

# English Policy in Gascony c.1413-c.1437

Word Count: 14,927.

**This dissertation is submitted as part of the  
Tripos Examination in the Faculty of History,  
Cambridge University, April 2016**

## **Table of Contents:**

List of Abbreviations.....	1
Introduction.....	2
The Importance of Perception.....	13
The English Policy of Defence and Reclamation.....	25
English Normandy as the English Priority.....	37
Was Policy a Choice?.....	48
Conclusion.....	56
Bibliography.....	63

**List of Abbreviations:**

BHO	British History Online
GRP	Gascon Rolls Project
m./mm.	Membrane number/s on the Gascon Roll
no./nos.	Entry number/s on the Gascon Roll
PROME	Parliament Rolls of Medieval England
TNA	The National Archives

## INTRODUCTION

Gascony was ruled by the English from 1152 to 1453. Initially it formed just one part of the immense territory that made up the duchy of Aquitaine, stretching from Poitou to the Pyrenees. However, by 1400 the lands under English control had been reduced by French incursions in the 1370s to 'Gascony'. This was the much smaller region south of Saintonge and Périgord concentrated around the Gironde estuary and the capital city of Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup> The English kings ruled Gascony not as monarchs, but in their capacity as dukes of Aquitaine; they were king-dukes. The duchy's sovereignty had been a significant cause of tension from the end of the thirteenth century. Indeed Philip IV's attempt to confiscate Aquitaine in 1337 triggered the opening of the Hundred Years War, with Edward III claiming the crown of France. This was context in which the first Lancastrian king Henry IV acceded to the English throne in 1399.

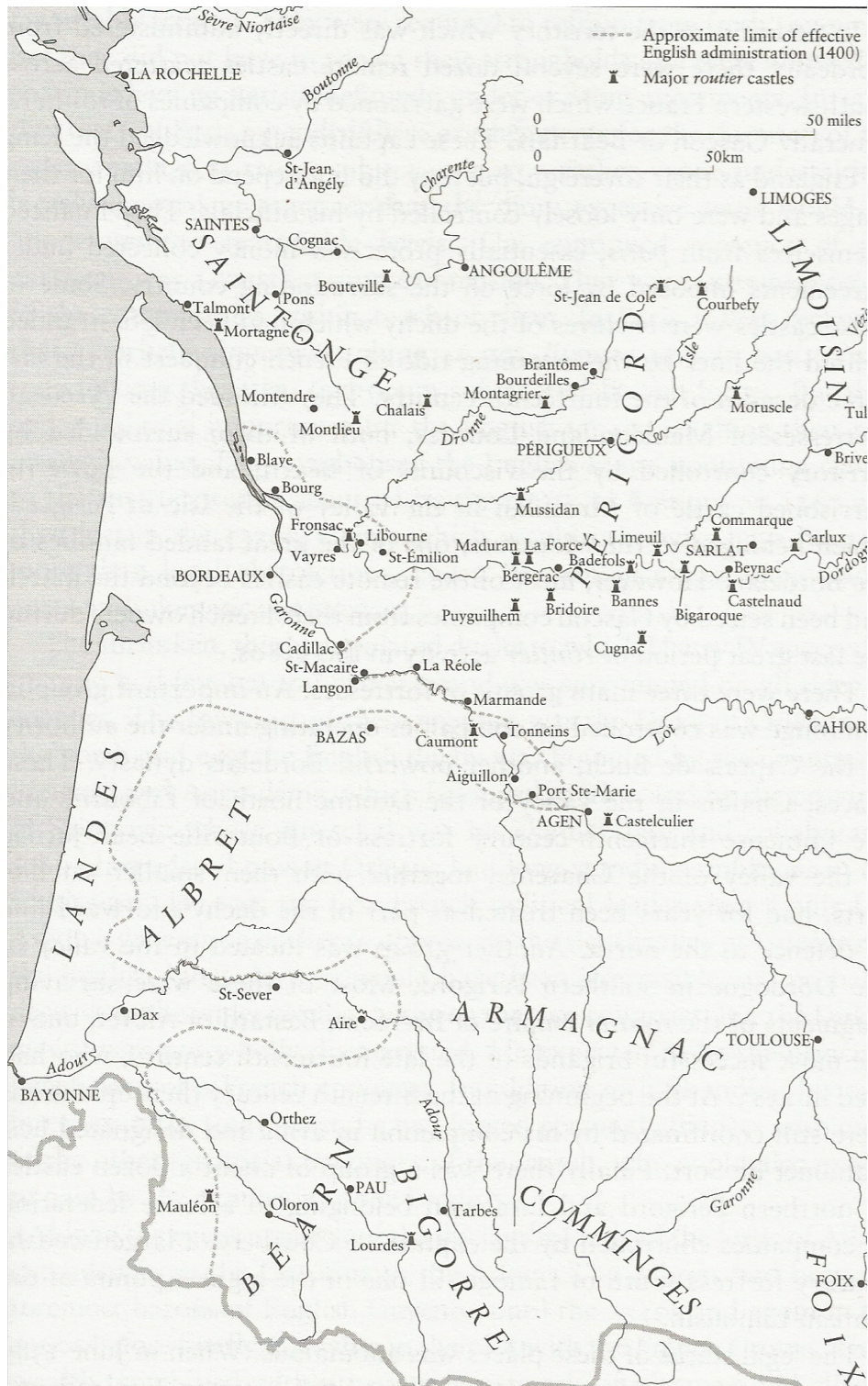
From the start, the daily administration of the duchy was the responsibility of the king-duke's representatives. The most important was the seneschal of Gascony, 'an official with vice-regal authority' and most commonly an Englishman of the knightly class.<sup>2</sup> The seneschal was responsible for implementing royal orders and maintained the right to appoint those subordinate officials not reserved to the king. The English king-duke also appointed a constable of Bordeaux, the main financial officer in the duchy,

---

<sup>1</sup> See Figure 1 below.

<sup>2</sup> Malcom G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.6.

responsible for the payment of wages and fees, and the receipt of royal revenues from rents and taxes pertaining to the king. The local administration of the duchy



**Figure 1: The march of Gascony 1404-1407, reproduced from Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings* (Faber & Faber: London, 2015), p.131.**

rested in the hands of a number of *prévôts* and *baillis*. At times of instability and administrative reform these officers would also be supplemented by royal lieutenants, usually men of higher rank or kinsmen of the king whose powers were more extensive than those normally granted to the seneschal.<sup>3</sup>

Some work has already been carried out on English Gascony, especially its position within the broader Anglo-French conflict. The seminal work on the fifteenth century has been conducted by Malcolm Vale.<sup>4</sup> His study presents the war as a clash of local loyalties, with the problem of the Gascon nobility's allegiance accorded centrality. The poverty of the Lancastrian regime and the drain the duchy placed on English resources also feature heavily, both as a result of English attempts to 'pay' for the loyalty of their nobles to prevent them falling into the 'French' camp, and as a cause of such defections.

The broader intentions of the English in Gascony have also been discussed by Margaret Labarge.<sup>5</sup> She argues that in southwest France 'England experimented for the first time with the government of an overseas possession where it was essential to keep the loyalty and support of its inhabitants' and indeed this worked remarkably well until the 1440s.<sup>6</sup> However, the chronological structure of her book, rather than the thematic organisation of Vale's, means the fifteenth century is explained mainly in terms of the collapse of Lancastrian power: identifying what went wrong to allow the French to conquer

---

<sup>3</sup> For the period 1413 to 1437 the only royal lieutenant appointed for Gascony was Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset who served from the 26 June 1413 to the 14 July 1414. No lieutenant was appointed again until 1439.

<sup>4</sup> Malcolm G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453* (London: H. Hamilton, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xii.

Gascony in 1453. It is important not to be too influenced by knowledge of the duchy's ultimate loss to the French but to consider it as it was at particular moments in the 1400s.

The works cited above notwithstanding, the general historical and scholarly preoccupation with Henry V's campaigns in Normandy, as well as the deteriorating northern war effort under Henry VI, have meant that English policy in Gascony has been largely and unjustly overlooked. The duchy had its own significance. It remained in English hands until 1453, the last English territory to be lost on the continent, save Calais. Its close relationship with England made it both a dynastic inheritance, and a potential resource for the wider war with France. Its proximity to hostile foreign powers (those southern lords loyal to the French) meant that it was continually vulnerable to siege, invasion and influence. Both the duchy itself and its place within the Hundred Years War deserve closer examination.

Superficially the lack of physical royal presence in the duchy and the minimal military support it was given, especially compared to English military and administrative involvement in Normandy, suggest that the priorities of the Lancastrian kings of England were firmly rooted in the north of France. Arguably this strategic decision was at the expense of any coherent policy in Gascony. What is meant by the term policy is the existence of a deliberate system of principles guiding the decisions, attitudes and actions of the English in the southwest. This dissertation thus poses the following questions. Did the Lancastrian king-dukes know what they were doing in Gascony or were they simply responding in an ad hoc fashion to events as they arose? Did they have a series of principles that shaped how they ran the duchy or was it simply left it to

run itself? If such a policy did exist, was it shared by both Henry V and the minority council of Henry VI? What factors shaped it?

To test how coherent and consistent English actions in Gascony were in the early fifteenth century, indeed whether one should write of a policy at all, this dissertation will take its starting point in 1413, the year of the accession of Henry V. It is easy to conclude that the 1410s and early 1420s, dominated by Henry V's conquests in northern France, saw the most obvious 'neglect' of Gascony by the preoccupied English. Both Henry V's reign and the years of Henry VI's minority ending in 1437, the year he came of age, will be charted to see if the succession of a minor entailed a change or continuity of policy. Such an approach will assess whether an overall Lancastrian policy towards Gascony was in operation, keeping in mind the changing continental and English context over time and considering how significant a part this played in English decision-making.

A comparative framework will be adopted to measure the extent of and consider the motivations behind English involvement in Gascony. In contrast to English Normandy and the English regimes in Wales and Ireland, English Gascony maintained a far more autonomous administration, in which the imposition of English-style laws and settlement came second to a respect for custom and tradition. Like the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, who enjoyed a marked level of independence from the French crown, the English kings were dukes of Aquitaine. It was as duke that homage was given to them: for instance, in 1420, whilst the king's officers, including the constable of Bordeaux, referred to Henry V as 'king of England and France', the 'Three Estates' of Gascony (the representative assembly of the region, which acted as the main interlocutor of



the king-duke) designated him 'king of England and France, duke of Guyenne [synonymous with Aquitaine].'<sup>7</sup> This distinction was 'not mere detail' for the Gascons, but the main foundation upon which the native English rule had developed.<sup>8</sup> Moreover Henry V and Henry VI ruled territory in the southwest that had been inherited, not conquered. The level of centralisation achieved in medieval England and the more 'colonial' style of administration established in their other possessions were undesirable and unnecessary in a loyal duchy used to running itself. English policy was not uniformly applied throughout their lands; analysing comparatively can identify why certain policies were pursued where they were and to what effect.

Several sources enable a reconstruction, at least at the higher levels of government, of English action and priorities in Gascony. These largely consist of official documents produced by the English administration in Westminster. Unfortunately there is a marked lack of narrative sources for Gascony during this period. The work of the chronicler Froissart, although useful on the relations between Richard II and the Gascons in the 1390s, did not go beyond 1400 and thus could not comment on the English administration in Gascony under the Lancastrians. Similarly the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* covered only the first three and a half years of Henry V's reign.<sup>9</sup> Moreover as its intent was to provide justification for Henry's second expedition to France in 1417 it only mentioned Aquitaine in relation to agreements that could be used to prove French duplicity. Petitions, the normal method by which a subject approached the king for a grace, remedy,

---

<sup>7</sup> Guilhem Pépin, 'The Parliament of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: the Three Estates of Aquitaine (Guyenne)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52 (2008), 131-163, p.156.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Frank Taylor, John S. Roskell, eds., *Gesta Henrici Quinti: the Deeds of Henry the Fifth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

or administrative action, are a better source to gauge sentiment. Although often generic in content and form, they indicate the causes of concern and priorities of individuals and local communities as well as the motivations behind such requests. Identifying what action, if any, was taken by the king-dukes in response to these petitions is also revealing of where they felt the need to involve themselves in the affairs of their Gascon subjects.

