

Yeomen and Feudal Levies

Kaldor and Minarsas

Ilkka Leskelä © 2012–2014¹

This article takes a closer look on what we know of the Hârníc yeomen, especially their numbers. As a general note, the yeomen of Hârn are a phenomenon of the feudal kingdoms. This leaves Orbaal, the Thardic Republic and the Barbarians out of the picture, even if we can take it granted that a class of free, warrior-oriented landowner (or cattle-owner) commoners can be found in every Hârníc society.

The high medieval English yeomen clearly are the model for Hârníc yeomen. Historically, they were much more than warriors only. They were free landowners, local organisers of work and duties, “rural bureaucrats” operating between the royal bureaucracy, local magnates and commoners – anything a freeman with substantial land might be. Essentially, a yeoman is a trusted man because he can back up his credibility with his own wealth and some military skill.

Hârníc yeomen have been often discussed as part of the military, of the feudal levy. The militaristic tendency is typical for Hârn and Hârníacs, because RPGs share a common past with wargames, and many active Hârníacs and writers of fan fiction share an interest in military matters. In this article, we will take a look at the number and role of yeomen as the basis of the feudal levy. I hope the lessons of this article can be used as a basis for future discussions on the subject.

My approach is *from top down*, as this will allow us to study the general picture as given in the sources (“canon”). While the local and special is interesting for a local description, and of course for gaming, Hârn gives us a baseline for what is “normal”, “average” and “authentic” on Hârn. I think we should respect the amount of text used to describe the normal and average, and start from there. The analysis is then carried on through calculations and parallel scenarios. The sources utilised in this article are compact (some 20 pages in four supplements), and I have given the exact sources in subnotes.

Part I - Yeomen and feudal levies in Kaldor

Freemen in Hârníc feudal kingdoms

Historically, medieval English yeomen were free men. Nothing in the Hârníc data we have suggests otherwise, although the social position of Hârníc yeomen is not discussed anywhere in the general sources. Thus we can start by locating the Hârníc yeomen among his peers, the rural freemen.

The HârnWorld supplement tells us that Serfs make up 70–90 % of the feudal rural population.² The subinfeudation data in the individual kingdom modules (here Kaldor) localises and extrapolates this data: “A rough breakdown of rural households is: Serf (85%), Freemen (15%). The major settlements would tend to have Urban Freemen (60%), with the balance divided among rural populations as

¹ This is a longer and thoroughly revised version of a paper in limited circulation in the Helsinki School in 2012. I would also like to thank Turin and CASTLEMIKE1 on Lythia/HarnForum for terminological clarifications in March 2014.

² *HarnWorld* (Columbia Games, 1990), HARN 6.

above.”³ These two sources give us the same practical data: the proportion of freemen in rural population is roughly 15–20 %.

Because we are mainly interested in able-bodied men, many of who are typically heads of their households, we might even consider using The Occupation Generation Table (OGT). It gives us the number of serfs (minus domestic servants and predominantly urban skilled slaves) as 62.0 % of all fathers, and the number of freehold farmers, tenant farmers and farm labourers as 7.6 % of all fathers.⁴ This would give the following breakdown for rural households: Serf (89%), Freeman (11%).

The proportion of freemen would actually be greater, because their number should also include some rural specialists (fishermen, hunters, trappers, thatchers and woodcutters) as well as a number of rural artisans and guildsmen (charcoalers, hideworkers, innkeepers, smiths, millers, miners, salters, timberwrights and woodcrafters), and even the rural men-at-arms. This will effectively increase the proportion of rural freemen, based on the OGT, to 18 % or more. Based on the varied and active picture of medieval English yeomen, some of these professions could easily be yeomen’s occupations also on Hårn. This is especially true of the rural men-at-arms.

When the data is combined for an approximation, we can say that in the feudal half of Hårn, rural freemen make up 15–20 % of the rural population. In the following, I will use the number 18 %, because it is closer to the roughly 20 % in the most general source (HårnWorld), and fits the range given in the individual kingdom modules. This number will come handy towards the latter part of this article, in the section where we take a closer look on Earl Caldeth’s yeomen.

Yeomen and feudal levy

Hårnic yeomen are only ever discussed as part of the feudal levy, under Military Garrisons in the subinfeudation part of the feudal kingdom modules. In the following, we are looking at Kaldor, where the data has always been given quite strictly, and it’s easy to extrapolate from it. However, here we meet a discontinuity in the older and newer versions: the data in the old and the new modules is not the same. Compared to Kandy, the old data is similar to old Kaldor, but the new data is (intentionally?) vague.

