UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

600th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT CONFERENCE 2015

War on Land and Sea

Friday 31 July to Monday 3 August 2015

Conference Programme

AGINCOURT 600

Conference Programme contents

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Travel

Train
Visitors from London, the North, and air travellers should disembark at Southampton Airport Parkway station. Visitors from the South Coast, South East, and South West should alight at Southampton Central Station.

Getting to the campuses from Southampton Airport Parkway Station

From Southampton Airport Parkway Station, go to the bus stop on the airport side of the station, near the footbridge, and taxi or take U1 bus to the University's Highfield Interchange.

Getting to the campuses from Southampton Central Station

From Southampton Central Station, exit at platform four and take U1A bus to the University's Highfield Campus.

National Rail enquiries number – 08457 484950
National Rail website - www.nationalrail.co.uk

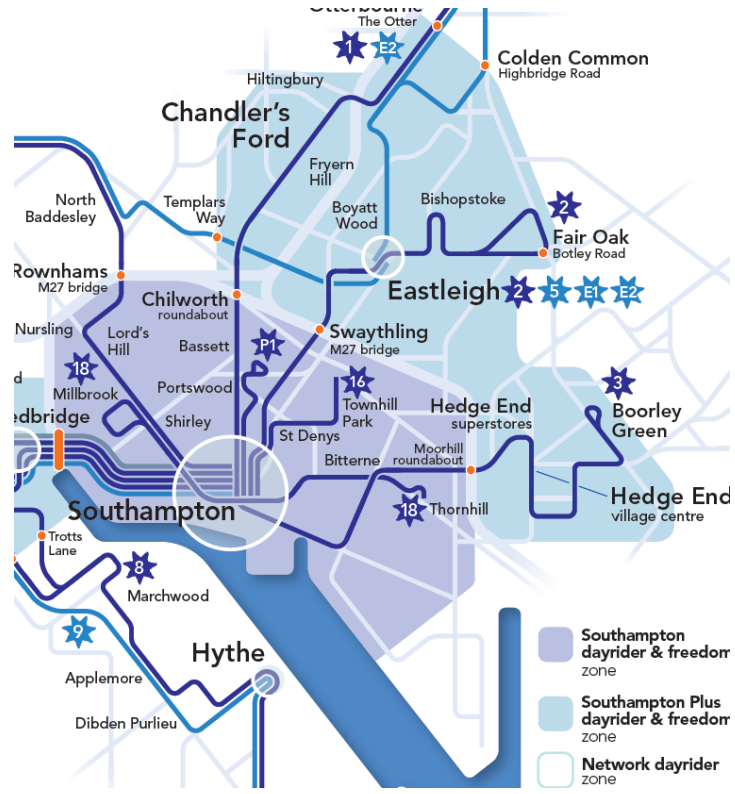
Coach
Visitors arriving at Highfield Campus by National Express, disembark at the Burgess Roadstop.

National Express enquiries number – 0871 781 8181
National Express website - www.nationalexpress.com

Bus
Please visit the Uni-link website for up to date information, times and routes:
Uni link contact number – 023 8059 5974
Uni link website - http://www.unilinkbus.co.uk/

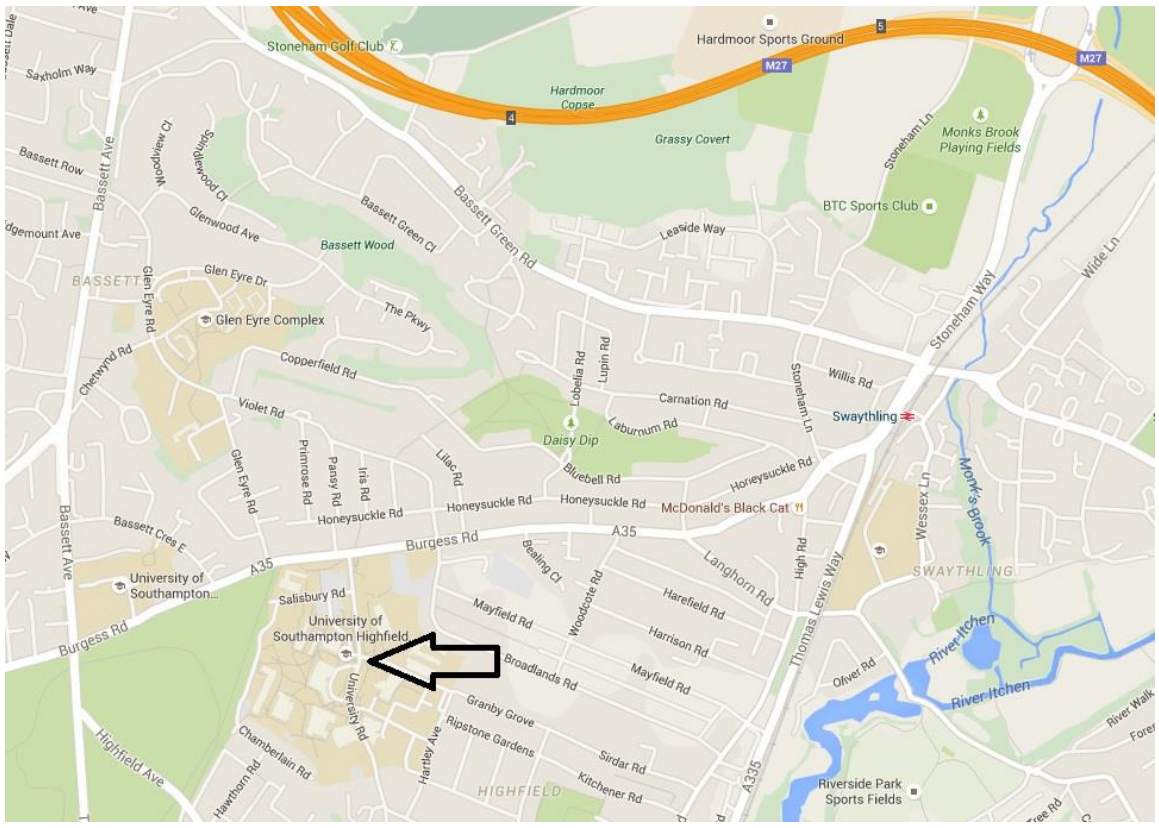
From Southampton Central Station take U1A bus to the University's Highfield Campus then take a U2 to Glen Eyre Halls.
From Southampton Airport Parkway take the U1C to the University's Highfield Campus then take a U2 to Glen Eyre Halls.

Each single journey will be £2 otherwise a day rider ticket for £3.50 which gives you unlimited travel on Unilink buses in the Southampton Freedom zone (indicated below) for the whole day. Tickets can be purchased from the bus driver.



Car
Southampton is 75 miles (120km) from London. The M3 and M27 provide fast, direct access to the city. Postcodes for satnav are SO17 1BJ for the Highfield Campus and SO16 3UF for Glen Eyre Halls.

From the M3 take exit at junction 14 (Southampton A33), continue down the Avenue and turn left at Burgess Road then take second left at Glen Eyre Road for Accommodation or take next right for the Highfield Campus. From the M27 exit at junction 5 (Southampton Airport) and take first exit if coming from east or fourth exit if coming from west then follow Stoneham Way and bear right at fourth set of lights, follow Burgess Road and turn left at The Stile public house for the Highfield Campus or take next right onto Glen Eyre Road for accommodation.



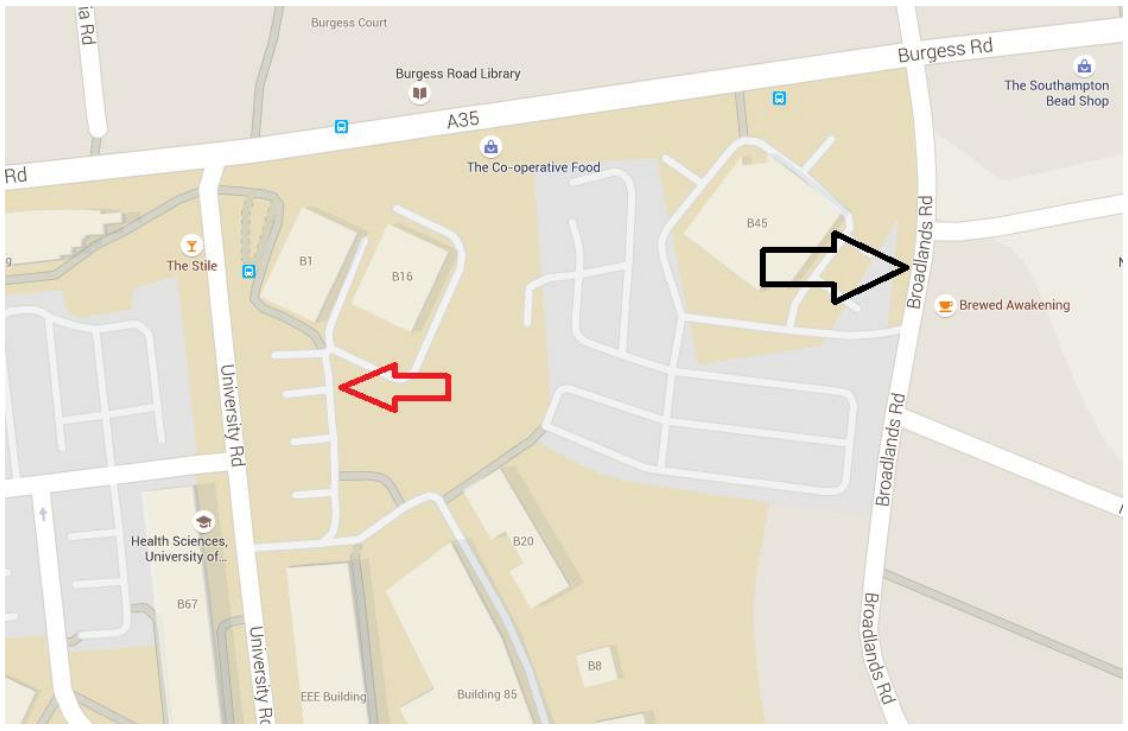
Taxi
A one way average car taxi journey from will cost approximately:

Southampton Central Station to Highfield Campus (approximately 7 minutes) – £8.00 to £9.00
Southampton Airport Parkway to Highfield Campus (approximately 9 minutes) – £7.00 to £8.00
Southampton Central Station to Glen Eyre Halls (approximately 8 minutes) – £9.00 to £10.00
Southampton Airport Parkway to Glen Eyre Halls (approximately 11 minutes) – £7.00 to £8.00
Highfield Campus to Glen Eyre Halls (approximately 3 min) – £4.00 to £5.00

Local taxi numbers:
Radio taxis – 023 8066 6666
West Quay taxis – 023 8099 9999
ATS – 023 8022 2222

Car Parking
We are pleased to be able to offer free car parking at Highfield Campus on Friday and Monday of the conference in the Hampton Car Park (map below, black arrow). Please note this parking **must be pre-booked** so please send your registration number to agincourt@southampton.ac.uk **before** Thursday 30 July to receive your printable Highfield parking permit. Please note there is a limited amount of spaces available and permits will be distributed on a first come first served basis. If you wish to park closer to the conference you may park in the pay and display car park at your own cost, this car park is in the vicinity of buildings 1 and 16 (red arrow). The parking charges are as follows:
Up to 1 hour £1
Up to 2 hours £2
Up to 3 hours £3
Up to 4 hours £4
Up to 5 hours £5
Up to 6 hours £6
Up to 7 hours £7
More than 7 hours £8

You may park anywhere on campus at the weekends and after 5pm.