To understand the English regime in Gascony in the fifteenth century, extensive use can be made of the Gascon rolls, only recently published online for the period from 1317 to 1468.<sup>10</sup> Drawn up by the English administration every year from 1273, these rolls contain enrolments by the English royal chancery (the writing office of English medieval government responsible for the production of official documents) of letters, writs, mandates, confirmations and other documents issued by, and in the name of the king-dukes for their Gascon lands and subjects. The rolls also include safe-conducts, letters of attorney and ennoblement, commissions of array, grants of liberties, and records of trade and commerce.

These rolls were documents produced at the very highest levels of English administration, with the majority of roll entries bearing the authorisation of 'p.s' (by privy seal) or, during the reign of Henry V, of 'K' (by King). Like entries in the Patent or Close rolls in England, the entries in the Gascon rolls constituted royal orders in the form of a privy-seal writ, which had been communicated to the keeper of the privy seal either personally by the king, as a signet letter if the king was away from Westminster, or most frequently as a chamberlain's bill (a petition on which the lord chamberlain had noted the king's reply). During the

---

<sup>10</sup> See the Gascon Rolls Project: <http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/>

minority of Henry VI, the signet office ceased to be active until the king could instruct it personally, but letters from the chancery continued to be issued under the warranty of the privy-seal. Privy-seal writs were then copied by the chancery clerks when composing and drawing up the letters in the Gascon rolls, giving them the same time and place date.<sup>11</sup>

The usefulness of the Gascon rolls derives from the volume of material that has become available. The Gascon Rolls Project has provided access to the content of the rolls for the whole Hundred Years War period, unavailable from previous publications.<sup>12</sup> Moreover the rolls remained the means by which the orders to the king's officials in Gascony were recorded throughout the entirety of English rule. They even continued for fifteen years after the duchy was lost to the French in 1453. This allows historians to consider the duchy through the reigns of several kings, noting, for example, any elements of continuity in how Gascony was run between Henry V and the minority of Henry VI.

The roll entries themselves do not contain overt statements of policy. However, an analysis of Gascony throughout Lancastrian rule can reveal the existence of sustained English concerns and attitudes. The orders they recorded show, at least at an official level, what the English 'did' in their duchy.

The inclusion of localised affairs in the rolls, such as grants of exemptions and privileges to individuals and communities, as well as material regarding high diplomatic activity, arguably testifies to a relatively high level of royal concern and responsibility for the duchy. However, the rolls simultaneously provide

---

<sup>11</sup> See A. L. Brown, 'The Authorization of Letters under the Great Seal,' *Historical Research* 37 (1964), 125-156.

<sup>12</sup> Previous editions of the Gascon rolls have covered the years 1242 to 1254 and 1254 to 1255 (Francisque-Michel, Paris, 1885,1896), 1273 to 1290 and 1290 to 1307 (Charles Bémont, 1900, 1906) and 1307 to 1317 (Yves Renouard, ed., London, 1962).

evidence for a high level of delegation and devolution of royal authority to the king's representatives in a region so far-removed from the English centre of power. The majority of entries concern appointments to office and the related orders to the inhabitants and other royal officers of the area to obey them.<sup>13</sup> The references to, and occasional inclusion in the rolls of, Gascon petitions submitted to the king also illuminate the often reactive nature of English rule: action was typically taken in response to the supplications of the king-duke's Gascon subjects.

The form of the Gascon rolls can make them problematic as a historical source. Being formal, standardised documents little can be gauged from their phrasing: it is simply the instructions they contained which are historically interesting. They were 'out-letters' of the King's government, embodying decisions and recording action, but revealing nothing about personality, motive, or politics.<sup>14</sup> The chancery was not concerned with the 'how and why' but with the 'what.'<sup>15</sup> On occasion motivation was hinted at, for instance, by the inclusion of the phrase 'at his request' or 'for their good service to the king', but even then no details were provided of what this 'good service' was. Entries largely followed the pattern of being a statement of fact: for example, a letter of protection was issued, or someone was appointed to a certain office. The rolls existed to record the orders and instructions of the English king to his officers and subjects in Gascony. A consideration of aims and motivations must be a

---

<sup>13</sup> The median Gascon roll for the number of entries in the years 1413 to 1437 are for the years 1413 to 1414 (C61/114) and 1419 to 1422 (C61/118). Of 123 total entries in both rolls, those relating to appointments or grants of land along with their related powers and privileges account for just below 69%. Of these entries, 18 concern appointments to office.

<sup>14</sup> G. R Elton, *England 1200-1640*, (London: CUP Archive, 1976), p.44.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.81.

process of extrapolation from, and collaboration with, other sources.

This dissertation begins with a discussion of the English-Gascon relationship, constructing the traditional and economic framework within which the English administration operated. This is followed by an analysis of the English policy of defence and reclamation, subsequently challenged by the assertion that English priorities were rooted in Normandy, before concluding that the English faced limiting factors in their ability to increase their involvement in Gascony: defending and where possible enlarging it were what mattered.

## CHAPTER 1: THE IMPORTANCE OF PERCEPTION

English policy in Gascony was influenced by the desires and demands of the Gascons themselves and the position the duchy held in the minds of their English rulers. By 1400 Gascony had been an English inheritance for 250 years. Such a long-lasting connection was bound to affect how the Gascons and the English viewed one another, as well as inform the direction of any policy.

It has been a common feature of popular historical writing, especially of French historians, to speak of an 'English domination'<sup>1</sup> of the southwest taking place in the middle ages, with the duchy being 'liberated' in the mid-fifteenth century by the French from the 'English yoke'.<sup>2</sup> However, the Gascons did not consider themselves to be 'occupied' by a 'foreign' power - for them the kings of England as dukes of Aquitaine were the immediate and 'natural' lords of the duchy.<sup>3</sup> This attitude is reflected in a speech given by the delegates of Bordeaux, Bayonne and Dax in December 1399. Rejecting French inducements to alter loyalties, they argued 'better to stick with the English dynasty under which we were born and which will respect our liberties...in the nature of things we are inclined their way.'<sup>4</sup> With a few exceptions, Gascon loyalty to the English crown was marked. Throughout the Hundred Years War, the inhabitants of the duchy had fought side by side with the English against the French; and indeed 'the very fact it was by force of arms that the duchy was finally annexed to the French

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Dartigue cited in Malcom G.A Vale, *The Ancient Enemy: England, France and Europe from the Angevins to the Tudors 1154-1558* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p35.

<sup>2</sup> Vale, *Ancient Enemy*, p.35.

<sup>3</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Froissart cited in Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), p.138.

crown 1451-3 may tell us much about Gascon [allegiance].<sup>5</sup> This contrasts starkly with their recently re-conquered counterparts in Normandy (the duchy had been lost to the French in 1204 and won back by Henry V) who quickly surrendered, often without a single shot being fired.

The Gascon rolls contain the frequent confirmations of the right of towns and communities to remain 'annexed to the crown of England' or 'never to be separated from the crown of England'. These appear mainly in relation to the Bordelais (the region around Bordeaux), but references are also made to areas further north and to Bayonne. For example, such confirmations were made to Bordeaux in 1416 and again in 1433, La Réole in 1417, and Saint Macaire in 1425.<sup>6</sup>

Often the king's action was in response to a petition by the community (for instance, the confirmation to La Réole in 1417) or 'at their request' (in the case of the grant made to Blaye in 1356, confirmed in 1416).<sup>7</sup> These entries demonstrate a clear Gascon desire to ensure the inviolability of their official connection to the English crown. That such confirmations were made throughout the period from 1413 to 1437 points to a recurring and deeply ingrained Gascon concern, which Henry V and the minority council of Henry VI felt the need to address. Moreover specific reference was made to the 'supplication' of the burgesses of Blaye in 1356 'not to remove their privileges to be united with the crown of England, despite the grant of their town to the lord of Mussidan'.<sup>8</sup> This

---

<sup>5</sup> Malcolm G. A Vale, 'The War in Aquitaine' in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999), 69-83, p.69.

<sup>6</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 17, no. 24 and GRP, C61/125, m. 7, no. 80; GRP, C61/117, m. 8, no. 44; and GRP, C61/120, m. 1, no. 43.

<sup>7</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 8, no. 44 and GRP C61/117, m. 10, no. 39.

<sup>8</sup> GRP C61/117, m. 10, no. 39.

reveals a Gascon reaction to novelty: 'as the town had been annexed to the crown of England and the king's chamber *for a long time*', it was evidently expected that it would remain so even though they had a new immediate lord (as opposed to the king-duke who remained their overlord).<sup>9</sup> This evidence suggests that even had the English kings wished to separate the duchy from the crown, they would have met fierce resistance.

To illustrate further, one phrase that comes up repeatedly in confirmations is the concession that towns were not to be granted to anybody except the king's eldest son and heir. This had become a reality in 1362 when the enlarged Aquitaine prescribed by the treaty of Brétigny (1360) was granted to Edward, prince of Wales as a principality by Edward III. Significantly the Black Prince's presence had been requested by a Gascon delegation in 1355 out of fear of the growing military threat posed by Jean d'Armagnac who was acting as the French king Jean II's lieutenant in Languedoc.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately the principality was a failure. The Black Prince's imposition of a more vigorous centralised government, lacking acknowledgement of local custom, triggered the decision of the Aquitainian nobles to appeal to Charles V and the *parlement* of Paris, giving the French king grounds on which to confiscate the duchy. This led to the reopening of the Hundred Years War in 1369. It is indicative of English sensitivity towards the sovereign status of their duchy that 1372, the year that the Black Prince handed back the Principality of Aquitaine to his father, marks the first record in the Parliament rolls of England of the appointment of triers

---

<sup>9</sup> GRP C61/117, m. 10, no. 39.

<sup>10</sup> See David Green, 'Lordship and Principality: Colonial Policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s', *The Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008), 3-29, p.10.



and receivers of petitions from Gascony.<sup>11</sup> This became a standardised practice for the beginning of every English parliament, which is evidence for the arrangements made by the English to exercise their sovereign rights in the southwest. Although the principality was short-lived, it set a practical precedent for the devolution of authority in Gascony to the king's heir.

When English kings attempted to rule outside established parameters, they faced considerable opposition. On the 2 March 1390, Richard II addressed a letter to his Aquitainian subjects ordering them to recognise his uncle John of Gaunt's title of duke of Aquitaine. In response the 'Three Estates' of the duchy met at Bordeaux with Gaunt's seneschal William le Scrope, demanding a guarantee that their traditional privileges and grants would be confirmed and reiterating their desire for assurances that the duchy would not be separated from the crown of England.<sup>12</sup>

The kings of England ruled Gascony as dukes; it was not felt that the duchy was a fief that a king could bestow on a subordinate. As Aquitainian representatives argued to Richard II, 'from times long past they had been accustomed to be governed by the English crown and not by third parties set in authority over them by the exercise of the king's will...the Aquitainians would not consent to have the duke of Lancaster as their lord or ruler.'<sup>13</sup> Indeed Gascon opposition to Richard's scheme culminated in armed resistance to Gaunt's 1,500 strong force in Bordeaux in 1394. That Gaunt was obliged to confirm all the grants and concessions previously given to Gascony at a meeting of the 'Three

---

<sup>11</sup> BHO: PROME, November 1372, nos. 4 and 6.

<sup>12</sup> See Guilhem Pépin, 'The Parliament of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: the Three Estates of Aquitaine (Guyenne)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52 (2008), 131-163, p.145.

<sup>13</sup> Cited in L. C Hector and Barbara F. Harvey, eds., trans., *Westminster Chronicle 1381-94* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p.484.

Estates' in January 1395 demonstrates the influential role of the estates and the necessity of negotiation with the Gascons themselves. If the crown made moves to alter the duchy's status or modify the inhabitants' established liberties, it was greeted with misgivings and reluctance. The English king-dukes were working within firmly established and long-standing Gascon sentiments, supported and given a practical voice by petitions and institutional structures such as the 'Three Estates'.

