

# The Outposts of Lancastrian France in Eastern Champagne

A. M. Lobanov

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Although much has been written on the efforts of the Lancastrian regime to impose its power in France in the aftermath of the Treaty of Troyes (1420), the role played by English military forces and administrators in some regions, such as Champagne, remains very obscure. The article examines the case of the most remote outposts of Lancastrian power in France, the garrisons of Montigny-le-Roi and Nogent-le-Roi in the region of Bassigny in the east of Champagne (now in the Département de la Haute-Marne). These garrisons have been portrayed as troublesome to both friend and foe as well as a means of putting political pressure on the duke of Burgundy. However, a study of the report on the garrisons' abuses in the 1423–1426 and related documents reveals their Anglo-French composition and provides evidence of the efforts of the Lancastrian government to impose control over the garrisons. The same report along with financial sources concerning the garrisons' effectives makes it possible to reconsider the scale of English participation in the battle of Bulgnéville (1431). Finally, the evidence for the 1430s suggests that after the loss of most important cities of Champagne to the Dauphinsts in 1429 the garrisons in Bassigny remained in close contact with the Burgundians and were engaged in a number of joint operations up until the Treaty of Arras (1435) and Franco-Burgundian reconciliation. Thus the article provides a more complex and dynamic picture of the history of the two garrisons and their role in Anglo-Burgundian relations within changing political and military contexts.

**Keywords:** Hundred Years War, Lancastrian France, History of France of 15<sup>th</sup> c., Champagne, Battle of Bulgnéville (1431), Medieval Military History.

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## **Форпосты ланкастерской Франции в Восточной Шампани**

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В то время как о попытках династии Ланкастеров установить свою власть во Франции после договора в Труа (1420 г.) написано немало, роль английской военной и гражданской администрации в некоторых регионах, как, например, Шампань, остается весьма неясной. В статье рассматривается случай двух, возможно, наиболее удаленных форпостов ланкастерского режима — гарнизонов Монтинь-ле-Руа и Ножана-ле-Руа в области Бассиньи на востоке Шампани (ныне департамент Верхняя Марна). В историографии эти гарнизоны представлялись как источник проблем, как для врагов, так и для союзников, и средство политического давления на бургундского герцога. Изучение отчета о бесчинствах гарнизонов в 1423–1426 гг. показывает, что гарнизоны имели смешанный англо-французский состав, а также другие документы того же периода свидетельствуют о попытках ланкастерского режима установить над ними контроль, что, в частности, выражалось в смещении капитана. Этот же отчет вместе с финансовыми документами, касающимися численности гарнизонов, позволяет пересмотреть масштаб английского участия в сражении при Бюльневилле (1431 г.) в пользу цифры в 100–120 человек, в отличие от более распространенной ныне оценки в 600 человек. Наконец, источники за 1430-е гг. свидетельствуют, что после потери ланкастерским режимом в 1429 г. важнейших городов Шампани (Труа, Реймс, Шалон и т. д.) гарнизоны в Бассиньи сохранились и продолжали действовать в тесном сотрудничестве с бургундцами, приняв участие в ряде совместных операций, вплоть до франко-бургундского примирения по Аррасскому договору (1435 г.), и лишь затем были ликвидированы. Таким образом, в статье делается попытка представить более многогранную и динамичную картину истории этих гарнизонов и их роли в англо-бургундских отношениях с учетом меняющегося политического и военного контекста.

**Ключевые слова:** Столетняя война, ланкастерская Франция, история Франции XV в., Шампань, битва при Бюльневилле (1431 г.), военная история — Средние века.

Over the last forty years remarkable efforts have been made by a number of distinguished scholars such as C. T. Allmand, A. Curry, G. L. Thompson and others in investigating the history and political and military structures of Lancastrian France. With only a few exceptions, however, these important studies tend to concentrate on Paris and the areas under English military occupation such as Normandy or Maine. The territories of so-called ‘Burgundian’ or ‘Anglo-Burgundian’ France such as Champagne and Picardy received much lesser attention and remain very much *terra incognita*<sup>1</sup>.

This relative neglect may be partly due to the lack of sources in comparison with the remarkable survival of documents for Normandy. On the other hand, the obedience

<sup>1</sup> Among such noteworthy exceptions English involvement in the war in Champagne has been considered by M. Warner: Warner M. 1) The Montagu earls of Salisbury c. 1300–1428: a study in warfare, politics & political culture: unpublished PhD thesis. London, 1991; 2) The Anglo-French Dual Monarchy and the House of Burgundy, 1420–1435: the Survival of an Alliance // French History. 1997. Vol. 11. P. 103–130.

of these regions to the Lancastrian regime was based on the acceptance of the Treaty of Troyes (1420) which made Henry V heir to the French throne. Therefore during the 1420s–1430s Picardy and Champagne continued to be governed by the officers of French origin, both civil and military. The evidence of wholly English military presence and the actions of English contingents in these regions remains very incomplete. With a few exceptions such as Le Crotoy and Rue at the mouth of the Somme, Meaux on the lower Marne, or the garrisons in the lower Yonne and the middle Seine valleys, little evidence of permanent *English* garrisons is found in the surviving documentation. This may have led some historians into believing that the English had little or no power in Champagne<sup>2</sup>, making this region of less interest. As a result, examination of the Lancastrian regime in these regions has largely been left to local historians, whose local patriotism could affect their studies or simply induce them to sketch over the topic whilst deplored the illegitimacy and inefficiency of English rule<sup>3</sup>.

The presence of English-staffed outposts in the region of Bassigny in the east of Champagne has attracted attention but with little light being shed on their history. With the studies largely based on accounts of abuses committed by the English garrisons<sup>4</sup>, the latter came to be portrayed primarily as a menace not only to hostile but even to allied territories. The attacks of the garrison soldiers on Burgundian lands during the mid-1420s came to be seen as a deliberate attempt by the English to put pressure on Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in an effort to prevent his defection to the Valois cause. There were fears of such a defection in the wake of the Burgundian truce of Chambéry with the Dauphinists in October 1424, the duke's marriage to Bonne d'Artois in 1425, and the simultaneous rise of Arthur de Richemont to favour with Charles VII. Alternatively, the garrisons have been associated with the earl of Salisbury and his supposed conflict with the duke of Burgundy, which is then portrayed as a private war<sup>5</sup>.

Therefore the role played by the English military forces in these eastern reaches of the French kingdom, and their contribution towards maintaining or undermining the Lancastrian rule in the region remains open to doubt. An attempt to address this problem requires a reconstitution of scattered materials: together they can reveal the size of the English contingents, their engagement in the major military undertakings in the region, their place within the structures of power of Lancastrian France and their interfaces with the central government in Paris as well as with regional powers. The present study aims to consider these issues as well as to contribute to the broader reconstruction of this stage of the Hundred Years War in Champagne.

<sup>2</sup> Perroy E. La Guerre de Cent ans. Paris. 1945. P.221.

<sup>3</sup> A revealing example is the case of Langres, which was for a long time erroneously believed to have supported the Valois cause even though it only joined it in 1433, see: Guyard M. Langres pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1417–1435). Les Langrois “Bourguignons” ou “Armagnacs”? // Les Cahiers Haut-Marnais. 1965. T.80. P.1–26.

<sup>4</sup> See: Report on the ravages of the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent // Archives Départementales de Côte d'Or (ADCO), B 11880 : a paper quire headlined in a later hand as ‘Copie des informacions faittes au mois de Janvier 1425 touchant les ravages faicts au Bailliage d'amont par les garnisons de Montigny et Nogent le Roy’, marked as ‘layette № 161. liasse 1<sup>er</sup>. Cotte 3433’. With foliation only present on the first folios of the manuscript (fos. 2–13), the remaining folio numbers are given here in square brackets. The document was, it seems, first cited in: Valat G. Nicolas Rolin, chancelier de Bourgogne, 1376–1462 // Mémoires de la Société éduenne. 1914. T. 42. P. 117–118.

<sup>5</sup> Warner M.: 1) The Anglo-French Dual Monarchy... P.119–121; 2) The Montagu earls of Salisbury... P.148–151; Bossuat A. Perrinet Gressart et François de Surienne, agents de l'Angleterre. Paris, 1936. P.76–77.