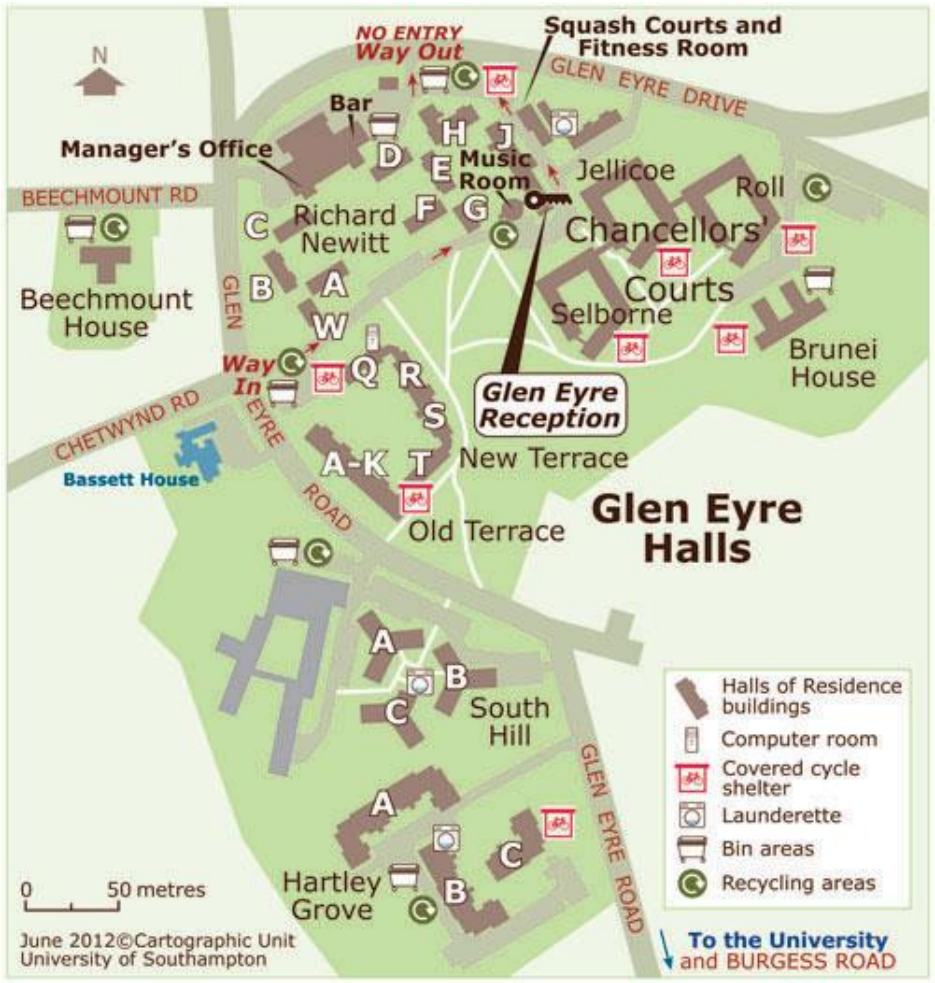
The postcode for Highfield Campus is SO17 1BJ. For residential attendees you will be able to park at Glen Eyre Halls but only if you have **pre-booked a parking space** so please send your registration number to agincourt@southampton.ac.uk before Thursday 30 July to receive your printable Glen Eyre parking permit. The postcode for Glen Eyre Halls is SO16 3UF.

Ferry
Take a uni-link bus U6H from the bus stop on Town Quay Road (by the Custom House clock) to the University's Highfield or Avenue Campus. The uni-link bus U1A also goes to Highfield Campus. Please note this is a request stop. Please allow at least 45 minutes' transfer time.

Airport

If you are flying into Southampton Airport you can take the U1C bus from Southampton Airport Parkway to the University's Highfield Campus then take a U2 to Glen Eyre Halls. Alternatively a taxi journey to Highfield Campus (approx 9 minutes) will be £7.00 to £8.00 or to Glen Eyre Hall (approx 11 minutes) – £7.00 to £8.00. If you are flying into London Heathrow Airport which is just over 60 miles from Southampton. You can catch a National Express coach direct to Southampton from the central bus station, located close to Terminals 1, 2 and 3. Some coaches stop at the University's Highfield Interchange, others go direct to Southampton Coach Station. You can also travel by train from Heathrow to Paddington in Central London. From London, you can take a train to Southampton. If you are flying into London Gatwick Airport which is nearly 90 miles from Southampton you can catch a National Express coach direct to Southampton Coach Station. You can also catch a direct train from Gatwick Airport to Southampton Central.

Accommodation



Glen Eyre Halls contact number – 023 8059 5975

Checking in

You will be able to collect your keys upon arrival from Glen Eyre Reception, check-in is from 9am. The room are en-suite with a hand towel, bath towel and complimentary toiletries provided in each room plus tea and coffee making facilities are provided in each kitchen. **Please note check-out is before 9am**.

Glen Eyre Halls is situated in landscaped gardens. There is regular unilink bus service (U2) from the Highfield interchange and it is only a five to ten minute walk to the Highfield Campus.

To get to Glen Eyre Halls from the Highfield Campus, please see the map below. The red arrow indicates Glen Eyre Halls and the black arrow indicated where the conference is taking place. To walk will take approximately 10 minutes and to drive will take no more than 5 minutes. Go to the end of University Road, turn left and go past the shops and banks then turn right at the petrol station. Go up Glen Eyre Road follow the road round to the left, first exit on the roundabout and Glen Eyre is on the bend on the right.

If you have any issues what so ever with your rooms please contact Glen Eyre Reception directly and they can assist with your issue. There is 24 hours assistance in Glen Eyre Reception.

Wifi

Eduroam is available in halls of residence otherwise you can purchase a temporary University login for £1.50. If you have already booked this wifi optional extra you will be given your login and password when you register for the conference, if you have not booked the optional extra we will have logins available to purchase on arrival.

Maps

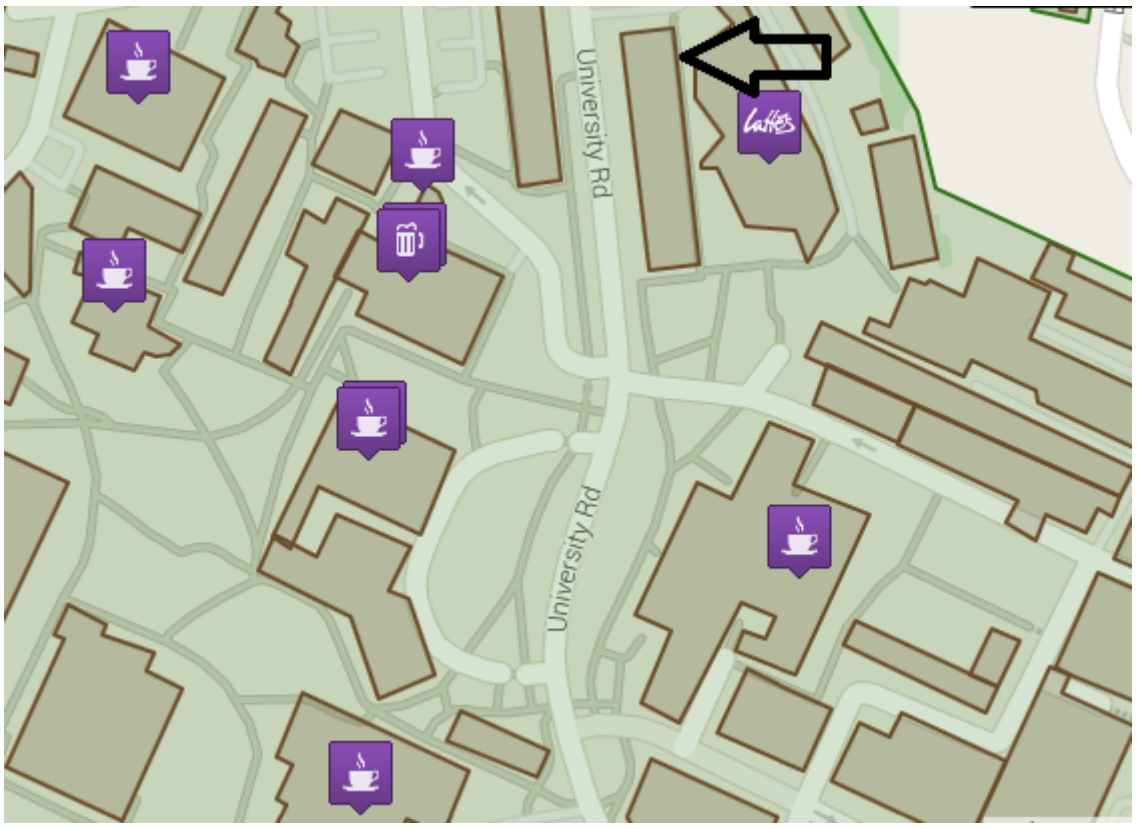
Highfield Campus

Above you will find a map of the Highfield Campus, the blue arrow indicated where the Conference is taking place (building 67). For residential guests the red arrow indicates where dinner is served (building 40) and the orange arrow indicates where breakfast is served (Piazza, building 42).

Facilities on Campus

	Location	Friday and Monday opening
Library Cafe	Hartley Library	09:00 – 15:00
Cafe 85	Life Sciences	08:00 – 14:30
Terrace Restaurant	Staff Social Centre	08:00 – 14:00
Arlott Restaurant and Starbucks	Staff Social Centre	08:00 – 18:00
Blue Room (Fine Dining)	Staff Social Centre	12:00 – 14:00
Staff Club Lattes	Staff Social Centre	08:00 – 15:00
Cafe 38	Staff Social Centre	12:00 – 14:00

Unfortunately there are no facilities open on campus at the weekend. The black arrow below indicates building 67 where the conference is based.



Useful Information and numbers

Contact number for organisers – Marie Cross on 023 8059 8823 and Tracy Storey on 023 8059 4861

Glen Eyre Halls contact number – 023 8059 5975

University emergency number – 023 8059 3311

University switchboard number – 023 8059 5000

Uni-link contact number – 023 8059 5974
Uni-link website - http://www.unilinkbus.co.uk/

Local taxi numbers
Radio taxis – 023 8066 6666
West Quay taxis – 023 8099 9999
ATS – 023 8022 2222

National Express enquiries number – 0871 781 8181
National Express website - www.nationalexpress.com

National Rail enquiries number – 08457 484950
National Rail website - www.nationalrail.co.uk

For attendees of the conference dinner, raffle tickets will be sold for the honour of firing the cannon at Fort Nelson (two firings to be won). Tickets can be bought for £1 each from the Conference Organisers (Marie and Tracy) before 16:30 on Sunday with all profits going to the University's Cancer Immunology fundraising campaign.

Please note we are planning to video record the majority of the sessions and there will be a photographer taking photographs throughout the conference if you do not wish to be photographed please inform Marie Cross or Tracy Storey at registration.

Non Resident information

For our non-residential attendees, we have arranged for free parking on campus however this must be booked in advance so please send your registration number to agincourt@southampton.ac.uk **before Thursday 30 July** to receive your printable Highfield parking permit. You will only need a permit if you are attending on Friday or Monday, all other times you are free to park anywhere on campus.

Sunday Excursions

Portsmouth Historic Dockyard - The coach will be leaving campus at 08:00 and arriving at the Portsmouth Historic Dockyard (PO1 3LJ) at approximately 08:30 so please meet us at the main entrance, Victory gate at 8:30. There is an NCP car park which is 400 yards from the main entrance and also an alternative car parks locally which are signposted from Queen's Street or at Gunwharf Quays, which is within five minutes walk of the Dockyard. We plan to leave at 11:00 and go to Portchester Castle.

Portchester Castle – The coach plans to arrive at Portchester Castle (PO16 9QW) at 11:30 so please meet us by the main entrance. There is free parking less than 200 yards from the entrance. We plan to leave at 12:30 and go to Titchfield Barn and Abbey.