The original Kaldor mentions that “all manors can provide one knight, one squire, one yeoman per 600 acres, and a militia equal to the number of households.”⁵ This would seem to give us a very straightforward ratio for yeomen, but there is a problem: the data assumes manors are the basic unit, but as manors often hold acres not easily divisible by 600, we don’t quite know how to calculate the number of yeomen in the feudal levy of a whole kingdom: per manors, per manorial gross acres, or per landholders’ gross acres. If we count by manors, what do we do with the excess acres?

In the following table, I analyse four categories of yeoman recruitment. *The first column* has the yeomen counted by manors, with **strict limit of 600 acres** as the minimum per yeoman. *The second column* has the yeomen counted by manors, with the following **averaged acres** for yeomen:

0–300 acres	0 yeomen
301–900 acres	1 yeoman
901–1500 acres	2 yeomen
1501–2100 acres	3 yeomen
2101–2700 acres	4 yeomen
2701–3300 acres	5 yeomen

³ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 1984, 1986), KALDOR 10.

⁴ *HårnMaster* (Columbia Games, 1986), CHARACTER 3.

⁵ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 1984, 1986), KALDOR 10.

Naturally, there might be wide variance in the local number of yeomen, but in the large sample of whole Kaldor the local oddities should balance out.

The third column gives yeomen counted by the **summed acres** of a keep/castle, rounded normally (excess up to 299 acres = 0 yeomen more; 300–599 excess acres = 1 yeoman more).

The fourth column gives the number of yeomen counted by the **new edition limits** of 300 acres per light infantry yeoman and 600 acres per medium infantry or archer yeoman. 400 acres general limit was used,⁶ and the yeomen were counted by the **summed acres** of a keep/castle, rounded normally (excess of 200+ acres = 1).⁷

Keep/Castle	Strict	Average	Sum/600	Sum/400
Athelren	31	39	38	57
Baseta	30	36	37	56
Bidow	37	48	47	71
Esenor	47	54	53	80
Fisen	20	23	23	34
Gardiren	50	55	56	84
Getha	24	31	31	46
Heru	39	46	45	68
Hutop	57	72	72	108
Jedes	32	41	39	58
Kiban	67	79	82	123
Kobing	44	51	50	75
Kolorn	48	54	55	82
Kyg	31	36	37	55
Minarsas	88	101	100	150
Nenda	25	32	32	47
Nubeth	43	49	50	76
Olokand	90	108	112	168
Pendeth	28	35	36	53
Qualdris	73	83	82	123
Querina	80	96	98	147
Setrew	50	60	63	95
Shebra	66	80	82	124
Sirendel	94	106	109	164
Ternua	48	56	57	85
Tonot	27	32	35	52
Uldien	23	29	29	44
Yeged	27	32	33	50
Zoben	26	30	31	46
Totals:	1345	1594	1614	2421

The table shows that different readings of the same data give markedly different results. (I haven't double checked all calculations, so there might be small errors in the first two columns. These are unlikely

⁶ I estimated that two thirds of the yeomen are light infantry (300 acres) and one third special troops (600 acres). This produces a 400 acres average per one yeoman. See below for further discussion on the subject.

⁷ The source for the first two columns is old *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 1984, 1986), KALDOR 11–17, and new *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21: Military Resources, which have been cross checked. The last two columns have been calculated with the new Kaldor only. For the first three columns, the 600 acres limit per yeoman from the earlier edition was used. For the last column, an average of 400 acres per yeoman was used.

There are differences in the acreages given in the new and old Kaldor modules: see e.g. the changes of ownership of Blikle and Janed between Bidow (Sheriff of Nephshire) and Olokand (Sheriff of Meselynshire). The new module is correct, as the Tonallan Hundred falls under the realm of the Sheriff of Nephshire.

to change the general picture.) The first column is likely the least worth, because it's clear that we don't need exactly 600 acres to produce one yeoman. Local variation in land ownership, yeomen's shares and need of yeomen will likely balance things resulting in an average number of yeomen, as given in the second and third columns. With roughly 600 acres per yeoman, the king of Kaldor would have access to roughly 1,600 yeomen.

This calculation does not take into account the land held by the churches of Larani and Peoni. It is unclear if their lands produce men for the feudal muster. It is probably that the Laranians of Kaldor will join the feudal muster when asked, but their recruitment patterns is still independent.