## Bassigny as the theatre of operations in the 1420s–1430s

The theatre in which the garrisons were operating was the border between the kingdom of France and the Empire. Adjacent to the royal *bailliage* of Chaumont were the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, the bishopric-duchy of Langres and the Burgundian domains. The duchies of Bar and Lorraine by the early fifteenth century had strong connections with the crown of France and were fully involved in the struggle for influence in the region between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans in the early 1400s. Much changed, however, during the two following decades with the might of the ducal house of Bar being ruined at Agincourt and royal power falling to its lowest ebb by 1418. By 1420 the *bailliage* of Chaumont was largely controlled by the Burgundians, with *baillis* who were Burgundian partisans<sup>6</sup>. The Dauphinist cause was defended by Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs, a committed Armagnac, supported by some local nobles and captains. It appears, however, that for most local nobles the choice of which side to support in the war between Armagnacs and Burgundians was instrumental in achieving their private or family goals and ambitions. This was a region with its own networks of power and rivalry which (especially in periods of crisis) resulted in incessant feuding between local seigneurs.

As presented by S. Luce, English power in the *bailliage* of Chaumont became well established in the immediate aftermath of the Treaty of Troyes (1420), with Montigny-le-Roy and Nogent-le-Roy, key fortresses of Bassigny, placed in their hands<sup>7</sup>. This transition, however, was neither instantaneous nor straightforward. Documents mention the English at Montigny only from about early 1423<sup>8</sup>. Nogent, previously captured by the Burgundians from pro-Armagnac free companies in 1417<sup>9</sup>, seems to have been taken in July 1425, apparently from the Burgundians, by Digon Amore, captain of Montigny<sup>10</sup>. There are two other places occasionally mentioned alongside Montigny and Nogent: Coiffy<sup>11</sup> and Pouil-

<sup>6</sup> After the Treaty of Troyes (1420) these powers came to the Lancastrian regime. Henry V made Jean de Chauffour *bailli* of Chaumont on 16 October 1420. He was succeeded by Jean de Torcenay from 7 November 1427 until 1434, when Chaumont fell into Dauphinist hands, see: Dupont-Ferrier G. *Gallia regia ou état des officiers royaux des baillages et des sénéchaussés de 1328 à 1515*, 6 vols. Paris, 1942–1951. Vol. II. P. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy. Recherches critiques sur les origines de la mission de la Pucelle. Paris, 1886. P. LXI–LXII. — Montigny is now incorporated in the commune of Val-de-Meuse (dep. Haute Marne, arr. Langres, cant. Bourbonne-les-Bains); Nogent or Nogent-en-Bassigny (dep. Haute Marne, arr. Chaumont).

<sup>8</sup> The abuses of those from Montigny are dated back to Lent of 1423 in the Report on the ravages... // ADCO, B 11880, fo. 6 v. In early October 1424 the English of the garrison of Montigny were summoned by the chancellor of Burgundy to join the ducal army for the *journée* of La Roche-Solutré in Mâconnais, see: Bazin J.-L. *La Bourgogne de la mort du duc Philippe le Hardi au traité d'Arras* (1404–1435) // Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire, d'Archéologie et de Littérature de l'arrondissement de Beaune. 1898. an. 1897. P. 174; Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), MS. Bourgogne 29. F. 145 r.

<sup>9</sup> Girard A., Pingenet F. Prise du château de Nogent-en-Bassigny par les Bourguignons en 1417 // Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique de Langres. 1897. T. 55. P. 201–213.

<sup>10</sup> The dowager duchess of Burgundy was informed of the capture of Nogent 'qui auparavant estoit en l'obéissance du duc son mari' by 11 July 1425, BNF, MS. Bourgogne 29. F. 243 r. See also: Boullaye J. de (ed.). *Inventaire-Sommaire des archives communales de Langres antérieurs à 1790*. Troyes, 1882. P. 102. — Unfortunately, with the destruction of the city archives of Langres by fire in 1892, only the printed inventory and a few dispersed extracts remain available to researchers. Extract dated between 4 July 1425 and 3 February 1427 refers to 'la prise de Nogent le Roi par Digon Amore sur les gens du duc de Bourgogne' : Guyard M. Langres... P. 12–13, 24. — The attacks from Nogent are reported in October 1425 in: Report on the ravages... // ADCO, B 11880. F. [37r]–[39r].

<sup>11</sup> Coiffy-le-Haut (dep. Haute Marne, arr. Langres, cant. Bourbonne-les-Bains). The English presence there is mentioned in Les chroniques du roi Charles VII par Gilles Le Bouvier dit le Héraut Berry / eds

ly-en-Bassigny<sup>12</sup>. In fact, the former was held by a Lorraine noble Érard du Châtelet in the 1420s<sup>13</sup>. After his capture by the Burgundians at Bulgnéville in 1431, the place came into the hands of Antoine de Vergy who entrusted it to Amé du Fay<sup>14</sup>. The latter certainly was not an Englishman even though it should not be assumed that under his captaincy Coiffy was no menace to the surrounding area<sup>15</sup>. Since we have only a single mention of the booty and prisoners taken at Coiffy, it seems likely to have been only a temporary outpost rather than a permanent base<sup>16</sup>.

The geographic location of Montigny and Nogent played an important role in their story. With Paris about 250 km away<sup>17</sup> and a distance of some 180–200 km from the nearest English garrisons in the lower Yonne valley (Villeneuve-le-Roy and Montereau), they were very much left to themselves. At the same time, they were only some 80 km away from the Burgundian capital of Dijon and 65 km away from Vesoul, the centre of the *bailiage* of Amont in Franche-Comté. Montigny stood on the Meuse some 50 km upstream (and therefore to the south) from the now famous village of Domrémy. If there were any particular English soldiers whom Joan of Arc had to fear prior to leaving her home, these may have been from the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent.

## The Garrisons of Montigny and Nogent under Digon Amore

What mainly attracted historians' attention to the English garrisons in Bassigny were their raids and incursions against friend and foe alike. They threatened the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, the city of Langres and even the county of Burgundy. Of these only the Barrois was a legitimate target since Louis of Bar, the cardinal-duke, abstained from accepting the Treaty of Troyes until early 1429<sup>18</sup>. The duke of Lorraine, keen to keep his lands and subjects safe, had to approach the duke of Bedford in order to stop the ravages of Digon Amore, captain of Montigny<sup>19</sup>. The city of Langres tried to purchase its security with grants of wine and money but even then the truce was not always respected<sup>20</sup>. Eventually, the citizens appealed to the *bailli* of Chaumont. Girardin La Flete, royal *procureur*

H. Couteault, L. Celier. Paris, 1979. (henceforward — Berry) P. 147; *Vallet de Viriville A. Histoire de Charles VII. Vol. 2. Paris, 1863. P. 270; Boulaye J. de (ed.). Inventaire-Sommaire... P. 58, 64; Guyard M. Les malheurs de la Guerre de Cent Ans dans les pays de Langres et de Chaumont. [Chaumont], 1966. P. 4, planche IV.* — I am grateful to Alain Morgat from the Archives Départementales de Haute Marne for the latter source.

<sup>12</sup> Now part of the commune of Châtelet-sur-Meuse (dep. Haute Marne, arr. Langres, cant. Bourbonne-les-Bains).

<sup>13</sup> Dupont-Ferrier G. *Gallia Regia...* II. P. 170–171; see: Bonvallet A. ‘La Prévôté royale de Coiffy-le-Châtel (aujourd’hui Coiffy-le-Haut)’// *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*. 2 sér. T. VI (1894). P. 351.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. P. 351–352.

<sup>15</sup> Luce S. Jeanne d’Arc à Domrémy... P. LXXI. This local nobleman had already raided the Langrois in 1417 and again engaged in the conflict with Langres in 1432, Guyard M. Les malheurs... P. 13–15, planche IV; Bonvallet A. La Prévôté royale de Coiffy-le-Châtel... P. 353 and n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> See Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. F. [26 r].

<sup>17</sup> All distances are estimated with the Google Maps Measure Distance instrument.

<sup>18</sup> Lecoy de la Marche A. *Le Roi René: sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires*. Vol. I. Paris, 1875. P. 70–73. — It must have been during a period of relative rapprochement that in December 1424 the garrisons of Bassigny were ordered to respect the duke’s subjects, Luce S. Jeanne d’Arc à Domrémy... P. CLII, n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Luce S. Jeanne d’Arc à Domrémy... P. 317–318. — These letters were issued in Paris on 10 April with year not given; dated 1422 by Luce they undoubtedly belong to Henry VI’s reign hence no earlier than 1423.