Titchfield Barn and Abbey – The coach plans to arrive at Titchfield Barn and Abbey (PO15 5RB) at 13:00. The Barn is located on Mill Lane approximately 250 metres north the Titchfield Mill and 50 metres south of The Abbey Garden Centre. The Barn is clearly signed and the frontage can be seen from the road, drive up the long driveway the barn is situated at the top of the driveway, there is parking available in front of the Barn. We will be spending a couple of hours at this location and plan to go to Fort Nelson at 16:30. Don't forget to purchase your raffle tickets from Marie or Tracy before we leave the Barn to be in with a chance to fire the cannon at Fort Nelson!!

Fort Nelson – The coach plans to arrive at Fort Nelson (PO17 6AN) at 17:00. This is the venue for our conference dinner. We will first be having a tour and the two lucky winners of the prize draw will be firing the cannon, we will then have the drinks reception in the main exhibition hall followed by dinner in the 'Point of the Redan' room which was originally the officer's billiard room. The day will end with an after dinner speech from Professor Anne Curry. We plan to depart at 21:00 to head back to Southampton.

What's on in Southampton

Fort Nelson - https://www.royalarmouries.org/visit-us/fort-nelson
Admission is free and opening hours are 10am-5pm (last admission 4pm)
Imposing Victorian form which is the home to the Royal Armouries national collection of artillery - The Big Guns.

Portsmouth Historic Dockyard - http://www.historicdockyard.co.uk/
Admission price for all attraction is £32.00 however single attraction tickets are available from £9 to £18. Opening hours are 10am-5:30pm
Situated within a working Naval Base, Portsmouth Historic Dockyard is home to a collection of fantastic attractions, there's so much to see and do. Portsmouth Historic Dockyard is the only place in the world to see the Royal Navy past, present and future and is a must see for anyone visiting the south of England.

Road to Agincourt - https://www.theberrytheatre.co.uk/whats-on/summer-15/across-the-dark-water/
30th July 7.30pm, 31st July 3pm & 7.30pm & 1st August 2pm, 5pm & 7.30pm at - St Julien's Chapel, Southampton, SO14 2AR. Ticket price is £10
Maybe there's treason in us all. 1415. The armies of England muster in Southampton, preparing to launch Henry V's invasion of France. But Scrope of Masham has discovered a dark plot that threatens to unseat Henry and change the course of history. Scrope, loyal to his king, intends to reveal all, but as he uncovers more, at Itchen Ferry, he is pulled across the dark water. Pulled so far he may not come back alive. Across the Dark Water has been specially commissioned to tell the story of the Southampton Plot. Each of the venues has been specifically chosen for its significance during Henry's journey to battle through our region. Audiences will follow in the plotters' footsteps, 600 years later to the very day. This performance forms part of the Road to Agincourt project. This performance forms part of the Road to Agincourt project.

SeaCity Museum - http://seacitymuseum.co.uk/
Admission price is £10.50. Opening hours are 10am-5pm (last admission 4pm)
Based at the heart of Southampton, SeaCity Museum tells the story of the people of the city, their fascinating lives and historic connections with Titanic and the sea. Visit SeaCity Museum and Southampton to discover how we bring maritime history to life through an interactive experience designed for all ages.

Southampton City Art Gallery - http://www.southampton.gov.uk/libraries-museums/art-gallery/
Admission is free. Opening hours are 10am-3pm weekdays and 10am-5pm on Saturday (closed on Sunday)
Southampton City Art Gallery offers the opportunity to enjoy high quality exhibitions ranging from painting, sculpture and drawing, to photography and film, as well as permanent collection and displays that change regularly to ensuring new experiences with each visit. Southampton City Art Gallery is internationally renowned for its permanent collection which features

around 3,700 works. These span eight centuries and tell the story of western art from the Renaissance to the present day. The core of the collection is twentieth century and contemporary British art. Strong clusters within this include Post-Impressionism (notably the Camden Town Group), Surrealism, St Ives and progressive contemporary art from the mid-1970s.

Tudor House and Garden - http://www.tudorhouseandgarden.com/
Admission price is £4.75 and opening hours are 10am-3pm week days (last admission 2:30pm) and 10am – 5pm weekends (last admission 4:30pm
Southampton's most important historic building, Tudor House reveals over 800 years of history in one fascinating location at the heart of the Old Town. The timber-framed building facing St Michael's Square was built in the late 15th Century, with King John's Palace, an adjacent Norman house accessible from Tudor House Garden, dating back a further 300 years.

Thursday 30 July

15:00 onwards	**Early Arrival Registration for Accommodation** Please collect your keys from Glen Eyre Reception	*Glen Eyre Halls*

Friday 31 July

08:00 – 08:30	**Breakfast for Early Arrival Residents** Breakfast includes a full English and continental breakfast with cereal, fresh fruit and assorted pastries.	*Building 42/Piazza*
09:00	**Arrival Registration for Accommodation** Please collect your keys from Glen Eyre Reception	
12:00 – 13:30	**Registration** Refreshments are available to purchase from various outlets within the University of Southampton such at the Staff Social Centre (building 38) and the Students' Union Shop (building 57).	*Building 67/Reception Area*
13:30 – 15:20	**Session 1a – Preparing for War** Dr Ilana Krug – The Costs of Feeding Mars: Edward I and Purveyance Dr Malcolm Mercer – Henry V and the Tower of London Keith Dowen – Armour in the age of Agincourt c.1390-1430	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 1b - Soldiers Sam Gibbs – Who Were They? English Archers: A regional comparison of socio-economic status and service obligations of English archers 1350-1417 David Cleverly – A Comparison of the 1415 and 1417 Expeditionary Forces Quentin Verreycken – The Shaping of a Military Identity in the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian State: Pardons Granted to Soldiers by the Dukes of Burgundy (1386-1477)	*Building 67/Room 1007*
15:20 – 15:50	**Refreshments** Luxury refreshments – Fair Trade tea, coffee, mineral water, orange juice, fruit/herbal tea bags with hot water. Fresh fruit basket and assorted cake selection	*Building 67/E1001*
15:50 – 17:40	**Session 2a - Weapons** Dr Thom Richardson – Weapons in the age of Agincourt Kay Douglas Smith – Technological innovation and the development of artillery in the late 15th century Dan Spencer – Henry V and English artillery: a gunpower revolution?	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 2b – Organisation and Execution Dr Jenny Stratford – Financing the war. Jewels and plate pledged for the Agincourt expedition Dr Sean Cunningham – Institutional memory and the planning of war: the crown's archive as a resource for military strategy in the Yorkist and early Tudor periods Ekaitz Etxeberria Gallastegi – The Smail-Gillingham paradigm revisited in a civil war context: the battle of Toro (1476)	*Building 67/Room 1007*
17:40 – 18:15	**Session 3a** Martin Knight – A presentation of some of the European Arms, focussing on swords, in use during the period of the Hundred Years War	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 3b Julian Humphreys – A presentation on the Battlefield Trust	*Building 67/Room 1007*
18:30 – 19:45	**3 course dinner with house wine** Roast Fig with Crispy Pancetta, Baby Mozzarella and Red Chard (v) Oven Roasted Breast of Chicken with Lemon and Thyme Goujons of Sole with Lime, Chilli and Watercress Mayonnaise Stuffed Tomato with Apricot and Feta Cous Cous (v) Selection of Vegetables and Potatoes Summer Pudding with Clotted Cream	*Building 40/Garden Court (restaurant end)*

20:00 – 21:00	**Evening Plenary** Dr Andrew Ayton – The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England	*Building 67/Room 1027 (Main Lecture Theatre)*

Saturday 1 August

08:00 – 08:30	**Breakfast for residents** Breakfast includes a full English and continental breakfast with cereal, fresh fruit and assorted pastries.	*Building 42/Piazza*
09:00 – 10:45	**Session 4a – Maritime Aspects** Chris Ford – The Politics of 'Piracy', 1399-1422: A database approach Susan Rose – *What in mynde he mente?* (*Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*) A re-examination of the naval policy of Henry V Dr Craig Lambert – D Day 1415: Maritime Logistics and Naval Operations	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 4b – Gascony Dr Simon Harris – Retinue Fragmentation within the English Army during the War of Saint-Sardos, 1324-6 Dr Philip Morgan – Going to war'. Letter of attorney Dr Guilhem Pépin – The forms of war in Aquitaine-Gascony between 1400 and 1442	*Building 67/Room 1007*
10:45 – 11:10	**Refreshments** Luxury refreshments – Fair Trade tea, coffee, mineral water, orange juice, fruit/herbal tea bags with hot water. Fresh fruit basket and assorted cake selection	*Building 67/ E1001*
11:10 – 13:00	**Session 5a – War in 1415** Dr Jan Willem Honig – Reappraising Late Medieval Strategy: The Example of the Agincourt Campaign Dr Matthew Bennett – Battle of Agincourt João Gouveia Monteiro – Another 1415: Portugal's Military Landscape	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 5b – The cost and impact of war Dr Iain MacInnes – The Return of the Scots: The impact of Scottish raiding of North England in the 1330s and 1340s Trevor Russell Smith – Devastation, Chivalric Rhetoric, and Ethics of War in the *Lancercost Chronicle*, 1327-46 Guillaume Sarrat de Tramezaigues – How the English Lost the Hundred Years War (1429-1453): Some economic considerations	*Building 67/Room 1007*
13:00 – 14:00	**2 course lunch for conference delegates**	*Building 40/Garden Court (restaurant end)*
14:00 – 15:20	**Public Session** Part 1 Professor Jon Adams – Henry V's Great ship Grace Dieu. Recent research and new discoveries Peter Hoskins – Road to Agincourt Martin Knight - A presentation of some of the European Arms, focussing on swords, in use during the period of the Hundred Years War Please note this session is optional for conference delegates. Alternatively a visit to Southampton's Historical sites has been arranged or you could attend the Road to Agincourt play (further information and ticket prices in the *What's on in Southampton* section of this brochure and in your delegate pack).	*Building 67/Room 1003*
15:20 – 15:40	**Refreshments** Luxury refreshments – Fair Trade tea, coffee, mineral water, orange juice, fruit/herbal tea bags with hot water. Fresh fruit basket and assorted cake selection	*Building 67/ E1001*
15:40 – 17:00	**Public Session** Part 2 Mark Hinsley – Playing for high stakes – the humble archer's stake and the battle of Agincourt Sean McGlynn – Kings, Chivalry and Slaughter: Henry V and the Agincourt Massacre in its Medieval Context Dr Mike Jones – The battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424) – a second Agincourt?	*Building 67/Room 1003*

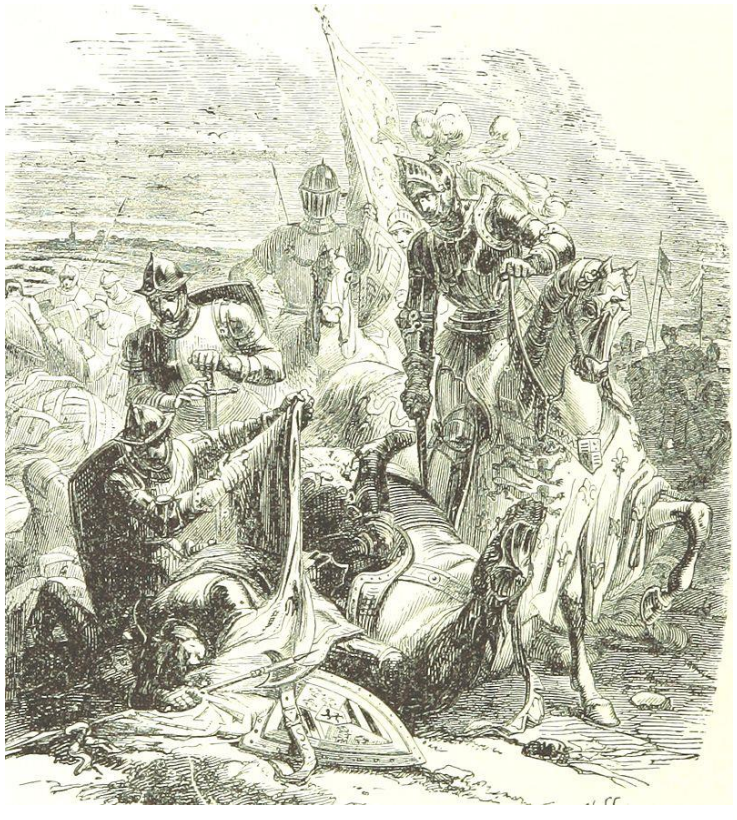
17:00 – 18:00	**Public Session - Afternoon Plenary** Dr Ian Mortimer – The Meaning of War	*Building 67/Room 1027 (Main Lecture Theatre)*
18:30 – 19:45	**3 course dinner with house wine for conference delegates** Provençal Vegetable Tart with Blue Cheese, tossed Rocket Leaves (v) Breast of Guinea Fowl, Grape, Almond and Red Wine Butter Poached Cod Stuffed with Spinach and Mushrooms, Chive Beurre Blanc Vegetarian Pasta Bolognaise (v) Selection of vegetables and potatoes Cointreau Mandarin Delice	*Building 40/Garden Court (restaurant end)*
20:00 – 21:00	**Evening Plenary** Dr Alexzandra Hildred – Mary Rose: The Final Battle	*Building 67/Room 1027 (Main Lecture Theatre)*