Significantly the terms of the treaty of Troyes (1420) encompassed the idea of Gascony's 'special status'. The treaty did not noticeably change the relationship between Gascony and the English crown. In contrast to Normandy, there was no stipulation that Gascony be annexed to the French crown; instead it was to remain as part of the personal inheritance of the Lancastrian kings. For instance, triers and receivers of Gascon petitions continued to be appointed in the English parliament even after Henry VI became king of France in 1422.<sup>14</sup> The duchy of Lancaster, absorbed into the royal estate in 1399 when Henry Bolingbroke became king of England, had been treated in a similar way: at his first Parliament Henry IV expressed his intention that Lancaster would be 'managed, governed and treated' as 'if we had never assumed the ensign of royal dignity.'<sup>15</sup> Whilst in England this caused immediate issues of factionalism, in Gascony it was indicative of long-held and established ways of ruling.

The evidence presented above suggests two interconnected conclusions: first, the Gascons were content and determined to have their duchy remain annexed to the English crown, and secondly as a consequence of this they viewed

---

<sup>14</sup> See for example, BHO: PROME, October 1423, nos. 5 and 7.

<sup>15</sup> Helen Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.26.

the French, not the English, as the unwelcome and foreign power. Gascon fear of French incursions into their territory is shown by the independent initiative they displayed in defending themselves. For example, a petition addressed to the king in 1409 by the community of Libourne reveals that the town had sent victuals and other materials to the castle of Fronsac to prevent its surrender during the offensive of the duke of Orléans in 1406.<sup>16</sup> As Pépin points out, had Fronsac surrendered, the threat to Libourne as well as to Bordeaux would have increased.<sup>17</sup> Similarly in February 1433 the inhabitants of Saint-Sever petitioned the king that because their town lay on the frontier they needed help to maintain their defences.<sup>18</sup> The king's response (exempting the town from tax) was justified by the addition: 'Saint-Sever is situated at the borders with the king's enemies and rebels [the counts of Armagnac, Foix and the lord of Albret]...so they have to...make several repairs to their walls at their own costs...'<sup>19</sup> That such an appeal was made to the king demonstrates how the citizens of Saint-Sever were troubled by their geographical vulnerability and testifies to the strength of the Anglo-Gascon connection which had been developing from the thirteenth century.

The king-duke's policies in Gascony were also influenced by the opinions of his subjects in England. They too considered Gascony to hold a special status as part of the English king's dominions. Referring again to the 1390s, when Richard II put forward the possibility of paying liege homage to Charles VI for Aquitaine,

---

<sup>16</sup> Guilhem Pépin, 'The French Offensives of 1404-1407 against Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine', in Anne Curry and Adrian R. Bell, eds., *Journal of Medieval Military History: Volume IX: Soldiers, Weapons and Armies in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), 1-41, p.32; and for actual petition see TNA: SC 8/187/9342.

<sup>17</sup> Pépin, 'The French Offensives', p.32.

<sup>18</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 14, no. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

'he risked offending not just the Gascons but mainstream English opinion, which saw such a surrender of hard-won sovereignty – the issue on which Edward III had held absolutely firm – as a dismemberment of the crown of England'.<sup>20</sup> The Westminster chronicler made this English position clear: the Commons declared that 'it would be ludicrous for the king of England to do homage and fealty to the French king for [Gascony] and other overseas territories... with the corollary that every single Englishman having the king of England as his lord would pass under the heel of the French king and be kept for the future under the yoke of slavery... both the lords and the commons of England refused their consent to an agreement on such terms'.<sup>21</sup> The king-duke's sovereignty in Aquitaine was evidently not something that the English were willing to surrender: that Gascony was *English* land was 'an article of faith.'<sup>22</sup> This attitude was the driving force behind the English policy of defence.

English interest in Gascony was also economic. The wealth of the duchy derived largely from its production of non-sweet wine, which made up a third of all English imports in the fifteenth century. From 1152 the duchy witnessed a rapid increase in the number of vineyards until 'everyone, high and low, whatever his rank and profession, possessed vines... and for all...the sale of their wines to the English became the dominant business of life.'<sup>23</sup> English interest in the wine trade is evident from the petitions that were presented to Parliament.

---

<sup>20</sup> Robert Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), p.184.

<sup>21</sup> Cited in introduction to BHO: PROME January 1394; and referenced in R. Tuck, 'Richard II and the Hundred Years War', in J. Taylor and W. Childs, eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1990), 117-134, p.127. The official refusal was recorded in the Parliament roll of 1394, see BHO: PROME, January 1394, nos. 16 and 17.

<sup>22</sup> Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, p.184

<sup>23</sup> E. M Carus-Wilson, 'The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade', *Historical Research* 21 (1947) 145-54, p.148.

Gascony is not often referred to directly in the Parliament rolls, but when it is, it is almost always related to wine. For instance, an ordinance of December 1420 dealt with the price of wine from Gascony and another detailed entry for May 1432 contained a complaint from the Commons with regard to the wine's quality.<sup>24</sup> This suggests a clear engagement on the part of the English in the details of the wine trade – such an economic connection to Gascony undoubtedly strengthened the duchy's importance in their minds.

This interest was mutual. Gascony's specialisation in viticulture and its topography ('cut off...from the great granaries of Poitou and Saintonge and possessing little arable land of its own') meant that the duchy had to look elsewhere for the supply of basic foodstuffs.<sup>25</sup> In return for Gascon wine, England provided grain, cloth, hides, leather, tin and fish. Every Gascon roll for the period from 1413 to 1437 contains entries concerning licences to transport wheat. These vary in quantity (for instance, in 1426 Thomas Parsons of Ely was licensed to export 200 quarters of wheat to Bordeaux; while John Radcliffe was to export 1,200 quarters of wheat to Bordeaux and Bayonne), but their continuous appearance is one of the most visible trends of the rolls throughout the reigns of the Lancastrian kings.<sup>26</sup> In many instances the purpose of these exports was explicitly expressed: to 'supply' or 'resupply', 'for [their] supply and maintenance' or 'for [their] victualling'. Gascon dependence is demonstrated in a 1403 petition from the community of Bordeaux during a French blockade, which asserted that 'this land so far from [Henry IV] and so lacking in grain cannot

---

<sup>24</sup> BHO: PROME, December 1420, no. 20 and BHO: PROME, May 1432, no. 43.

<sup>25</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), p.135.

<sup>26</sup> GRP, C61/121, m. 7, no. 5 and GRP, C61/121, m. 5, no. 19.

sustain itself for three months without his aid.'<sup>27</sup> Most of the entries concerning wheat transport include the formulaic stipulation (or similar to): [the merchants] 'will give in chancery letters testifying the unloading of this wheat under [a] seal [whether of the mayor or governor of the town or simply one specified as 'authentic'] within a term of [or by a particular date, for instance, 'before 29 September 1427.']<sup>28</sup> This suggests an English concern to ensure that the supplies reached their intended destinations, with the means of validation helping to lessen the potential problems caused by orders from England being carried out in such a geographically distant province.

What is clear is the existence of a mutually dependent and beneficial trade relationship between England and Gascony. Indeed the close economic dependence of Gascony upon England was aptly summed up by a fourteenth century Bordelais: 'How', he remarked, 'could our poor people subsist when they could not sell their wines or procure English merchandise?'<sup>29</sup>

Gascony also arguably provided tangible military and defensive advantages for the English. Richard Scope designated 'Gascony and the other strong places which our lord the king had overseas [as] *barbicans* to the kingdom of England'<sup>30</sup> with the duchy 'serv[ing] as a land buffer against invasion'<sup>31</sup> and constituting a relatively secure, if distant, point from which to launch expeditions into enemy lands. For instance, the duke of Clarence's expedition of 1412 enabled the devastation of wide swathes of the French countryside from

---

<sup>27</sup> Cited in Sumption, *Cursed Kings*, p.135.

<sup>28</sup> GRP, C61/122, m. 4, no. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Cited in Carus-Wilson, 'The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade', p.149.

<sup>30</sup> BHO: PROME, October 1378, no. 25.

<sup>31</sup> Wernham cited in Vale, *Ancient Enemy*, p.11.

Normandy, through Anjou and into Orléans lands, before he retired to Gascony for the winter.

However, whilst it may have bestowed some military advantage to the English, Gascony's primary significance was its status as a long-held inheritance, whose sovereignty had been championed by the English kings since it came into their possession in 1152. This concern, essentially an obligation, to preserve the duchy that had been passed down for generations and staunchly defended throughout persistent Anglo-French conflicts, motivated an English focus on Gascony's defence and its enlargement back to the full Aquitaine held by Edward III and his predecessors. Even with war waging in the north these priorities remained.

A further indication of English sentiment towards Gascony emerges from a preliminary comparison with the other dominions of the English king.<sup>32</sup> Both Davies and Green highlight the differences between Edward I's March 1286 Ordinance for the government of Gascony and his legislation passed for Wales and Ireland. For instance, the Statutes of Rhuddlan enacted two years previously in 1284 included the imposition of the English common law in Wales along with the office of sheriff.<sup>33</sup> Rather than completely restructuring ducal governance, the Gascon Ordinance codified and clarified existing administrative practice. For instance, the delineation between the roles of constable of Bordeaux and seneschal of Gascony was more clearly defined and payment for these officials

---

<sup>32</sup> For further comparison see Chapter 3 and Robert Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), pp. 171-191.

<sup>33</sup> See R. R. Davies, 'Lordship or Colony?', in J. Lydon, ed., *The English in Medieval Ireland: proceedings of the first joint meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy Dublin* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1984), 142-160, pp.155-6; and David Green, 'The Hundred Years War, Colonial policy and the English Lordships' in L.J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay, eds., *The Hundred Years War (Part III) Further Considerations* (Lieden: Brill, 2013), p.240.

was allocated on an annual basis. There is no evidence that Edward was seeking to bring Gascony in line with the maxim dictating his attitude towards Ireland and Wales – that they ‘ought to be ruled by the laws and customs of England’– or that he intended to impose uniform structures or practices across all his lands.<sup>34</sup>

The contrast in English attitudes can be explained by ‘the distinction based on whether their territory had been conquered or inherited.’<sup>35</sup> Wales had experienced English settlement from the time of the Normans, who had established the marcher lordships, and endured an end to its political independence after the Edwardian conquest of 1277 to 1283. Similarly, Henry II had begun the conquest of Ireland from the 1170s. The English kings sought to make their mark on their newly acquired territories and dictate the nature of their development, whereas after the twelfth century they appeared quite content not to make major changes to the Gascon administration. Contrary to Edward I’s disdain for Welsh and Irish legal practices (in 1277 he declared that ‘the laws which the Irish use are detestable to God and so contrary to all law that they ought not to be deemed laws’), his actions in the southwest of France built on existing custom, law and administrative practice.<sup>36</sup> They represented not an extension of his policies as king of England but of those as duke in an inherited land. This interpretation is helpful in considering whether the English king-dukes neglected Gascony. The unchanging nature of such a relatively autonomous administrative structure did not have to be the result of an English attitude of nonchalance. Rather it was one of respect for the traditions of their

---

<sup>34</sup> Davies, ‘Lordship or Colony?’, p.155.

<sup>35</sup> Green, ‘The Hundred Years War, Colonial Policy and English Lordships’, p.240.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (California: University of California Press, 1988), p.288.



inheritance, the loyalty of whose inhabitants was essential for the English both locally and in the wider conflict against France.

By 1413 the English undoubtedly felt a traditional obligation to defend Gascony as an inherited land that also had certain strategic and economic benefits. This obligation served as the overall priority in determining their actions in the duchy.

## CHAPTER 2: THE ENGLISH POLICY OF DEFENCE AND RECLAMATION

The Gascon rolls reveal a definite English policy of defence in Gascony at the start of the fifteenth century. The orders recorded in the rolls demonstrate a clear concern with the security of the duchy and reveal a range of means employed to achieve this end. This chapter will explore these means and how they show that the actions of the English administration were not random or spontaneous but part of a concerted effort to ensure Gascony remained safely in their hands.

Most frequently the rolls recorded grants and confirmations. Whilst at first glance this reveals nothing of any 'grand master plan', an analysis of the recipients and the locations concerned reveals a great deal about English priorities. The granting of land, castles or office by any king served two purposes: it was a means of reward, '[pour] recompenser les services' of loyal men; which in turn could provide an assurance of future security, establishing hubs of allegiance by which the ruler could delegate responsibility for the defence of the realm.<sup>1</sup>

In a war in which the principal form of military action was siege and counter-siege, securing the 1,000 or so forts and castles studding Gascony's frontiers and those inland which provided buffers for important centres like Bordeaux was essential if the English hoped to maintain their control.<sup>2</sup> These strongholds and fortified towns were the 'nervous system' of the English

---

<sup>1</sup> Léo Drouyn, *La Guienne Militaire: histoire et description des villes, fortifiée, fortresses et chateaux construits dans le pays qui constitue actuellement le département de la Gironde pendant la domination anglaise* (Bordeaux: L'auteur, 1865), p.70.