<sup>20</sup> Archives Nationales de France (AN). JJ 174/48 and 174/104.

in the bailliage, was sent to Paris to seek restitution of the damages<sup>21</sup>, which seems to have resulted in a process in the Châtelet<sup>22</sup>. Similar complaints originated from the Burgundian administration in Dijon and in the end the royal council in Paris was forced to react. Letters issued at Dijon on 1 January 1426 instructed the Burgundian *bailli* of Amont to provide a detailed account of the damages inflicted by the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent within his *bailliage* so that restitution could be made. A copy of this account (the now lost original presumably having been despatched to Paris) composed by Jean Sardon, lieutenant-general of the *bailli*, is presently in the Archives Départementales de Côte-d'Or at Dijon<sup>23</sup>.

This account, possibly incomplete, contains the depositions of some 200 witnesses reporting over twenty episodes of ravages committed by the soldiers of Montigny and Nogent within the *bailliage* between Lent 1423 and January 1426. Most of these episodes were highway robberies and foraging raids against local places, mostly concentrated around the seigneuries of Jonvelle and Champlite which belonged to the notable Burgundians Jean de La Trémouille and Antoine de Vergy respectively. Some places like Fresnes-sur-Apance or Blondefontaine were raided twice or thrice<sup>24</sup>. Houses were broken into and property taken. Livestock, and on a number of occasions people, were taken to Montigny and put to ransom. Relatively few cases of armed violence resulting in murder, injury or rape are reported. If it had not been for the fact that these atrocities were committed in allied rather than hostile territories, this would have just been the usual way the war was waged during this period. As the account shows, the allied status of the Burgundian territories only became important on the few occasions where the victims subsequently sought the assistance of the duke's sergeants, sometimes resulting in a partial restitution of the lost property and livestock. Such assistance, however, came at its own cost which was also claimed in the account<sup>25</sup>.

This report on the *bailliage* of Amont has never been used as a source of information on the men who were committing the crimes but it has certain potential in this regard. Surprisingly, out of more than two hundred witnesses reporting the attacks, only about a dozen described the malefactors as *les Anglois*, the common formula being *ceux de la garnison de Montigny*<sup>26</sup>. A closer look at some 20 soldiers' names scattered through the account<sup>27</sup>, may contribute to doubts as to the degree to which the garrisons of Nogent and Montigny should actually be considered English.

A few names — Richard Scale, lieutenant, Richard Bay, Roger Paulmer, Richard (or, possibly, Thomas) Froun — seem to belong to Englishmen. As the depositions assembled

<sup>21</sup> Guyard M. Langres... No. 32. P.13. — The citizens of Langres also sent their representative, Jean de Genay, to the Regent to have the English abandon Montigny and Nogent, see: Inventaire-Sommaire... P. 58–59.

<sup>22</sup> ‘certaine poursuite eust et ait este sur ce f[ai]c[t]e p[ar] lesdiz bourgeois et h[ab]itans alencont[re] dud[ic]t digon en n[ot]re chastelet de par[is] durant laquelle Icelui digon soit ale de vie at[re]spassem[en]t au lieu de vertus’, AN. JJ 174/48, 174/104.

<sup>23</sup> Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. For the letters of commission see F. 1r–1v.

<sup>24</sup> Fresnes-sur-Apance (dep. Haute-Marne, arr. Langres, cant. Bourbonne-les-Bains); Blondefontaine (dep. Haute-Saône, arr. Vesoul, cant. Jussey).

<sup>25</sup> See, for example: Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. F. 6v, [24v], [25v].

<sup>26</sup> For mention as the English see: Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. F. 1v, [39r] — [41v].

<sup>27</sup> Some of them are given in full but others with only the first names reported, such as ‘ung nomme David’, ‘ung nomme Jehannin’, ‘ung nomme Hacquinet’, see: Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. F. 9v, 11v, [25r].

in the report were given by Frenchmen and written down in French by French officials, the names tend to be gallicised. As a result, it is not possible to tell whether the man mentioned as Jean l'Archier was a Frenchman or an Englishman John Archer. In other cases, only French-looking nicknames such as ‘Le Connetable’ and ‘Le Flamenc’ are recorded though they also may have originated from English surnames Constable or Fleming<sup>28</sup>. There are, however, names which look definitely French such as Guillaume Le Gay, Etienne de Laval, bastard de Valance, Guillaumin ‘Forte-Epice’ d’Orne<sup>29</sup> or the man mentioned as ‘Le Petit Picard’<sup>30</sup>. Nicolas Husson is even described by the witnesses as a native of the *bailliage* of Amont<sup>31</sup>.

Some of those who can be identified as Frenchmen are subsequently found in Burgundian service. One Guillaume, bastard de Valence, fought alongside the prince of Orange in the battle of Anthon in 1430<sup>32</sup>. Colin Escirart, known as ‘Le Petit Picard’ commanded a company of soldiers on the borders of Burgundy in 1433–1435<sup>33</sup>. Unfortunately, the attempts to trace military careers of other soldiers in *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* database has proved inconclusive, the results either being too few or too numerous for an identification with the sole exception of the abovementioned Nicolas Husson. One ‘Colin Hewson’ served as an archer under the earl of Salisbury at the siege of La Ferté-Bernard in Maine in February-March 1426. A soldier with the same name was serving in Alençon and its surroundings between 1430 and 1443<sup>34</sup>. This could be a namesake but it is not impossible that the soldier from Bassigny decided to join the earl of Salisbury, whose service brought him very far away from his native region.

Concerns about the origins of soldiers arising out of their names extend also to their captain Digon Amore. Although he is sometimes referred to by historians as an Englishman<sup>35</sup>, such an identification does not appear to be supported by contemporary evidence. The following mention in a financial document seems to come most close in doing this:

<sup>28</sup> Sir Thomas Fleming appears as the captain of Montigny-le-Roy jointly with Sir Thomas Gargrave in the Chronicle of Peter Basset and Christopher Hanson // College of Arms. MS. M9. (henceforward — Basset) F.49v. I am grateful to Prof. Curry for sight of this chronicle text. Though the fact of Fleming’s captaincy (unlike that of Gargrave, which will be considered later) is not supported by other evidence, it is possible that the chronicler may have had some knowledge of his service at Montigny. One *William Connestable* was serving as a man-at-arms under the earl of Salisbury at the siege of La Ferté-Bernard in Maine in March 1426, British Library (BL). Additional Charter (Add. Ch.) 94 // SLME.

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned simply as Forte-Epice in Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B 11880. F.6v, 7r, [23v]. As shown by Luce, in the mid-1420s this *nom de guerre* (later associated with Jean d’Espailly one of the *écorcheur* leaders) was used by Guillaumin d’Orne, *Luce S. Jeanne d’Arc à Domrémy...* P.145.

<sup>30</sup> The latter name appears not in the report related to the *bailliage* of Amont but in the letters of remission, AN. JJ 174/48 and 174/104.

<sup>31</sup> He is referred to as ‘nicolas de vill[ie]rs le paucey’, ‘Nicolas de la Rouge maison de vill[ie]rs paucey’ and eventually ‘nicolas husson dud[it] vill[ar]s le pautey’, see: Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B11880. F. [18v], [19r], [26r]. — This must refer to Villars-le-Pautel (dep. Haute-Saône, arr. Vesoul, cant. Jussey) within 15 km of the attacked places of Grignoncourt (dep. Vosges, arr. Neufchâteau, cant. Darney), Fignévelle (dep. Vosges, arr. Neufchâteau, cant. Darney) and Jussey (dep. Haute-Saône, arr. Vesoul, ch.-l. of cant.) and about 35 km away from Montigny-le-Roy.

<sup>32</sup> *Barbey F.* Louis de Chalon prince d’Orange, seigneur d’Orbe, Échallens, Grandson, 1390–1463. Lausanne, 1926. P.151.

<sup>33</sup> Pieces dated 18 February 1433 and 20 September 1435 // ADCO. B 11740.

<sup>34</sup> For the siege of La Ferté-Bernard, see: BL. Add. Ch. 94 // SLME. For the following service see Appendix 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Luce S. Jeanne d’Arc à Domrémy...* P. CLI–CLII; *Guyard M. Langres...* P. 12. No. 29.

...feu hemon heron jadix chevalier Digon la More, et autres dela nacion de notre Royaume d'angleterre...<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, in the suit pursued in the *Parlement* of Paris in 1427 by Robin de la More, most likely Digon's brother<sup>37</sup>, against Edward Gand, the latter is mentioned as an Englishman, while the former is not<sup>38</sup>. In the contemporary documents Digon Amore is usually simply styled as squire and seigneur of Blaude or Blandery<sup>39</sup>. It does not appear that he was ever knighted.