Number of yeomen in the new edition Kaldor

In the above table, the fourth column differs markedly from the rest. This is a result of new variable types of yeomen warriors, and different acreages for the recruitment and upkeep of the different types:

“Typically, each manor provides one knight (heavy or medium horse), one squire (medium or light horse), and a number of yeomen that varies by troop class and Gross Acres.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Light Foot (LF)} &= \text{Gross Acres} / 300 \\ \text{Medium Foot (MF)} &= \text{Gross Acres} / 600 \\ \text{Shortbow (SB)} &= \text{Gross Acres} / 600”^8\end{aligned}$$

These new numbers were discussed on the HarnForum before they ended in the new book. You might want to read through the discussion to find out all the more or less defined arguments in support of more yeomen. My own summary would be as follows:

If we stick to the published Harn sources, we can find two clear notions of warrior recruitment based on 300 acres: the Thardic Legions expect Thardic clans to equip one light infantryman per 300 acres,⁹ and the Harnic religious Fighting Orders can equip one man-at-arms per 300 acres.¹⁰ The number of men recruited in this way is considerable, and shows that when the Harnic fiscal organisations are fine-tuned to organise land ownership so as to produce as many warriors as possible, 300 acres rather than 600 acres is a practical and achievable baseline. For the Fighting Orders, the type of the men-at-arms is not given, for Tharda the 300 acres are enough to equip a “footsoldier”, probable a light infantryman.¹¹

Thus, basically, the idea of Kaldor being able to equip one lightly equipped yeoman per 300 acres is warranted, and adds to the general cohesion of the setting as it is described in the different modules.

However, we should pay attention to the goals of recruitment. One yeoman per 300 acres instead of 600 acres tells that someone needs warriors, and is willing to parcel and divide the land especially warrior-recruitment in mind. Do the examples of 300-acres recruitment suggest that Kaldor follows this trend?

The Fighting Orders exist for war: the Laranians of Kaldor are contributing to the Solori Crusade in Melderyn, they patrol the Genin Trail and they have a small scale colonisation going on near the Tontury Lake. We might guess the Order principals have something in mind regarding the Pagaelin. The Order needs and supports warriors, because its activity and existence is based on warrior ethos.

⁸ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21: Military Resources.

⁹ *Tharda* (Columbia Games, 1897), THARDA 7.

¹⁰ See e.g. *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 1984, 1986), KALDOR 10, under Military Garrisons.

¹¹ *Tharda*, as before.

Tharda expects (or fears) war on its borders against Rethem and Kanday. The republic has been through one victorious war with Kanday recently. Some senators in the republic also actively propagate military action against the eastern barbarians. In addition, the Thardic recruitment pattern seems to produce lightly equipped infantry to man the cohorts. Tharda has a need for its armies, and seems to have a strategy of investing in numbers instead of heavier equipment (and perhaps skills).

Kaldor is different. The kingdom hasn't faced a war recently, and it definitely need not fear an invasion, because it has no organised realms in its neighbourhood, if not perhaps Azadmere. There is no notion in the sources that anybody in Kaldor would be actively preparing to mount a major attack on the barbarians, on Azadmere, or on Chybisa, not to speak of operations beyond the wilderness.

The Kaldoric Succession Crisis is one prospect only. If the king lives and/or a clear majority of the lords so choose, a peaceful settlement is a real option. It seems that the present need for military is mainly policing and guarding the caravans, for patrolling the wilderness frontiers (Gargun should be noted here, especially in Vemionshire), and for the three small forces of Royal Guard, and Chelmarch and Oselmarch "armies". This situation has lasted for a generation.

The military situation of Kaldor would favour quality over quantity, and the political situation of a kingdom in peace would suggest investments in consumption and infrastructure instead of military. Indeed, the 600 Gross Acres limit for yeomen in the old Kaldor supplement (medium infantry or archers in the new Kaldor supplement) might be interpreted to suggest that the lords really use funds for equipment and skills in addition or instead for numbers.

Thus Kaldor definitely can equip more light infantry yeomen, but it doesn't actually need to equip just light infantry, or large numbers of warriors in general. It could be fruitful to combine the previous and current edition data of Kaldoric yeomen recruitment: we might state that the new edition shows the recruitment pattern and feudal levy strength on vellum (2400 yeomen), while the old edition gives the actual peacetime recruitment and feudal levy strength (1600 yeomen).

In this scenario, depending on the season and the year, up to one third of the yeomen would not be available for the feudal levy. Should the king or the earls require full levies, the individual manors might offer payments instead of men (scutage). The lords might actually prefer this, and use the money on leisure, or to hire more experienced mercenaries for shorter periods and smaller tasks. The situation is not dissimilar to the availability of knights, who may opt for scutage instead of military service.

