Introduction

> In a very short time the wind had filled the sail and blown us out of sight of the land of our birth. And I tell you now that anyone who sets out on such a dangerous course is foolhardy. For at night you fall asleep without knowing whether you will find yourself the next morning at the bottom of the sea.[1]

> Let me tell you of the great peril that befell a Catholic king in the presence of the Old Pilgrim. This king was crossing the sea between Cyprus and Syria in company with other ships and galleys. The weather was fine. Suddenly a squall sprang up which did not last long but can be extremely dangerous if it strikes a ship with all sail spread. An old sailor said that it would be wise to lower the sail. But the captain paid no heed. Hit by another squall in such wise and with such violence that the ship went over on her beams-ends and was half under water. The great sail and topmast were in the sea.[2]

The two passages above suggest that maritime travel during the middle ages was a dangerous affair, and indeed it could be, as Edward III's return journey from his campaign in Brittany in 1343 amply shows; sea journeys could be perilous.[3] Nevertheless, by the time Edward III crossed the Channel on 28 October 1359 English forces had already achieved many successful sea journeys to launch campaigns in France.[4] If the numerous flotillas of the diplomatic embassies and trading vessels were added to these major expeditions, one could safely say that the English had, by this period, developed a safe and secure system of cross Channel communication and transportation. Nor is the maritime contribution to the Scottish wars of this period to be underestimated.[5] Indeed, without

[1] Jean de Joinville on sailing to the seventh crusade, from N. Ohler, *The medieval traveller*, trans. C. Hillier (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 45.

[2] Le songe du vieil Pèlerin of Philippe de Mèzières quoted by G. W. Coopland in 'A glimpse of late fourteenth-century ships and seamen', *MM* 48 (1962), pp. 186–92, p. 186.

[3] *Anonimalle*, pp. 17–18; *Knighton*, p. 47; *Melsa*, III, pp. 51–52; *Murimuth*, p. 135.

[4] St Sardos 1324–25; the Low Countries campaigns of 1338–40, which account for two crossings; Brittany 1342–43; 1345; Crécy/Calais 1346–47; 1350 (the battle of Winchelsea) in addition to Edward's crossing to Calais; 1355; 1359. It needs to be borne in mind that some of these crossings involved more than one flotilla of ships.

[5] M. Stanford Reid, 'Sea-power in the Anglo-Scottish war, 1296–1328', *MM* 46 (1960), pp.7–23, makes some valuable comments on the maritime war of the period.

ships supplying garrisons and armies, blockading enemy ports and providing the surprise element inherent in amphibious landings, pursuit of Edwardian ambitions in Scotland would have been almost impossible. Despite the importance of this facet of Edwardian military capabilities, and the fact that it usually involved the mobilisation of more manpower and money than its land equivalent, the maritime dimension of king Edward's wars has received little attention over the years from scholars.[6] The fleet that transported the king to Brittany in October 1342 numbered 487 ships and was manned by 8,796 mariners, while the land army it was transporting consisted of some 4,500 soldiers.[7] Historians have yet to explore the implications of figures such as these.

This book will examine these figures with the aim of understanding more fully what maritime resources were available to Edward II and Edward III for use in their wars. As the majority of the ships utilised by the kings of this period were requisitioned merchant vessels, the inner process of this system of raising a fleet needs to be studied more closely. In addition, because the supply system that the land- based troops relied on was largely conducted at sea, an assessment needs to be made of the nature and effectiveness of the maritime contribution to logistical support. The main focus of the book is thus to assess the contribution made by maritime communities to the supply and transportation of troops during the period 1320–60.[8]

The period covered by this research arguably witnessed the greatest change in England's military community, and to her role as a major power in conti-

[6] Notable exceptions being J. Sherborne, 'The hundred years' war. The English navy shipping and manpower, 1369–1389', *Past and Present* 37 (1967), pp. 163–75. *Idem*, 'The cost of English warfare with France in the later fourteenth century', *BIHR* 50 (1977), pp. 135–50; M. M. Postan, 'The costs of the Hundred Years War', *Past and Present* 27 (1964), pp. 34–53, p. 35.