Sunday 2 August

08:00	**Coach to collect non-residential delegates from Avenue Campus**	*Avenue Campus*
08:05	**Coach collect residential delegates for excursion from Glen Eyre Halls Reception**	*Glen Eyre Halls Reception*
08:30 – 11:00	**Mary Rose Museum visit** Includes breakfast and a tour	*Portsmouth Historic Dockyard*
11:30 – 12:30	**Portchester Castle visit**	
13:00 – 15:05	**Titchfield Abbey and Barn visit** Includes hog roast lunch, talk by Kevin Fraser on the Titchfield Barn Project and a Tour of Titchfield Abbey by John Hare	
15:05 – 16:15	**Afternoon Plenary** Professor Bertrand Schnerb – The Kingdom of France in 1415, between Peace and War	*Titchfield Barn*
16:30	**Depart for Fort Nelson**	
17:00 – 18:00	**Fort Nelson visit and tour** Includes firing of the cannon. Raffle tickets will be sold for the honour of firing the cannon (two firings to be won). Tickets can be bought for £1 from Marie or Tracy before 16:30 on Sunday with all profits going to the University's Cancer Immunology fundraising campaign.	*Fort Nelson*
18:00 – 18:45	**Conference Drinks Reception**	*Fort Nelson*
18:45 - 21:00	**3 course Conference dinner** Summer salad of asparagus, fine beans, sugar snaps, marinated artichoke & goat's cheese dressing (v) A selection of breads including olive & herb, granary cob, sundried tomato, white bloomer & cheese & onion Breast of chicken with Loosehanger Oak Smoked cheese, wrapped in leek, white wine sauce, tender stem broccoli & baked sliced potato Roasted aubergine tournado with garlic oil, glazed with Roquefort, served with ratatouille, double thick sauté potato & asparagus (v) Pavlova, lime curd & tropical fruits After dinner speech – Professor Anne Curry	*Fort Nelson*
21:00	**Coach depart to return delegates to Glen Eyre Hall**	

Monday 3 August

Before 9am	**Check-out** Please ensure you check out and return your keys to Glen Eyre Reception before going to Highfield as you must be checked out before 9am	*Glen Eyre Halls*
08:00 – 08:30	**Breakfast for residents** Breakfast includes a full English and continental breakfast with cereal, fresh fruit and assorted pastries.	*Building 42/Piazza*
09:00 – 10:45	**Session 6a - Conduct** Dr Gary Baker – To Agincourt and Beyond! The Martial Affinity of Edward, Duke of York Dr Rémy Ambühl – Henry V and the administration of justice at the surrender of Meaux, 1422 Professor Virginia Davis – The spiritual welfare of the English royal army during the campaigns of Henry V	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 6b – Late 15th Century Warfare Peter Masters – The Decisive Battle - 1487 Kate Bicknell – Battlefield Ballads; The Stanleys in verse Dr Adam Chapman – The posthumous knighting of Dafydd Gam, esquire	*Building 67/Room 1007*
10:45 – 11:10	**Refreshments** Luxury refreshments – Fair Trade tea, coffee, mineral water, orange juice, fruit/herbal tea bags with hot water. Fresh fruit basket and assorted cake selection	*Building 67/ E1001*
11:10 – 13:00	**Session 7a – Society and warfare** Matt Raven – The Obligation of War for Edward III and his Earls Professor Michael Hicks – The Costs of the Hundred Years War to the English Nobility in the Fifteenth Century Dr Irina Metzler – Disabled soldiers – battlefield causes and social consequences of wounding	*Building 67/Room 1003*
	Session 7b – Honour and action Dr Andy King – 'Then a great misfortune befell them': The Treatment of the Vanquished on the Battlefield, c.1300-c.1450 Peter Hoskins - The Black Prince in France 1355/6 and the Battle of Poitiers: Brigand or Strategist Dr Aleksandr Lobanov – In the Far East of Lancastrian France: English garrisons in Bassigny	*Building 67/Room 1007*
13:00	**Conference close** Refreshments are available to purchase from various outlets within the University of Southampton such at the Staff Social Centre (building 38) and the Students' Union Shop (building 57).	



Abstracts and Speaker information

Below you will find a list of all our speakers and their abstracts (alphabetical by surname).

Professor Jon Adams University of Southampton *Saturday Afternoon*	**Henry V's Great ship Grace Dieu. Recent research and new discoveries** One the greatest ships of the medieval world was built in Southampton for Henry V between 1416 and 1418. No English ship ever built up to that time was as large and none exceeded it in size for another two hundred years. Extraordinary measures as well as vast resources were needed to build a vessel this large, particularly with the shipbuilding technology of the time. But although the medieval shipwrights created a ship of unparalleled size and undoubted ingenuity, they had also reached a technological dead end. Current research has been directed on the one hand towards solving the puzzle of how medieval shipwrights did what they did, and on the other to better understanding the political and ideological context within which such an extraordinary enterprise was achieved.
Dr Rémy Ambül University of Southampton *Session 6a*	**Henry V and the administration of justice at the surrender of Meaux, 1422** The Treaty of Troyes laid the foundations of a new regime in France, 1420. The king of England was to become king of France after the death of his adoptive father Charles VI. He acted as a regent in the meantime and had for duty to subdue the rebels. The city and market of Meaux opposed a strong resistance to Henry V, in 1421/1422; it turned out to be the longest that the English king met on French territory. It was followed up by a harsh repression against the besieged. A recent contribution on the siege of Meaux presents Henry as both cruel and unjust in his retribution, further tarnishing the portrait of this controversial king. In this paper, I would like to scrutinise and replace this case-study within the broader normative framework of the time, engaging with the notions of honour, rebellion and crime, and devoting particular attention to four individuals for whom Henry preferred 'rigour of justice' rather than mercy.
Dr Andrew Ayton University of Hull *Friday Evening*	**The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England** The three decades from c. 1420 to c. 1450, when a large garrison establishment was maintained by the crown on a permanent footing in Lancastrian France, was a defining period for the late medieval English professional soldier. Long-term service by military careerists within a single institutional context can properly be considered 'professional' in the modern sense; and the large number of militarily-active Englishmen employed on these terms is indicative of how far the professional soldier had become emblematic of England's military community at this time. In examining the identity and role of the careerist soldier during the century that preceded the battle of Agincourt, this paper seeks to illuminate the evolution of England's military communities and war-making institutions during a period of widespread, interrelated conflict and profound socio-economic change, while also bringing clarity to the foundation of experience and circumstance upon which the distinctive martial structures and culture of Lancastrian France were built. Characterising the military careerist is less straightforward for a period that lacked defining institutional structures, when employment opportunities might arise in every corner of Christendom, and when naval operations were as important as those on land. But despite problems of definition, the increasing importance of the careerist soldier during the fourteenth century, especially its second half, can hardly be doubted. This paper will argue that the key to understanding the growing significance of military careerists and, indeed, the diverse identities of these 'proto-professionals' lies in appreciating how the dynamics of recruitment were affected by several influential agencies of change, involving the structure of English armies, the Europe-wide demand for manpower, socio-economic conditions after the Black Death, and the shifting focus of the English war effort.
Dr Gary Baker University of Southampton *Session 6a*	**To Agincourt and Beyond! The Martial Affinity of Edward, Duke of York** The completion in 2009 of the *Soldier in Later Medieval Project* has made available the names of the thousands of men who fought for Henry V in 1415 more accessible than ever before. Bland lists of names, however, tell us little about individual retinues – the building blocks of English armies – their internal dynamics, and how they operated in the field. To date there have been few attempts to investigate who these the 'rank-and-file' soldiers actually were and what connections they had to the retinue captain under whose banner they fought. This paper seeks to make the first attempts to remedy this deficiency by examining the retinue personnel of Edward, Duke of York. As one of the army's senior commanders York's contingent was one the largest and most important in the field. More importantly, York himself 'earned' the dubious distinction of being the most senior figure in the English army killed during the fighting. As a consequence we are also able to examine an under researched topic: how did the duke's death effect posthumous dispersal of his retinue? With no surviving heir, and with no immediate prospect of his nephew inheriting the title given his father's part in the Southampton plot, there was no obvious captain for these men to serve. Of those who survived Agincourt how many joined another retinue *en-masse* when Henry V returned to France with his army of conquest in 1417? Did the sub-retinue groups that had formed York's retinue continue to serve together or did individuals strike out on their own? How many men, if any, remained loyal to the duke's family, finding their way in later life into the affinity of Richard Plantagenet, the next duke of York, himself killed in battle at Wakefield in 1460, and the father of Edward IV and Richard III? This paper will seek to answer these questions.
Dr Matthew Bennett Royal Military Academy Sandhurst *Session 5a*	**Battle of Agincourt** The paper will explore why the battle took place, where it was fought, and discuss changing views as to the numbers engaged, the tactics and the implications for how it was fought and the resulting outcomes.
Kate Bicknell University of Southampton *Session 6b*	**Battlefield Ballads; The Stanleys in Verse** The Stanley family of Lathom and Knowsley became Earls of Derby after the battle of Bosworth, at which they potentially played a pivotal role in the overthrow of Richard III. In the century following this a number of poems were written with a particular emphasis on the deeds of the Stanley family. Likewise they were an important part in the battle of Flodden, which has also been immortalised in verse. In this paper the poems themselves will be viewed and assessed as to whether they are a valuable source for both the study of the Stanley family and to military historians of the Wars of the Roses and later battles. These poems provide a unique insight into both how the battles were reported and how the authors of these poems wished for the Stanleys to be seen. The poem Sir John Butler, not related to the battles but rather directly to the Stanleys, shows the political infighting and lawlessness which could occur during the fourteenth century. It recounts an incident in which apparently the Stanleys murdered another Cheshire gentleman, Sir John Butler. This has little evidence in historical fact however it is an interesting means of tarnishing the reputation of the Stanley family. While reviewing these poems a comparative element will be added using poems surrounding the Agincourt campaign and the fourteenth century. These can provide a good dating backstop and show patterns which were followed in the later poems regarding Bosworth and the Stanleys. Dating the poems themselves is a difficult task as some historians suggest they are contemporary, whilst other posit that they are early modern, possibly sixteenth century. Some linguistic assessment is necessary and the result of such an assessment can change the usefulness of these poems as sources. Either they are useful contemporary sources or they are later sources whose usefulness resides primarily in showing the public view of the Stanleys