<sup>2</sup> As estimated by Professor Gardelles, cited in Malcolm G. A Vale, 'The War in Aquitaine' in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999), 69-83, p.74.

administration and formed the defensive network upon which the safekeeping of the duchy depended.<sup>3</sup>

That the king-duke sought to preserve this network is apparent from looking at *where* his grants refer to and also to *whom* they were granted. One key example is the castle of Fronsac. Situated to the northeast of Bordeaux and commanding the river valleys of the Dordogne, Dronne and Isle, Fronsac was a vital fortress in the event of French invasion of the Bordelais. Sir William Faringdon, captain of Fronsac, put the point well in 1410 when he said 'this castle is the principal fortress of all [Gascony]...and for if all the other fortresses were lost...they could be recovered by means of the said castle of Fronsac'.<sup>4</sup> Since 1376 the stronghold had been an exclusively English garrison: fifty-six letters of protection were recorded throughout the Gascon rolls in the years 1413 to 1437 issued to men 'in the retinue' or 'company' of the captain of Fronsac. These men were a mixture of merchants, vintners, yeomen and esquires, responsible for both the fortress's defence and its sustenance.

With regards to who was in charge, it was usual for the king-duke to appoint the English constable of Bordeaux as 'captain and constable of the castle of Fronsac.' William Clifford was granted this office in 1413 for eight years, and John Radcliffe received it in 1419 for six years.<sup>5</sup> That these men already held a key position within the English administration is significant: a location of such strategic value had to be under the control of someone who could be trusted to defend it and not to fall prey to French influence.

---

<sup>3</sup> Vale, 'The War in Aquitaine,' p.74.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Vale, 'The War in Aquitaine,' p.74.

<sup>5</sup> GRP, C61/114, m.15, no. 1 and GRP, C61/118, m. 9, no. 2.

There is further evidence in the Gascon rolls that the Lancastrians were operating a policy of defence. For example, Guilhem-Arnaut de Lamothe was granted the castle, lordship and town of Langon, six miles north of his castle of Roquetaillade, in 1417 to 'have and hold forever, him and his heirs';<sup>6</sup> and Ramon-Guilhem de Lanau acquired the castellany of the town of Saint-Macaire, nine miles southeast of his stronghold of Cadillac, in 1422 'for life', confirmed in 1435.<sup>7</sup> Both Langon and Saint-Macaire were situated in the Bordelais on either side of the Garonne River. They stood on the frontier of those lands effectively and those lands more contentiously under the control of the English administration, and were thus frequently subject to siege and counter-siege. These grants show Henry V and the council of Henry VI actively intervening to ensure that loyal and reliable men were in charge of areas considered valuable to the defence of the duchy. As with Fronsac, they used their prerogative as duke of granting land and office to ensure Gascony's long-term security.

Locations of strategic importance also appear frequently in relation to the provision of justice, especially regarding disputes of inheritance. Admittedly the crown's judicial action in Gascony was most often in response to petitions, but this was the norm for medieval government. For instance, after the Leicester parliament of 1414, to 'check the rising chorus of complaint,' Henry V revived the itinerant use of the King's Bench in England to suppress local disorder.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless the location of these Gascon inheritances is revealing: an

---

<sup>6</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 6, no. 45. Lamothe had formerly owned them by hereditary right until the Count of Armagnac seized them in August 1405. When the English regained them, William Clifford gave the keepership of Langon to Mernaut de Habas for the period from 1413 to 1417.

<sup>7</sup> GRP, C61/118, m. 1, no. 59 and GRP, C61/126, m. 4, no. 13.

<sup>8</sup> E. Powell, 'The Restoration of Law and Order' in G. L. Harriss, ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1993), p.64.

inheritance in dispute was a vulnerable inheritance. Acts of lordship could not be effective if the lord's legitimacy was challenged. Nor could loyalty be assured if the king-duke failed to fulfil his role as the 'ultimate guarantor' of the judicial system.<sup>9</sup> In order to ensure that the duchy was safe from French incursions and influence, it was essential for any disputes or uncertainties in frontier areas to be resolved.

One example of an inheritance dispute dealt with by the king-duke concerns the lordship of Lesparre, which lay to the north of the Bordelais. In 1415 Henry V ordered that justice be done to Johana d'Armagnac, widow of the late lord of Lesparre, Guilhem-Amaniu de Madaillan, whose lands had been 'put into the king's hands without knowledge of the case and against right, law and custom' as she protested her late husband had willed that she should be custodian of their daughter and his heir.<sup>10</sup> In 1416 the lordship of Lesparre resurfaced, this time in the conflict between Johana and Bernat de Lesparre, who opposed her for its succession. Bernat had previously served in the Lancastrian administration as seneschal of the Agenais from 1401 to 1403. Johana was ordered to deliver the will of her late husband for examination.<sup>11</sup> In 1417 Henry V intervened directly to ensure the outcome of the case was one that guaranteed the security of the duchy. In order to avoid Lesparre, strategically located on the Gironde estuary, being directly owned by the niece of the current constable of France (Bernat VII d'Armagnac), the king granted special powers to William Clifford to take the lordship into royal hands. Johana was compensated financially and Bernat was authorised to annex several parishes to his lordship

---

<sup>9</sup> Powell in Harriss, ed., *Henry V*, p.59.

<sup>10</sup> GRP, C61/116, m. 2, no. 24.

<sup>11</sup> GRP, C61/117 m. 18, no. 15.

in Périgord.<sup>12</sup> Essentially the king had 'bought' the lordship in order for it to be under his control. The castle and town of Lesparre were subsequently granted to John Radcliffe as constable of Bordeaux in 1419 and then to John Tiptoft as seneschal of Aquitaine in 1420 for 'as long as he exercises office.'<sup>13</sup> Bernard Angevin, who by the 1430s had become a prominent and favoured member of the Anglo-Gascon administration, received the lordship in 1433.<sup>14</sup> That after 1417 Lesparre was given to men at the upper levels of the English administration, to whom the king had already accorded lands and powers, stresses again the importance of loyalty and its implications for successful defence.

The king-dukes also intervened in disputes regarding the possessions of the lords of Castillon whose lands lay on the northern bank of the Dordogne River to the east of the Bordelais. This area was situated beyond the 'line of effective English administration' in fifteenth-century Gascony and was thus both a potential buffer for the heartlands of English rule and a potential liability vulnerable to French influence.<sup>15</sup> In 1414 Pons VII of Castillon requested the return of his 'rightful possessions', which had been seized by Bertran III de Montferrand.<sup>16</sup> These 'possessions' consisted of the castle of Lamarque which, significantly, was 'situated on the border of the king's adversaries and rebels' on the Gironde estuary.<sup>17</sup> Henry V's involvement in the dispute was at the request of Pons VII, but is also indicative of how maintaining good lordship, of which the

---

<sup>12</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 6, no. 46 and m. 4, no. 70.

<sup>13</sup> GRP, C61/118, m. 7, no. 25 and m. 9, no. 7.

<sup>14</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 12, no. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Label on a map of the march of Gascony, 1400-1407 in Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), p.131, reproduced here in Figure 1.

<sup>16</sup> GRP, C61/115, m. 2, no. 26.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

dispensation of 'full justice'<sup>18</sup> was an integral part, was necessary to sustain the loyalty of their Gascon subjects, especially those of military and political importance like Pons.<sup>19</sup>

The minority council of Henry VI was equally sensitive to its judicial responsibilities. A licence was issued in 1423 confirming the rights of succession of Pons VIII (grandson of Pons VII) against his cousin Johan de Lescun, and a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed in 1428 to deal with Pons' dispute with Gaston de Foix over possession of a part of Castelnau-de-Médoc in the Bordelais.<sup>20</sup> Like Henry V, the minority council sought the resolution of those disputes involving men of importance in the duchy and areas of strategic significance. In a further indication of the value ascribed to those areas, and consequently of English thinking, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester became a trustee of the baronies, lands, lordships and possessions of Pons VIII in 1430 after the latter's death and was granted them for him and his heirs in 1433.<sup>21</sup> Pons' heir Pons IX was in the French party and therefore could not be allowed to inherit. That these possessions, which 'for lack of a safe keepership might be invaded by the king's enemies,' came into Gloucester's hands demonstrates how the English were still determined to ensure that vulnerable areas were under the firm control of men loyal to the administration, in this case an Englishman at the very top level of Henry VI's minority government.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> GRP, C61/115, m. 2, no. 26.

<sup>19</sup> For more information on how the provision of justice was an essential royal duty in the exercise of good governance see John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.21 and for how this acted as a limitation on a woman's ability to rule see Helen Castor, *She-Wolves* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), p.25.

<sup>20</sup> GRP, C61/119, m.21, no. 33 and GRP, C61/123, m. 6, no.19.

<sup>21</sup> GRP, C61/124, m. 16, no. 7 and GRP, C61/125, m. 16, no. 11.

<sup>22</sup> GRP, C61/124, m. 16, no. 7.

Similar defensive concerns are apparent in the king-duke's dealings with Gascony's towns, which were also responsible for the duchy's defensive network. One way to ensure their loyalty was through the confirmation of privileges. This was a routine aspect of the king's relations with his English boroughs, most common at the start of new reigns to demonstrate how the new ruler was going to govern along the same approved lines as his predecessors, and it was replicated in his dealings with the Gascons. Confirmations constituted a standard affirmation of good lordship, especially given the deep-seated 'regionalism' that Guenée identifies as one of the primary characteristics of Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> It was expected that a good ruler would demonstrate sensitivity to custom and tradition. In Gascony in particular the king-duke had to make sure that the towns felt warmly towards English rule and that their interests were best protected by the Lancastrians in order to prevent the likelihood of their falling victim to French influence. For example, in 1416 and 1423 the economic privileges of Blaye were confirmed with regards to the selling of their wine 'as it was used in the time of the king's ancestors'.<sup>24</sup> Similarly confirmed were privileges for La Réole in 1417, which referred to Edward III's order for the town and their successors 'to enjoy forever without any impediment the liberties and franchises [enjoyed by their ancestors]'.<sup>25</sup>

Conciliation is perhaps too loaded a term to describe the policy outlined above, suggesting a weakness on the part of the crown that was illusory given the standardised and common nature of kings confirming the privileges of their

---

<sup>23</sup> Bernard Guenée, Juliet Vale, trans., *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p.26.

<sup>24</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 10, no. 39.

<sup>25</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 8, no. 44.



subjects. However, an element of 'strategy' resembling that described above regarding grants is suggested by the geographical location and thus strategic value of the towns referred to. Blaye lay at the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne Rivers in the north of the duchy, controlling access inland from the sea. La Réole sat on the northern bank of the Garonne to the east of Langon. These towns' proximity to water supplies undoubtedly increased their importance both economically and militarily. The confirmation to La Réole is particularly illuminating. It was granted just after the Parliament of 1416 in which it was related how William Clifford had 'won the castle and town of La Réole', but which was then surrounded by 14,000 men led by the son of the count of Armagnac and other lords, who were attempting to starve the English out.<sup>26</sup> Clifford petitioned the king, calling for provision to be made 'so that he is not utterly ruined, nor the said castle and town of La Réole and the country around lost', to which the king expressed his wish 'to provide a remedy'.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that Henry V was keen to reassure the loyalty of a community only recently brought back into English allegiance, and which still remained at risk from French invasion, as well as to show that the needs of the constable were being acknowledged. Important towns had to be rewarded for their loyalty and confirmed in their trust in the English administration. Their continued support was a prerequisite for the continuation of English rule.

