

The Norman Rolls of Henry V

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To celebrate a new gallery for the nineteenth-century facsimile of the Bayeux Tapestry held by Reading Borough Council, David Bates and I organised a conference in 1992 on the relationship between England and Normandy. Mark Ormrod was the natural choice to speak on the fourteenth century. He argued that

Edward III's assumption of the title of duke of Normandy in 1356 marked the start of a consistent and not wholly unrealistic policy pursued over the following three years and intended to bring the restoration of the duchy, along with other former Angevin dominions in northern France, to the English crown.¹

But, as he added, by the end of the fourteenth century a claim to Normandy

can hardly have seemed more than ...an expression of personal vanity and dynastic piety taken up at a moment of supreme confidence in the reign of England's greatest warrior king. No one in England surely can have contemplated that they would shortly have a ruler who would make that fancy a reality and, in the process, outrank even the glorious Edward in the late medieval hierarchy of royal heroes.

Mark was, of course, anticipating the coming of Henry V whose success in Normandy is indeed without parallel. There is much to suggest that even in his first campaign of 1415 Henry intended the conquest of the duchy. On that occasion he had to make do with the capture of Harfleur alone. In the second campaign of 1417 Henry's ambition to conquer Normandy is indisputable. Proof is found not only in a systematic siege campaign but also in direct statements of intent, the latter being the subject of my contribution to the 1992 conference.² Soon into his second campaign Henry began to call himself duke of Normandy, a title not used in 1415, and orchestrated various invocations of the Norman ducal inheritance of the kings of England. Although he dropped his ducal title after acceptance as heir to the French throne in the treaty of Troyes of 21 May 1420, he was careful to reserve the duchy to himself until such time as he inherited the throne at the death of Charles VI.³

Much information about Henry's 'Norman policy' comes from the ten rolls of a new enrolment of the English chancery created for his conquest and occupation of the duchy – the *Rotuli Normanniae* (C 64/8-17). This present discussion examines the Norman rolls as a new chancery enrolment – the last new enrolment of the medieval period – considering why and how this form of record was created, and by whom. The earliest entry on the first roll is dated to the day of Henry's landing at the mouth of the River Touques on 1 August 1417.⁴ The last two entries on the final roll are dated 30 August 1422, the day before he died at the castle of Vincennes.⁵ Implicitly, the relevant clause of the treaty of Troyes meant that Henry's control

¹ Ormrod, 'England, Normandy', pp. 210, 213. My thanks to the editors and to Dr Hannes Kleineke for comments on this chapter.

² Curry, 'Lancastrian Normandy'.

³ Curry, 'Two Kingdoms, One King', p. 38.

⁴ Appointment of Thomas, duke of Clarence as constable of the army (C 64/8 m. 2, printed in *Rotuli Normanniae* [RN], pp. 316-7).

⁵ C 64/17 m. 8 and 8d, printed in *Foedera*, vol. x, p. 251.

of Normandy passed to his heir as king of England, the nine-month-old Henry VI. Following Henry V's death, the late king's chancellor of Normandy, John Kemp, bishop of London, handed over at Rouen the seal for the duchy to John, duke of Bedford, 'to whom the said king the father had committed the governance of the same duchy on his death bed for a certain time for the assistance of his son and because of the need for justice to be done in the said duchy'.⁶ Bedford was indeed referred to as governor of Normandy in documents produced during the seven weeks between the death of Henry V and the death of Charles VI. The French king's death on 21 October 1422 triggered the implementation of the main element of the Troyes settlement: Henry VI became king of France, and Normandy was reunited with the French crown. We must assume that the relatively short time between 31 August 1422 and 21 October meant that no Norman roll was put together for these first months of Henry VI's reign.

As with other enrolments of the English royal chancery, the overriding principle of division in the Norman Rolls was by regnal year, which began at the anniversary of royal accession (in Henry V's case, 21 March). The first roll, C 64/8, covered the period from Henry's landing in Normandy on 1 August 1417 to 20 March 1418, with entries occupying 47 membranes.⁷ The default pattern of one roll covering one regnal year is demonstrated by the ninth roll, C 64/16, which covered the year from 21 March 1421 to 20 March 1422, with 79 membranes containing entries.⁸ The tenth roll, C 64/17, began on 21 March 1422 but was cut short by the king's death at the end of August. It contains 49 membranes of entries.

The remaining seven rolls from 21 March 1418 to 20 March 1421 each cover only part of a regnal year. As with other chancery enrolments such as the Patent Rolls, the usual reason for such multiple rolls was weight of business. Henry's sixth year from 21 March 1418 to 20 March 1419 generated two rolls, C 64/9 and 10, the second of which was begun in late January 1419 after the surrender of Rouen. The extent of business is demonstrated by the size of both rolls, with entries occupying 81 and 70 membranes respectively. The following year from 21 March 1419 to 20 March 1420 also generated two rolls, reflecting an even more impressive scale of activity: C 64/11, covering 21 March to late December 1419, has 144 membranes of entries, C 64/12, covering only the first three months of 1420, 83.