Not much is actually known of his military career. If an Englishman, he may have been the Richard More who served as a man-at-arms in the retinue of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worcester, in Henry V's troops which crossed to France in 1421<sup>40</sup>. The earl, who died at the siege of Meaux in 1422, is known to have led in June-July 1421 an English force to the borders of Barrois to the help of Pierre de Luxembourg, count of Ligny<sup>41</sup>. This expedition, though aimed some 100 km to the north of Montigny, may have introduced Digon to this frontier. Two years later Digon Amore is reported to have fought in the battle of Cravant, according to the chronicle of Basset and Hanson, which lists him among the English captains rather than among the Burgundians<sup>42</sup>. In February 1426 he participated in the siege of Arzillières laid by Jean de Neufchâtel, a Burgundian captain in Lancastrian service<sup>43</sup>. The service of Digon Amore came to an end by October 1426 when he was killed in the surprise Dauphinist attack on Vertus<sup>44</sup>.

### Bassigny under Lancastrian governance, 1426–1429

As soon as the fall of Vertus as well as the death of Edmund Heron and Digon Amore became known, Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, was commissioned on 12 October 1426 to recover Vertus and Mont-Aimé<sup>45</sup>. A few days earlier, on 7 October, the earl was

<sup>36</sup> BNF. Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises (NAF) 7627. F. 18v (12 October 1426).

<sup>37</sup> There are mentions of Robin Amore in: Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B11880. F.[15v], [17r]. — In other passages Digon's brother is mentioned without his name given: Ibid. F.[18v].

<sup>38</sup> AN. X<sup>1a</sup> 4795. F. 129r.

<sup>39</sup> Musée des Archives Départementales, recueil de fac-simile héliographiques de documents tirés des Archives des préfectures, mairies et hospices. Paris, 1878. P.301–302; *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P.317–318. — Possibly Blandey, now a part of the commune of Roman (dep. Eure, arr. Évreux, cant. Verneuil-sur-Avre) between Damville and Breteuil. This may have been a Lancastrian grant.

<sup>40</sup> The National Archives (TNA), E 101/50/1 // SLME. Another possible candidate could be Richard Moris (or Morris), man-at-arms in the garrisons of Pont-Meulan and Poissy in 1422–1423, AN.K 62/7/2 // SLME; BNF. MS. Français (Fr.) 25766. No. 816 // SLME.

<sup>41</sup> *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P.314–316.

<sup>42</sup> Basset F.48v. This account was used by Edward Hall, Hall's Chronicle Containing the History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods. See: Carefully Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550 / ed. by H. Ellis. London, 1809. (henceforward Hall) P.117–118. — Digon a More is also listed as present at the battle in a late sixteenth-century list of participants and casualties in BL, Harley MS. 782. F. 51, printed in Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England / ed. by J. Stevenson, 2 vols. London, 1864. Vol. II. P. 385–386.

<sup>43</sup> Arzillières-Neuville (dep. Marne, arr. Vitry-le-François, cant. Saint-Remy-en-Bouzemont-Saint-Genest-et-Isson), BNF. MS. Fr. 32510. F. 367v.

<sup>44</sup> BNF. NAF 7627. F.18r–18v; AN.JJ 174/48, 104.

<sup>45</sup> BNF. MS. Fr. 32510. F. 368v.

appointed captain of Nogent and Montigny until the following Michaelmas<sup>46</sup>. Nothing suggests that the recovery of Vertus caused any problems to the earl but the siege of Mont-Aimé was to last until mid-March 1427<sup>47</sup>.

The appointment of Salisbury to the command of Montigny and Nogent, the only Lancastrian captaincy of the places noted by G. Dupont-Ferrier in his *Gallia Regia*, has led scholars to identify the atrocities committed by the garrisons with this remarkable English commander, who was also the governor of Champagne and Brie<sup>48</sup>. Therefore the abuses committed by the garrisons of Bassigny in the county of Burgundy have become presented as undertaken on the earl's order and as a part of his supposed conflict with Philip the Good.

In fact, nothing suggests that Salisbury held the captaincies of Montigny and Nogent prior to October 1426. They must have been subordinate to him as the governor of Champagne and Brie, but the earl only held this office since April 1423 and abandoned it by the start of October 1424<sup>49</sup>, possibly even by the time he fought in the battle of Verneuil on 17 August. Therefore only a lesser part of period between Lent 1423 and January 1426, when the misdeeds were committed in the bailliage of Amont, falls into his term of governorship. Even while Salisbury was the governor of Champagne, the degree of his control over the garrisons of Bassigny is open to certain doubt. Writing on 7 June 1424 to the citizens of Langres, Digon Amore, captain of Montigny, refused to take into account the earl's letters sent to him, claiming them to be forged on the ground that they did not have the earl's seal and *saint manuel* or his signet<sup>50</sup>. Having abandoned the governorship, Salisbury became engaged with the conquest of Maine in 1425–1426 and came to Champagne only briefly in the last months of 1425 to supervise the siege of Mont-Aimé<sup>51</sup>.

It appears, therefore, that by late 1425–early 1426 two processes were going on simultaneously: Digon Amore was continuing his ravages, while the Lancastrian government reacted to the complaints and sought to compensate the losses and, possibly, to replace the captain<sup>52</sup>. Salisbury, no longer governor of Champagne but temporarily engaged with the siege of Mont-Aimé, acted in this situation as the representative of the crown and was

<sup>46</sup> BNF. MS. Fr. 32510. F. 369r; Fr. 4484. F. 147r.

<sup>47</sup> Salisbury's commission for the recovery of Mont-Aimé (also spelt as Moymer) was initially issued until 1 January 1427 but was then prolonged until 1 April, BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F. 36r — 38v. — The records of the city council of Reims last mention the siege on 16 March, after that date the discussion switches to the demolition of Mont-Aimé: *Guilbert S. (ed.)* *Registre de Délibérations du Conseil de Ville de Reims (1422–1436)*. Reims, 1990–1991. P. 84–85.

<sup>48</sup> *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P. CLI; *Bossuat A. Perrinet Gressart...* P. 76–77.

<sup>49</sup> The letters of remission issued in October 1424 to the citizens of Sézanne (captured by Salisbury in June) mention him as 'lors gouverneur [...] de Champagne et de Brye', suggesting that he was no longer in office: *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P. 119.

<sup>50</sup> Musée des Archives Départementales... P. 301–302.

<sup>51</sup> Mont-Aimé had to be besieged twice: first in 1425–1426 and after its recovery by the Dauphinists once again in 1426–1427. The castle was then demolished.

<sup>52</sup> The letters of remission issued in September 1427 to several citizens of Langres refer to the time 'p[ar]avant le com[m]ancem[en]t de lad[i]c[t]e poursuite ou aumoins avant ce que led[it] digon feust deschargie desd[ites] cappitainies', suggesting that the complaints resulted in the removal of Digon Amore from the captaincy, AN. JJ 174/48, 147/104. The chronicle of Peter Basset (Basset F.49v) mentions Digon Amore as the captain of Vertus (jointly with Edmund Heron), which may reflect his deposition from the captaincy of Montigny and Nogent.

expected to ensure that compensation was paid by those of Montigny and Nogent to the victims of their abuses<sup>53</sup>.

The period of 1427–1428 is probably the best documented in the history of the two garrisons due to a survival of the account of André d'Espernon, *tresorier des guerres* for Henry VI as the king of France. It reveals that during the captaincy of Salisbury the effectiveness of garrisons were reduced to their lowest ever — 6 men-at-arms and 32 archers as a total for both places. Moreover, the receiver of Langres is found among the officers who received the garrisons' musters<sup>54</sup>, possibly giving this city, which had suffered from the raids of Digon Amore in the mid-1420s, some control over the garrisons. The earl of Salisbury did not execute command in person but soon had it entrusted to the experienced men who had previously served with him, such as Sir Thomas Gargrave or Sir Lancelot de Lisle, the future marshal of the earl's army during the Orléans campaign<sup>55</sup>.