The differences in the old and new Kaldor modules might seem to produce a discrepancy. But I think the difference is interesting just because it opens possibilities for interpretation. The old edition doesn't take away the option of a kingdom armed to the teeth, bent on destroying itself in a bloody succession war: this can be achieved through smaller but better trained troops. The new edition with a larger yeoman pool doesn't take away the option of slightly smaller but better equipped and skilled standing forces to meet the actual dangers in border patrols and caravan duty. Kaldor is more interesting both ways.

Part II - Earl Caldeth's feudal levy

The feudal levy: numbers

I will use the example of Earl Caldeth's fiefs and his levy to discuss the recruitment pattern of yeomen, the position of yeomen in the Kaldorian society, and the composition of Hârníc feudal levies in general.

Thus far, we have followed the general and average patterns of land use and yeomen. A closer look at a local case lets us experiment and play with the data.

Earl Caldeth's fief – Minarsas, Baseta, Kolorn and Zoben – makes up some 11 % of Kaldor's population and some 14 % of Kaldor's acreage. The difference in the proportions of population and acreage instantly reveal one characteristic of the fief: there are significantly more acres available per household than typically in Kaldor (some 25 % more). Some 40 % of this land, in Baseta and Kolorn, is also of prime quality and very fertile.¹²

Thus we see that Earl Caldeth, compared to his peers, owns more land than people. From the Minarsas article, we can read he is efficient and successful in making his lands profitable.¹³ The richness of the Caldeths is in agricultural production, and to this end, they need productive farmers. The need is pronounced, because the earl and his subordinates have fewer workers per acre than most of the other lords in Kaldor. The emphasis on wool production is a natural solution, because it uses the fertile soil with minimum labour force. In addition, herding teaches men outdoor survival and basic defensive skills against animals of prey. For a lord who keeps prepared for a potential conflict, this is good.

The following table shows how we can produce the numbers of rural freemen and yeomen in Earl Caldeth's fiefs. Acres (LQ) stands for fiscal productive acres, i.e. normal acres given in the Kaldor book multiplied by the Land Quality. HH stands for the total number of households in each fief. The number of rural freemen is first calculated as 18% of the rural households. Next, for the sake of testing, 25% of the rural households are interpreted as freemen (the high end of the older Kaldor module, giving the number of serfs as a range between 70 and 90 %).

The number of yeomen is derived from the Land Quality Acres. Three scenarios are given:

- All yeomen are specialists, i.e. each needs 600 acres. Acres (LQ) is divided by 600. This is the quality over quantity scenario.
- One yeoman in three is a specialist, the remaining two are light infantry. The yeomen need in average 400 acres. Acres (LQ) is divided by 400. This is the default scenario.
- One yeoman in six is a specialist, the remaining five are light infantry. The yeomen need in average 350 acres. Acres (LQ) is divided by 350. This is the quantity over quality scenario.

Fief	Acres	Acres (LQ)	HH	Rural freemen		Yeomen (specialists)		
				(18%)	(25%)	(1/1)	(1/3)	(1/6)
Minarsas	60,050	63,026	1357	228	339	105	158	180
Baseta	21,900	25,194	453	61	113	42	63	72
Kolorn	32,760	38,793	620	104	155	65	97	111
Zoben	18,540	18,976	428	75	104	32	47	54
Totals:	133,250	145,989	2858	468	711	244	365	417

The quality over quantity scenario (1/1): Earl Caldeth has 244 yeomen (12 companies); all are trained and equipped as medium infantry and archers. This would be a specialist force. It is very good at what it does, but is a bit small and thus doesn't take losses well. On the other hand, well equipped men are harder to wound, and they may have a military ethos and thus good morale.

The default scenario (1/3): Earl Caldeth has 365 yeomen (18 companies); one third (6 companies) are trained and equipped as medium infantry and archers. This would be a versatile force of numerous light infantry supported by significant detachments of well armed and armoured infantry and skilled archers. It would be good both for holding and giving siege to fortifications.

¹² *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21, 24, 35, 37, 52.

¹³ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), MINARSAS 1, 5, 24.

The quantity over quality scenario (1/6): Earl Caldeth has 417 yeomen (21 companies); one sixth (3½ companies) are trained and equipped as medium infantry and archers. If the specialists would be mostly archers, this army would be excellent in garrisoning fortifications and taking on numerically smaller, lightly equipped forces on the open field. It would be hard pressed against better equipped forces, but is able to sustain some losses.

Still higher proportions of light infantry are possible, but the number of yeomen produced would not increase markedly, and the level of equipment and skills would deteriorate. I think the possibility given in the new Kaldor module to equip more specialised and more expensive yeomen is an opportunity many nobles will use. Thus the 1/3 or 1/6 scenarios are more likely than for example a 1/10 or fully light infantry scenarios.