There are three rolls for Henry's eighth regnal year from 21 March 1420 to 20 March 1421 but the explanation here is the impact of the treaty of Troyes. C 64/13 was begun at the accession anniversary but was made to end just before the treaty was sealed on 21 May 1420.⁹ During that two month period, entries filled 44 membranes. C 64/14, took the treaty as

⁶ *PROME*, parliament of 1422, item 14.

⁷ This first roll was published *in extenso* by the Record Commission. Initial plans to produce similar editions for the later rolls were abandoned in favour of a calendar, published in the 41st and 42nd Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper, which, whilst not wholly reliable, is more useful than Thomas Carte's *Catalogue des rolles gascons, normans et françois* of 1743. Rymer included transcripts of some entries in *Foedera*. Bréquigny ('Rôles normands') made some transcripts and summaries in the 1760s but was guilty of misreadings as well as omissions. I am currently preparing a full on-line calendar funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

⁸ Since membranes are on the whole consistent in length and width, for comparative purposes the quantity of business is most easily, if roughly, measured by the number of membranes containing entries, rather than by the length of a roll since some contain blank membranes.

⁹ The last entries date to 8 May 1420 when the king was at Pontoise (C 64/13 m. 8-10).

its *point de depart*; two of its 50 membranes of entries are occupied by its text.¹⁰ This roll covered the period to January 1421 when a new roll was started, C 64/15, which ran to the anniversary of 20 March 1421 and contained 50 membranes of entries.

Overall, entries occupy 697 out of the 810 membranes which make up the rolls as a whole.¹¹ The total number of entries is around 10,000, reflective of the intensity of Henry's government of Normandy and especially of his presence in person for most of the last five years of his reign.¹² By the summer of 1419 action moved along the Seine valley towards Paris, creating an area known as the *pays de conquête* which was joined with the duchy in terms of English administration, as entries in the rolls show. Their geographical coverage expanded further as time went on since they were used to enrol some acts made by Henry as regent of France. On occasion, too, the rolls were used for business concerning England and Gascony. Nothing escaped Henry V's attention:¹³ the Norman rolls are a strong exemplification of that situation. Further proof of the impact of the king's presence in person can be derived from comparison with the Gascon rolls. Henry's whole reign generated only five Gascon rolls which together contain 60 membranes of entries.¹⁴ For the period covered by the Norman rolls, there were only two Gascon rolls, each covering multiple years and with only 15 membranes of entries, a stark contrast with the 697 of the Norman rolls. A similar comparison can be drawn with the Treaty (or French) rolls (C 76) which have only 75 membranes of business for the period covered by the Norman rolls.¹⁵

The main focus of the present discussion is the Norman rolls as a new chancery enrolment, but it is appropriate to emphasise briefly their exceptional potential for the historian. Their use to date has been piecemeal because of the lack of a full edition but they are already known as a source for the benefits of conquest for the English, especially the land grants made by Henry to his soldiers and administrators.¹⁶ Their value for the reconstruction of military actions is also substantial. Given that acts were normally enrolled at the place where the king was (although, as we shall discuss later, there is evidence of the development of a fixed chancery after the surrender of Rouen), their place-dates can be used for a narrative of events. Treaties of surrender were enrolled as were safe-conducts for departing garrisons.¹⁷ The rolls allow us to follow Henry and his army, noting how various contingents, under commands delegated by the king, were sent into different theatres, and how garrisons were established as well as how troops were victualled.¹⁸

The rolls provide unique insights on the relationship between the Normans and the English. Henry was committed to winning over the Normans to his rule and to integrating

¹⁰ C 64/14 m. 29 and 28. The original roll contains 48 membranes of entries but two additional membranes believed to belong to it were added in December 1838.

¹¹ All 405 faces and 292 of the dorses were used.

¹² An exact number of entries is difficult to calculate since several acts were repeated for multiple beneficiaries ('similar letters issued to...'). This was overlooked in the calendars of 1880-1.

¹³ Vale, *Henry V*, chapter 2.

¹⁴ C 61/114-118, calendared on www.gasconrolls.org.

¹⁵ C 76/96-105.

¹⁶ Allmand, 'Lancastrian Land Settlement'; Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, chapters 3 and 4; Massey, 'Lancastrian Rouen'.

¹⁷ Schnerb, 'Sauver les meubles', pp. 215-64.