[7] C. Lambert, 'An army transport fleet of Edward III's reign: the maritime dimension of the Brittany campaign, 1342–3' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Hull, 2005), p. 85. The present book has slightly up-dated the latter study. The number of land-based personnel includes an estimation of the non-combatant element; the actual numbers of paid soldiers was 1,800 men-at-arms and 1,800 mounted archers. See A. Ayton, *Knights and warhorses: military service and the English aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 14, 259.

[8] Community in this book relates to a group of individuals who reside in ports and who are actively involved in the business of the sea. As such this includes merchants, burgesses, port officials, shipmasters, mariners and ship owners. The use of community does not extend to groups outside those listed above. So, for example, a carpenter providing planks for ships, although in some sense part of the maritime world, is not included in the definition of community here. It is also noted that each one of the above groups could in effect be an individual community in its own right. Nevertheless, when community is used in this book it generally means all those who resided in a port and who would of necessity be involved in the business of military maritime expeditions and would therefore participate in a collective activity; the logistics of war through their ownership of sailing craft, seafaring skills, involvement in the process of assembling fleets and negotiating with crown officials about access to naval resources. On the definitions of community in this period, see M. L. Honeywell, 'Chivalry as community and culture: the military elite of late thirteenth and fourteenth century England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2006), pp. 37–45.

nental Europe, to have occurred during the middle ages.[9] These changes, which have been characterised as a 'military revolution', have deservedly attracted much attention and debate.[10] Nevertheless, the research carried out so far has understandably centred on the role of land-based personnel and the life and contribution of the gentry and aristocracy to military and public life.[11] Central to this new direction was the work of the pioneers of fourteenth-century military studies, such as J. E. Morris, T. F. Tout, A. E. Prince, H. J. Hewitt and N. B. Lewis, whose research laid the foundation for further study.[12] Indeed, our understanding of the fourteenth-century military community, although not complete, has gathered much pace in recent years, as new structural and methodological approaches have been adopted. The most influential historians of this new approach are Michael Prestwich, Philip Morgan and Andrew Ayton. Prestwich has increased our knowledge of the structure of the military community, its financial underpinnings and the role of its personnel and some of the earlier major developments.[13] Morgan's important study on the military community of Cheshire increased our understanding of the relationships that existed between the men serving in

9 For example, A. Ayton, *Knights and warhorses*, Chapter 1; *idem*, 'English armies in the fourteenth century', in *Arms, armies and fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 21–39; C. J. Rogers, *War cruel and sharp: English strategy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 2000) Chapter 1, which in part summarises his 'The military revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *JMH* 57 (1993), pp. 241–78.

10 For example M. Prestwich, 'Was there a military revolution in medieval England', in *Recognition, essays presented to E.B. Fryde*, ed. C. Richmond and I. Harvey (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 19–38.

11 For example, see A. Ayton, 'The English aristocracy at the beginning of the hundred years war', in *Armies, chivalry and warfare in medieval Britain and France*, Harlaxton medieval studies 7, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 173–207; M. Prestwich, *Armies and warfare in the middle ages: the English experience* (New Haven, 1996). For the gentry's public role, see N. Saul, *Knights and esquires: the Gloucestershire gentry in the fourteenth century* (Oxford, 1981), and *idem*, *Scenes from provincial life: knightly families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986); M. H. Keen, 'Chivalry, nobility, and the man-at-arms', in *War, literature, and politics in the late middle ages*, ed. C. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 32–45; A. Tebbit, 'Household knights and military service under the direction of Edward II', in *The reign of Edward II: new perspectives*, ed. C. Dodd and A. Musson (York, 2005), pp. 76–96.

12 For example, J. E. Morris, *The Welsh wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901); Tout, *Chapters*; A. E. Prince, 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III', *EHR* 46 (1931), pp. 351–71 but also, see *idem*, 'The army and navy', in *The English government at work, 1327–1366* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); H. J. Hewitt, *The organization of war under Edward III, 1338–62* (Manchester, 1966). Hewitt's book has since been re-printed as *The organisation of war under Edward III*, with a foreword by Andrew Ayton (Barnsley, 2005); N. B. Lewis, 'The recruitment and organisation of a contract army, May to November 1337', *BIHR* 37 (1964), pp. 1–19.