Yeomen as high ranking warrior-freemen

The table above shows several scenarios for the proportion of the yeomen among rural freemen. If we take the smaller percentage of rural freemen (18%) and compare it to the largest yeomen pool (1:6), we can see that about 90 % of the rural freemen would actually be yeomen. This scenario doesn't work because in Baseta and Kolorn there would be more yeomen than freemen. If all freemen in these two keeps are yeomen, 85 % of all the rural freemen would be yeomen. This would still be an extremely high number. It would render the term "freeman" practically obsolete, as most freemen would possess the status and position of a yeoman, and would be first noted as one. The rural countryside would not have freemen but yeomen.

On the other hand, if we take the larger percentage of rural freemen (25%) and compare it to the small yeoman pool (1:1), we can see that about 35 % of the rural freemen would actually be yeomen. This is still a very high proportion of yeomen in Earl Caldeth's fief compared to the proportion of yeomen in medieval England.

While individual fiefs may represent special cases (this leeward allows much fun in designing manors and fiefs!), on a larger scale a scenario between the extremities is more likely. Thus I would argue for a smaller percentage of rural freemen (18 %), and compare it to the medium yeoman pool (1/3 specialists). This would result in 78 % of the rural freemen being yeomen – still an extremely high proportion.

What does it mean if four fifths of the rural freemen in Kaldor are yeomen? How do Kaldorian yeomen as a group and as a social rank differ from our common image of medieval English yeomen?

Yeomen would be a rather numerous group (about 10 %) of the total population outside the cities, and command much power in return for their responsibilities, partly as feudal warriors. While the feudal militia is not allowed to arm themselves for war in peacetime, 10% of the rural household heads would bypass this rule with their liege approving. They are the army of the land, the warriors of the villages. They might be the living legacy of the Jarin past, before the fully armed riding knights formed the new military nobility. Even today, the free yeomen are a numerous and powerful group able to appeal to the king's law, and if need be, even militarily oppose unjust or corrupt manorial lords.

A good question would be if the numerous yeomen worship Peoni or Larani first. Their ethos probably stresses warriorhood, and their possessions let them aspire to the lifestyle of the nobility, should they so wish. On the other hand, their other occupation as farmers and members of the village community call for the community and blessings of Peoni. Why would the yeomen worship only one and not the other,

as we are told most Hårnians do? This is one of the questions discussed on the HarnForum some years back, but no conclusion was found.

Earl Caldeth's feudal levy in the Minarsas article

The Minarsas article describes Earl Caldeth's military resources in detail.¹⁴ At Minarsas, the earl has a standing guard of 39 men (20 light infantry, 10 longbowmen, 9 light cavalry; this is the two companies given in the Kaldor Military Resources), plus an 11 strong town watch, plus four companies of free-men/serf "Rangers" on call in four villages/manors. The latter groups are light infantry, although the "Rangers" double as archers. This is a believable and characterful composition, well supported by all the more general sources.

The sidebar describing the earl's obligations for the feudal levy needs more scrutiny. It introduces the term "Spear", a troop of five yeomen grouped around a knight and his squire. The idea is nice, but is it possible, given the general info we have of feudal musters on Hårn? Do "133,700 acres of good quality land" cause the Earl to owe the king 120 "Spears", including 600 yeomen?

As can be seen from the previous table, the earl's good quality land gives a yearly yield that equals some 146,000 average acres. "By custom, the amount of land deemed necessary to support a knight (from revenues) is between 1200–1800 acres."¹⁵ This would suggest that the king, knowing the excellent quality of Earl Caldeth's land, could demand something between 81 and 121 knights. The number of 120 knights, and an equal amount of squires, thus falls just within the customary requirements of a vassal.

There are less than 70 manors in Earl Caldeth's fief. Likely all, or at least the overwhelming majority, are held or governed by a knight, who also has a squire. Let's say Earl Caldeth gets 60 knights through feudal obligations. As most Hårnic knights are bachelors,¹⁶ there should be a supply of knights and squires to make up the gap of another 60 knights. Some of these knights will belong to the earl's household troops, some are younger sons of his landed knights and bailiffs, and some may be mercenary knights, hired by the earl in the occasion the king would actually and fully press his demand.

Thus the number of knights and squires is not a problem, although they cannot be mustered through feudal obligations only. But the number of accompanying yeomen is a bit more problematic.