	in later England.
Dr Adam Chapman VCH, Institute of Historical Research *Session 6b*	**The posthumous knighting of Dafydd Gam, esquire** Dafydd, or Davy Gam is known primarily as one of the victims of the battle of Agincourt. His name is recorded in several contemporary chronicles notably that of his fellow Welshman, Adam Usk, and in these sources he was consistently called an 'esquire'. 'Tradition', however, dubbed him a knight and even today, he is often called 'Sir Dafydd Gam' as well as being reckoned the inspiration for Fluellen in Shakespeare's play, despite the fact that Shakespeare names Gam among the dead and that even the playwright called him 'Davy Gam, esquire'. Gam's dubbing as a knight first appears in English in Sir Walter Raleigh's 'History of the World (1617) and his story came to be elaborated later: the knighthood was said to be granted posthumously or on the field of battle itself, claims that cannot be substantiated in contemporary sources. It might be deemed wholly ahistorical, but, as this paper will demonstrate, the origins of this particular element of tradition can be found in praise to Gam's daughter, in Welsh, in the middle years of the fifteenth century.
David Cleverly University of Portsmouth *Session 1b*	**A Comparison of the 1415 and 1417 Expeditionary Forces** The 1415 Agincourt Campaign was the last significant English campaign based upon raiding Northern France, seeking battle and then leaving, or *chevauchees*. The 1417 expedition marked a change in strategy to one of conquest and retention of territory, or *pays de conquete*. This paper compares these two campaigns, examining the impact of the change of strategy on the composition of the respective forces. It does this primarily through the analysis of the AHRC-funded 'Soldier in Later Medieval England' database using bespoke queries to reveal new information. It addresses, and disproves, the argument by Powicke that only 17.5% of the commanders in the 1417 campaign served in 1415 and that therefore experience was an issue. Analysis of participants in campaigns prior to 1415 demonstrates that a minimum of 43% of the commanders in the 1417 expedition had previous experience of warfare, over three times that suggested by Powicke. A detailed examination is made of the Cheshire Archers who served in both 1415 and 1417 campaigns. Data from a variety of sources was used and confirmed that no one source is completely reliable. This analysis found that clusters of the same names appear on the Muster Rolls of 1415 and again in 1417. This demonstrates some limited evidence of social groupings serving together across campaigns. It also illustrates the way the position of data on the Muster Rolls can be used to derive further historical information. The paper also establishes evidence of more family groups serving in the 1417 expedition. This is an expected outcome given the likelihood of longer, possibly indefinite, service abroad in this campaign. The paper demonstrate practical methods to analyse the data in the medieval soldier database, and outlines the lessons learnt and further opportunities for future research in this area.
Dr Sean Cunningham The National Archives *Session 2b*	**Institutional memory and the planning of war: the crown's archive as a resource for military strategy in the Yorkist and early Tudor periods.** Later medieval monarchs looked back on the military achievements of Edward III, the Black Prince and, above all, Henry V as a source of inspiration in their quest for fame and military glory. Henry VIII's analysis of Henry V's victories has been investigated by Cliff Davies, who showed how in 1513 Thomas Wriothesley was charged to add credibility to the plans for the English invasion of France by incorporating elements of the exploits of Henry V in the rhetoric that supported the build up to the campaign.[1] Reflections on the high-points of English military achievement went beyond propaganda and the stirring of popular opinion. By the third quarter of the fifteenth century the English were beginning to forget how to organise very large scale and sustained military campaigns. There was only a gap of a generation between the final loss of French lands in the 1450s and Edward IV"s spectacularly uneventful attempt to recover some of them in 1475. Yet the crown's institutional or corporate knowledge of how success in war could be embedded into the planning of campaigns against the French and Scots had become disengaged or lost. This paper will survey how the records of the Exchequer and Chancery were trawled by late-medieval administrators for evidence of the organisation of recruitment, logistics, supply and wages. It will investigate how the Yorkists and Tudors in 1475 and 1492 attempted to regain command of all elements of the practical campaign planning that their Plantagenet predecessors had mastered so well. Was there a blueprint for success or had expertise emerged only through constant need and practice between the 1360s and 1440s? What were the Yorkists and Tudors looking for and what did they find within the archives? 1. C.S.L. Davies, 'Henry VIII and Henry V: the wars in France' in J.L. Watts (ed.), The End of the Middle Ages? (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 235–62.
Professor Virginia Davis Queen Mary University of London *Session 6a*	**The spiritual welfare of the English royal army during the campaigns of Henry V** Religion was important to both the participants in and organisers of military campaigns during the Hundred Years War. Successive governments worked with the ecclesiastical hierarchy to ensure that forthcoming campaigns were supported by prayers, sermons and processions. Chroniclers' accounts of medieval battles describe how, on the eve of battle, participants were extorted to make their confessions and prepare themselves spiritually for the battle to come, most iconically on the eve of Agincourt. Yet little has been written about practical arrangements made for the pastoral care and spiritual welfare of the men in the English army during the campaigns of Henry V. Who were 'all the priests of his army' referred to by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*? How were they recruited? What was their role? Who officiated at battlefield masses and how were they organised? How were the logistical challenges of large number of people seeking to confess themselves in a short time-frame dealt with? Did different groups of men-at-arms and archers serving in the retinues of individual noblemen have access to their lord's chaplain? What was the role of the clergy while the battle raged? Was there a body of professional medieval military chaplains or were they *ad hoc* participants attached to individual lords' retinues and part of the general body of non-combatants who accompanied the fighting army? These are the themes which will be focussed upon in this paper. The arrangements made specifically for Agincourt will be discussed in detail as will the role that the churchmen present played during this campaign but the paper will also explore more widely the arrangements made for the spiritual support of English armies during the Hundred Years War.
Keith Dowen Royal Armouries *Session 1a*	**Armour in the age of Agincourt c.1390-1430** The first decades of the fifteenth century witnessed significant changes in the appearance of armour in north-west Europe. Though few examples of armour of the period survive, artistic depictions in manuscripts and funerary monuments reveal the development of new styles of helmets and body armour worn by high-status individuals. Research into unpublished manuscript evidence has not only shed clearer light on the transition from early plate armour of the fourteenth century to the 'alwyte' armour of the fifteenth, it has also allowed us to investigate the armour worn by the common soldier.
Ekaitz Etxeberria Gallastegi University of Basque Country	**The Smail-Gillingham paradigm revisited in a civil war context: the battle of Toro (1476)** This paper will reevaluate the strategy of seeking battle in the context of civil war. It will challenge the so-called "Smail-Gillingham paradigm", which maintains that medieval commanders followed Vegetius' principle of refusing to engage in pitched battles unless they either had no choice or were extremely confident about their odds. This paradigm has already

Session 2b	been questioned by several historians who have emphasized the pitched battle's strategic value and its potential to be decisive. The strategic value of pitched battles is multiplied in civil war, a kind of conflict which can only be settled by an opponent's total defeat. The importance of strongholds and sieges is consequently reduced. Time was an essential factor too: each faction's political and military support was highly volatile, which encouraged them to look for quick resolutions before their supporters changed sides. The Castilian Succession War (1474-1479) began after Enrique IV's contested succession. Fernando of Aragon and Alfonso V of Portugal fought for their wives' rights to the throne, and each of them enjoyed the support of part of the Castilian nobility as well. This paper will analyse the battle of Toro (1476) and discuss both kings' actions from the beginning of Alfonso's involvement in the conflict. The study of literary texts and other kinds of sources, such as the kings' private letters, can help determine whether either commander wanted to engage in a pitched battle and whether they could have avoided it. It can be concluded that the military strategy of a civil war do not always sustain the "Smail-Gillingham paradigm". However, this need not necessarily imply that "Vegetian strategy" was completely disregarded, for its general applicability was much broader than some modern historians have claimed..
Christopher Ford Independent Researcher *Session 4a*	**The Politics of 'Piracy', 1399-1422: A database approach** For England, much of the period in question was one neither of war nor of peace; a long-term truce with France had all but failed by 1403 and had been replaced with undeclared hostilities between the two nations. Separate truces, with Flanders, with Castile, with Brittany, even with France, came and went, some more successful and longer-lasting than others as political circumstances changed. Much of the uncertainty that prevailed was witnessed in the considerable numbers of attacks on merchant shipping that are recorded in the Chancery Rolls of the period and this evidence has been used often in the past to support conclusions on the nature of this 'piratical' warfare. Truces by their very nature produce a 'paper trail' of activity: truce conservator meetings, lists of infractions exchanged between the sides, debates on the validity of claims and counter-claims, attempts to provide redress and restitution. In this period, a significant proportion of this 'paper trail' has survived. More than 30 lists of infractions, spread among different archives, are still available for consultation, yet they remain a vastly under-exploited resource. The purpose of this paper will be to introduce a database that has incorporated the information contained in these many lists of truce infractions with the view of making it available as a consultable resource for the future. More than 700 separate incidents appear in the database. Typically each records, in more or less detail, the date of the incident, the name, type and home port of the ship involved, the names of its master and owner(s), its proposed journey details, the names of merchants whose goods were being freighted, the nature and value of those goods and the currency exchange rates in use, the freight charges applicable, the names and home ports of the perpetrators, as well as the processes of verification and restitution. As part of the introduction to the database, it is planned to describe the design that has been adopted, to provide illustrations of the material used and to offer a range of conclusions on what the data reveals.
Kevin Fraser Sunday afternoon	**The Titchfield Barn Project**
Sam Gibbs University of Reading *Session 1b*	**Who Were They? English Archers: A regional comparison of socio-economic status and service obligations of English archers 1350-1417** There are two approaches contained within this paper considering the identity of the English archers of the Hundred Years War. This first will consider the differences in the socio-economic background of the English archers from various regions of England, including East Anglia, the North East and the South West. This will determine whether there is a predominant archer profile and how it varied between areas of the country that had different demographic and economic profiles. Secondly the military service of these men will be considered, primarily the link between military service and landed service obligations. A broad view of this will be taken, as alongside the formal pressures that a landlord could bring to bear on tenants, there are also informal pressures that could have encouraged men to engage in military service, for example peer pressure. Furthermore, the careers of individual soldiers will be used to consider how archers could be effected by military service and its potential rewards. The methodological basis for the paper is a prosopographical approach based on a relational database created by the author. The data comprising the database is primarily taken from the *Soldier in Later Medieval England Database* and the Poll tax returns of 1377, 1379, and 1381. By combining these two data sets it is possible to link military service with civilian demographic data and analyse the inhabitants of the regions mentioned above and their military involvement. This with involve identifying the archers resident in these regions, and considering their economic standing, using their tax paid as a proxy for wealth, their occupations, and their familial status. Furthermore it will also be possible to identify retinue captains who held lands within the regions and compare their retinues to the local inhabitants to test the prevalence of archers serving with their landlords. Preliminary research has indicated that there is not one particular profile that can be used to identify archers individually, and that they are quite representative of the structure of the country as a whole, in both wealth and occupations. There may be some differences between the regions studied; however the statistical significance of these results has not yet been tested. There have been more positive results regarding military service obligations. Here links have been demonstrated between landholding and recruitment, suggesting that some men were recruited from the captains' locality. However there is also a suggestion of an emerging military service market, suggested by the large minority of men who are serving with captains from outside their locality. This is particularly prevalent among those men who serve more than once, and who represent the emergence of a professional soldier. However these results have not yet been tested for regional variations.
Dr Simon Harris Keele University *Session 4b*	**Retinue Fragmentation within the English Army during the War of Saint-Sardos, 1324-6** The War of Saint-Sardos is rather neglected by historians. Falling between the Anglo-French war of Edward I from 1293 to 1303 in which the English and French fought to a stalemate, and the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337 which quickly led to English victories, the failure of English arms during the war might go some way to explaining this. However, this neglect has meant that the evidence for the recruitment and maintenance of the English army has also, with some exceptions, been generally ignored. Two chance survivals give a detailed account for the English army. The most important of these records is the account book of Nicholas Huggate, the royal clerk deputed to handle the money and victuals assigned for the English army (BL Add Ms 7967). The account is particularly important because the way it was compiled gives very detailed information about the changing composition, and sometimes location of the English troops sent to Aquitaine in the period 1324-6, and reveals the reorganization, fragmentation and dissipation of the retinues and infantry sent out from England. The other record is the Gascon Roll for 1324-5 (TNA C 61/37), unlike the majority of Gascon Rolls, this roll consists predominantly of pardons for those willing to serve in the English army. The roll complements the account giving further detail to a group of troops, otherwise only briefly covered in Huggate's account. This paper will use these two sources to make preliminary conclusions about the formation and fragmentation of the English army dispatched to Aquitaine, placing the conclusions in the context of the changing way that English armies were recruited and organized.

