⁶⁸ Paine, 'The Bishop of Norwich's Crusade', 166-7.

⁶⁹ Urban VI's bulls, *Dudum cum vinea Domini* and *Dudum cum filii Belial*, give long lists of Clement's adherents, many of whom they describe as '*dampnate memorie*' ('of accursed memory') or by other derogatory terms. The texts of these two bulls appear in *Wykeham's Register*, ed. T.F. Kirby (2 vols, Hampshire Record Society, London and Winchester, 1896-9), ii. 198-200, 206-9, while a summary of *Dudum cum vinea Domini* appears in *Thomae Walsingham, quondam Monachus Sancti Albani, Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.T. Riley (2 vols, London, 1863-4), ii. 71-6, an English translation of which is found in *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422)*, trans. D. Preest, intro. and notes J.G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), 188-91.

⁷⁰ The bull also promised indulgences to all who contributed sufficient sums of money to support the crusade.

⁷¹ Magee comments on 'the centrality of the capital to Despenser's crusade' (Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade', 21, 49-50).

⁷² Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment', 187.

⁷³ For details, see P.J. Caudrey, 'War and Society in Medieval Norfolk: the Warrior Gentry, c. 1350-c. 1430' (PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2010), 258-60; Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue', ii. 61-2; Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment', 183-5; L. S. Woodger, 'Elmham, Sir William (c.1336-1403), of Westhorpe, Suff. and Fring, Norf.', *History of Parliament*, iii. 13-17.

⁷⁴ *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 96, 99-101, 109; *Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, 204, 206-7, 213.

⁷⁵ Magee, 'Sir William Elmham and Recruitment', 187-9.

⁷⁶ Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue', ii. 61.

⁷⁷ Magee, 'Politics, Society and the Crusade', 67-8.

⁷⁸ The transcript preserves the original spelling and punctuation of the manuscript, as well as the original use of capitals. Where the intended full forms of words are known for certain, abbreviations have been extended, although *mons*' has, in all instances, been retained in its abbreviated form. The document has suffered some damage and, in consequence, is illegible in parts. These have been indicated in the transcript by the use of 'illegible' in square brackets. In the translation below, tentative readings of missing parts have been indicated in square brackets, which have also been used to show editorial additions. The indentation at the top edge of the original document has been cut through the inverted, engrossed capitals, 'S H E L T O N E D V' (possibly *Deo Volente* or *Devotus Vir*), with which the two parts of the document were centrally marked before they were separated.

⁷⁹ Despenser was issued with Urban VI's two bulls in March 1381, *Dudum cum vinea Domini* on 23rd and *Dudum cum filii Belial* on 25th, both of which named the antipope, Clement VII, and his principal adherents. The first granted full

indulgences to those serving on crusade against the antipope for a year, or who contributed sufficient sums towards it, while the second empowered Despenser, as papal *nuncio*, to preach a crusade against Clement VII. A third bull, *Dignum censemus*, issued on 15 May 1382, authorized him to preach against schismatics in both English provinces, with powers to act against opponents. See also note 68 above.

⁸⁰ This presumably refers to *Dudum cum vinea Domini*.