If the king wants 120 knights out of the equivalent of 146,000 average acres, he should know that the land normally cannot sustain 600 yeomen. Even if only lightly equipped yeomen were to be produced (300 acres per yeoman), the number of yeomen mustered would be still be less than 500. If we assume that the earl has some of his yeomen equipped as medium infantry and archers, as suggested by the Minarsas garrison, the number of yeomen the land can produce (the 1/6 scenario) is close to 400, and the yeomen would equal 85 % of all freemen. The 1/3 scenario would drop the number of yeomen to 365 and their proportion of freemen to 78 %. Like above, I think this scenario is most likely.

So, 600 yeomen is a far cry for Earl Caldeth. As with the knights and squires, the earl might round up his yeomen with a couple of hundred militia (the "Rangers" come to mind) and mercenaries. This is a way to bring the number of infantry to the 600 required by "120 Spears". It would require the earl more than his normal feudal duty, more than every single yeoman, and truly empty his fiefs of capable warriors. 14% or one in seven of all commoner men would be taken as a feudal levy – a harsh measure in

¹⁴ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), MINARSAS 29.

¹⁵ *HarnWorld* (Columbia Games, 1990), HARN 3.

¹⁶ *HarnWorld* (Columbia Games, 1990), HARN 4.

comparison to real world history, even for countries in a civil war, but not unknown. We might assume that the king knows how much he is asking and normally doesn't press his demands to the full.

There is an interesting possibility regarding the feudal obligations of troops. Earl Caldeth requires his vassal knights to serve 90 days per year. In the "Spear system", this would mean a similar time span also for the infantry. But if the king only requires service for, say, 60 days, the earl could phase and shuffle his knights and yeomen so that 80 knights and squires and 400 yeomen would meet the royal requirements, which would now be interpreted as meaning "120 Spears" *for 60 days*. In this manner, the earl could provide the men over time instead of once and for all. This might be the reason of requiring service for 90 days a year instead of the more general 60 days a year.

This speculation shows that Earl Caldeth is hard pressed to support the king with the infantry the king requires. Given the earl's economic strength and the peace that has lasted for a generation (no previous loss of manpower), he could manage to meet the requirement, at least if he doesn't need to do it too often (like every year, for the duration of a decade), or if he can phase and shuffle his men to stretch a smaller force to cover the demanded serving days.

Most of all, the need for speculation suggests that we lack a great deal of detail concerning the practicalities and peculiarities of feudal duties and levies on Hâr.

Part III - Standing forces: Yeomen or other?

Number of permanent troops

Yeomen, like knights and squires, are not full time warriors, and not just warriors. They have other businesses and roles in life and society, like ruling and managing fields and manors.

Feudal levies in Kaldor are required to serve 30–90 days per year.¹⁷ For the vassals of Earl Caldeth, 90 days are required.¹⁸ Does the amount of knights, squires and yeomen produced in this manner make up the castle and keep garrisons and other permanent bodies of troops? To answer the question, we need to establish the number of permanent troops, and the number of serving man-years the feudal levy may produce. Again, Kaldor is used as an example.

Kaldor has three permanent bodies of royal troops and 30 garrisons (47 companies) in castles and keeps. Because of the looming "conflict over the pending succession ... few garrisons are understrength."¹⁹ Thus each company really represents about 20 warriors. The breakdown of the permanent troops is as follows:

Permanent Troop	L Infantry	M Infantry	Archers	L Cavalry	Knights
The Royal Guard	–	80	–	–	40
Army of the Chelmarch	20	20	20	20	–
Army of the Oselmarch	20	20	–	40	–
Garrisons	620	120	160	40	–
Totals:	660	240	180	100	40

I have made some interpretations concerning the composition of the garrisons:

¹⁷ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21: Military Resources.

¹⁸ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), MINARSAS 29.

¹⁹ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21: Military Resources.

1) It is stated that the garrisons are composed of light foot, although “some wealthy lords prefer medium foot or shortbow in place of light foot.”²⁰ I have assumed that those garrisons with at least two companies can be considered “wealthy”. (Some two thirds of them are garrisons in castles or keeps held by earls and sheriffs. The rest are keeps held by barons and constables.)

2) I have then assumed that half of the troops in the big garrisons (16 companies or 320 men) are better equipped, half being archers, the other half being medium infantry with an odd company or two of light cavalry.²¹ In this way, some 35 % of all the castle garrisons are better than light infantry. The infantry has commoner background. The light cavalry might actually be squires.