Just as it was essential for the English to maintain the loyalties of their Gascon towns, so it was also necessary to cultivate and confirm the loyalties of the southern Gascon nobility. Those who had shown themselves loyal to the

---

<sup>26</sup> BHO: PROME, October 1416, no. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

English Crown had to be rewarded to ensure that they remained so. The most prominent was Gaston de Foix, whose share of his family lands lay in the Bordelais. In 1417 he received for himself and his heirs all the rights pertaining to the king for his possession of Vayres, which sat on the south bank of the Dordogne River facing the fortress of Fronsac.<sup>28</sup> In 1426 he was also confirmed in the possession of several places that he had previously conquered from French partisans.<sup>29</sup> As an important southern magnate in his own right, with the men and resources that came with this status, Gaston's loyalty to the English constituted a vital pillar of support for the security of the regime. He served the Lancastrians particularly well in his role as an intercessor in encouraging other lords to join the English cause. He was involved (albeit unsuccessfully) in overtures to his brother John I de Foix in the early 1420s and was also credited with helping to secure the truce agreed in October 1426 between the English and the 'French' lord of Saintonge.<sup>30</sup> Gaston also served Henry V in Normandy, commanding troops in the capture of Pontoise in 1419 and acquiring the title 'count of Longueville' in that same year. This title is first referenced in the Gascon rolls in 1420 regarding his right to receive the taxes granted in the diocese of Bordeaux, Bayonne and Dax 'in order to resist the enemy.'<sup>31</sup> That the rewarding of Gaston features prominently in the Gascon rolls indicates how the English considered him to be a key local figure in the maintenance of effective English rule and defence.

---

<sup>28</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 9, no. 43. This grant was confirmed in 1423: GRP, C61/119, m. 12, no. 82.

<sup>29</sup> For instance,, Vertheuil, which lay eight miles south of Lesparre; and Sore and Castelnau-de-Cernès both to the east of the Landes. See GRP, C61/121, m. 1, no. 44.

<sup>30</sup> A former province located to the north of the Bordelais and the Gironde estuary.

<sup>31</sup> GRP, C61/118, m. 5, no. 30.

While defence of Gascony was clearly a priority for the administration in Westminster, this policy also appears inextricably linked with one of reclamation. The evidence suggests a desire on the part of the English king-dukes to use the resources and loyalty of the duchy not only to preserve, but also to enlarge, the areas in Aquitaine under English control. These constituted those ceded by the French under the terms of the treaty of Brétigny in 1360 that were subsequently lost to French invasion when war resumed in 1369.<sup>32</sup>

The concerns of both defence and the recovery of 'French'-held lands in Gascony can be gauged from the way the English sought to involve Gascons themselves in these aims. This took the form of grants of land that were attached to an explicit obligation either to defend it or to reclaim it from the French. For instance, in a grant of 1383 (confirmed in 1415), Bernat de Lesparre received the keepership of the castle of Marmade 'in the case that he can conquer it from the king's enemies.'<sup>33</sup> This suggests a strategy: enmeshing Gascon interests with those of the English to provide incentives – if they were successful they were promised wealth, and/or title. An entry in 1416 detailed a grant made to the esquire Guiraut de Cénac of the town of Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, noting 'this town and power being now in the obedience of the adversary of France, [Charles VI]'.<sup>34</sup> Likewise in 1430 Sansson de Monbrun, 'because of his good service' to Henry V in France and Normandy and to Henry VI in Aquitaine, received the fortalice and lordship of Gamarde in the Landes, 'which is now rebel to the king'.<sup>35</sup> Gamarde's

---

<sup>32</sup> The treaty of Brétigny, signed after the Black Prince's defeat of John II at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, marked a serious setback for the French. As well as setting the cost for John's ransom, it also returned to the English the entirety of Aquitaine that had constituted Eleanor's duchy upon its first annexation to the English crown in 1152.

<sup>33</sup> GRP, C61/116, m. 4, no. 16.

<sup>34</sup> GRP, C61/117, m. 14, no. 26.

<sup>35</sup> GRP, C61/123, m. 1, no. 56.

'baylie, mills, revenue, and other profits' were Monbrun's if he could recover it from 'French' partisans.<sup>36</sup> The chronological spread of these grants suggests that both Lancastrian kings were keen to pursue a policy of encouraging Gascons themselves to shoulder the responsibility of reconquering territory (with the promise of reward). This would contribute to the realisation of fulfilling the terms of the treaty of Brétigny. After 1420 this strategy would additionally fulfil the terms of the treaty of Troyes, which required a general and less geographically focused expansion of 'French' land under English rule.

It is worth noting briefly here that such a 'strategy', intended to invest men in the act of re-conquest, was not limited to Gascony. It was expanded and more firmly entrenched (given the newly reacquired region's more fluid frontier and less securely established English authority) in Lancastrian Normandy from the late 1410s. The key difference was that grants with military obligations were made to Englishmen rather than local Normans, reflecting the higher levels of English settlement and administrative control in the northern duchy.<sup>37</sup> For example, in 1418 William Rothelane was granted land in Normandy to the nominal annual value of 800 *livre tournois* but was to provide an armed guard for the town of Coutances when called upon to do so; and in 1419 Hugh Spencer was given lands in the *bailliage* of Caux on the condition that he contributed to the guard at Harfleur.<sup>38</sup> It was Henry V's intention that the recipient would be responsible for the defence of their new possessions and that the revenues from those grants would help finance this. Puisseux has described the pattern of land

---

<sup>36</sup> GRP, C61/123, m. 1, no. 56.

<sup>37</sup> For more information on the differences between English Gascony and English Normandy see Chapter 3.

<sup>38</sup> C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p.52.

grants and settlement in Normandy as ‘une sorte de colonisation militaire’.<sup>39</sup>

Property gave Englishmen a stake and an interest in France – ‘it involved them as nothing else could, since it gave them something to fight for.’<sup>40</sup> That grants like this were made in both Normandy and Gascony suggests an active desire on the part of the English crown to ensure *all* their lands in France were effectively maintained and expanded.

The actions in Gascony of both Henry V and the minority council of Henry VI consistently show the existence of clear priorities that shaped a policy. Their involvement in the duchy worked towards the fulfilment of two aims: Gascony’s successful defence and its expansion back to the full Aquitaine promised in 1360.

---

<sup>39</sup> ‘A sort of military colonisation’: L. Puisseux cited in Green, ‘The Hundred Years War, Colonial policy and the English Lordships’, p.249.

<sup>40</sup> C. Allmand, ‘The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50’ *The Economic History Review* 21 (1968) 461-79, p.464; for more information on Lancastrian Normandy see Chapter 3.

### CHAPTER 3: ENGLISH NORMANDY AS THE ENGLISH PRIORITY

This chapter will consider the argument that contrary to any clear policy in Gascony the English merely used the duchy as a resource for their wider ambitions and strategy in France. As such it did not warrant any sustained English intervention in its governance. That its true value lay in its contributory role could explain why English involvement was so minimal compared to Normandy.

The duchy's apparent 'subordination' in the eyes of the English is illuminated if the priorities of the different Lancastrian kings are examined. Henry IV was willing to relinquish a century of English claims to the throne of France in order to hold an extended Aquitaine in full sovereignty – this was recognised by the Armagnac princes under the treaty of Bourges in 1412. However, Henry V's 'interest in Guyenne appears to have been minimal'.<sup>1</sup> He did not neglect his right to hold the duchy as prescribed by the treaty of Brétigny, but it arguably proved most useful to him at a diplomatic and propaganda level in justifying his growing demands for territory in the north and his accompanying offensives. For example, prior to his invasion of 1415 Henry had the treaty of Bourges (which Henry V himself had opposed at the time, preferring an alliance with Burgundy) copied and transcripts sent to the dignitaries at the council of Constance 'so that all Christendom might know how French duplicity

---

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453* (London: H. Hamilton, 1980). p.197.

had injured him and how he was most unwillingly forced to raise his standard against the rebels'.<sup>2</sup>

It is discernible from the outset that Henry V's ambitions went further than those of his father and were not confined to the southwest. By 1415 the theatre of war and English territorial demands had shifted to Normandy; the systematic conquest of this duchy was Henry V's principal objective in the years 1417 to 1419. This war was not in the old style of *chevauchée* (warfare involving raiding, burning and pillaging) but combined systematic occupation of territory with long-term colonisation. By 1418, the fulfilment of the terms of Brétigny and a realisation of the English claim to the throne, supported by Henry's marriage to the French princess Catherine, had been merged together in Henry's demands.<sup>3</sup> In 1420 the treaty of Troyes made this claim a reality, with Henry V named Charles VI's heir. It was now essential for the English to gain further territory in the north.<sup>4</sup> Indicative of this northern focus is the fact that despite covering the last four regnal years of Henry V, the Gascon roll for the years 1419 to 1422 is only nine membranes long when the average number of membranes for a single year in the period from 1413 to 1422 is six.

Implementation of the treaty of Troyes continued to be a priority for the minority council of Henry VI. This is apparent in their rejection of French proposals at Arras in 1435 for the English crown to give up the throne and keep Aquitaine, Normandy and Calais. Given this context it is unsurprising that

---

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony*, p.197.

<sup>3</sup> See, Malcom G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.77-8.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on how the treaty of Troyes became a limiting factor on English freedom of action see Chapter 4.

Gascony became a somewhat neglected English possession, certainly if compared to English policy in Normandy.

In terms of men, Gascony fell far short of its newly reacquired northern counterpart. Throughout the period from 1413 to 1437 English military aid to the duchy remained small. Other than John Radcliffe's 200-strong expedition in 1423, the duchy received nothing until a further 200 men were sent to serve the seneschal in 1428. These numbers, even when compared to those sent to Normandy during Henry VI's reign (not those mass invasion forces sent in the late 1410s), are noticeably small.<sup>5</sup> This suggests a prioritisation of the conquest and consolidation of Normandy: 'Henry V had refused to expend his military resources [in Gascony] to the detriment of his campaigns in northern France'.<sup>6</sup>

The government of Gascony depended for its military resources on the provincial nobility, and also on the initiatives of towns. Indeed notwithstanding the general overtures made by the English crown to the count of Foix from 1420 to 1423, 'local' characterises the truces made and campaigns carried out in the duchy.<sup>7</sup> For instance, Foix's rejection of an English alliance merely led to a local truce being made between the count and John Radcliffe in 1425, which was to govern the conduct of politics until 1439. Local campaigns carried out by Radcliffe and the city of Bordeaux in the 1420s meant that by 1423 Puynormand, Sauveterre, Rauzan and Pujols had all been regained, and Bazas by 1425. It was not the English king-duke who successfully dictated local diplomatic relations

---

<sup>5</sup> In the years 1413 to 1437 the smallest expeditionary army sent to northern France was still 568 in 1424. See Figure 3.1 in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999), p.45.

<sup>6</sup> J. S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England, Volume 3* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 1981), p.131.

<sup>7</sup> For more information on English negotiations with the count of Foix see Chapter 4.



nor was it his English armies who won back territory – local initiative was an important part of how Gascony was run by the English.

A further indication of the lack of English interest in Gascony is that many of the key officials appointed by the king to be his representatives were themselves absent from the duchy for extended periods of time. For instance, Radcliffe was absent from September 1427 until late June 1431. John Tiptoft, seneschal of Aquitaine from 1415 to 1423, spent much of his time either in military service in Normandy or on diplomatic missions for the king, for example, acting as envoy in May 1419 to arrange the meeting at Mantes between Henry V and Charles VI. He was also involved in the English administration in Normandy, holding presidency of the Norman Exchequer from 1417 to 1419. He continued to hold office in Gascony until 1443 even though he never physically returned to the duchy after the 1420s.<sup>8</sup> That men of such high office in the administration of Gascony were so frequently absent, mostly due to their involvement in the king's military and diplomatic campaigns in the north, suggests a lack of English concern in maintaining sustained and active involvement in the duchy's governance. Gascony was 'left alone' because Henry V and the minority council of Henry VI prioritised winning territory in Normandy and wider northern France.

Militarily and economically Gascony also contributed to Henry V's wider wars. The duchy gave men to the war effort in Normandy; seventy-two men-at-arms and ninety-one crossbowmen served as garrison soldiers, a quarter of

---

<sup>8</sup> Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony*, p.198.

whom were retained under their compatriot, the Gascon Sir Louis Despoy.<sup>9</sup>

Economically it is significant that the Gascon rolls for the year 1421 feature the new possibility that wheat transported to Gascony might be exported to Normandy, either to Rouen (e.g. 3 June 1421) or to Harfleur (e.g. 16 July 1421).<sup>10</sup> The English were utilising the resources of their lands in southwest France to help sustain their activities in the north.