13 See M. Prestwich, *War, politics and finance under Edward I* (London, 1972); *idem*, *Armies and warfare*; *idem*, *The three Edwards: war and state in England 1272–1377* (London, 1980); *idem*, 'English armies in the early stages of the Hundred Years War: a scheme of 1341', *BIHR* 46 (1983), pp. 102–13; *idem*, 'Cavalry service in early fourteenth century England', *War and government in the middle ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 147–58; *idem*, '*Miles in armis strenuous*: the knight at war', *TRHS* 5 (1995), pp. 201–20.

the wars of the period.[14] Ayton's work has fully introduced the available source material pertinent to the Edwardian military community, while his most recent contributions have centred on what can be termed 'network relational studies', an aspect of military service prosopography, in which the relationships that existed between the captains and their men are fully analyzed, as is the composition of Edwardian armies.[15] These works have led to a greater understanding of the reasons for English success in the French war under Edward III.

Given the fact that the main focus of this book is the maritime resources available to Edward II and Edward III, what this brief survey of publications on the land-based personnel helps to show is how far the emphasis of English research has favoured the knights, esquires and their mounts, rather than the mariners, of the period. Indeed, no researcher has yet attempted the formidable task of a 'network study' on English shipowners, masters, and the familial relationships between the mariners and masters of the port communities. This would surely bear some fruit as even a quick glance at the records on these mariners reveals within the communities a strong family tradition of serving at sea and interlocking engagement in both trade and war. But, in many ways, research on the maritime aspect of England's wars in the fourteenth century has failed to keep pace with research on the land campaigns and the conventional (land-based) military community, especially in terms of the application of new methodologies and areas of study.

This is not to suggest that the maritime dimension of medieval England has been completely ignored; in fact, quite the contrary is the case. Studies of late medieval naval history have been written since the early nineteenth century and a keen interest was taken in the subject during the early twentieth century. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas undertook the pioneering work in this field in the mid nineteenth century.[16] He utilised valuable record sources, such as pay accounts, before the Public Record Office existed. This research was followed with studies on the navy by C. D. Younge,[17] W. Clowes,[18] M. Oppenheim[19] and later F. W.

[14] P. Morgan, *War and society in medieval Cheshire* (Manchester, 1987).

[15] A. Ayton, *Knights and warhorses*; *idem*, 'Knights, esquires and military service: the evidence of the armorial cases before the court of chivalry', in *The medieval military revolution: state, society and military change in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. A. Ayton and J. L. Price (London, 1995); A. Ayton and Philip Preston, *The battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005), especially Chapter 5, 'The English army at Crécy'.

[16] N. H. Nicolas, *History of the royal navy*, 2 vols (London, 1847).

[17] C. D. Younge, *The history of the British navy from the earliest period to the present time* (London, 1863).

[18] W. Clowes, *The royal navy: a history from the earliest times to the present* (London, 1897–1903).

[19] M. Oppenheim, *A history of the administration of the royal navy and of merchant shipping in relation to the navy, 1509–1660* (London, 1961), pp.1–44 deals with the navy before 1509. Oppenheim's work was first published in 1896.

Brooks.[20] More recent research on the maritime aspects of this period can essentially be placed into four distinct categories: studies which concentrate on the ports; those which discuss the process of organising and operating a medieval fleet and the tactics adopted; those which concentrate on the ships themselves, how they were built and how they were used; and, finally, the research that has examined the seagoing labour force.