The total number of *infantry and light cavalry* needed to man the permanent “armies” and garrisons of Kaldor is 1,180 men. Under the Chelmarch and Oselmarch armies, the notion of support from feudal levy makes it clear that the 1,180 men in service year around cannot be all the yeomen available through the feudal levy. At least some portion of the feudal levy can be added to the number of permanent troops during the summer months. Thus in summertime the number of men in arms in Kaldor clearly surpasses 1,200. This number doesn’t include the knights.

Serving period

In part I, the different interpretations of the data concerning the feudal recruitment of yeomen were given in table format. It was suggested that the full muster of Kaldorian yeomen is about 2,400 men at the most (new Kaldor). During years of peace the number could be around 1,600 men (old Kaldor). Kaldorian feudal levies are expected to serve between 30 and 90 days per year. We don’t know where the average lies, but if we assume that the range from 30 to 90 days is roughly even, then the average should be around 60 days. For the matter of studying, comparing and simplicity, and to allow different interpretations, I will divide this into Short (45 days), Medium (65 days) and Long (80 days) periods for whole Kaldor in general, slightly stressing the longer service periods.

We get the following interpretative muster for serving man-years:

Yeoman Levy	Short	Medium	Long
1600 (old)	200	290	355
2400 (new)	300	435	535

Based on the variable service periods, the yeoman levy of Kaldor equals between 200 and 535 man-years of service. Compared to the 1.180 men in permanent service, the feudal levy can make up only 10–35 % of the troops in service at any time. Thus an overwhelming majority of Kaldor’s permanent troops are not feudal levy, i.e. they do not serve under the yeoman contract. They are either men-at-arms, serving for upkeep, loyalty and personal gifts (household troops), or mercenaries serving for pay.

It is fully possible and even probable that some of the warriors serving full time actually are feudal yeomen who have prolonged their yearly service under another contract than their land contract. In this case, their pay must be enough to cover any costs caused by them not returning home for the harvest/winter. Thus the pay, in addition to the upkeep of the yeoman, needs to cover the costs of at least one seasonal farmhand. This suggests that especially during prolonged campaigns, the system of yeo-

²⁰ As above.

²¹ Cf. *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), MINARSAS 29: one quarter of the 40 men strong garrison are longbowmen, another quarter are light cavalry; cf. the same, GARDIREN 30: one quarter of the 40 men strong garrison are longbowmen, another quarter are medium infantry.

men and feudal levies in general has some deep repercussions in the rural communities and their work allocation.

In general, it is clear that while the feudal levy as a system cannot satisfy the need for permanent troops in Kaldor, the kingdom is still capable of producing the military men for the task. Only the recruitment and payment methods vary. In the following, we try to squeeze the general sources for some more insight into how they vary.²²

A perspective from the OGT

The Occupation Generation Table (OGT) gives the proportion of commoner military professionals in a feudal society as 5.5 % of all household heads. If we look only at professional military with commoner background, we get the following subdivision for the military professions:²³

Profession	OGT	Subdivision	Urban
Man at arms	1.5 %	27.3 %	50 %
Mercenary	3.5 %	63.6 %	90 %
Sapper/Archer/etc.	0.3 %	5.5 %	90 %
Swordmaster	0.1 %	1.8 %	80 %
<u>Gladiator (free)</u>	<u>0.1 %</u>	<u>1.8 %</u>	<u>95 %</u>
Sum	5.5 %	100.0 %	

The numbers given in the OGT have received criticism on the HarnForum, and for a reason. Although the table is commented as giving “authentic” results based on the medieval society²⁴ (which here supposedly translate into the Hârníc society) in the HarnMaster book, it is still presented as a tool for character generation, and not repeated in the world-specific supplements. Thus the OGT is not a default Hârníc census.

The OGT is also very general: the column for feudal culture covers Rethem and Kanday in south western Hârn, Kaldor and Chyvisa in east central Hârn, and Melderyn in the south eastern Hârn. The proportions of occupations are identical, even if it is clear that there must be some differences in the proportions of different occupations among the household heads in the different feudal kingdoms. The probable lack of Pilots in inland Kaldor can serve as an example.

In addition, the terminology and urbanity of occupations is the same over a wide range of cultural socio-economic organisations: Viking, feudal, feudal-imperial (Thardic) and imperial – even if the occupations probably carry different terms, and “urbanity” probably has different meanings, depending on the culture.

Thus, the numbers of the OGT should not be used alone, and they should not supersede any statistical information that can be found in other, census-based sources which are explicitly given as local Hârníc data. These caveats in mind, the OGT can still be used to highlight what N. Robin Crossby suggested could be “authentic” in Hârn. The table gives food for thought while at the same time leaving much room for creative interpretation.