The great lords of the southwest could also act as a resource: a means after the treaty of Troyes for recovering the lands held by dauphin in their own spheres of interest.<sup>11</sup> Rather than lead the offensive in the south in person, Henry V sought to win important local nobles to his side. This would fulfil the same end of contributing to the general expansion of English territory in France. In Gascony the most important lord critical to the accomplishment of Henry's 'grand design' was the count of Foix. His lands in Béarn, Marsan and Gabardan lay on the southeastern frontier of the duchy. They also bordered the lands of the count of Armagnac, providing the gateway into French-held Languedoc. The submission of this important and rich zone was a necessary part of creating a unified French kingdom over which Henry V and then Henry VI would rule as king. Foix's support was essential for success.

The first diplomatic steps to win over Johan I are visible in the powers granted to the seneschal of Aquitaine, John Tiptoft, shortly after the treaty of Troyes in July 1420 'to receive the homage of the count of Foix' and 'to make all

---

<sup>9</sup> Adrian R. Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King, David Simpkin, eds., *The Solider in Later Medieval England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.251.

<sup>10</sup> GRP, C61/118, m.2, nos. 47 and 51.

<sup>11</sup> For more information on how the treaty of Troyes affected the circumstances of Henry V and the minority council of Henry VI see Chapter 4.

kind of *patis*<sup>12</sup> in Aquitaine...for the salvation and profit of the castles and fortalices being on the border [of the duchy].'<sup>13</sup> The count features heavily in the Gascon rolls for 1422 to 1423 – evidently securing an alliance was an important priority for the minority council following in the footsteps of Henry V. They tried to secure Foix's acknowledgment of the validity of Henry VI's title as king of France in 1423, and also confirmed several of the letters of Charles VI such as his appointment of the count as governor of Languedoc and count of Bigorre in 1423.<sup>14</sup>

The case of Foix demonstrates the complexity and detail involved in winning such an important and consequently demanding magnate over to the Lancastrian side. A conclusive agreement laid out at Meaux in March 1422, and consolidated in 1423, agreed that in exchange for starting war against the dauphin, the English would finance Foix's effort. He requested the sum of 18,000 *ecus d'or* so that his troops could be paid the same rates as those paid by the English in Normandy and also a pension of £3,000 per month for himself.<sup>15</sup> The seneschals of Aquitaine and the Landes, as well as all the king's subjects in the duchy, were furthermore ordered to give 'military help' to the count in his attempt to submit Languedoc if requested.<sup>16</sup> The realisation of Henry V and VI's title 'heir and regent of France' necessitated a burdensome financial obligation. That the Lancastrians were willing to undertake such a vast commitment shows both their acknowledgement of how crucial Foix was in recovering Languedoc and also how important such an outcome was for the English. Although English

---

<sup>12</sup> Arrangements for truces made by an English garrison with the local population in French held areas.

<sup>13</sup> GRP, C61/118, m. 5, no. 28.

<sup>14</sup> GRP, C61/119, m. 24, no. 22; and m. 26, no. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Vale, *English Gascony*, p.89.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 18, no. 38.

overtures to Foix ultimately failed,<sup>17</sup> the moves made by the administration in Gascony were indicative of how their general policy fitted into the 'bigger picture': gaining the allegiance of the important lords in the south to help shoulder the burden of expanding the 'French' lands under English control.

Governance in Gascony also contrasted starkly with how the English kings chose to govern, structure and populate Normandy after 1417, which in many ways resembled a process of colonisation. From Henry V's accession there is evidence for what Allmand has termed a 'land settlement' policy in Normandy that sets it apart from Gascony and attests to the differing levels of English involvement in their two possessions.<sup>18</sup> The 'military colonisation' described above has already demonstrated how Henry V and subsequently the minority council used grants of land to give colonists a personal stake in defending 'English France'. In order for the conquest of Normandy to serve as the first step in Henry V's plan to acquire more French territory (especially after 1420), the duchy required a substantial English presence of 'men who would defend, maintain, or augment ...territorial holdings.'<sup>19</sup>

What distinguishes fifteenth-century Normandy most is that the English presence there was 'by no means an exclusively military one'.<sup>20</sup> It was office-holders and landholders who would embody the permanent establishment of the conquest. Establishing how far the English were able to achieve this goal is beyond the scope of this dissertation, yet it was certainly the intention of the

---

<sup>17</sup> By 1424 Johan I had declared openly for the dauphin.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50' *The Economic History Review* 21 (1968) 461-79.

<sup>19</sup> David Green, 'The Hundred Years War, Colonial policy and the English Lordships' in L.J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay, eds., *The Hundred Years War (Part III) Further Considerations* (Lieden: Brill, 2013), p.249.

<sup>20</sup> C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p.50.

English to turn key towns such as Harfleur, Calais and Cherbourg into English settlements: to 'stuffe the toun[s] with English peple'.<sup>21</sup> This mirrored English activity in Wales, which saw what Davies calls 'planned...state-directed, immigration.'<sup>22</sup> For example, surveyors were dispatched to measure the boundaries of new lordships and assign appropriate parcels of land to new colonists, much of which had been forfeited by the natives.<sup>23</sup> Wales was a 'colony' because it was populated by 'colonists'. A similar sentiment was expressed in Henry V's ordinance of 1420 forbidding Englishmen to dispose of their lands in Normandy to any other than the king's English subjects.<sup>24</sup> This suggests an attempt in northern France, as in Wales but unlike in Gascony, 'to expropriate land [and] build a new society in the image of the one they had left'.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover whilst in Gascony the vast majority of lesser offices were granted to native Gascons, it was English colonists who were responsible for the governance of Normandy at all levels.<sup>26</sup> Few Englishmen except those who performed crucial military or administrative functions actually settled in the Gascony; the minority who did so remained 'foreigners and expatriates'.<sup>27</sup> By contrast in Normandy, men such as Sir William Oldhall and Sir John Falstaff constituted the first cross-Channel landholding group since 1204. Settlement in

---

<sup>21</sup> The anonymous author of the English Chronicle 1377-1471 cited in Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50', p.464.

<sup>22</sup> R. R. Davies, 'Colonial Wales,' *Past and Present* 65 (1974) 3-23, p.4.

<sup>23</sup> For instance,, the town of Beaumaris was founded 1295 on the site of the township of Llanfaes whilst its previous inhabitants were granted lands twelve miles away at Rhosfair (Newborough).

<sup>24</sup> See Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50,' p.467.

<sup>25</sup> Frame cited in David Green, 'Lordship and Principality: Colonial Policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s', *The Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008), 3-29, p.6.

<sup>26</sup> For examples of Gascons appointed to minor offices see GRP, C61/119 m. 13, nos. 74, 76, 77, 78 and 81; m. 21, no. 29; m. 30, no.15; m. 4, no. 90; m. 1, nos. 94, 96 and 99; and C61/125 m. 17, nos. 3 and 4; m. 16, nos. 8 and 9, m. 15, nos. 15 and 24.

<sup>27</sup> Frame cited in Green, 'Lordship and Principality', p.6.

Normandy created an 'English of France', comparable to the 'English of Ireland' which would be expelled from their holdings when Normandy was lost to the French 1449-50.<sup>28</sup> No such group existed in Gascony.

Furthermore given Gascony's physical isolation from England (it took twenty-eight days to journey from Westminster to Bordeaux), English rule required a 'considerable devolution of authority and decision-making to the king-duke's representatives.'<sup>29</sup> The administration was thus able to establish a marked degree of autonomy. In 1415 John Tiptoft was granted powers to judge civil and criminal cases and grant remission (except in cases of rebellion). In 1423, John Radcliffe was granted power to require 'any service' from the king's subjects in the duchy.<sup>30</sup> It is a testament to the importance of the position of seneschal that Tiptoft is in fact the most mentioned individual in the Gascon rolls for the years 1415 to 1416 and 1419 to 1422, and Radcliffe for 1427 to 1430.

The powers given to the seneschal by the king even included those deemed to be royal prerogatives. In 1420 Tiptoft was accorded the power 'to require and receive on behalf of the king the customary homages, fidelities and oaths from whoever subject of the duchy of Aquitaine.'<sup>31</sup> This constituted quasi-regal authority to act as a physical substitute for Henry V as duke. In the same entry he also assumed the royal prerogative to pardon rebels. That the king of England chose to delegate powers to his representative normally reserved for himself exposes the absentee nature of his rule. Although the king-duke could always revoke the appointments made by the seneschals and fill such posts with his own

---

<sup>28</sup>Malcom G.A Vale, *The Ancient Enemy: England, France and Europe from the Angevins to the Tudors 1154-1558* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p.57.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>30</sup> GRP, C61.119/m. 16, no. 66.

<sup>31</sup> GRP, C61/118, m. 2, no. 48.

men, his control was largely nominal: day-to-day governance rested mostly with the king's officers and the Gascons who served under them in the localities. The English administration in the duchy functioned very much as its own entity.

This level of relative autonomy contrasts sharply with Ireland and Wales, which were 'retained and maintained by the English as dependencies with firm control exercised over policies and personnel.'<sup>32</sup> Arguably this dependence was where the threshold from 'lordship' to 'colony' was crossed.<sup>33</sup> In Gascony the control of affairs still rested in practice with the seneschal and council at Bordeaux. Even then 'ils respectaient d'ordinaire les lois et usages de la province'.<sup>34</sup> Gascony was a 'continental duchy, with its own customs, church and aristocracy'.<sup>35</sup> However, in the English possessions in Britain custom and tradition were treated with condescension. Both Ireland and Wales experienced an imposition *en bloc* of English institutions and offices, such as writs, shires, hundreds, sheriffs and coroners. Legislation such as the Statute of Rhuddlan noted above (dubbed by Helen Cam as 'the first colonial constitution') brought change to the fundamental political makeup of the country, bringing it into line with English practice.<sup>36</sup>

The lack of evidence in Gascony (in fact there is much to the contrary) for any English agenda of occupation, settlement or 'centralisation' suggests a far more limited English involvement in the duchy than implied by the title of

---

<sup>32</sup> Green, 'The Hundred Years War, Colonial Policy and the English Lordships', p.234.

<sup>33</sup> Rees Davies identifies governmental dependence on the mother country as 'a hallmark of colonial status', see Davies, 'Lordship or Colony?' in J. Lydon, ed., *The English in Medieval Ireland: proceedings of the first joint meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy Dublin* (Dublin: Royal Irish academy, 1984), p.151.

<sup>34</sup> 'Usually they respected the laws and customs of the province.' Charles Bémont, *La Guyenne pendant la domination Anglaise, 1152-1453* (London: 1920), p.10.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), p.184.

<sup>36</sup> Helen Cam cited in Davies, 'Colonial Wales', p.15.

Labarge's work.<sup>37</sup> That Normandy came to resemble Wales and Ireland in many ways as a governmentally dependent and 'colonial' territory arguably reflects the greater interest Henry V and subsequently the minority council of Henry VI had in winning and consolidating land in the north. It reveals careful and intentional English planning: the use of grants of land and office to create a permanent and extensive English presence in the duchy, which would be tied to military and defensive obligations. This strategy occurred in the north to a far greater extent than in Gascony. Already by the end of 1419 around sixty smaller castles in Normandy were held by English soldiers in exchange for military service, which amounted to some 1,400 men. The 'land settlement policy' represented a deliberate attempt by the English to replace the higher nobility of Valois Normandy with a new Anglo-Norman aristocracy, men who had a vested interest and thus an incentive to stay in the duchy and defend their conquests. In comparison with such extensive English involvement in Normandy, Gascony appears largely ignored.

---

<sup>37</sup> Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony*.



#### CHAPTER 4: WAS POLICY A CHOICE?

This chapter will argue that the actions and decisions of the English administration in Gascony were undeniably shaped by political, military and economic realities. If at first glance England's policy in Gascony existed only insofar as it sought to exploit the duchy for its ambitions in the north of France, the factors that determined this course of action suggest that the king-dukes had very little choice in doing otherwise. It was not that they lacked any principles or set of clear ideas about how they wished to govern Gascony, merely that circumstances dictated minimal direct intervention in the duchy and a concentration on the war in the north.