Simeon Luce claimed that under these lieutenants of Salisbury the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent remained the same threat to the surroundings as they were under Digon Amore, but his suggestion does not appear to be supported by any evidence for the period after 1425<sup>56</sup>. Luce's concerns about the concentration of the forces in Montigny and Nogent in late April 1427 fail to take into account the fact that a month later most of these captains would be engaged at the siege of Montargis far distant from Bassigny<sup>57</sup>. Soldiers were always a source of a trouble and some abuses may have continued to take place but the silence of the sources suggests that their scale in 1424–1425 was unparalleled in the following years.

It therefore may appear that from about late 1425 the Lancastrian government, in responding to the complaints of the locals, worked hard in an attempt to impose a certain measure of order on the garrisons of Bassigny. By 1427 it had achieved significant success in establishing its control over the region which made it possible to reduce the strength of the garrisons and therefore the threat they could pose.

## The garrisons in the Burgundian orbit

The position of the garrisons in Bassigny changed almost overnight as the tide of the war turned in May–August 1429. Following the English defeats before Orléans and at Patay Charles VII marched through Champagne to be crowned at Reims on 17 July 1429. Before the end of August most of the cities of Champagne joined his cause as did René of Anjou, brother-in-law of Charles and heir to the duchies of Lorraine and Bar.

This is when the remoteness of Paris and the proximity of Dijon became of importance. The garrisons of Bassigny found themselves almost cut off from the Lancastrian

<sup>53</sup> ‘... et aussi q[ue] par l[es]t[emps] que sur ce nous ont esc[ri]ptes de nouvel mons[eigneur] le chancell[ie]r de france et mess[ir]es du grant conseil du Roy n[on]t[em]p[er]es[eigneur] a paris nous est app[ar]u quilz firent faire Rep[ar]ac[i]on de tous lesd[its] dom[m]aiges tellem[en]t que n[on]t[em]p[er]ed[it]s[eigneur] en sera content et se ceulz desd[its] garnisons ne lui font que mons[eigneur] de Salisbury qui dep[rese]nt est ou champagne y pourverra pourveoir et de fait se mestier est’: Report on the ravages ... // ADCO. B11880. F.1r.

<sup>54</sup> BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F. 153r.

<sup>55</sup> Evidence on the captains of Montigny and Nogent under the Lancastrian rule is brought together in Appendix 1.

<sup>56</sup> Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy... P. CLI–CLIII.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. P. CLIII, 191–192 (summary from BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F. 42v–44r), BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F. 48v–50r, 52v–56v, 57r–60v.

forces in Normandy and the Ile-de-France. At the meeting with the duke of Bedford in Paris on 13 October Philip, duke of Burgundy, was entrusted with a governance of a number of royal *bailliages* and senechalcies, covering almost all territories still or once obedient to Henry VI outside Normandy, Anjou and Maine. The powers conferred on the duke did not extend to the *Pays de Conquête* or to a few particular places which had English-staffed garrisons — Dreux, Villeneuve-le-Roy, Le Crotoy and Rue — but no exception was made for Montigny or Nogent. Technically, the duke of Burgundy was expected to remain in office until the king's arrival in France: there were already plans to bring the young king to France for coronation. Although this actually happened in April 1430, it does not appear that Philip the Good was ever formally discharged of the governorship granted in October 1429, despite the fact that he never came before Henry VI during the young king's stay in France between late April 1430 and early 1432<sup>58</sup>. The reason why this commission was never cancelled must have been the acknowledgement by the duke of Bedford and Henry VI's council that Philip the Good was the only source of Lancastrian power in these regions, and any action likely to cause the duke's alienation would be unwise.

What did these changes mean for the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent? On the one hand, the duchies of Bar and Lorraine (inherited by René of Anjou in 1430 and 1431 respectively) now became a legitimate target. On the other hand, there was no source of support left for them other than the duke of Burgundy and his administration at Dijon. Therefore, from the end of 1429 the forces from Montigny and Nogent often appear in the Burgundian armies operating in the region. In March 1430 they were present at the siege of Larrey laid by Antoine de Toulongeon, marshal of Burgundy<sup>59</sup>. In March 1431 they were summoned to contribute to repulsing the enemies threatening the borders of Burgundy<sup>60</sup>. In the summer of 1431 they once again joined the marshal for a campaign to support the count of Vaudemont in his claim to the duchy of Lorraine. This campaign culminated on 2 July in the battle of Bulgnéville which proved disastrous for the Dauphinists: Arnaud Guilhem de Barbazan, the governor of Champagne for Charles VII, was killed, while René of Anjou, duke of Lorraine and Bar, was taken prisoner. While the conditions of René's liberation were being discussed, the duke of Burgundy in May 1432 addressed the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent so that they would stop attacking those of the Barrois lands which had been surrendered to the duke of Burgundy as a pledge for René's ransom<sup>61</sup>.

In the following year soldiers from Montigny and Nogent were employed in the preparations for the peace conference to be held at Auxerre; they helped supply the place with victuals and accompanied Burgundian ambassadors from Dijon to Semur-en-Auxois on their way to Auxerre<sup>62</sup>. Next year when Philip the Good launched a campaign in Tonnerrois, they were summoned to join the duke's army for the *journée* of Pacy-sur-Ar-

<sup>58</sup> AN. X<sup>1a</sup> 8605. F. 14–14v.

<sup>59</sup> Larrey (Côte-d'Or, arr. Montbard, cant. Laignes) about 12 km to the west of Châtillon-sur-Seine. For English participation in the siege see: *Plancher dom* [U.]. Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne. Vol. 4. Dijon, 1781. P. 137; *Bazin J.-L. La Bourgogne...* P. 203.

<sup>60</sup> BNF. MS. Bourgogne 29. F. 55r.

<sup>61</sup> Archives Départementales du Nord (ADN). B 1945. F. 75r. — In November 1431 a Burgundian noble Jean de Vergy promised to assist the duchess of Bar in the defence of her lands even against the English unless the latter were led by the King or the Regent in person: *Plancher* [U.] Histoire... de Bourgogne. P.XCVIII-C.

<sup>62</sup> ADCO. B 1649. F. 122v.

mançon appointed for 1 September 1433<sup>63</sup>. They must have been the English reported to participate in the attacks against Langres after its defection to the Dauphinist cause in 1433<sup>64</sup>. In the meantime, Philip the Good and his officers sought to impose their power over the garrisons. Hue de Lannoy, sent by the duke of Burgundy to Henry VI in the summer of 1433, reported having met in London François de La Palud, seigneur de Varambon, who was seeking to gain control of Nogent and Montigny, albeit apparently in vain<sup>65</sup>. Although communications with Paris and Rouen were much impeded Nogent and Montigny remained in the hands of the English.

Among the operations of the 1430s the battle of Bulgnéville became somewhat of a finest hour for the garrisons of Nogent and Montigny. However, the role they may have played in the battle must have been dependent on their effectives, and we find considerable variation in estimations of exactly how many men they had. According to Monstrelet, there were only ‘six vings combatants ou environ’<sup>66</sup>, but the number of 600 men has been commonly accepted by historians<sup>67</sup>. The higher figure seems to originate from the depositions of Sir John Dedham, captain of Montigny-le-Roy, in his suit against Philip the Good in the Parlement of Paris in January 1432<sup>68</sup>.

In an attempt to resolve this contradiction it may be useful to consider the forces employed by the English garrisons in Bassigny on other occasions. Setting aside highway robberies which could be undertaken by small parties of 5–20 soldiers, there is definite evidence originating from sources of various kinds (See Tab.).

*Table. Effectives of the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent*

Date	Episode	Evidence Type	Effectives
22 June 1424	Raid on Fresnes-sur-Apance	witness	c. 60 men
c. 31 Nov 1424	Raid on Blondelfontaine	witness	c. 100–120 men
Oct 1424	Raid in the Barrois	witness	c. 300 horses
c. Easter 1425	Raid on Voisey	witness	c. 80 horses
Nov 1425	Raid on Grignoncourt, Lironcourt and Fignévelle	witness	120 horses

<sup>63</sup> ADN. B 1948. F. 124v.

<sup>64</sup> An English attempt to sneak into the city is mentioned (unfortunately, without giving his sources) in: *Piépape L. de. Histoire militaire du pays de Langres et du Bassigny*. Langres, Paris, 1884. P. 99. — The citizens of Langres also recalled in the letters to Charles VII that after they had joined the Valois cause they became harrassed by the English from Montigny: *Migneret S. Précis de l'histoire de Langres*. Langres, 1835. P. 167.

<sup>65</sup> Letters and Papers... Vol. II. P. 249.