¹⁸ Newhall, *English Conquest*; Curry, 'Disciplinary Ordinances'.

conqueror and conquered.¹⁹ Hundreds of Englishmen are mentioned in the rolls but for the Normans the figure is in the thousands. Military commanders and administrators were regularly given powers to accept the allegiance of inhabitants, who in return would be given a *bulette* to show that they had accepted Henry's authority and which gave them immunity from future attack. We can also trace those who chose to resist or flee. Theirs were the lands which Henry redistributed, not only to his soldiers and administrators but also to loyal Normans. Henry made the day of his landing, 1 August 1417, the defining moment in law. Early land grants required beneficiaries to make a token render to him on that day. In March 1419 he ordered any legal proceedings begun before 1 August 1417 to be suspended,²⁰ and invited Normans to seek confirmation of whatever they had held on that date: there are hundreds of such confirmations on the rolls. The rolls also demonstrate the feudal obligations which Henry sought to impose, or perhaps to resurrect from earlier practices, on both Norman and English landholders.²¹ An impression can also be gained of economic trends both locally and internationally, especially in towns and through the issue of trading licences, most notably for English and Breton suppliers, and there is a wealth of material on interactions with the church.²²

Various phases are clearly demonstrated, from an initial state of military emergency to the settled conditions which followed the treaty of Troyes and which enabled the calling of the Norman Estates in January 1421 as well as a 'vote' of taxation. Particularly fascinating is Henry's establishment of administrative structures. Early ad-hoc arrangements gave way to the re-establishment of a structure wholly familiar to the Normans from the Valois past, with *bailliages* and *vicomtés*.²³ Whilst Henry always appointed Englishmen as *baillis* all lesser officials were local men. The rolls are replete with appointments to, and confirmations of, offices as lowly as the pilotage of ships passing through the bridge at Pont-de l'Arche,²⁴ thereby providing rich insights into the social fabric of Norman petty officialdom.

The Norman rolls reveal the extent to which Henry followed French practice, preserving rather than innovating, but it is important to remember that the very creation of a Norman roll is an indication of his intentions. Just as in the case of their organisation by, or within, regnal years, so too the rolls followed the standard format of English chancery enrolments. Their appearance – a left-hand margin of around 3 cm in which a short explanatory heading of each entry is provided, with the text of the entry occupying the rest of the membrane width – is exactly as for the other enrolments, as is the system of authorisation, abbreviation, dating etc. This distinctive system, which had no parallel in France, had its origins in the reign of John, during which time the Fine (C 60), Charter (C 53), Close (C 54) and Patent Rolls (C 66) were begun. The same format was subsequently applied to other contexts with increasing systematisation.²⁵ Thus a roll dedicated to Gascon affairs began under Henry III but took on the full form of an annual *Rotulus Vasconie* (C 61) from the second year of Edward I. It was also under Edward I that a Scotch Roll (*Rotulus Scotie*, C 71) was begun as well as a Statute Roll (C 74). All of the chancery rolls so far mentioned existed under Henry V and beyond. So too did the Treaty (or French) rolls (*Rotuli Francie*, C 76), although these have a complex history linked to the short series of Almain rolls (*Rotuli*

¹⁹ Newhall, 'Henry V's Policy of Conciliation'; Curry, 'English Conquests'.

²⁰ C 64/10 m. 19d.

²¹ Curry, 'Le service féodale'.

²² Allmand, 'The English and the Church'.

²³ Curry, 'The *baillis* of Lancastrian Normandy'.

²⁴ C 64/10 m. 32d.

²⁵ *Guide to the Public Record Office. Volume 1*, pp. 14-26.

Alemanni, within C 76) which had existed from 22 Edward I (1293-4) to 15 Edward III (1341-2). The Welsh rolls (*Rotuli Wallie*, C 77) begun by Edward I in 1277 did not outlive that king's reign, and a Roman roll (C 70) concerning papal matters was compiled only from the end of Edward I's reign to 34 Edward III (1360-61).

In principle, therefore, there was no lack of precedent to inform a new chancery enrolment for a specific geographical context. Whilst the Norman rolls of Henry V were the first new creation since the reign of Edward I, there was continuing expertise in the chancery through the dedicated rolls for interests in Gascony, Scotland (although now limited to border areas and to military and diplomatic activity) and France. The *Rotuli Francie* included the business of Calais and the Channel Islands as well as international activity more generally, being the place of record of appointment of embassies as well as of letters of protection and appointments of attorneys for soldiers departing on campaign. They continued to be used for this purpose for all of Henry's expeditionary armies, although from the late spring of 1418 we start to see the Norman rolls also being used to enrol such acts.