The context of the post-1420 period must be considered. Henry V made his intentions to regain Normandy and claim the French crown clear from 1414, an objective that already necessarily diverted English attention away from the southwest.<sup>1</sup> However, it was the arrangements made at Troyes in 1420 that acted as the greatest straitjacket on English freedom of action. Although the treaty had designated Henry V as Charles VI's heir, the existence of the Armagnac dauphin Charles made it essentially an English-Burgundian alliance (facilitated as it had been by the assassination of John of Burgundy by the Armagnacs in 1419). The dauphin would not consent to being disinherited and still commanded sufficient Valois loyalty to make him a potential threat, despite his initially weak position in the 1420s. Large swathes of Poitou, Anjou, Maine and Languedoc (and, after 1436, areas of Normandy and Paris) looked to him as their king. While he remained at large, even challenging the Lancastrians directly by

---

<sup>1</sup> See BHO: PROMÉ, November 1414, no. 2.

being crowned king of France at Reims in 1429, the terms of Troyes could never be realised. The monarchy of France had been acquired but the kingdom was yet to be won. To ensure that after Charles VI's death in 1422 Henry V would be king in more than just name, the dauphin's territories had to be conquered. In practice this obligation kept Henry in the north and reliant on southern lords to help shoulder his task.

This commitment extended into the reign of Henry VI. As regent of France and head of the minority council in England, John, duke of Bedford was obliged to act as a 'trustee' of Henry V's wishes for the nine-month-old Henry VI, which after 1422 encompassed the title king of France as well as England.<sup>2</sup> No radical change of direction in French affairs could be carried out until Henry VI was of age, as only an adult king could alienate his own possessions. Thus the focus of the minority council continued to rest on the north of France, and in attempts to ensure the young king would one day rule as king of France in practice. This undoubtedly meant that involvement in Gascony continued to take a backseat in English priorities.

Circumstances were exacerbated in the 1430s by the changing military fortunes of the English. Whilst the Lancastrians had maintained an upper hand during the 1420s, the conflict took a decisive turn in 1429 when the French, inspired by Joan of Arc, successfully broke the English siege of Orléans. The year 1435 witnessed the death of the duke of Bedford and the treaty of Arras by which the essential allies of the English, the Burgundians, returned to French allegiance. This was followed by the fall of Dieppe, Harfleur and in 1436 Paris

---

<sup>2</sup> C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p.26.

itself to the Valois. This dramatic reversal of English fortunes imposed an even greater physical limitation on what the English were able to do in Gascony.

In many ways this limitation was not necessarily disagreeable to the English. After Radcliffe's treaty with the count of Foix in 1425, Gascony remained relatively free from French offensives (the last major invasions had taken place from 1404 to 1407). That Gascony, unlike recently re-conquered Normandy, had been united with the English crown over 250 years was also significant. To preserve this union no conquering or colonisation had to occur – as discussed above, the Gascons actively sought its maintenance. The English in turn sought, as they always had, to maintain and defend the duchy's sovereign status. Unlike defeating the dauphin, this goal could be achieved without enforcing a more centralised 'colonial' administration.

Circumstances thus meant that 'there was little attempt to do anything more than maintain the status quo in the southwest.'<sup>3</sup> The war with France, which at first under Henry V had been one of conquest, had become one of defence from the late 1420s. This provides the context for the lack of active policy in the southwest – sustaining the defensive policy of Henry V was the most the English were able to do. Their priorities were simply forced to be elsewhere.

Mention has been made already of English attempts to win over important lords in the south so that they might shoulder the responsibility for re-conquests in Aquitaine. At first glance, this reliance on local initiatives suggests that the Lancastrians were not so concerned with regaining land in the south. However, the use of diplomacy in Gascony was not a choice, but a

---

<sup>3</sup> Malcom G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.98.

necessity. It is unwise to make a direct correlation between actual English military presence in the duchy and English attitudes towards it. In accepting the terms of the treaty of Troyes, Henry V 'bound himself to obligations which were ultimately to prove incompatible with conducting the re-conquest [of Aquitaine] in person.'<sup>4</sup> Consolidating and administering the *pays de conquête*, as well as enlarging Lancastrian holdings in the north, was a daunting and time-consuming task, which was to occupy the king until his premature death in 1422.

Simultaneous military force in Gascony was just not an option. If any headway was to be made in regaining the lands of Aquitaine lost in the 1370s, the king-dukes had to rely on diplomacy. That they did so at all shows that Gascony was not completely peripheral to their aims: even Henry V with his determination to conquer Valois France still wanted a return to the terms of the treaty of Brétigny.

Rewarding local lords and towns was also a necessary guarantee of loyalty. It was not uncommon for Gascon loyalties to be unreliable and dependent on circumstance. Indeed there were 'few families in English Gascony whose interests were confined to the duchy or whose allegiance was wholly unambiguous.'<sup>5</sup> Towns and families were vulnerable to external influences, chiefly those of the 'French' lords of Albret, Armagnac and after 1424, of Foix. That a rallying of 'English' Gascons to the lords of the French party was considered a real threat by the king-dukes is evident from the ban that was proclaimed in the duchy in 1433 on taking any fee or taking oaths to the counts of Foix or Armagnac.<sup>6</sup> This was likewise proclaimed specifically for Bordeaux, whose inhabitants were warned to pay allegiance 'only to the king, mayor and

---

<sup>4</sup> Vale, *English Gascony*, p.81.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 15, no. 25.

jurats'.<sup>7</sup> Wavering loyalties were a Gascon concern as well: the roll entry stipulated 'the jurats, the thirty and three hundred councillors of Bordeaux...complained that some barons have recently caused some burgesses to make allegiance to them'.<sup>8</sup> Even in Bordeaux, the heart of the English administration, the complexity of loyalties in the duchy was an acknowledged fact and the potential for 'French' influence was ever present. Maintaining good relations with the duchy's towns and nobility was essential if the English hoped to pursue their policy of defence and reclamation, both being pivotal to the accomplishment of this aim.

Also prominent among the limitations on the king-dukes' freedom of action was the duchy's finances. Despite the economic links between England and Gascony, in fact 'financially the duchy was worth very little to the English administration'.<sup>9</sup> The wine trade was neither a stable nor a sufficient source of income. During the reign of Henry IV 90% of the administration's average annual revenue of £1,200 sterling came from customs duties levied on wine exports and on goods passing through Libourne and Bordeaux, a sum barely able to cover the cost of ordinary peacetime administration.<sup>10</sup> The expiry of truces and renewal of warfare could dramatically reduce the volume of product brought down the rivers. For example, between 1403 and 1437 English wine imports stayed at the steady figure of 9,000-10,000 tuns annually whereas in 1437 to 1438 increased. French military activity and a severe winter meant this figure was reduced to

---

<sup>7</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 8, no. 76.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Vale, *English Gascony*, p.8.

<sup>10</sup> Figures from Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), p.135.

5,400 tuns.<sup>11</sup> This would have affected the funds available to the administration to carry out any military activity in the duchy that was not directly related to its immediate security.

In addition to paltry revenues, the cost of maintaining Gascony's defences was intolerably high. For instance, the cost of defending the fortress of Fronsac alone was reckoned at more than £1,600 a year, which exceeded the entire annual revenue of the duchy.<sup>12</sup> With the added cost of the war in the north throughout the 1420s and 1430s, the financial situation of Gascony was not one that allowed the English king-dukes much room to manoeuvre.

Financial strain in the duchy is obvious from the Gascon rolls. The rolls did not constitute an account books for the regime, but they do reveal the actions taken by the king-dukes to alleviate what was perceived to be a serious financial problem. For example, in 1413 Henry V requested a full report on all the 'lordships, lands, tenements, customs, offices and profits granted by previous kings since Edward III and to seize them into the hands of the constable of Bordeaux'.<sup>13</sup> This was specified as a response to the constant lack of money 'for the maintenance and defence of the duchy and the wages of the king's councillors and officers'.<sup>14</sup> Similar concerns with duchy finances are apparent in the 1433 order for the wages of the king's councillors and officers in Aquitaine to be paid 'first and foremost', and in the power granted to the seneschal of Aquitaine and the constable of Bordeaux to mint gold, silver and bullion at the castle of Bordeaux.<sup>15</sup> Coin had apparently not been minted there for 'a long time,'

---

<sup>11</sup> Figures from Vale, *English Gascony*, p.13.

<sup>12</sup> Figures from Sumption, *Cursed Kings*, p.137.

<sup>13</sup> GRP, C61/114, m.15, no. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 11, no. 44 and GRP, C61/125, m. 11, no. 46.

meaning that the Gascons had had to use other currencies.<sup>16</sup> Such a lack of ducal coinage must have contributed to a loss of revenues for the king.

Debt was also a constant feature of the English administration. Largely this concerned the expenses accrued by the seneschals, which the government attempted to compensate for by using grants. When John Tiptoft's tenure ended in 1423 he was owed £11,099, of which only £692 had been repaid by 1427.<sup>17</sup> To help alleviate the remaining debt, in 1426 Tiptoft was granted extensive Gascon estates in the form of the lordship of Lesparre (he already held the town and castle) to hold 'in deduction of 7,000 m. owed to him by the king'.<sup>18</sup> John Radcliffe shared similar financial misfortunes: after his absence in England from 1427 to 1431 he was only enticed to return to Gascony with a fresh retinue of men after the government assigned him £6,620 from the customs of the west-country ports to clear the debts owed to him.<sup>19</sup>

Grants were also made to repay those local communities that, because of a lack of English military presence, had financed and provided for offensive action on behalf of the English crown. For instance, in 1433 grants were made to Bordeaux for the costs incurred during the siege of the castle and town of Rions, and its conquest of the fortalice and lordship of Castelnau-de-Cernès, both of which had been in the hands of the lord of Albret.<sup>20</sup> It is evidence of the self-perpetuating nature of the English administration's financial woes that even whilst copious debts were owed to their officers, they still had to produce the sums necessary to repay the loyalty of their native subjects as 'such sweeteners

---

<sup>16</sup> GRP, C61/125, m. 11, no. 46.

<sup>17</sup> Figures from R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461* (California: University of California Press, 1981), p.114.

<sup>18</sup> GRP, C61/122, m. 4, no. 9.

<sup>19</sup> See Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 205.

<sup>20</sup> See GRP, C61/125, m. 9, no. 63 and m. 8, no. 72.

had become an important prop of the English regime in the south'.<sup>21</sup> They only served to exacerbate the administration's precarious financial position.

The English administration's inability to pay without debt for the costs of running the duchy helps to explain why English military intervention in Gascony was so minimal. The despatch of large bodies of troops from England was both an expensive and logistically difficult option. With war in the north acting as a significant drain on England's finances, military intervention in the southwest could only occur in response to direct threats to the duchy's security, and even then it was far more financially expedient to rely on local initiatives for defence. Thus, who was in charge of strategic locations became more important because it was they who were going to have to defend Gascony. The administration could not rely on troops from England because they were not financially able to support them.

A consideration of the factors shaping English policy in Gascony explains the impetus behind their actions. The generally minimalist nature of English intervention should not be misinterpreted as a lack of English interest in the duchy. It was simply that loyalty to the English in Gascony was sufficiently entrenched to allow for the duchy's defence and enlargement without requiring the same level of English involvement. In contrast the lands of the dauphin had to be conquered.

---

<sup>21</sup> Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI*, p.205.



## CONCLUSION

English rule in Gascony in the fifteenth century was determined by both tradition and *Realpolitik*. Held by the English since 1152, the nature and relative autonomy of the English administration in Gascony had evolved gradually and in conjunction with the Gascons themselves. Unlike Henry V's determination from 1415 to reclaim the Norman lands lost to the French in 1204 and his policy from 1419 of claiming the crown of France and conquering the territory necessary to substantiate his new title, any policy in Gascony appears to have entailed merely allowing things to be run in the way they always had, leaving the duchy largely to defend itself.

However, policy is not simply dictated by principle or intentions: it is also the result of political realities. That English intervention in Gascony was far less extensive than in Normandy, or indeed Wales or Ireland, should not lead to the conclusion that the English kings 'cared less' about or had no grand strategy regarding their lands in the southwest. Financially and militarily, the Lancastrians' hands were tied. The cost of sending military expeditions to regain territory in Aquitaine combined with the pervading debt of the duchy made military action on the scale of that seen in Normandy impossible. Moreover the terms of the treaty of Troyes in 1420 physically committed both Henry V and the minority council of his son to an even greater war of re-conquest in the north. When the war began to turn in favour of the French after 1429 there was even more reason for the English to focus their energies and military resources away from Gascony. Gascony's loyalty and security were assured enough for the

English to trust that their apparent 'neglect' would not be to the detriment of the English administration's stability and preservation.