Professor Michael Hicks University of Winchester *Session 7a*	**The Costs of the Hundred Years War to the English Nobility in the Fifteenth Century** Fifty years ago K.B. McFarlane and M.M. Postan:initiated a rather slow-moving debate that recently received a massive injection of hard fact from Remy Ambuhl. This paper does not engage with the warfare or the accountancy, but with other types of costs, notably in mortality, longevity, and the succession of the English peerage. Peers and heirs were not only slain, but prevented from marrying and breeding, whilst numerous cadets inherited unexpectedly. The paper is based principally on the inquisitions post mortem, wills and contemporary genealogies. The impact of Agincourt is set within a broader context.
Dr Alexzandra Hildred The Mary Rose Trust *Saturday Evening*	**Mary Rose: The Final Battle** One hundred and thirty years after Agincourt, the second largest of Henry VIII's twenty great warships sank defending Portsmouth against a French invasion. When she sank, *Mary Rose* carried a formidable and intriguing array of weapons; from pots of caustic lime and huge two metre long wooden darts with incendiary bags on their heads to newly cast bronze smooth bore muzzle loading guns with a muzzle velocity of over 500 metres per second. How did these function together? What was their purpose? Within the 19,000 objects raised were 172 longbows, 2303 arrows, remains of arrow bags and even wristguards; their distribution demonstrating that archers were moving about the ship as it sank. Built between 1509-1510, by 1512 she was Flagship of the fleet, defeating a French war fleet off Brest. 100 years after Agincourt we have an inventory of for thirteen vessels, including *Mary Rose*. All have longbows, and some have portable gunpowder weapons, with between two and 29 times the number of longbows to hackbuts and handguns. A 1546 inventory shows between three and 12 times the number of bows to handguns, with all 53 vessels carrying longbows. The dramatic change is the increased number of larger guns 78 - 91; 39 of which were carriage –mounted. The inventories show a dramatic change in the types of guns carried over the life of the ship, reflecting the changing tactics of warfare at sea. This paper will examine how we have attempted to interpret the function of these weapons by replication and trials. It will look at this within the confines of the Solent battlefield and the final battle of the *Mary Rose* – perhaps the last staged battle where longbows formed a significant portion of anti-personnel weapons.
Mark Hinsley *Saturday afternoon*	**Playing for high stakes - the humble archer's stake and the battle of Agincourt** On the approach to Agincourt in 1415, a small skirmish took place at Corbie, where several French prisoners were taken. From these it was learned; *"That the French had appointed many companies of horsemen, in hundreds, on armed horses, to break through the battle and strength of our archers……"* Such tactics were not new, the use of picked cavalry forces to disrupt the archers had been tried by the French several times before, but Henry V clearly took this threat seriously; *"therefore the king gave orders that each archer should provide himself with a pole or staff, six feet in length of sufficient thickness, and sharpened at each end; directing that whenever the French should approach to battle with troops of horse of that sort, each archer should fix his pole before him in front and those who were behind other poles intermediately..."* The French did try to ride down the archers on the English flanks within the battle that followed, but were frustrated by the novel use of the stakes. The use of stakes then became an integral part of English tactics for the remainder of the Hundred Years War. The presentation will explore; · The origins of the stake and what prompted its use at this stage in the Hundred Years War. · How the stakes worked and their influence upon the battle. · Its subsequent use in the latter stages of the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses.
Dr Jan Willem Honig King's College London *Session 5a*	**Reappraising Late Medieval Strategy: The Example of the Agincourt Campaign'** The stunning battle victories achieved by successive English kings and princes in France during the Hundred Years' War present us with a puzzle. From a modern strategic perspective, invading a large, distant country with very small armies makes little sense, unless (as the modern literature invariably does) one resorts to explanations which emphasise unusually superior generalship, especially incompetent opponents, or some extraordinarily powerful technological advantage conferred by a wonder weapon like the English longbow. Historians thus tend to trust in the availability of such uncertain resources more readily than, one must presume, would the commanders who must prudently plan and actually go to war. In my contribution, I will present an alternative analytical framework which explains the peculiar strategic context for the English campaigns and their interaction with their French enemy. This framework emphasises the normative nature of strategic interaction and highlights the special set of mutually accepted conventions which ruled and restrained warfare. Late medieval warfare, I conclude, was not governed by some unchanging strategic logic and timeless principles, as much of the modern literature assumes, but instead followed a logic and principles wholly of its participants' own construction.
Peter Hoskins Independent Researcher *Saturday afternoon and Session 7b*	**The Black Prince in France 1355/6 and the Battle of Poitiers: Brigand or Strategist** The Black Prince's chevauchées, in 1355 from Bordeaux to the Languedoc and in 1356 from Aquitaine towards the centre of France, culminated in the Battle of Poitiers, one of the key English victories of the Hundred Years War. The expedition has often been characterised as lacking strategic purpose and being little more than brigandage. The French historian wrote in 1940 that the Anglo-Gascon army of 1356, should not be considered as 'forces serving the English crown', but rather simply as brigands. He was not alone, writing in the 1960's H J Hewitt argued that the campaigns of the Black Prince lacked a strategic plan, but also considered that this was a truism for all the wars of the fourteenth century. Within the context of the conference theme of War on Land, this paper reviews the relative strategic situations of England and France in the fourteenth century, explains the general strategic approach of Edward III, and then describes the chevauchées of 1355 and 1356. It considers the conduct of operations, the circumstantial evidence, and the contemporary accounts in the chronicles and campaign letters to argue that, although pillage and destruction were key elements of the chevauchées, the expedition was underpinned by a strategic purpose to undermine the economic power of France, conserve combat strength for pitched battle, and bring the French armies to that battle if the right circumstances could be obtained.
Dr Mike Jones Independent Researcher *Saturday afternoon*	**The battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424) – a second Agincourt?** The battle of Verneuil, fought some nine years after Agincourt, was one of the great English victories of the Hundred Years War. Yet it is as little known as Agincourt is famous. This presentation tells the story of this remarkable clash of arms, noting the similarities but also the differences between the two battles, and looking at how one became so renowned and the other lapsed into relative obscurity.

Julian Humphreys Battlefield Trust *Session 3b*	**A presentation on the Battlefield Trust**
Dr Andy King University of Southampton *Session 7b*	**'Then a great misfortune befell them': The Treatment of the Vanquished on the Battlefield, c.1300-c.1450** This will examine what factors determined whether the defeated were taken prisoner, ransomed or slaughtered.
Martin Knight *Session 3a and Saturday afternoon*	**A presentation of some of the European Arms, focussing on swords, in use during the period of the Hundred Years War** By looking at the full time frame of the Hundred Years War I think we can take the opportunity to look at a number of aspects of Arms – primarily swords: • The Evolution of Sword forms in order to deal with the parallel evolution of defensive armour, and perhaps the style of fighting. We will look at 3 periods (10 min each) using a small number of examples from within these timeframes: 1) 1337 – 1350, 2) 1350 – 1400, 3) 1400 – 1460. • The contribution of artworks & funerary monuments in helping to date artefacts. • What can close examination and consistent recording of observations tell us about the likely use and details of construction of these weapons? • How would you know if an artefact is indeed original? – Observation, handling, aesthetics, science! • Other items and the task they performed - if time allows: a poleaxe, a celata, a kettlehat (foot soldiers). • What questions and issues arise due to gaps in our knowledge? Might these merit further research?
Dr Ilana Krug York College of Pennsylvania *Session 1a*	**The Costs of Feeding Mars: Edward I and Purveyance** By 1297, Edward I's financial capabilities to wage war on the level demanded of him by circumstances and his own desires had long been exhausted. No longer were there banking companies able or willing to provide him with the significant amount of credit he needed. Regular taxation, however large the sums that were raised, was not enough to prevent the royal treasury from progressively sliding into ever-greater arrears. Edward, reflecting both his desperation to seek out new sources for revenue and his aptitude for finding them, had launched several schemes of debatable constitutionality. Largely, these "prerogative forms of taxation," in Michael Prestwich's words, either failed outright or were bogged down by such intense protest and grumbling that Edward reluctantly discontinued them. Of these, large-scale purveyance became one of the most resented practices, and represented the point where there existed the widest gap between Edward's financial needs and the populace's willingness to provide. Yet purveyance, as Mark Vaughn and others have shown, was also a well-organized, highly bureaucratized practice that created the ability for Edward I and his successors to supply soldiers and garrisons on an unprecedented scale, thus potentially waging war more successfully and demonstrating the efficient machinery of government. Purveyance, then, simultaneously became an effective mechanism of war and a rallying point for complaint amongst the populace chiefly because the system failed to work according to its expected process. Substantial corruption and delayed repayment, or none at all, wore heavily on a populace weary of unceasing war demands and created much of the resentment that erupted into political crisis in the last years of Edward I's reign. This paper will explore the dual nature in which purveyance may be interpreted as both a success and failure of Edward's military machine, as well as purveyance's contribution to lasting concerns of military logistics and financing.
Dr Craig Lambert University of Southampton *Session 4a*	**D Day 1415: Maritime Logistics and Naval Operations** On 11 August 1415 a large fleet slipped out of the Solent and headed to the Chef de Caux. On board these vessels were 12,000 men, including Henry V who was aboard his ship the *Trinite Roiale*. Immortalised by Shakespeare as the 'few' the men that crossed with Henry would end their campaign in glory in the mud of the Agincourt battlefield. The remarkable victory at Agincourt, helped along by Shakespeare, has ensured its place as a staple of English history. Yet the story of the Agincourt campaign is dominated by analyses on the campaign and the battle. As a result historians have ignored the maritime operations that permitted the transfer of Henry's army from England to France. In part this is the result of a perceived lack of source material. Passing reference is made to the size of Henry's transport fleet, but the figure presented to us is taken from estimates provided by chronicle accounts. All is not lost and we can analyse English naval preparations from a variety of other sources, especially English exchequer rolls now lodged in the National Archives. It is the aim of this paper to reconstruct the process of how the transport fleet was assembled, and offer suggestions to its size. It will also discuss the recruitment and deployment of naval forces over 1415 and what role these flotillas played in Henry's invasion strategy.
Dr Aleksandr Lobanov University of Southampton *Session 7b*	**In the Far East of Lancastrian France: English garrisons in Bassigny** This paper looking at one of the later stages of the Hundred Years War aims to explore the relations between the English military forces in France in the 1420s -1430s with their French and Burgundian partisans. A case study under consideration are the two garrisons – those of Nogent-le-Roy and Montigny-le-Roy – on eastern borders of Champagne in the royal bailliage of Chaumont (now the department of Haute Marne). A decade-long history of these garrisons, where the English presence was established in about 1424-1425 and survived up until the rupture of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance in 1435. The specifics of these garrisons is their locations on the very periphery of the Lancastrian kingdom of France in the region adjacent to the borders of Burgundy, over 250 km away from Paris and some 200 km away from the nearest English garrisons at Meaux, Montereau and Villeneuve-le-Roy (now Villeneuve-sur-Yonne). Their isolation became still more complete when most of the Champagne was lost to the Dauphinists in 1429. These factors must have resulted in little control over these garrisons from the Lancastrian government in Paris and, especially in the 1430s their greater contacts with the Burgundian administration. The paper will make an attempt to place the history of the garrisons of Nogent and Montigny within the greater context of the Anglo-Burgundian relations in the 1420s-1430s by looking at the personalities of the captains and soldiers serving there, their engagement in the Lancastrian and Burgundian military enterprises and their conflicts with local population and nobles.
Dr Iain MacInnes University of the Highlands and Islands *Session 5b*	**The Return of the Scots: The impact of Scottish raiding of Northern England in the 1330s and 1340s** The impact and legacy of Scottish raiding of Northern England during the First Scottish War of Independence has been the subject of significant study. English evidence in particular provides quite detailed accounts of the extent of the raids of Robert Bruce and his commanders, the amount of money and goods taken, and the impact that such raids had on the economy and society of this region. Considerably less analysis has focused, however, on the raids undertaken by Scottish commanders during the next phase of conflict, in particular in the later 1330s and 1340s. In part this is because the Neville's Cross campaign (1346), which acts as an endpoint for this phase of raiding, casts a long shadow and affects the perception of this period of Scottish warfare. Moreover, the relatively short duration of this raiding phase has ensured that it remains a less-appreciated element in discussions of this period of Anglo-Scottish conflict. I would argue, however, that these raids deserve to be re-examined in order to better understand the nature, extent and impact of these attacks on the English countryside during a period when English focus was increasingly drawn towards France. In particular, this paper will consider the depiction of these raids in English sources and the picture that the available evidence presents of these incursions. It is the contention of this paper that: the English north returned to something like the dark days of the 1310s, and that its people quite seamlessly recommenced paying protection money to Scottish raiders to be left in peace; that local lords could not be depended upon to defend the region from Scottish depredations; and that this was a