<sup>66</sup> La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec pièces justificatives 1400–1444 / ed. L. Douët d'Arcq. 6 vols. Paris, 1857–1862 (henceforward — Monstrelet). Vol 4. P. 459. — Another Burgundian chronicler only mentions two English knights, Chronique de Jean Le Févre, seigneur de Saint-Remy / ed. by F. Morand. Vol. 2. Paris, 1881. (henceforward — St. Remy) P. 259.

<sup>67</sup> *Bossuat A. Perrinet Gressart...* P. 150. N. 2; *Schnerb B. Bulgnéville (1431)*. L'État Bourguignon prend pied en Lorraine. Paris, 1993 P. 64; *Roulet L.-E. Présence et engagement des combattants anglais à Grandson et à Morat // Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIVe — XVIe s.)*. 1995. T. 35. P. 111.

<sup>68</sup> AN. X<sup>1a</sup> 4796. Fo. 301v. published in: *Keen M. H. The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. London, Toronto, 1965. P. 263–267.

Date	Episode	Evidence Type	Effectives
Feb 1426	Digon Amore's retinue at the siege of Arzillières	financial record (summary)	20 men-at-arms 60 archers
Oct 1426	Garrisons under Thomas, earl of Salisbury	financial record	c. 40–50 men
March 1430	Siege of Larrey	chronicle	80–100 men
2 July 1431	Battle of Bulgnéville	chronicle / witness	c. 120 or c. 600 men
October 1432	Victualling Auxerre	financial record	100–160 men

**Sources:** Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B11880. F.2r (evidence for 22 June 1424), 10r (c. Easter 1425), [16r] — [18r] (c. 31 Nov 1424, Nov 1425); ADCO. B1649. F.122v (Oct 1432); BNF. MS. Fr. 32510. F.367v (Feb 1426), 369r (Oct 1426); BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F.147r-154r (Oct 1426); *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P.147–148 (Oct 1424); *Plancher [U.] Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne.* T.IV.P.137 (March 1430); *Bazin J.-L. La Bourgogne...* P.203 (March 1430), 229 (Oct 1432).

Even though some soldiers may have been left behind to defend the strongholds, it appears that the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent could normally field 80–120 men. A larger number on the raid against the Barrois, which comes from a Barrois source, may be possibly ascribed to the fog of war but the figure of 600 at Bulgnéville seems completely unprecedented. It seems as enormous if compared to the garrisons of Normandy of which only a few exceeded 200 men<sup>69</sup>. The two distant garrisons on the very periphery of the kingdom could hardly be expected to match those of the crucial centres of Lancastrian power such as Rouen or Caen or those of the vital border strongholds.

The ambiguity in estimating the English effectives at Bulgnéville may have been simply due to a scribe's error in putting VI<sup>C</sup> (600) instead of VI<sup>XX</sup> (120). Such a mistake is actually found in the report of the raid against Blondefontaine by the same garrisons in late 1424. All the witnesses of that raid estimated the number of the attackers as 100–120 men, but the clerk summarising their reports for the header of the relevant account section miswrote the number as V–VI<sup>C</sup> men<sup>70</sup>.

Another possible explanation why the English effectives at Bulgnéville significantly exceeded those fielded on other occasions by the garrisons in Bassigny could be a despatch of reinforcements from Paris, as suggested by Edward Hall in his sixteenth-century history:

Therle [Antoine de Lorraine, count of Vaudemont. — A. L.] ... with all diligēce rode to the dukes of Bedford & Burgoyne, baying then at the great triumphhe at Paris, whose part he had euer taken. After long consultacion, it was agreed that sir Ihon Fastolffe should go with hym hauying

<sup>69</sup> Curry A.E. Military Organisation in Lancastrian Normandy, 1422–1450: unpubl. PhD thesis [Middlesbrough], 1985. Vol. 2. P. xxxiii–xxxviii; Curry A. [E.] John, duke of Bedford's arrangements for the defence of Normandy in October 1434: College of Arms MS. Arundel 48. Fo. 274r — 276v // Annales de Normandie. 2012. T. 62. P.235–251.

<sup>70</sup> Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B11880. F.[15r] (header), [16r]–[18r] (witnesses).

in his company sixe hundred Archers, and the duke of Burgoyne sent to hym his Marshall, called sir Anthony Doulongon with XV.hundred men<sup>71</sup>.

This report, however, has to be treated with the utmost caution. The count of Vaudemont visited Philip the Good at Hesdin in Artois, and the duke ordered the marshal of Burgundy to support the count in his war with René of Anjou over the claim to the duchy of Lorraine. However, the duke of Burgundy certainly did not come to Paris in 1431, and it does not appear that he ever met Bedford again after October 1429. Bedford was in Paris from late January 1431 but evidence that he met the count of Vaudemont is lacking. The silence about Fastolf's presence at Bulgnéville by numerous scholars writing on this remarkable captain suggests that Hall's later account was not taken seriously even if it is problematic to ascertain Fastolf's whereabouts in early July 1431.

Even if the English contingent at Bulgnéville only amounted to about a hundred men, this does not mean that their role in the battle was insignificant. The battle was fought by largely a Burgundian army in the defensive style traditionally associated with the English armies throughout the Hundred Years war. A strong position on the top of a hill was further reinforced with sharpened stakes before the front to stop the cavalry charge, and with the wagons on the flanks and in the rear preventing an attempt of envelopment. The soldiers were ordered to dismount on pain of death. Tactics were based on the coordination of the *gens de trait* with the dismounted men-at-arms in the defensive combat. It has been shown that by 1431 such tactics were already widely employed by the Burgundians, who added their own distinctive features such as supporting the archers with an artillery discharge<sup>72</sup>. However, the report by Monstrelet, remarking that the battle formation at Bulgnéville was organised on the advice of an English knight, suggests a certain respect for English expertise in the development and employment of such tactics<sup>73</sup>.

Can it be suggested who this English knight may have been? Sir John Dedham as the captain of Montigny<sup>74</sup> may formally have been the commander of the English contingent at Bulgnéville<sup>75</sup>, but there is not much evidence of his military expertise<sup>76</sup>. If Fastolf was at Bulgnéville, with his remarkable military experience, his potential advice on battle tactics would have been appreciated by the Burgundians. In fact, however, the 'happy few' English of Bulgnéville had among them a soldier with an impressive record of service.

This soldier was Sir Thomas Gargrave who apparently began his military career as a man-at-arms under the duke of Clarence on Henry V's French campaign of 1415 which culminated in the victory at Agincourt<sup>77</sup>. He is then found serving in France in the early

<sup>71</sup> Hall. P. 164.

<sup>72</sup> The Burgundians successfully employed similar tactics at Saint-Remy-du-Plain in 1412. It was considered as possible at Othée in 1408, before Paris in 1417, and at Cravant in 1423: Schnerb B. La bataille rangée dans la tactique des armées bourguignonnes au début du 15e siècle: essai de synthèse // Annales de Bourgogne. 1989. T. 61. P. 5–32.

<sup>73</sup> Monstrelet. P. 461.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. P. 459.

<sup>75</sup> As suggested in a later addition to the list of the French who had served to the duke of Bedford (the article referring to René of Anjou): Letters and Papers... Vol. II. P. [530].

<sup>76</sup> The only evidence of his previous service in France currently known to me is that musters of the retinue of Richard Waller, bailli of Evreux, were taken by Sir John Dedham and Thomas Flemming on 25 December 1428, BL, Add. Ch. 11608; Jarry L. Le Compte de l'Armée Anglaise au siège d'Orléans, 1428–1429 // Mémoires de la société archéologique et historique de l'Orléannais. 1892. T. 23. P. 537.

<sup>77</sup> For the references to his career, see: Appendix 2.

1420s, therefore having by 1431 some ten years of continuous military service. He served as a lieutenant of Château-Gaillard in April 1422. By October Gargrave became lieutenant to Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, captain of Rouen, an office he retained for about two years. In 1424 he fought at the siege of Compiègne and in the battle of Verneuil<sup>78</sup>. By 1426 he came to serve under Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, at the siege of La Ferté-Bernard in Maine and then at the second siege of Mont-Aimé in Champagne. He then commanded a company of soldiers sent by the earl to the siege of Montargis before coming to Bassigny as Salisbury's *procureur* in April 1427.