There is an important difference, however, with the other chancery enrolments of Henry V, all of which were compiled in the chancery at Westminster, even those concerning Gascony. Henry's Norman rolls were drawn up within Normandy itself with the direct personal involvement of the king, as the witness clause *teste rege* and the authority clause *per ipsum regem* indicates.²⁶ The king was overseas from 1 August 1417 to 1 February 1421 and again from mid-June 1421 to his death on 31 August 1422. During his absence in England in the spring of 1421 authority in Normandy was delegated; acts continued to be enrolled on the rolls within the duchy *per ipsum regem per relationem (magni) consilii*. The question of seals needs further investigation but, following Edward III's practice, Henry presumably took with him in 1417 the Great Seal, leaving for use in England a slightly smaller version known as the Exchequer seal.²⁷ Exactly what seal was used in Normandy during the king's absence in 1421 remains obscure: it seems likely that a special seal had been produced for the duchy to reflect its special status following the treaty of Troyes and that this was used both by the king when present and by those to whom he had delegated authority. This interpretation is based on the account of the transfer of seals after Henry's death, where, as we have seen, the seal for the duchy was handed to the duke of Bedford in Rouen.²⁸

There are no indications that Henry had plans in his 1415 invasion for a new enrolment but, given that the campaign of that year lasted little more than three months, intentions may simply have been overtaken by events. The king continued to use the French

²⁶ 'When Henry V was in France the note of warranty 'By K' is found frequently only on the Norman rolls written in France, and infrequently on the rolls written in England where it means that a signet letter has been sent from the chancellor from the king' (Brown, 'Authorization of Letters', p. 142).

²⁷ Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 607. The eighth Great Seal of Edward III was amended after the treaty of Troyes to reflect the king's new title of heir rather than king of France. See Jenkinson, 'Deputed or Departmental Seals', p. 310, and idem, 'A New Great Seal of Henry V'. My thanks to Dr Adrian Ailes for discussion on the seals. Relatively few entries in the Norman rolls were indicated 'by brief of privy seal', but Henry had a privy seal as well as a signet with him. Some of the clerks of the privy seal were certainly in France with him (Brown, 'Privy Seal Clerks', pp. 265-6).

²⁸ *PROME*, parliament of 1422, item 14, which speaks of a seal 'semblant a son grant seal' being brought back to England, implying Henry had not taken the actual great seal back to Normandy in 1421.

rolls for ensuing matters, such as safe conducts for Agincourt prisoners. The grant of a house in Harfleur on 28 December 1415 to Richard Bokeland was similarly enrolled,²⁹ as was that of 29 January 1416 of the nearby lordship of Frilense to Sir John Fastolf, then in the Harfleur garrison,³⁰ and the presentation of Jean de Bordiu to the parish church on 3 January.³¹ Since Harfleur was intended as a second Calais, with a treasurer appointed in January 1416 whose powers were modelled on those of the treasurer of Calais, the French roll was the appropriate place of enrolment. This situation persisted even after the Norman rolls began since the administration in Harfleur was not fully integrated into the rest of Henry's duchy until January 1421.³² That said, lines of demarcation were soon blurred. The last entry in the French rolls concerning Harfleur dates to 9 February 1419, but the earliest entry on the Norman roll for Harfleur – the appointment of Robert Spellowe as its bailiff, with power over all non-military personnel and to hold courts as at Calais – was enrolled on 16 September 1417.³³

There is strong indication that the Norman rolls were begun as soon as Henry arrived in Normandy in 1417, confirming that a plan to create a dedicated new enrolment had already been devised before he left England.³⁴ As noted, the earliest act is dated 1 August 1417, the day of the landing at the mouth of the River Touques. In all, twelve acts are dated between 1 and 10 August at what is now Bonneville-sur-Touques. There is then a gap of ten days until the next set of entries on 20 August, when the Abbey of Saint Stephen at Caen is the location given. The abbey was stormed by the duke of Clarence on 15 August. The king arrived before Caen on 18 August and took up accommodation at the Abbey soon afterwards. Caen was taken by assault on 4 September but the French king was given until 19 September to send an army of relief. Entries in the Norman rolls continued to be place-dated at the Abbey of Saint Stephen up to and including 20 September but from the following day the king was at the castle of Caen where he remained until 2 October. He then moved to the Abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives 38 km to the south of Caen before beginning on 7 October the siege of Argentan, a further 34 km to the south.

On the face of it, therefore, the writing of acts began as soon as the landing had been effected. Whilst twelve acts were dated at Bonneville-sur-Touques, 382 were dated at the Abbey of Saint Stephen between 20 August and 20 September, the majority, on 1 September, giving licence to the masters of ships which had transported the army to return home. From 9 September we begin to see acts whereby the king took into his protection individual laymen and clergy as well as parishes which accepted his authority. Once he was in the castle of Caen, 500 acts were made between 20 September and 2 October, mainly similar protections but now encompassing a wide area beyond Caen. We can see that emissaries had been sent out to negotiate with communities and inhabitants had also been encouraged to approach the king directly. Bayeux surrendered to the duke of Gloucester on 19 September, following the king's confirmation of rights and privileges of all its inhabitants who chose the allegiance of the king. On the following day Henry made his first administrative appointment of Sir John Assheton as royal seneschal of Bayeux. The first land grant to an Englishmen dates to 25

²⁹ C 76/98 m. 6.

³⁰ C 76/98 m 4.

³¹ C76/98 m. 6.

³² Curry, 'Harfleur under English Rule'.

³³ C 76/101 m. 3; C 64/8 m. 25 [RN, pp. 164-5].