A focus on what the English did not do in Gascony obscures what can be learned from what they did. Gascony need not be seen as a casualty of the English focus on Normandy in the early fifteenth century, but simply as constituting a different priority, with policy to be achieved through different means. Throughout the period from 1413 to 1437 the Gascon rolls demonstrate an English desire to conserve and expand Gascony's sovereign status and the lands it controlled. Even as he launched campaigns of re-conquest in Normandy, Henry V's 'sense of justice' was not limited to the northern duchy.<sup>1</sup> For the king, Gascony and Aquitaine, as well as Normandy, were wrongfully withheld by the French, as these lands had been claimed 'by trewe titill of conquest & right heritage' by Edward III and his ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

A geographical strategy can be extrapolated from the actions of the English king-dukes– they installed and granted to men of proven loyalty and high local standing those offices and lands critical to the duchy's overall defence. Moreover their exercise of good lordship (through the exercise of justice and confirmation of privileges) focused on those areas and local towns either vulnerable to French influence or essential components of the defence network of English Gascony. The delegation of military responsibility to local Gascons was a means of achieving the same end: the successful defence of the duchy but also the gradual reclamation of those Aquitanian lands lost to the French in the 1370s. With Gascony a long-held English possession tied into a mutually dependent economic

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Allmand, *Henry V* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1997), p185

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous author of the *Brut* cited in *Ibid*.

relationship, the Lancastrian kings demonstrated a desire and obligation to ensure that it was retained. This was a dominant factor in English thinking, shaping their actions in the duchy – a policy.

Arguably English involvement in Gascony appears minimal because of our own assumptions about rule, informed by modern notions of sovereignty and state-centred power. That it did not more closely resemble the government in England or English ‘imperial’ rule of Wales and Ireland does not mean Gascony was not ruled effectively or according to set priorities. How England was governed in this period perhaps makes for a misleading basis for comparison. The notion of ‘English uniqueness’ has been advanced by Bernard Guénée, and a recent comparative work on England and France has highlighted the different paths of development taken by the two countries during the later middle ages.<sup>3</sup> Both emphasise the more centralised and tightly integrated nature of England’s government during the high middle ages. This stands in sharp contrast to France, described by one historian as being simply a ‘loose confederation of principalities’ in the 1400s.<sup>4</sup> England under the Lancastrians boasted a ‘genuine political community’ unified through regular taxation, routine parliaments and the common law, where the sophisticated institutions of local government were explained not ‘by a people attached by their liberties, but by the will of a king powerful enough to impose his wishes’.<sup>5</sup> A kingdom the size of France could not

---

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Guénée, Juliet Vale, trans., *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p.111 and see Christopher Fletcher, Jean-Phillippe Genet and John Watts, ed., *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> John Le Patourel, *Federal Empires* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), p.158.

<sup>5</sup> Watts, ‘Conclusion,’ in Fletcher, Genet and Watts, *Government and Political Life*, p.355 and Guénée, *States and Rulers*, p.114.

achieve the same level of judicial and administrative uniformity.<sup>6</sup> The claims of Paris faced challenge from provincial capitals such as Toulouse or Lyon and most significantly from those lordships and provinces within French territory that existed 'in varying states of nominal subjection.'<sup>7</sup> Indeed this 'age of principalities' experienced by later medieval France did not have unity under the king as its only possible outcome.<sup>8</sup>

It is by comparison with the government of England in the fifteenth century that English rule in Gascony appears limited. Certainly the English administration in the southwest did not exercise nearly the levels of control or reach in the duchy that the government in Westminster employed for the whole English kingdom. However, considering the English administration in Gascony in terms of English methods of rule more generally is a misleading analytical approach. It assumes uniformity of rule and therefore for Gascony, a 'neglect' and sacrifice of centralised governance, which belies the reality. Gascony was not in England, but ruled by the English in France.

Far more institutional parallels can be drawn between Gascony and the great principalities of France. Just as the Lancastrians ruled Gascony as sovereign dukes and held territory outside France as kings of England, so the dukes of Brittany claimed to be 'king in his country' at the end of the fourteenth century

---

<sup>6</sup> For more information on how the level of centralization in England was unusual by continental standards, and remained so into the eighteenth century see Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.28 and Steven G. Ellis and Christopher Maginn, *The Making of the British Isles: The State of Britain and Ireland, 1450-1660* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.67-68.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Burgundy and Brittany discussed below. Watts in Fletcher, Genet and Watts, *Government and Political Life*, p.367.

<sup>8</sup> B.A Pocquet du Haut-Jussé cited in Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires*, p.155.

and held the lands of the earldom of Richmond.<sup>9</sup> Similarly the dukes of Burgundy held their lands in Burgundy, Flanders and Artois as fiefs from the French king, but also held most of the Low Countries, the county of Burgundy and part of Alsace from the Holy Roman Empire. Both of these principalities constituted a limitation on French royal authority.

Like the English dukes of Aquitaine, from 1297 the dukes of Brittany had been required to do homage to the kings of France for their lands. However, the fourteenth century saw a reaction against the demands of the crown. The ducal council vetoed all mandates from Paris; the eligibility for appeals to the *parlement* were restricted; a Breton *parlement* and *états* were established after 1352; a *chambre des comptes* was in operation by the 1360s to supervise the levying of tax; the duchy was exempt from royal *taille* and sent no representatives to the French States-General; and it had its own law and coinage. Like the English in Gascony, the dukes relied on the cooperation of the local nobility, such as the Barons of Vitré and Fougères who controlled their own extensive fiefdoms on the border with Normandy, to advance its rule. The striking autonomy of the duchy was only brought to an end in 1491 when a personal union was formed by the marriage of Anne of Brittany and Charles VII.

In a similar vein the domains of the dukes of Burgundy by the fifteenth century constituted a 'powerful, independent and more or less unified state'.<sup>10</sup> *Chambres de comptes* were set up at Lille in the north and Dijon in the south to administer ducal finances. Both locations (Ghent rather than Lille after 1407) also housed a ducal council for Burgundy and Flanders, whilst a *grand conseil*

---

<sup>9</sup> Guenée, *States and Rulers*, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Vaughn, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002, p.113.

accompanied the duke on his travels. Under the terms of the treaty of Péronne in 1468 the judicial bond binding Burgundy to the French crown was broken – the duchy was no longer subject to the authority of the *parlement* in Paris. The Burgundian dukes, like those of Brittany, might have recognised the suzerainty of the king of France but this did not prevent them from establishing their own international relations with European nations and indeed making war upon him (both duchies were in alliance with the English for many years during the Hundred Years War).

Rather than fit into the centralised style of rule that had been evolving in England since the twelfth century, English rule in Gascony followed more closely the patterns adopted by those principalities described above, which sought independence from the French crown. Certainly in Gascony the English were involved in the governance of the duchy to a far greater degree than the kings of France were involved in Brittany or Burgundy. That the king-dukes had intentions for the region's security and were concerned to exercise good lordship is evident from their actions recorded in the Gascon rolls. However, they did not rule in Gascony as kings of England. Just as the French kings had to accept and contend with the autonomy of principalities such as Brittany and Burgundy within their territory, so the English in Westminster had to govern Gascony with a somewhat distant hand. Its geographical distance from England, the necessary level of delegated authority, the prominence of local southern lords and its traditions (which had developed in the 250 years the duchy had been under English control) meant that the kind of rule adopted in England simply could not be imposed on Gascony. The duchy must be set against the context of the structures of government that had developed in France, which had facilitated the

rise of autonomous regions. The English did not 'ignore' Gascony: they simply ruled it differently.

English policy in Gascony in the years 1413 to 1437 was one of defence and reclamation. Less extensive interference in the duchy's affairs and minimal military intervention was a sacrifice, but realistically the English had no alternative. Pushed by the realities of financial bankruptcy and a steadily increasing war effort in the north, the English had to focus their energies elsewhere. However, even at those moments when Gascony appears all too absent from English priorities (for instance, the start of Henry V's reign when his conquest of Normandy dominated English foreign policy or in the 1430s when the war against the French was deteriorating), the English still demonstrated a concern to preserve the sovereignty of the duchy and extend its territories, ensuring that Gascony continued to be its longest-standing possession.

## Bibliography

### **Primary online sources:**

The Gascon rolls 1317-1468, accessed online at the Gascon Rolls project:

<http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/>

The Parliament rolls of medieval England 1275-1504, accessed online at British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval>

### **Primary printed sources:**

Hector, L. C. and Harvey, Barbara F., eds., trans., *Westminster Chronicle 1381-94*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

### **Secondary sources:**

Allmand, C., *Henry V*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_ 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417-50' *The Economic History Review* 21 (1968), 461-79.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Bates, David and Curry, Anne, eds., *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* London: The Hambledon Press, 1994.

Bell, Adrian R., Curry, Anne, King, Andy and Simpkin, David, eds., *The Solider in Later Medieval England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bémont, Charles, *La Guyenne pendant la domination Anglaise, 1152-1453*, London, 1920.

Brown, A. L., 'The Authorization of Letters under the Great Seal,' *Historical Research* 37, 1964, 125-156.

Brown, Michael, *Disunited Kingdoms: Peoples and Politics in the British Isles 1280-1460*, New York: Routledge, 2013.

Carus-Wilson, E. M., 'The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade,' *Historical Research* 21 (1947).



Castor, Helen, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. *She-Wolves*, London: Faber & Faber, 2010.

Davies, R. R., 'Colonial Wales,' *Past and Present* 65 (1974) 3-23

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lordship or Colony?', in Lydon, J., ed., *The English in Medieval Ireland: proceedings of the first joint meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy Dublin*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1984, 142-160.

Drouyn, Léo, *La Guienne Militaire: histoire et description des villes, fortifiée, fortresses et chateaux construits dans le pays qui constitue actuellement le département de la Girone pendant la domination Anglais*, Bordeaux: L'auteur, 1865.

Ellis, Steven G. and Maginn, Christopher, *The Making of the British Isles: The State of Britain and Ireland, 1450-1660*, New York: Routledge, 2014.

Elton, G. R., *England 1200-1640*, London: CUP Archive, 1976.

Fletcher, Christopher, Genet, Jean-Phillipe and Watts, John, eds., *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Frame, Robert, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*, London: Hambledon press, 1998.

Green, David 'The Hundred Years War, Colonial policy and the English Lordships', in Villalon, L.J Andrew, and Kagay, Donald J., eds., *The Hundred Years War (Part III) Further Considerations*, Lieden: Brill, 2013, 233-259.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lordship and Principality: Colonial policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s', *The Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008), 3-29.

Griffiths, R. A., *The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461*, California: University of California Press, 1981.

Guenée, Bernard, Vale, Juliet, trans., *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

Labarge, Margaret Wade, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453*, London: H. Hamilton, 1980.

Le Patourel, John, *Federal Empires*, London: Hambledon Press, 1984.

Pépin, Guilhem, 'The French Offensives of 1404-1407 against Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine', in Curry, Anne and Bell, Adrian R., eds., *Journal of Medieval Military History: Volume IX: Soldiers, Weapons and Armies in the Fifteenth Century*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011, 1-41.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Parliament of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: the Three Estates of Aquitaine (Guyenne)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52 (2008), 131-163.

Powell, E., 'The Restoration of Law and Order' in Harriss, G. L., ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1993.

Prestwich, Michael, *Edward I*, California: University of California Press, 1988.

Roskell, J. S., *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England, Volume 3*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 1981.

Ruddick, Andrea, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sumption, Jonathan, *Hundred Years War Volume 4: Cursed Kings*, London: Faber & Faber, 2015.

Tuck, R., 'Richard II and the Hundred Years War', in Taylor, J. and Childs, W. eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England*, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1990, 117-134.

Watts, John, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Vale, Malcom G.A., *The Ancient Enemy: England, France and Europe from the Angevins to the Tudors 1154-1558*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Angevin legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. *English Gascony, 1399-1453: a study of war, government and politics during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The War in Aquitaine' in Curry, Anne and Hughes, Michael, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999, 69-83.

Vaughn, Richard, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002.