Gargrave joined the earl for the last time for the campaign against Orléans where, according to the chronicle of Christopher Hanson and Peter Basset, he was mortally wounded by the same cannonball with Salisbury and died shortly afterwards<sup>79</sup>. This chronicle is known to have been one of the sources employed by Edward Hall who transferred this account into his narrative<sup>80</sup>. This eventually earned Sir Thomas Gargrave a small role in Shakespeare's *Henry VI. Part I* where he only appears to say a couple of lines and to fall stricken by the infamous cannonball<sup>81</sup>. The documents, however, suggest that Sir Thomas Gargrave must have avoided death for in late December 1428-January 1429 he was still serving at the siege<sup>82</sup>.

Therefore by 2 July 1431 when Gargrave was present at the field of Bulgnéville his track of service included a series of the most significant sieges of the 1420s and possibly the two greatest pitched battles of his age — Agincourt and Verneuil — and was quite likely to be respected by his Burgundian companions. This was not the end of his remarkable military career, which was to last for yet another ten years. By October 1432 Gargrave became captain of Montigny and Nogent replacing Sir John Dedham<sup>83</sup>. Gargrave is still found in office in March 1433 but then disappears from the records for about five years. During the last period of his service Sir Thomas Gargrave participated in English attempts to maintain their positions in the *pays du conquête* serving at Pontoise and Mantes after 1439. His last known commission was that of lieutenant of Mantes in September 1442.

A significant gap in Sir Thomas Gargrave's record of service may have resulted from yet another change of status of the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent triggered by the Treaty of Arras agreed between Charles VII and Duke Philip of Burgundy on 21 September 1435. Deeply concerned with the security of his territories and disenchanted with his hopes that the war could be won by the Lancastrian regime, Philip the Good chose to acknowledge Charles VII as the king of France thus defecting from the Lancastrian cause. The treaty of Arras did not imply that Philip the Good was to engage in the war against the English. It appears that the duke initially hoped to stay neutral in the Anglo-French conflict; it was not until mid-February 1436 that he decided to send his forces against the

<sup>78</sup> His spurs, however, were not won at Verneuil as he was still an esquire on 11 September 1424 when he took the musters of John Salvain, *bailli* of Rouen, BNF. MS. Fr. 4485. P. 221.

<sup>79</sup> ‘... de ung esclat de ladict pierre fut Icellui conte [earl of Salisbury. — A. L.] frappe par lateste [...], et pareillement ledit sire thomas gargrave fut pareillement acteynt dun autre esclat tellement que dedens deux jours apres II trespassa’, Basset. F. 63v.

<sup>80</sup> Hall. P. 145.

<sup>81</sup> Henry VI. Part 1. Act I. Scene 4. Lines 525, 531.

<sup>82</sup> Jarry L. Le Compte de L'Armée Anglaise... P. 559–560.

<sup>83</sup> Dedham's replacement seems to coincide with the timing of his suit against the duke of Burgundy in the *Parlement* of Paris in January 1432. This process (where Dedham reciting his former services claimed to have brought 600 men to the battle of Bulgnéville) was caused by his having taken prisoner Louis Bourneel, a Dauphinist travelling under the duke's safe-conduct: Keen M. H. The Laws of War... P. 263–267.

English in the Ile-de-France and in the Calais march. But even before that, the garrisons in Bassigny were doomed: on the one hand, with Burgundian defection they were deprived of their only source of support and assistance, on the other, the Dauphinist forces in the region, could now concentrate their forces against the English — the only legitimate target remaining for them.

In late December 1435 the Dauphinist governor of Langres and Érard du Châtelet, marshal of Lorraine, decided to coordinate their efforts against Montigny and Nogent<sup>84</sup>. The Burgundians apparently took no part in the siege but on 20 January 1436 Guillaume de Saulx and Jean de Rochefort were sent from Dijon to Montigny, with a suggestion that the English may have preferred to surrender the place to the duke of Burgundy rather than to the Dauphinists<sup>85</sup>. The offer apparently was not unconditionally rejected for the Burgundian envoys returned to Dijon by 24 January and travelled back to Nogent and Montigny on 1 February, but the outcome of negotiations is not clear<sup>86</sup>. The siege of Montigny may have lasted into 1437, but the place was eventually brought into submission<sup>87</sup>. The surrender of Nogent was purchased by Jean de Vergy for 3000 écus d'or, presumably on 2 May 1436<sup>88</sup>. What is clear is that the continuation of an English presence in Bassigny was no longer of interest to any of the local powers after the Treaty of Arras.

## Conclusions

The evidence assembled in this study is insufficient to reconsider completely the degree of English presence or power in Champagne. However, what the story of the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent may reveal is the degree to which historians can easily fall into the trap of over-simplification. A closer look at the events around the English presence in Bassigny leads to a significant revision of their decade-long story.

During its early years (c. 1423–1425) the garrison at Montigny (and subsequently that of Nogent) seems little more than a *routier* company composed of soldiers of both English and French origin. It appears that its captain acknowledged Henry VI as the king of England and France but it is open to much doubt whether the Lancastrian government in Paris actually controlled these soldiers. With still significant open opposition to the

<sup>84</sup> Calmet Dom [A.] *Histoire généalogique de la maison du Chatelet, branche puîne de la maison de Lorraine*. Nancy, 1741. P. XLV–XLVI.

<sup>85</sup> ADCO. B 1659. F. 132r — 133v.

<sup>86</sup> BNF. MS. Bourgogne 29. F. 101r.

<sup>87</sup> An inquisition made in November 1444 of the abuses made by the *écorcheurs* in the lands of Luxeuil and Faucogney mentions several cases committed by the soldiers being at the siege of Montigny-le-Roi. One of these is reported to have taken place about ‘Saint Ylaire [...] en l'an IIII'XXXVII’ (13 January 1438). Other testimonies refer to the events as having happened 8–9 years ago, that is between late 1435 and late 1436: *Tuetey A. Les écorcheurs sous Charles VII. Épisodes de l'histoire militaire de la France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Vol. 2. Montbéliard, 1874. P. 360, 364, 366. — The archivist’s summary of the journal of the receiver of the city of Langres mentions a dispatch of a bombard to the siege of Montigny by the city under the year 1437–1438: *Boullaye J. de*. (ed.) *Inventaire-Sommaire...* P. 102.

<sup>88</sup> The rationale for this date is not clear though it is accepted in: *Jolibois E. La Haute-Marne ancienne et moderne, dictionnaire géographique, statistique, historique et biographique de ce département*. Chaumont, 1858. P. 392; *Piépape L. de. Histoire militaire du pays de Langres...* P. 91. — When Jean de Vergy obtained compensation for his expenses from Charles VII in February 1441, the surrender of Nogent seemed to have had place ‘depuis six ans’, a clear miscalculation, see: *Chesne A. du. Histoire généalogique de la maison de Vergy istituee par chartes, tiltres, arrests & autres bonnes & certaines preuues, enrichie de plvsievrs figvres, & divisée en dix Liures*. Paris, 1625. P. 212, 214–216.

Lancastrian rule in Champagne, the abuses of Digon Amore were hardly the most urgent and important regional problem for the Regent Bedford's government to deal with. There seems to be little evidence that their ravages were deliberately inspired either officially by the Lancastrian government or personally by the earl of Salisbury pursuing their goals in relations with Burgundy. It seems appropriate to conclude that Digon Amore was, like others, '*en réalité qu'un bandit dont le prétendu dévouement au roi de France [Lancastrian in this case] servait le prétexte pour commettre toute sorte de brigandages*'<sup>89</sup>.

As the Lancastrian positions to the north-east of the Seine were consolidated by the end of 1424, the situation started to change. Following the traditional French protocols of justice, local appeals to the *bailli* of Chaumont and to the royal council in Paris resulted by early 1426 in a formal process of investigation in which restitution of damages was promised and the replacement of the captain at least became a matter of consideration. It is not clear whether the Lancastrian government was able to impose its control over the garrisons of Montigny and Nogent before the death of Digon Amore in Autumn 1426, but it appears that some measures were undertaken in order to impose its power in Champagne in 1425–1428.

These achievements of the Lancastrian regime, however, collapsed in the aftermath of Charles VII's coronation campaign in 1429. After then, the English garrisons in Bassigny had no choice but to seek Burgundian patronage and engage in the operations of the Burgundians, maintaining little or no contact with Paris and Rouen. Eventually, after 1435 they became of no more use even to the Burgundians and were quickly wiped out.

The story of English garrisons in Bassigny therefore does not show a straightforward or permanent state but a sequence of periods where different strategies of interaction with the surrounding French population were employed, their choice defined by the general political and military situation in the region and within the kingdom as a whole. Very much the same can be said of the Anglo-Burgundian relations in general.