Studies of medieval ports are numerous. The confederacy of the Cinque Ports in particular has deservedly attracted much attention.[21] In addition there is a wealth of information on other important port towns of England, such as Southampton,[22] Portsmouth,[23] Bristol,[24] Exeter,[25] Colchester,[26] Great Yarmouth,[27] Hull[28] and King's Lynn. [29] The maritime history of the Channel Islands is another area that has been researched.[30] This list not exhaustive. The second category of research, the organisation and tactical use of fleets, has probably attracted by far the largest interest. An understanding of how a fleet was raised and administered can be gleaned from studies by T. J. Runyan,[31] S. Rose[32]

[20] F. W. Brooks, *The English naval forces 1199–1272* (London, 1932). See also the works by A. E. Prince, 'The navy' in *The English government at work 1327–1366* and H. J. Hewitt, *The organisation of war*.

[21] For example M. Burrows, *Cinque ports* (London, 1888); F. W. Brooks, ' The Cinque Ports', *MM* 15 (1929), pp. 142–91 (this piece includes full transcriptions of the charters of 1206); *idem*,'The Cinque ports feud with Great Yarmouth in the thirteenth century', *MM* 19 (1933), pp. 27–51; K. M. E. Murray, 'Faversham and the Cinque Ports', *TRHS* 18 (1935), pp. 53–84; N. A. M. Rodger, 'Naval service of the Cinque ports', *EHR* 111 (1997), pp. 631–51.

[22] For example, C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: the port and trading community AD 1000–1600* (London, 1973).

[23] For example, M. Houd, 'The origins of Portsmouth', in *Hampshire studies presented to Dorothy Dymond,* ed. J. Webb, S. Peacock and N. Yates (Portsmouth, 1961), pp.1–30.

[24] For example, *The overseas trade of Bristol in the later middle ages,* ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson (London, 1967).

[25] M. Kowaleski, *Local markets and regional trade in medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995).

[26] R. H. Britnell, *Growth and decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge, 1986).

[27] For example, A. Saul, 'Great Yarmouth and the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth century', *BIHR* 52 (1979), pp. 105–15.

[28] For example, W. R. Childs, *The trade and shipping of Hull 1300–1500* (Hull, 1990).

[29] *The making of King's Lynn: a documentary survey,* ed. D. M. Owen (Oxford, 1984).

[30] W. Stevenson, 'The middle ages, 1000–1500', in *A people of the sea: the maritime history of the Channel Islands*, ed. A. G. Jamieson (London, 1986), pp. 19–43; J. Le Patourel, 'A fourteenth century list of Guernsey ships and shipmasters', in *Guernsey Quarterly Review* (autumn, 1964–65), pp. 4–7.

[31] For example, T. J. Runyan, 'The English navy in the reign of Edward III' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Maryland, 1972); *idem*, 'The organisation of royal fleets in medieval England', in *Ships, seafaring and society: essays in maritime history,* ed. T. J. Runyan (Detroit, 1987), pp. 37–52.

[32] *The navy of the Lancastrian kings: accounts and inventories of William Soper, keeper of the king's ships 1422–1427,* ed. S. Rose (London, 1982). Also, see S. Rose, *Medieval naval warfare 1000–1500* (London, 2002).

and G. Cushway.[33] The tactical use of fleets and ships during this period has also been widely studied, both with reference to specific battles and to the operational deployment of fleets.[34] Of particular interest in this field is the work of N. A. M. Rodger, J. Sherborne and I. Friel among many others.[35] The strategic use of ships and seapower during this period, although well researched, generally paints a less than positive picture of the understanding that governments had of naval strategies and tactics during the Hundred Years War.[36] This present book seeks to challenge this by bringing to light the complexities of the bureaucratic procedures involved in raising a fleet and by so doing show that the Edwardian kings and their advisors had a firm grasp of the advantages to be gained through careful management of the kingdom's maritime resources and by the deployment of fleets. Research on ships has also gathered pace and this has been helped in many ways by improved archaeological techniques. For example, there have been numerous studies on the ships of the Vikings and those of the Mediterranean city-states.[37] However, from an English perspective the most common type of ships in the period researched here were cogs, barges and ballingers.[38]

33 G. R. Cushway, 'The lord of the sea: the English navy in the reign of Edward III' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2006).

34 For example, K. DeVries, '"God, leadership, Flemings and archery," Contemporary perceptions of victory and defeat at the battle of Sluys', *American Neptune* 55 (1995), pp. 223–42.