³⁴ It has been speculated that the *Ordinaciones Cancellarie*, a set of chancery regulations first issued in 1388-9, were revised at royal behest 'about the time of Henry's second invasion' (Richardson, *Medieval Chancery*, pp. 11, 13-14).

September 1417. Not until 24 December 1417, however, did Henry make his first appointment of a *bailli*, when he made Sir John Popham *bailli* of Caen, virtually all of this *bailliage* now being within English allegiance.³⁵

A close study of the first Norman roll C 64/8, in which the entries discussed in the previous paragraph are found, indicates that in its make-up it follows standard chancery practice, covering the period from the landing on 1 August 1417 to the end of the regnal year on 20 March 1418. Entries were written onto individual membranes which were subsequently sewn together at the end of the regnal year. As a result, there is not a single linear chronological order to the entries. Cognate entries were entered onto one or more membranes which were placed in sequence. So the licences to shipmasters were placed on the dorse of membranes 26d and 27d, and the royal protections to Normans on membranes 21d to 25d. This also indicates that face and dorse were in use simultaneously, as seems to have been common English chancery practice. That there had been considerable thought behind the entering of acts is emphasised by the way that treaties of surrender were placed onto dedicated membranes, 2-6, even though they were widely disparate in terms of the date of their making. The appointment of 1 August 1417 of the duke of Clarence as constable of the army is found on membrane 2, as is the appointment of Assheton as seneschal of Bayeux. It is also important to emphasise that the rolls both now and throughout their existence included both letters patent and letters close indiscriminately, even though the term used to describe them even at the time was as *patentium*.³⁶

Two questions arise from these observations. The first is whether a formal static chancery was established by Henry in Normandy, and if so, when. The second concerns the personnel on whom Henry V relied for the formation of the Norman rolls. We know that a *chambre des comptes* was established at Caen by the king in November 1417,³⁷ following the appointment, enrolled on the Norman rolls, of Sir John Tiptoft on the first day of that month as president of the *scaccarius* of Normandy and of other judicial bodies as well as treasurer-general within the duchy.³⁸ Tiptoft had not participated in the 1415 campaign since the king had chosen to send him to Gascony, appointing him as seneschal on 30 April 1415.³⁹ He continued to hold this post in absentia after his return to England in December 1415 and was one of the leading captains of the 1417 expedition.⁴⁰ It is highly significant that the king consciously gave him the administrative leadership of both duchies, to hold simultaneously. Tiptoft would most certainly have been fully aware of the nature of the Gascon rolls.

Henry's *chambre des comptes* was in the castle of Caen. The most obvious place for a chancery would be in the same location. But the evidence of the place-dates in the Norman

³⁵ Respectively, C 64/8 m. 25, 2, 7 (lordship of Deauville to Thomas Montague, earl of Salisbury), 15.

³⁶ For example, as noted on membrane 30 of C 64/15.

³⁷ Curry, 'L'administration financière', p. 91, with texts in Curry, 'La chambre des comptes', pp. 191-25.

³⁸ C 64/8 m. 19 (*RN*, p. 205). Tiptoft held his post until the appointment of William Allington as treasurer-general of Normandy on 1 May 1419 (C 64/11 m. 51d), Allington's powers being extended to cover the *pays de conquête* on 24 January 1420 (C 64/12 m. 41d). Tiptoft continued to serve in Normandy but remained seneschal of Gascony until 1423, being in that duchy for some of 1420-21.

³⁹ Roskell, 'Sir John Tiptoft'.

⁴⁰ He indented for 120 men (E101/70/2/621) but the surviving muster lists 131 in his company (E 101/51/2 m. 39).

rolls suggests that the vast majority of acts were enrolled wherever the king was. In other words, the chancery itinerated with the king. It was during the king's stay at Bayeux that the appointment of Philip Morgan as chancellor was enacted on 8 April 1418.⁴¹ By this time the first regnal year had ended and its roll was now being assembled. Another entry in the Norman roll, the appointment on 20 May 1418 of Thomas Derlyng as sergeant of the king's *cancellarie* in Normandy, suggests formalisation of structure and practice.⁴²

The choice of Morgan as chancellor was prompted by both his experience and his closeness to the king. Even whilst in the service of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury in the first decade of the century, the Oxford-educated cleric Morgan had received commissions to hear cases on ransoms and appeals from the court of admiralty.⁴³ He entered royal service after Arundel's death and had been much trusted by Henry V in negotiations with the French in 1415-16. He had accompanied the king to France in 1417, being given licence to hear confessions in the army. We find him acting as a musterer of troops but also continuing his diplomatic activity. He was particularly active in negotiations towards the treaty of Troyes and was present with the king at the sealing of the treaty. Such service redounded to his benefit in terms of ecclesiastical preferment. Elected bishop of Worcester in April 1419 he was consecrated in Rouen cathedral on 3 December 1419.