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<sup>89</sup> A characteristic originally applied to Eustache de Warnécourt, one of the Dauphinist captains in Champagne, 'qui se disait comme La Hire un champion de la cause nationale', see: *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy... P.LXXXIX.*

**Appendix 1. Captains of Montigny-le-Roy and Nogent-le-Roy in the 1420s — early 1430s**

Date	Montigny-le-Roy	Nogent-le-Roy
7 June 1424	Digon Amore	
c. 22 June 1424	Digon Amore	
c. 14 Sep 1424	Digon Amore	
7 Oct 1426	Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury	
April — July 1427	Sir Thomas Gargrave ( <i>procureur</i> for the earl of Salisbury)	
Oct — Dec 1427	Sir Thomas Gargrave	Sir Thomas Grett
21 Jan 1428	Sir Lancelot de Lisle	
29 Sep 1428	Eustace Gaudin ( <i>procureur</i> for him)	
2 July 1431	Sir John Dedham	Sir Thomas Gargrave
Jan 1432	Sir John Dedham	
Oct 1432	Sir Thomas Gargrave	
6 March 1433	Sir Thomas Gargrave	

**Sources:** [Musée des Archives Départementales... P.301–302 (evidence for 7 June 1424)<sup>90</sup>; Report on the ravages... // ADCO. B11880. F. 2r (June 1424), 6v (Sep 1424); BNF. Fr. MS. Fr. 4484. F. 147r (7 Oct 1426), 149r — 150r (Apr — July 1427), 150v — 152v (Oct — Dec 1427), 153r — 154r (Jan — Sep 1428); Monstrelet. P.459–460 (2 July 1431); Berry. P.433 (2 July 1431); Keen M. H. The Laws of War... P.263–267 (Jan 1432); ADCO. B1649. F. 122v (Oct 1432); BNF. Bourgogne 29. F. 154r (6 March 1433)]

**Appendix 2. The military career of Sir Thomas Gargrave (1415–1442)**

Date	Status and place of service
1415	Man-at-arms, retinue of Thomas, duke of Clarence, French expedition of Henry V
1421 [?]	Man-at-arms, garrison in France
23.04.1422	Lieutenant of Château-Gaillard
15.10.1422	Esquire, man-at-arms, lieutenant of Rouen
3.12.1422	Lieutenant of Rouen, commissioned to take the musters of Sir John Popham, chancellor of Normandy
15.04.1423	Esquire, lieutenant of Rouen for Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
28.08.1423	Man-at-arms, lieutenant of Rouen

<sup>90</sup> Digon Amore is also named captain of Montigny in the letters dated 10 April 1422: *Luce S. Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy...* P.317–318, — which, however, definitely belong to the reign of Henry VI, hence year 1423 the earliest.

Date	Status and place of service
27.10.1423	Esquire, lieutenant of Rouen
March 1424	Siege of Compiègne
17.08.1424	Battle of Verneuil
11.09.1424	Esquire, taking musters of John Salvain, <i>bailli</i> of Rouen
4.03.1426	Knight, man-at-arms, under the earl of Salisbury, siege of La Ferté-Bernard
Oct 1426 — March 1427	Recovery of Vertus and the second siege of Mont-Aimé
23.04.1427	Knight bachelor, captain of Montigny, serving with 21 men-at-arms and 61 archers under the earl of Salisbury
21.05.1427	Knight bachelor, indented to serve with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers for 6 weeks at the siege of Montargis
3.06.1427	Knight, appointed by the earl of Salisbury his <i>procureur</i> for the garrisons of Nogent and Montigny-le-Roi
2.07.1427	Knight bachelor, mustered at Verneuil with 1 other knight bachelor, 18 men-at-arms, 60 archers
17.08.1427	Knight bachelor, reviewed with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers at the siege of Montargis
1.09.1427	Knight bachelor, reviewed with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers at the siege of Montargis
12.06.1428	Knight bachelor, indented to serve for 4 months under the earl of Salisbury with 20 men-at-arms (himself including) and 60 archers, natives of England
20.07.1428	Knight bachelor, mustered with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers at Meulan
20.08.1428	Knight bachelor, reviewed with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers at the siege of Jenville
25.09.1428	Knight bachelor, reviewed with 19 men-at-arms and 60 archers at the siege of Beaugency
Oct 1428	Reportedly killed at the siege of Orléans together with the earl of Salisbury
Dec 1428 — Jan 1429	Knight bachelor, retinue of 15 men-at-arms (himself included) and 45 archers at the siege of Orléans
2.07.1431	Knight, captain of Nogent-le-Roy, <sup>91</sup> battle of Bulgnéville
29.10.1432	Knight, captain of Montigny-le-Roy and Nogent-le-Roy, escorting victuals to Auxerre for the peace conference with 100 <i>paies</i>
06.03.1433	Captain of Montigny-le-Roi and Montigny-le-Roy, approached for military support by Pierre de Bauffremont, governor of Burgundy
20.10.1439	Knight, musters with reinforcements for the garrison of Pontoise, under John, lord Talbot

<sup>91</sup> Only mentioned as captain in: Berry. P.433.

Date	Status and place of service
25.05.1440	Knight bachelor, garrison of Pontoise
6.09.1441	Knight, captain of Pontoise, garrison of Pontoise
18.10.1441	Knight, man-at-arms under Sir Ralph Grey, garrison of Mantes
9.09.1442	Knight, man-at-arms, under Sir Ralph Grey, garrison of Mantes

**Sources:** [SLME (evidence for year 1415, 1421, 23 April and 15 October 1422, 28 August 1423, 4 March 1426, years 1439, 1441); BNF. MS. Fr. 4484. F.43r, 55r — 56v, 109v — 110r, 149r — 149v (April 1427 — September 1428); BNF. MS. Fr. 4485. P.221 (11 September 1424); BNF. MS. Fr. 4488. P.388—400 (December 1428 — January 1429); BNF. MS. Fr. 26046. No. 5 (3 December 1422); BNF. MS. Fr. 26047. No. 147 (27 October 1423); BNF. MS. Fr. 32510. F.369v (October 1426 — March 1427); BNF. NAF 8637. No. 51 (9 September 1442); BNF. P.O. 1263. Doss. 28361 (Gaigrave). No. 2 (December 1428 — January 1429); BNF. P.O. 1281. Doss. 28838 (Gargane). No. 2 (15 April 1423); BNF. MS. Bourgogne 29. F.85r (29 October 1432), 154 (6 March 1433); ADCO.B 1649. F.132v (29 October 1432); Basset. F.51r (March 1424), 53v (17 August 1424), 63v (October 1428); Monstrelet. P.459 (2 July 1431); St. Remy. P.259 (same date); Berry. P.150, 433 (same date); Cooper, Ch. P. This volume contains a portion of the Appendices to a Report on Rymer's Foedera intended to have been made, to the late Commissioners on Public Records. Vol. 3. [London], Public Record Office, 1869. P.449–450 (25 May 1440).]

### Appendix 3. The military service of Nicholas / Colin Husson in the 1430s-1440s

Date	Name	Service Type	Captain
12.02.1430	Nicholas Huysson	Garrison <i>creu</i> at Harcourt	Sir Thomas Blount
13.07.1430	Nicholas Harysson	Garrison <i>creu</i> at Harcourt	Sir Thomas Blount
24.03.1431	Nicholas Hassen	Garrison or <i>creu</i> at Essay	Sir Robert Harling
19.03.1434	Nicholas Husson	Garrison of Alençon	
29.03.1434	Nicholas Husson	Field service	
29.03.1434	Colin Husson	Siege of St. Celerin	
21.06.1434	Nicholas Husson	Garrison of Alençon	
16.11.1434	Nicollas Husson	Garrison of Alençon	
18.08.1435	Nicholas Husson	Garrison of Alençon	
26.12.1437	Colin Husson	Garrison of Alençon	Thomas Everingham (lieut.)
10.11.1440	Colin Husson	Garrison of Alençon	Edmund Beaufort, earl of Mortain
20.10.1442	Nicholas Huson	Retinue of the bailli of Cotentin	Hugh Spencer
19.07.1443	Nicholas Heson	Field service	
6.10.1443	Nicholas Husson	Field service, detachment from the garrison of Domfront	Thomas, Lord Scales

**Sources:** [SLME (evidence for all dates)]

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