35 For example, N. A. M. Rodger, *The safeguard of the sea: a naval history of Britain, 660–1649* (New York, 1998); J. Sherborne 'The battle of La Rochelle and the war at sea, 1372–5', *BIHR* 42 (1969), pp. 17–26; I. Friel, 'Oars, sails and guns: the English and the war at sea, 1200–1500', in *War at sea in the middle ages and renaissance*, ed. J. B. Hattendorf and R. W. Unger (Woodbridge, 2003). See also T. J. Runyan, 'Naval power during the Hundred Years War', *ibid.*, pp. 53–67 and his 'Ships and fleets in Anglo-French warfare', *American Neptune* 46 (1986), pp. 91–99. See also A. T. Hall, 'The employment of naval forces in the reign of Edward III' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Leeds, 1955–56); J. S. Kepler, 'The effects of the battle of Sluys upon the administration of naval impressment', *Speculum* 48 (1973), pp. 70–77; S. Rose, *The medieval sea* (London, 2007), Chapter 5, which concentrates on the war at sea during the hundred years war.

36 For example J. Sumption, *Trial by battle* (London, 1990–99), who is less than positive about the capabilities of the fleets and administration of this period. A more positive appraisal of the maritime contribution can be found in C. Richmond, 'The war at sea', in *The hundred years war*, ed. K. Fowler (London, 1971), pp. 96–121 and the collection of journals edited by Hattendorf and Unger, *War at sea in the middle ages and renaissance*, particularly the introduction and conclusion.

37 For example, O. Olsen and O. Crumlin-Pederson, *Five Viking ships from Roskilde Fjord*, trans. B. Bluestone (Copenhagen, 1978); A. W. Brogger and H. Shetelig, *The Viking ships: their ancestry and evolution*, trans. K. John (Oslo, 1954); L. Mott, *Sea power in the medieval Mediterranean: the Catalan and Aragonese fleet in the war of the Sicilian vespers* (Gainsville Fla, 2003).

38 See, for example, J. R. Smith, 'Hanseatic cogs and Baltic trade: interrelations between trade, technology and ecology' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Nebraska, 2010); J. Sherborne, 'English barges and ballingers of the late fourteenth century', *MM* 63 (1977), pp. 109–14.

The cog was a vessel with a large cargo capacity and a high freeboard, which ideally suited it to the northern seas. It generally had a single square sail, a stern rudder and a flat bottom, and was clinker built. Other types of ships, such as galleys, did make an appearance during this period, but they were never suited to long periods of service at sea in the rough tidal waters of the English Channel, Irish Sea and North Sea. Again, the development of these ships can be charted through considerable scholarship.[39] The final category of research has concentrated on the mariners themselves. This being said although there are accessible works on this subject medieval seafarers have usually been dealt with in short articles, and the detailed sources that would allow a study of some shipmasters on similar lines to those used for the landed gentry have not yet been investigated.[40] It is also true to say that an examination of the English merchant fleet in the fourteenth century, and its role in the wars of that era, has been a neglected area. Although we have several works that focus on this area none have specifically examined the overall contribution to these conflicts and the implications of this for English shipowners. Indeed, when compared to the research on fifteenth-century maritime studies, there has been remarkably little produced for the preceding century.[41]

[39] For example, R. W. Unger, *Ships and shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400–1800* (Aldershot, 1997). And *Cogs, caravels and galleons: the sailing ship 1000–1650*, ed. R. W. Unger (London, 1994). See also J. H. Parry, *Discovery of the sea: an illustrated history of men, ships and the sea in the fifteenth century and sixteenth century* (London, 1974). On galleys, see J. T. Tinniswood, 'English galleys, 1272–1377', *MM* 35 (1929), pp. 276–315; F. W. Brooks, 'The king's ships and galleys, mainly under John and Henry III', *MM* 15 (1933), pp. 27–51. And *idem*, 'William de Wrotham and the office of the keeper of the king's ports and galleys', *EHR* 40 (1925), pp. 570–79. On other northern ships, see C. W. Carpenter and J. Turner, 'The building of the Grace Dieu, Valentine and Falconer at Southampton, 1416–1420', *MM* 40 (1954), pp. 55–72. And also, see G. Hutchinson, *Medieval ships and shipping* (London, 1994). Another important book on ships of the medieval period is P. Marsden, *Ships of the port of London: twelfth century to seventeenth* century, English Heritage archaeological report S (London, March, 1995). Marsden uses the latest techniques of archaeology to draw firm conclusions from a variety of evidence including wrecks of ships and harbour walls.