We find some changes once Rouen was in English hands but these were gradual. The rolls indicate that the king, along with his officials, took up residence at the castle by 21 January, and that between late March and mid-August, as the king moved on to Evreux, Vernon, Mantes and finally Pontoise, the chancery continued to itinerate with him. From mid-August 1419 onwards, however, we can detect two simultaneous strands of acts: those made at Rouen, and those made wherever the king was as he progressed down the Seine Valley. It appears that his 'secretariat' had been divided and some form of static chancery established in Rouen castle. This is also visible in the way the membranes of the rolls were deployed, suggesting that the two sets of documents were put together into one roll at the end of the relevant period. From mid-April 1420 a further change can be seen whereby almost all acts were once again made where the king was in person. As a result, we can follow Henry's movements to Troyes and in the campaigns which followed, as well as in his entry to Paris on Advent Sunday before he returned to Rouen at the end of 1420. Between his departure from Rouen in mid-January to cross to England and his return in mid-June all acts were made at Rouen. After his return we find two simultaneous sequences again as in the period from August 1419 to April 1420.

Morgan had returned to England with the king in January 1421 but did not come back with him in June. By at least November 1421, and probably from Henry's return to France, John Kemp was chancellor of Normandy.⁴⁴ His background was similar to that of his predecessor. Also Oxford educated and in the service of Archbishop Arundel, he had become dean of the Court of Arches in February 1414. He had crossed with the army of 1417. As Morgan, Kemp had power to hear its confessions but he was also appointed 'to exercise the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury overseas, which meant chiefly in those parts of France that the king was slowly acquiring by conquest'.⁴⁵ Kemp's influence on Henry's

⁴¹ C 64/9 m. 36d.

⁴² C 64/9 m. 31. In August 1419 he was the beneficiary of a land grant in the *bailliage* of Evreux (C 64/11 m. 75). He received further largesse in 1421 when appointed *louvetier* in the *bailliage* of Rouen (C 64/15 m. 13d, 17d).

⁴³ Davies, 'Morgan, Philip [*Philip ap Morgan*]'.

⁴⁴ E 101/187/15 doc 2. He resigned as keeper of the privy seal on 25 October 1421.

⁴⁵ Davies, 'Kemp [Kempe], John (1380/1-1454)'.

policy towards the Norman church is therefore likely to have been considerable right from the start. Appointed as keeper of the privy seal on 3 October 1418 he returned to England but was back with Henry in France in the next year. Like Morgan he was preferred, whilst in Normandy, to an English bishopric, that of Rochester (July 1419), being consecrated on the same day as Morgan at Rouen Cathedral, 3 December 1419. Kemp was also heavily involved in the finalisation of the terms of the treaty of Troyes and in the taking of oaths in its aftermath. His standing in the eyes of Henry V had led to his preferment to the see of Chichester in the late summer of 1420 and to his further preferment to the bishopric of London in November 1421. He remained with the king for the rest of his life and, as we have seen, was responsible for handing over to the duke of Bedford the seal for the duchy following the king's death.

We are also able to identify other officials of the Norman chancery. It is certain that clerks were drawn from the English chancery, much as men are known to have worked between the Irish and English chancery.⁴⁶ John Chamberlain's service as a chancery clerk can be traced back to the reign of Henry IV.⁴⁷ It seems that he had also been intended for service in Aquitaine under Tiptoft in 1415.⁴⁸ Chamberlain's presence in Normandy is evidenced in the Norman rolls by the grant to him for his good service of three houses in Harfleur and two in Caen, as well as lands near Pont-de-l'Arche.⁴⁹ Richard Sturgeon is another English chancery clerk who worked in Normandy, being similarly rewarded with property in Caen – a house neighbouring the church of St Peter which lay at the foot of the castle where Sturgeon may have worked on the compilation of the rolls.⁵⁰ John Stokes, an English chancery clerk of the first form (the highest grade in the chancery) much used by Henry in diplomatic missions, was in Normandy from at least April 1418, when the king requested that a ship be found to take him from England to Coutances.⁵¹ He was rewarded by a prebend at Bayeux cathedral in August 1419 which he surrendered in the autumn of 1420, receiving instead a prebend in York.⁵² Since the last reference to him in the Norman rolls is December

⁴⁶ Richardson, *Medieval Chancery*, p. 25.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1413-16*, p. 393. As this is revocation of letters of protection, we cannot be sure he actually went there.

⁴⁹ Harfleur: C 64/8 m. 14 (*RN*, p. 240), 26 January 1418; C 64/14 m. 24, 8 September 1420; C 64/15 m. 30, 10 January 1421; Caen: C 64/14 m. 19, 4 November 1420; land grant: C 64/11 m. 75, 7 April 1419. On 1 December 1418 he was given licence to sell salt in Conches, salt being a lucrative royal-controlled market in the duchy (C 64/9 m. 7d).