²² The recruitment patterns, payment methods and service periods of Hânic and Kaldorian feudal military are discussed in detail in some other supplements. In this article, I intentionally stay within the general sources, i.e. *HarnWorld*, *HarnMaster* and the kingdom modules, as I see they are the basis for everything else. It would take another article to discuss the later modules and try to harmonize their data with the general picture. This may prove impossible.

²³ *HarnMaster* (Columbia Games, 1986), CHARACTER 3.

²⁴ *HarnMaster* (Columbia Games, 1986), CHARACTER 2.

The OGT suggests four things:

1) 5.5 % of Kaldorian household heads (fathers) are professional military. As the listed figure for the population of Kaldor in HarnWorld was given as 105,000²⁵, and as the household size is universally 5, this would make the number of military professional household heads 1,155. This is so close to the sum of the standing garrisons and the “armies”, 1,180, that the two are likely connected. In this case, at least, the numbers suggested by the OGT actually seem to be “authentic” regarding the idea N. Robin Crossby (and the early CGI writers) had of Hårn and Kaldor.

In Kaldor “few garrisons are understrength”²⁶, which suggests that some garrisons still lack men from the full companies of 20. This might make the figure of 1,155 actually closer to the Kaldorian reality than the flawless muster of 1,180 men.²⁷

2) If we accept the “authenticity” of the numbers derived from the OGT and the following subdivision of the military professionals (above), the majority of professional warriors in feudal kingdoms seem to be mercenaries. For example, out of the 1,180 full-time warriors in Kaldor, some 750 would be mercenaries and the rest mostly men-at-arms.²⁸

3) Even in the feudal kingdoms, the occupation of a professional warrior is predominantly “urban”. This doesn’t mean that the warriors live in cities, because even the keeps and castles have a large number of “urban freemen”.²⁹ It means that most warriors live in towns near to or in the local fortification rather than dispersed in the countryside. Whether this is a result of recruitment near the centres, or a result of professional warriors moving into the centres after recruitment – perhaps because of logistical reasons – or some combination of the two, or a result of something else, must be left open here.

4) It seems warriors with the yeoman contract are not used to garrison the fortifications or in the standing “armies” of Kaldor. They follow their knights, perhaps under the “Spear” arrangement, and see no service outside of the feudal muster. This probably mirrors in their skills and expertise. The yeomen are primarily not warriors, but prosperous farmers, possibly with an odd number of other free occupations.

I will not present a summary or conclusion, as I hope You will read through the whole article and decide for Yourself, in each individual interpretative point, WHAT Your Kaldor and Vemionshire will be like, and most importantly, WHY. I’m interested to hear other interpretations of the matter, and the argumentation behind them. Thank You for reading trough this article thoughtfully and in detail!

²⁵ *HarnWorld* (Columbia Games, 1983, 1990), HARN 3 (Government). Jeremy Baker has since shown, based on his calculations of village households listed in the Kaldor subinfeudation tables, that the census of Kaldor actually seems to be significantly larger than 105,000, perhaps around 130,000. Kaldor being the “testbed” for Hårnic kingdom modules, it is possible that the creators were not aware that they had created such a difference. Or perhaps they didn’t count the fiefs of the Larian and Peonian religious organizations within the 105,000 *subjects* of the king?

²⁶ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 2004), KALDOR 21: Military Resources.

²⁷ Interestingly, the OGT also produced fitting numbers for the full-time professional men in the Thardic army. Cf. *Thardic Army* under Hårnic Inquiries. (http://www.raide4.com/harnic_inquiries/thardic_army.html) There is likely much more in the OGT than generally believed, even if the noble parts of it, e.g. the knights, still produce clearly flawed results. If not *meant* to be a Hårnic census, many of the early creators may still have *used* the OGT as such.

²⁸ Of course, if we think that mercenaries are more likely to sire offspring and act as household heads, their proportion in the OGT might be larger than it really is. Also, we might want to draw examples about the proportion of mercenaries from high medieval England, claim to know Hårn better than N. Robin Crossby, and write our own Hårns.

Also, based on the OGT, the proportion of archers seems very low: it would translate into just over 60 archers, or three archer companies. In general, the grouping Sapper/Archer/etc. probably means more unique specialisation than firing a bow only, because shortbowmen especially seem to be reasonable numerous. “Sapper/archer/etc.” might suggest rare and long trained longbowmen, heretic crossbowmen, or combat engineers who operate war machines.

²⁹ *Kaldor* (Columbia Games, 1984, 1986), KALDOR 10. The proportion of urban freemen in feudal keeps and castles is given as roughly 60 % of the households.