[40] For example T. J. Runyan, 'Ships and mariners in later medieval England', *JBS* 16 (1977). See also R. Miller 'The early medieval seaman and the church: contacts ashore', *MM* 89 (2003), pp. 132–50. But also, see *idem*, 'The man at the helm: the faith and practice of the medieval seafarer, with special reference to England, 1000–1250' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2002). Miller's work is done so however with an eye to theological concerns. Finally, S. Rose, *The medieval sea*, Chapter 4 discusses some aspects of port life and the people who inhabited the ports. See also R. Ward, *The world of the medieval shipmaster: law, business and the sea, c.1340-c.1450* (Woodbridge, 2009).

[41] On the fifteenth century, see G. V. Scammell, 'English merchant shipping at the end of the middle ages: some east coast evidence' *EcHR* 13 (1961), pp. 327–40; *idem*, 'Shipowning in the economy and politics of early modern England', *The Historical Journal* 15 (1972), pp. 385–407; *idem*, 'Shipowning in England, 1450–1550' *TRHS* (1961), pp. 105–22; D. Burwash, *English merchant shipping, 1460–1540* (Newton Abbot, 1969).

As was mentioned above a central objective of this book is to examine the role and contribution played by the maritime communities of England during the period 1320–60 in supplying troops in both Scotland and France. The issue of victual supply has been dealt with in the past, but it has mainly concentrated on the system of purveyance, the victualling of garrisons and the supply of armies from an overland point of view.[42] There has been a little research on seaborne supply but this has tended to concentrate solely on the French war and brings out only general points.[43] Yet the regular system of supply in both of these theatres of war relied heavily on waterborne transport.[44] The Scottish campaigns in particular were dependent on victuals transported by sea.[45] The garrisons of Scotland, such as Berwick, Edinburgh and Perth, could not have

[42] For example, H. J. Hewitt, *The organisation of war*, Chapter 3. M. Prestwich, 'Military logistics: the case of 1322', in *Armies, chivalry and warfare in medieval Britain and France*, ed. M. Strickland, Harlaxton medieval studies 8 (Stamford, 1998), pp. 276–88. See also Prestwich, *War politics and finance*, Chapter 5. A short guide to M. Prestwich's ideas on victual supply can now be found in *Plantagenet England, 1225–1360* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 250–59. Also, see S. J. Burley, 'The victualling of Calais, 1347–65', *BIHR* 31 (1958), pp. 49–57; C. Allmand, *The hundred years war: England and France at war c.1300–c.1400* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 96–102. A good short survey of victual arrangements in the fourteenth century can also be found in C. Candy, 'An exercise in frustration: the Scottish campaign of Edward I, 1300' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Durham, 1999), Chapter 5. The exception is M. K. Vaughn, 'For the circumstances must dictate the proper means: a study in the history of logistics with special reference to thirteenth century England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1999), see Part II for a discussion on medieval logistics. Vaughn's work discusses the theories and doctrine with regard to logistics, both modern and medieval.