	period when the English crown largely abandoned the English north to its fate and northern Englishmen to deal with the Scots as best they could.
Peter Masters Cranfield University *Session 6b*	**The Decisive Battle – 1487** Battle of Stoke Field (16th June 1487) was the last battle of the Wars of the Roses and was the last major engagement in which a Lancastrian king opposed an army of Yorkist supporters. This was the decisive battle that was bloodier than the Battle of Bosworth, two years previous. It was a much bigger and bloodier battle than Bosworth with many more casualties and deaths. Almost all the leading Yorkists were killed in this decisive campaign. New research over the past five years has been undertaken to locate the mass graves where so many were slain in the battle. In 1982 during works alongside the old A46 between Leicester and Newark, recovery of a number of human remains was recovered. Up until 2013, these remains were archived in the Newark Museum store. These remains have been studied for the first time in detail and they reveal some interesting traits that are comparable with Towton and other similar battles of the medieval period. This paper will put into context the location of the mass grave within the wider battlefield landscape. The area around the mass grave has been extensively surveyed using various geophysical techniques. The results revealed some interesting anomalies although none as yet show any indications of a mass grave. This paper will discuss these and other explanations why mass graves have eluded us to date. It is envisaged that future work will include studying the battlefield terrain in great detail, further geophysics and full excavation of a known mass grave.
Sean McGlynn University of Plymouth at Strode *Saturday afternoon*	**Kings, Chivalry and Slaughter:** **Henry V and the Agincourt Massacre in its Medieval Context** '*Almost all, without distinction of person, were put to death without respite*.' '*It was a most pitiable matter. For, in cold blood, all those noble Frenchmen were killed and their heads and faces cut, which was an astonishing sight to see*.' This paper would start by offering a detailed analysis and explanation of Henry V's massacre of French prisoners at Agincourt. The brutal but clear-headed military reasons for the massacre will be clarified in the context of the exigencies of the battlefield that day, with emphasis placed more on its deterrence effect on further French action rather than the physical elimination of the threat that the large number of prisoners presented. Henry's experiences at the battle of Shrewsbury may well have guided his decision at Agincourt. It would then move on to investigate why such a massacre of French knights did nothing to tarnish Henry's chivalric reputation; consideration might also be made to the terrible scenes at the later siege of Rouen to examine this angle further. Reference to lesser-known atrocities in the Hundred Years will provide context for this conflict as well as engagement with the latest research on conventions of prisoner-taking in the war (see my review in the next issue of *English Historical Review*). I would then place this within the broader medieval context of other chivalric English kings and princes who similarly engaged in massacres (notably Richard the Lionheart, Edward III and Edward IV) to explain why what I call the 'military imperative' took precedence over the considerations of perceived chivalric conventions (which were more literary than practical) and thus why their chivalric reputations were similarly left intact. Previous and forthcoming books on medieval warfare include *By Sword and Fire: Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare; Blood Cries Afar: The Magna Carta War and the Forgotten Invasion of England 1215-17 (2nd edn); Kill Them All: The Warfare of the Albigensian Crusade and Medieval Generals*.
Dr Malcolm Mercer Royal Armouries *Session 1a*	**Henry V and the Tower of London** Although the Tower of London was no longer a regular residence of kings it remained an important expression of their authority. Building works in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries confirmed the building's continuing importance on both a practical and symbolic level. It contained important offices of royal government, several of which played a role in the organisation and military provisioning of the campaign of 1415, most notably the privy wardrobe. Furthermore, the Tower was the location of key meetings linked to preparations, such as the Great council of mid-April, as well as subsequently housing some of the leading prisoners taken at the battle. This paper uses a wide range of unpublished archives as well as drawing on an intimate knowledge of the building and its place in royal government.
Dr Irina Metzler Swansea University *Session 7a*	**Disabled soldiers – battlefield causes and social consequences of wounding** Medieval warfare had its share of disabled casualties. Medieval sources, whether historical, financial or literary records, only seldom mention the impairment of knights and other warriors of all ranks as resulting from combat. There were undoubtedly those who suffered serious wounds despite their armour, leaving them with permanent disabilities, though these are rarely recorded. Nevertheless warriors did survive injury, and continued to fight another day as veteran, experienced individuals. Michael Prestwich asserted: "There is surprisingly little information on the wounds incurred in battle." This may be true of the documentary record, but archaeology tells a different and fuller story. Archaeological evidence gained from human bones on the sites of a number of medieval battlefields indicates that the majority of wounds identified by palaeopathology were actually old, healed lesions rather than fresh cuts made at the time of death. This suggests that they were sustained in previous battles and that the soldiers survived their injuries. An important aspect of life for soldiers and mercenaries, particularly for the lower ranks, was the question of how to make a living *after* combat had ceased, either because military action was over anyway, or because the individual soldier was injured and no longer fit for future battles - a disabled invalid. It appears that more often than not a severely or permanently injured and hence disabled soldier became reliant on alms and begging. Fictional literature, so full of knights fighting in all sorts of martial encounters, is significantly silent on the 'fall-out' from combative action: disabled knights hardly figure. The reason for this invisibility of the disabled soldier in literary texts, especially courtly romance literature, has been suggested to concern matters of status and class. Heroes in epics do not make for very good heroes if they become disabled and have to beg for a living.
João Gouveia Monteiro University of Coimbra *Session 5a*	**Another 1415: Portugal's Military Landscape** This paper is composed of three sections concerning Portugal within the European context in 1415, the Portuguese military organization and the training of their combatants by then. So much as 1415 marked a change of fortunes in the position of England vis-à-vis its Continental neighbours, so did 1415 for Portugal. In August, King João I led a crusading expedition against the Muslim enclave of Ceuta in northern Africa. Such an operation had little, if any, precedent in medieval western Europe, if not for the size of the fleet and the recruitment numbers it commanded, with fighters being levied from the Iberian kingdoms, England (an ally of Portugal), France, Germany, and as far as Prussia. The preparations for this campaign, and indeed its final target, were kept in complete secrecy by the Portuguese, giving rise to suspicion and anxiety among Christian princes in the years leading up to 1415. This context is important to situate the beginnings of the second phase of the Hundred Years War, and namely such ambitions as those of Henry V. The Army that in August 1415 conquered Ceuta had little similarities with those who fought against Castile in the precedent

	decades. Despite keeping the former main features – integrate manly contingents mobilized by the nobility, the municipal militias and the military orders – the Portuguese armies of the early XVth century are already the result of a thorough military reorganization undertaken by King John I, which aim to give them a higher degree of readiness and efficiency, as well as a size and composition suitable to fulfil the new missions expected by the Crown. Finally, we can ask what type of training had the combatants who in 1415 achieved the first Portuguese overseas conquest. Since there was not a standing army yet, preparation for war was made by the acquisition of experience, especially during the wars against Castile, in which hundreds of British mercenaries played an important role. Concerning the theoretical training, the study of the library of King Duarte (1433-1438), Duke of Lancaster's grandson, is very revealing once it detects the presence of a war literature running from the stories of the heroes of antiquity to the *De Regimine Principum* by Frei Egidio Colonna, in addition to original works of the Portuguese secular culture.
Dr Philip Morgan Keele University *Session 4b*	**Going to War: Letters of attorney** The business of going to war in the late middle ages was highly complex and whilst English retinues often resembled the communities from which they were drawn, the organisation of war was susceptible to the centralising magnetism of London. This was often the case in the equipping of knights and their retinues, but seems especially to have been necessary in the matter of ensuring legal protection during absence abroad; the issue of letters of protection and attorney may have been largely undertaken in London. This paper will look at the evidence for letters of attorney enrolled on the Gascon Rolls where they form one of the most regular and seemingly routine of instruments recorded.
Dr Ian Mortimer Independent Historian and Writer *Saturday afternoon*	**The Meaning of War** We have difficulty talking about war in the modern world - just think of the lyrics to the famous counterculture hit: 'War, what is it good for? Absolutely nothing!' The doom-tinted spectacles of the twentieth century through which we see the 'true' nature of conflict force us publicly to prioritise the victims. In some senses this is a welcome antidote to the insensitive generals-and-guns military history of the past. But it does not help with appreciating what war meant to late medieval society. War in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was not seen in this victim-orientated negative light. Rather it held opportunities and conveyed responsibilities. It was accepted as one of the challenges of life - not like plague and famine, which were wholly destructive, but as something which a leader could turn to his people's advantage. This talk highlights the factors that have altered the meaning of war since the Middle Ages - with regard to the nature of war, its personnel, the changing face of war, the religious framework, and the reasons for fighting. In so doing, it illustrates the ways in which war played a positive social role, as well as a negative one, in the centuries before international law and free trade.
Dr Guilhem Pépin University of Southampton *Session 4b*	**The forms of war in Aquitaine-Gascony between 1400 and 1442** This paper will examine the forms of war in the Anglo-Gascon duchy of Aquitaine and the neighbouring regions between 1400 and 1442. First, it will consider the great offensives led by the French and the Anglo-Gascons during this period. The day-to-day war, according to the accounts of the constable of Bordeaux (treasurer of the duchy), Walter Colles (1434-1439) will also be revealed, as will the role of Bayonne, the main port of the duchy, in the war and, finally, the "war of partisans" led by Anglo-Gascons outside the regions fully ruled by them.
Matt Raven University of Hull *Session 7a*	**The Obligation of War for Edward III and his Earls** A fundamental duty of kingship was the defence of the realm. The use of force to defend the king's subjects if required was an expectation placed upon every king of later medieval England and their success or failure to meet this obligation was instrumental in forging their reputation, contemporary and historical. Despite the importance of this obligation, the reign of Edward III has not been viewed within this framework of expectation, and his relations with his nobility have not taken this context into account. As such, this paper initially seeks to outline this framework by highlighting the dialogue of defensive war prominent in the governmental rhetoric of the time. Usually, such constitutional structures have been revealed by the use of 'courtly' material, such as the mirrors for princes, but it is also possible to make use of the more conventional records of the central government for this purpose, which carries the benefit of allowing the wider polity to be incorporated into the dialogue of defensive war. Once the royal obligation of defence has been recognised, the second part of this paper will focus on the role of Edward III's earls in the successful fulfilment of this royal duty. This will centre on a reassessment of the place of K. B. McFarlane's reciprocal relationship of service and reward, which has provided the basis for historiography of Edward and his earls over the last 40 years. Using selected examples, it will be argued that the pattern of comital military service and patronage suggests that the obligation of defence placed upon the king, and the prominent role of his earls in enabling the fulfilment of this obligation, provided the motivation for major royal patronage of the earls, in contrast to current historiography which has viewed patronage as the primary means by which Edward secured his kingship against his own nobility.
Dr Thom Richardson Royal Armouries *Session 2a*	**Weapons in the age of Agincourt** The Hundred Years War provides the military historian with a fascinating series of conflicts between tactically very different military systems: the 'English system', the combination of longbowmen and dismounted men-at-arms, and the French, with crossbowmen combined with close fighting infantry and men-at arms fighting both dismounted and mounted. Archaeological and experimental research has transformed what we understand about the longbow in the last generation; new manuscript research brings an additional perspective to that. Documentary evidence also adds substantially to our understanding of the close combat weapons used by men-at-arms in this period, to provide a more nuanced understanding of the military systems of the age.
Susan Rose Roehampton University *Session 4a*	***What in mynde he mente?* (*Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*) A re-examination of the naval policy of Henry V** The purpose of this paper is to consider the policies of Henry V with regard to the naval resources of his kingdom both before and after the expedition of 1415 which culminated in his victory at Agincourt. The paper will look at his attitude to the use of shipping in warfare under three headings. 1. The administration necessary to support royal ships and keep them in a seaworthy condition. 2. The design and building of ships for the Crown 3. Tactics and operations; how these ships were deployed and used in support of his war aims. This section will also consider the recruitment and role of the masters of royal ships. The paper will be based on research in the existing documents in the National Archives and elsewhere. Henry V's policies and actions will be compared with those of Edward III the other English medieval monarch who was praised by the author of the *Libelle* as '*the see was kepte and therof he was lorde*'. With regard to ship design particular note will be taken of the possible influence on Henry V of Genoese innovations in the design of large sailing vessels and the way in which these ideas became familiar to English shipbuilders and were incorporated in ships built for the Crown in the early years of Henry's reign. The overall intention of the paper will be to try to tease out the degree to which Henry was pursuing deliberate policies rather than reacting pragmatically to events.