⁵⁰ C 64/8, m. 11 (*RN*, p. 261), dated 1 February 1418. Sturgeon received attorneyships at the siege of Alençon in late September 1417 (C 64/8 m. 15, *RN*, p. 235), at the siege of Falaise in January 1418 (C 64/8 m. 15, *RN*, p. 235) and at Bayeux in March 1418 (C 64/8 m. 9; *RN*, p. 272). He acted as musterer during the siege of Rouen in the autumn of 1418 (C 64/9 m. 8d, 11d), and at Gisors in September 1419 (C 64/11 m. 20d). For his career Richardson, *Medieval Chancery*, p. 98.

⁵¹ C 64/9 m. 39d. This was probably linked to a mission to Yolande of Aragon (C 64/9 m. 9d). Stokes acted as musterer in August 1418 (C 64/9 m. 18d), October 1418 (C 64/9 m. 11d), March 1419 (C 64/11 m. 78d), July 1419 (C 64/11 m. 35d), August 1419 (C 64/11 m. 29d), May 1420 (C 64/11 m. 27) and December 1420 (C 64/14 m. 12d).

⁵² Grant: C 64/11 m. 27; surrender: C 64/14 m. 23 and C 64/14 m. 15; York grant: C 64/14 m. 23.

1420, he undoubtedly returned to England with the king, receiving a new appointment in the English chancery in December 1421.⁵³

The most striking career is that of John Stopyndon. There is no doubt that his career was made in the service of Henry in Normandy, making possible his elevation in the mid-1420s as a clerk of the first form and keeper of the hanaper of the English chancery.⁵⁴ It is unclear when Stopyndon first came to Normandy but he is found acting as a musterer in the two last months of the siege of Rouen.⁵⁵ In the early months of 1420 we see his name at the end of documents for which he had been responsible.⁵⁶ Considerable royal largesse came to him through a house grant in Harfleur, a pension from Glastonbury abbey, and a prebendary in Rouen Cathedral.⁵⁷ On 17 January 1421, as Henry prepared to leave Rouen to return to England, he committed to Stopyndon the custody of the rolls of his Norman chancery (*rotulorum cancellarii sue Normannie*), and made him responsible for the receipts of the hanaper.⁵⁸ Henceforward Stopyndon bore the title keeper of the hanaper of the Norman chancery, as we can see in an order concerning the audit of his accounts in June 1422.⁵⁹

Stopyndon had been assisted in his career by association with Richard Southworth who had served in the chancery from at least 1409. That Southworth was in Normandy is suggested by the king's request from Bayeux on 12 March 1418 to the abbot and convent of Leicester abbey that he should be the recipient of the allocated pension to a royal clerk.⁶⁰ This act may signify his retirement from service in the duchy. Southworth's link with Stopyndon is evidenced in a rather striking way: in his will made in 1417 Southworth, the earliest known owner of a copy of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, bequeathed the work to Stopyndon.⁶¹

Whilst we can identify some of the officials of the chancery in Normandy there remain many gaps in our knowledge, not least on the structure and organisation of personnel. It has been suggested that in the English chancery clerks needed to produce three to seven documents a day.⁶² Given the quantity of entries on the Norman rolls it would seem clerks there were no less busy. Were local men also employed? We certainly find both English and Normans working in the *chambre des comptes* as the occupation became established: the spring of 1418 seems to be a key turning point in this context.⁶³ French hands are certainly

⁵³ Richardson, *Medieval Chancery*, p. 85.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125. Richardson (pp. 33, 119) also suggests that John Brokholes and Nicholas Neuton were in Normandy, which I cannot substantiate. Nicholas Wymbusshe, clerk of the petty bag (p. 102) may have been at Rouen in February 1419 (C 64/10 m. 33).

⁵⁵ C 64/9 m. 6d, December 1418, and C 64/10 m. 30d, January 1419.

⁵⁶ E 101/187/14, folio 35.

⁵⁷ C 64/12 m. 35; C 64/14 m. 17d (18 September 1420); C 64/16 m. 29 (22 July 1421). He was also granted a pension from Exeter Cathedral at royal command on 10 April 1420 (*Calendar of Signet Letters*, item 891).

⁵⁸ C 64/15 m. 30d. See also a note written on the other side that this roll, 'tercio parte patentium de anno viij', was enrolled in the time of John Stopyndon as keeper.

⁵⁹ C 64/17 m. 19d. See also C 64/16 m. 14d, 18 December 1421 and 1 January 1422, note of payment of fines to John Stopyndon by the chancellor of Normandy.

⁶⁰ C 64/8 m. 9 (*RN*, pp. 269-70).

⁶¹ Richardson, 'Earliest Known Authors', pp. 25-32.

⁶² Richardson, *Medieval Chancery*, p. 19.