[43] See T. J. Runyan, 'Naval logistics in the late middle ages: the example of the Hundred Years War', in *Feeding Mars: logistics in western warfare from the middle ages to the present*, ed. J. A. Lynn (Oxford, 1993), pp. 79–102; M. Vale, *The Angevin legacy and the hundred years war, 1250–1340* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 200–15. Three excellent studies of supplying armies in the French wars: M. K. Vaughn, '"Mount the warhorse, take your lance in your grip …": Logistical preparations for the Gascon Campaign of 1294', in *Thirteenth Century England* 8, ed. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (2001), pp. 97–111; Y. N. Harari, 'Strategy and supply in fourteenth century western European invasion campaigns', *JMH* 64, pp. 297–333; R. A. Kaner, 'The management of the mobilisation of English armies: Edward I to Edward III' (unpublished PhD thesis, York University, 1999): this thesis analyses in detail the organisation of supplies and transport of the 1322 campaign, the war of St Sardos and Edward's wars up to 1359. But, specifically on supply, see pp. 217–30. The lack of a concentrated effort to study the supply system has been noted in D. S. Bachrach, 'Military logistics during the reign of Edward I of England, 1272–1307', *War in history* 13 (2006), pp. 423–40, p. 424, although it must be noted that Bachrach's piece concentrates on the transportation of provender overland.

[44] C. Candy, 'The Scottish wars of Edward III' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2004), Chapter 10 details the role that ships played in the supply operations well as a general discussion on the participation of the navy during the wars in Scotland.

[45] Transportation by sea was favoured because freighting victuals by this method usually cost the crown much less in monetary output, with waterborne transportation being anywhere up to eight times cheaper than supplies freighted over land: see J. Masschaele, 'Transport costs in medieval England', *EcHR* 46 (1993), pp. 266–79, p. 273.

existed without regular and sufficient supplies carried largely by ships. Supply fleets in the French wars were less regular and in some cases less important. For example, English armies serving in Gascony essentially campaigned in a block of territory controlled by Edward III as duke of Aquitaine. Therefore supplies could be obtained through local communities. Nevertheless, as we shall see, English forces crossing to Gascony were usually careful to take at least some victuals with them. Those English troops that campaigned in northern France had to be supplied with help from regional allies (as in 1338–40) or they had to bring enough supplies to last several weeks. Of course, an army could always try to live off the countryside it traversed; but this form of supply could not be guaranteed and a careful commander would always make sure his men had ample food for at least a few weeks at the start of a campaign. Seen in this light the logistical capabilities of the English merchant fleet were paramount to any successful campaign and garrison operation in enemy territory.

From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that this book has one central aim, which is to bring to light the sophistication of English maritime logistics in the fourteenth century. Its focus, then, is on the four areas that English shipping was most heavily involved with. Chapter 1 addresses the procedural and administrative capabilities of the crown during this period, paying particular attention to the bureaucratic procedures adopted by the English government when it needed to requisition a sufficient number of ships to serve in both supply and transport fleets. Chapter 2 examines the role that ships played in the supply of English royal campaigns and garrisons between 1320 and 1360 within Scotland and France, as well as their military participation as combatants in the expeditions of the period. Included is a discussion on the issue of horse transportation. The chapter deals first with the period between 1322 and 1336, because this was the time of the greatest military intensity in the Scottish wars. Second, the discussion focuses on the campaigns launched between 1337 and 1360, a period that witnessed a reduction in the military resources committed by England to the Scottish wars. Nevertheless, the aim of this chapter is to show the type and quantities of victuals transported and the number of ports, ships and mariners involved in these operations. In addition, the naval contribution to the king's wars of the period, specifically in Scotland, is assessed because this helps us to understand just how burdensome the demands of the crown on the merchant fleet were in this period. It also allows us to reconstruct/follow for the first time on any scale the involvement of individual ships and their crews in the wars of the two Edwards.

Chapter 3 considers the composition of the many royal transport fleets of the period. The objective here is to discover how many ports, ships and mariners were involved in each royal transport armada of the period, and how many men and horses they were required to transport. Chapter 4 concentrates on several issues that have been raised throughout the previous chapters and will analyse the overall management of the maritime resources that were exploited by the English crown. Moreover, within Chapter 4 the careers of several masters and

mariners will be put forward to demonstrate that shipmasters were an integral part of the Edwardian military machine, with a collective expertise that was vital to the English war effort. There is also an analysis of the effects of the Black Death on the availability of shipping and ships. Such issues provide tentative steps towards a greater understanding of the size and distribution of the merchant marine during this period.