Guillaume Sarrat de Tramezaigues *Institut d'études politiques de Paris* *Session 5b*	**How the English Lost the Hundred Years War (1429-1453): Some economic considerations** On September 20th 1435 Charles VII and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, signed the Arras Treaty, ending a nearly 40 year civil war in France. History literature considers as a given that 1435 marked the year of the final decline of English France that culminated with the Battle of Castillon in 1453. Yet, if compared English and French economic data – tax revenues and coinage in particular – show a different picture. French final recovery that led to victory could be dated, from an economic standpoint, at 1429 with the end of Orleans' siege and the Reims coronation of the French Dauphin. Even if the military outcome of the stricken French 1429 Loire campaign have proven to be short lasting with the English army recovery in 1430-1432, economic data show that since that year French tax revenues did not stop strongly increasing while English tax revenues did not stop decreasing, so as Burgundian's, with on the same time unmatchable increasing final needs : the recovering French economy proved by then unchallengeable for the English economy, exhausted by about a century of unsustainable tax burden and further weakened by French debased coinage. Such a French comparative advantage led to new sources of finance for military research and development with led notably to the development of Jean Bureau's artillerie that ended English archers supremacy on the battlefield. The final contribution of this paper is therefore to provide proofs that English France was lost due to poor English economic policy compared to a sounder, although perhaps unintentionally French policy. The paper is based mainly on the works of Jacqueton (1891), Day (1994), Belaubre (1986), Landry (1910), Despaux (1936), Favier (1970), Pollard (1983, 2000), Schnerb (1988, 1999) and Sarrat de Tramezaigues' (2010, 2013). Key Words : Hundred Years War, Tax burden, Debasement, Compared economic policy
Professor Bertrand Schnerb University of Lille III *Sunday afternoon*	**The Kingdom of France in 1415, between Peace and War** The aim of this paper is to consider the political situation of France in the first ten months of 1415. The context is distinguished by a period of calm in the civil war between Armagnacs and Burgundians, hostilities having been interrupted by the peace of Arras – the fifth peace between the parties since the start of their war. But even if war had temporarily been appeased, these months were witness to significant diplomatic manoeuvres within a general atmosphere of tension. To the negotiations between the French princes must be added the negotiations with England and the sending of envoys to Constance where the general council of the church was being held. Discussion of the situation will be followed by a closer examination of the political choices facing John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, which serves as an illustration of the divisions amongst the political elite of France on the eve of Agincourt and also helps to explain why the duke absented himself from fighting against the English during Henry's invasion and at the battle.
Kay Douglas Smith Independent Scholar *Session 2a*	**Technological innovation and the development of artillery in the late 15th century** In the introduction of Bert Hall's seminal paper of the early history of gunpowder he states that: 'Between the mid-fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, there are dramatic changes: the fourteenth century's squat, forged iron, stone-throwing bombards gave way to the sixteenth century's long, cast-bronze culverins firing iron shot' (Hall 1996: 87). The form and design of these cast bronze cannon was to dominate artillery until the introduction of steel in the 19th century - indeed, a gunner on the *Mary Rose* would have found nothing remarkably different about the artillery used by Wellington in 1815. It was clearly an effective design and pinpointing just when this crucial development occurred is important but, like many technological developments it is not always easy to track just how and when they took place - medieval and early modern workshop practices are often opaque to modern eyes. This paper will explore these developments in early artillery and offer evidence from a range of sources, including archival material together with technical and artefact studies, to show that this pivotal change can be pinpointed with reasonable accuracy to the period from about 1480 to 1500. It was, as Hall suggests, the result of a number of changes in artillery including cannon casting techniques, the use of cast-iron ammunition and developments in the technology of gunpowder. **Hall B S** 1996 'The corning of gunpowder and the development of firearms in the Renaissance' In B J Buchanan (ed.) *Gunpowder. The history of an international technology*. (Bath University Press)
Trevor Russell Smith University of Leeds *Session 5b*	**Devastation, Chivalric Rhetoric, and Ethics of War in the *Lanercost Chronicle*, 1327-46** Vividly written texts are often overlooked or dismissed in the search for reliable evidence about the past. This is especially true of the history of medieval conflict, in which scholars often try to filter conflicting sources to recreate complicated events. The mid-fourteenth century *Lanercost Chronicle* is a text whose colourfully critical descriptions of Scottish attacks have been denounced as merely 'crass alliterative effects and a couple of almost impenetrable puns', full of 'rhetorical excess', and of a 'useless character', owing to the author's perceived patriotism and hatred of the Scots. Consequently, the text is thought unreliable when not prosaically presenting facts. However, all medieval narratives are deliberately written to convey a particular opinion, requiring thoughtful analysis on the part of a reader, especially when the topic is violence and war. In this paper I argue that *Lanercost's* distinctive style (in the 1327-46 section) is not the result of patriotic or anti-Scottish fervour, but of opposition to the destruction war wreaks, and to its human cost. I explore the text's careful use of voice and agency in otherwise formulaic descriptions of attacks on non-combatants. The writer ensures that the majority of such Scottish attacks are in the active voice, with little excuse, while English and Baliol attacks are mostly indirect and justified. I then explore the pervasive rhetoric and allusions in David II of Scotland's 1346 invasion of England, and show how the writer associates the Scots with the Devil and portrays the English as the new Israelites. Underlying these is the perspective that attacks on non-combatants and devastation are immoral, no matter who conducts them. I conclude by investigating the writer's consequently problematic accounts of English campaigns in France (not inherently or explicitly justified in the text), unease with praising military feats, and overall precedence of divine providence over human achievement.
Dan Spencer University of Southampton *Session 2a*	**Henry V and English artillery: a gunpowder revolution?** On 22 September 1415, the burgesses of Harfleur were forced to surrender their town. They had endured a six week siege, but were no longer able to resist an English army led in person by Henry V. According to the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, they feared being attacked by assault, despaired of being relieved by a French army and had been sorely troubled by the 'scourge of the stones' fired by the English guns. The siege of Harfleur was the first time that an English army made extensive use of gunpowder artillery in offensive warfare against an urban settlement. Guns were subsequently to play an important role in the conquest of Normandy by Henry V and in future campaigns in France. It was therefore to have an important legacy in the development of this technology but was this a revolution? This paper will begin by exploring why Henry V made use of gunpowder artillery in 1415, including the legacy of his father's reign. It will then go on to discuss how guns were used in his campaigns in Normandy and in the reign of Henry VI. Finally, the paper will argue that Henry V's deployment of guns at Harfleur transformed how the English conducted siege warfare.

Dr Jenny Stratford Institute of Historical Research *Session 2b*	**Financing the war. Jewels and plate pledged for the Agincourt expedition** In 1415 the English royal treasure served as a war chest. Exceptionally jewels and plate were pledged to the war captains to pay the second quarter's wages for the expedition which led to Agincourt. A mass of documentation surrounding the pledges and their recovery has survived in the National Archives at Kew (TNA), dating from the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI. This is our best and under-exploited source for Henry V's treasure and at the same time is crucial to our understanding of the crown's finances during the fifteenth century. The principal sources for the pledges to the war captains are: i) Indentures listing plate delivered by Edmund Lacy, dean of the household chapel, to Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, keeper of the king's jewels, 1 June 1415 (TNA, E101/44/26, rot. 1-2; E101/46/6) ii) Indentures and particular accounts with named captains and others, specifying jewels and plate pledged as security, June and July 1415 (TNA, E101/45/3; E101/45/7; E101/45/20 to E101/45/23, etc.) iii)The only extant enrolled account for the expedition, citing objects pledged in 1415 (TNA, E 358/6) iv) BL, Sloane MS 4600, ff. 251v-254v (Rymer transcripts), partly printed by N. H. Nicolas, History of the Battle of Agincourt, 2nd edn. (London, 1832), Appendix III, pp. 13-18 v) Memoranda of the exchequer (F. Palgrave, The Ancient Kalendar and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer ..., 3 vols. (London, 1836), ii, pp. 100-7, etc.) vi) J. H. Wylie and W. T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry V, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914-29), i, esp. pp. 468-76 vii) Entries on the memoranda rolls (TNA, E159 and E368)
Quentin Verreycken Université catholique de Louvain and Université Saint-Louis – Bruxelles *Session 1b*	**The Shaping of a Military Identity in the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian State: Pardons Granted to Soldiers by the Dukes of Burgundy (1386-1477)** The present paper will investigate judicial pardons granted to soldiers by the Valois dukes of Burgundy from 1386 to 1477. These powerful princes, who during the first part of the fifteenth century stated their independence vis-à-vis the king of France and unified a vast amount of territories under their authority, also imported the French model of the pardoning procedure. From 1386 to 1477, the chancery records contain more than 700 "remission letters" by which the prince granted his pardon to individuals who committed a crime and petitioned for mercy. This large amount of documents includes almost 15 percent of pardons granted to petitioners who served or had served the dukes in their armies and insisted on their military pasts in their requests. Considering the fact that late medieval military demography never reached such a rate among the global population, it appears that soldiers were largely overrepresented in remission letters. Were they more confrontational and quicker for violence than ordinary people or, as military servants, were they more prompt to seek pardon before the prince? Following the works of Christopher Allmand and Claude Gauvard according to which fifteenth-century leaders undertook to transform their soldiers into professional State agents, it will be argued that military pardons were used by the dukes of Burgundy as a tool of social disciplining. By focusing on the narrative parts of the remission letters, which contained the argumentations of the pardon petitioners used to motive their requests and crimes, this paper will underline the soldiers' self-identification processes that, together with the coherent pardoning policy of the dukes, led to the shaping of a new military ethos at the end of the Middle Ages. Keywords: Burgundian State; military identity; remission letters; social disciplining; soldiers