⁶³ Curry, 'L'administration financière', p. 100.

apparent on the last Norman roll of 1422.⁶⁴ Whilst most entries of the rolls are in Latin, the customary language of all English chancery enrolments, we also find acts in French (the French of France not Anglo-Norman), such as the treaties of surrender. There are also occasional entries in English, such as Henry V's ratification of the agreement between the duke of Exeter and the inhabitants of Dieppe for the town's surrender in February 1419.⁶⁵ It was deemed essential that English soldiers understood fully what terms had been reached. Given the number of English settlers, it is also significant that an order of June 1421 that all persons holding land from the crown in Normandy appear before the chancellor or treasurer by midsummer was also enrolled in English, no doubt mirroring the language in which it had been publicly proclaimed.⁶⁶

The quantity of business dealt with in the Norman chancery is truly remarkable, all the more so given that many of the interactions with the inhabitants of the duchy were based on individual petitions, as the entries on the rolls reveal.⁶⁷ The Norman rolls, as indeed the chancery itself was an essential part of Henry's strategic plan for the duchy right from the outset, remaining key to the very end of his rule, with a wide range of business. Take, for instance, an order of 29 May 1422 that all ecclesiastics holding lands without amortisation should apply for licence to the chancery of Normandy.⁶⁸ There was no parallel in the Valois past to the Norman rolls but it is important to remember that the rolls were only one element in Henry's governance. As we have noted, he also established a *chambre des comptes* in Caen, another innovation since the duchy, as part of the Valois royal demesne, had been controlled in the previous regime by the *chambre des comptes* in Paris. Relatively little survives of the archive of Henry's *chambre des comptes* but there is enough to show that it produced orders and acts which were not enrolled in the Norman rolls. Rather, a separate archive was created which conformed to the format of the French royal *chambres des comptes*, always using French rather than Latin. But on occasion we can see how acts in the Norman rolls were implemented through the *chambre des comptes*. So for instance we find a copy in what is left of the *chambre* archive of the royal grant of 12 April 1419 to Benedict Coutellier of lands of a rebel in the *bailliage* of Caen.⁶⁹ At the end of the text of the grant we find an order by the *gens des comptes* to the *bailli* of Caen ordering him to allow Coutellier to enter the lands. The wording makes clear Coutellier had presented the letters of his grant to the *chambre des comptes* whose officials had then entered it in a register. Whilst no such register is known to survive now, it existed in 1828 when Charles Vautier was able to publish extracts from it,⁷⁰ and it shows clearly the procedures, administered by the *baillis* and reported through the *chambre des comptes*, which followed grants and confirmations, where

⁶⁴ For instance, in a long confirmation of the privileges of Rouen Cathedral, 15 August 1422 (C 64/17 m. 1-4).

⁶⁵ C 64/10 m. 17.

⁶⁶ C 64/16 m. 32d.

⁶⁷ Indicated by the phrase 'ad supplicationem' followed by the name of the petitioner. No petitions are known to survive and were probably made orally. This is a contrast with England where, according to Brown, most acts originated in a written petition ('Authorization of Letters', p. 143).

⁶⁸ C 64/17 m. 20d.

⁶⁹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France manuscrit français 26042/5348 (31 May 1419), relating to the grant in C 64/11 m. 67.

⁷⁰ *Extrait de register des dons, confiscations, maintenues et autres actes fait dans le duché de Normandie pendant les années 1418, 1419 et 1420 par Henry V, roi d'Angleterre*, ed. C. Vautier (Paris, 1828). The Coutellier case is noted on pp. 3, 65 and 98.

the holders needed to carry out an *aveu et dénombrement*, a *prise* and a formal act of homage.

The extensive nature of the Norman rolls means that a full analysis will take some time. One question concerns a separate roll of four membranes for years 6, 7 and 8 Henry V. In 1880 this roll was included with others in the calendar of the Norman rolls published in the 41st Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.⁷¹ But in 1910 it was included in the calendar of patent rolls for 1416 to 1422, and the roll is catalogued in The National Archives within C 66.⁷² Its entries range from 16 November 1417 to 12 August 1420. All bear place-dates in Normandy and France but all concern English places or business, such as pensions to be paid from county revenues. One of the entries on this roll is a grant of 5 June 1418 to Janico Dartas from the revenues of Drogheda, which is also found on the Norman roll C 64/9 covering March 1418 to January 1419. This same grant was ratified on the Patent Roll of 6 Henry V on 20 July 1418 at Dartas' request.⁷³ It was clearly felt by some that ratification in England was needed, yet there were many other acts concerning English or Irish revenues on the Norman rolls which do not appear on the special or any other Patent roll. Finally, we can assume the Norman rolls were kept in Normandy until after the death of Henry since we find some entries in later rolls confirming or amending those in earlier rolls. But they were taken back to England at some point after the death of Henry V. We do not know when, but it would be logical for John Stopyndon, their keeper from 1421, to have been responsible for bringing them back, for which he deserves our gratitude given the fascinating insights they offer into Henry V's master plan.

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⁷¹ *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, xli, pp. 760-1.

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