

1199*

When King Richard I had reigned for nine years and six months, on 26 March 1199 he was struck with an arrow by Peter Basil at the castle of Chalus in the duchy of Aquitaine. A few days later, on Thursday 6 April, he died there and was buried at Fontevraud.¹ In the same year his brother John received possession of the duchy of Normandy by sword and banner at Rouen, and on the following Ascension of our Lord [27 May] he was solemnly anointed and crowned king at Westminster by the hands of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.

1200

Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, died in the month of November.² In the same year peace was made between John, king of England, and Philip, king of France.³ As a result Louis, the son of the king, received in marriage the daughter of the king of Castile, the niece of the king of England, who as her dowry gave up his claim to the Vexin in Normandy and paid to the king of France thirty thousand marks.⁴ This money came from the collection of a plough tax in England, three shillings for each plough.⁵ In the same year Giles [de Braose] became bishop of Hereford, and John de Gray became bishop of Norwich.

* The translation is based on 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia', in *Annales Monastici*, III, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1866), pp. 27–279. Page numbers from that edition are given in brackets.

¹ Richard died as he had lived, abroad. He was buried in Fontevraud alongside his parents, King Henry of England II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. For a fuller account of King Richard's death as told by an eyewitness, his chaplain Milo, see Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1875), pp. 94–6, though the name of the archer is not given. There is disagreement over the name of the archer; the Winchester annals agree that it was a man named Peter Basil: 'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1864), p. 71. Roger of Howden says a man named Bertram of Gurdun fired the arrow; Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, London, 1871) vol. IV, p. 82.

² An extremely detailed account of his death is given in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 110–13, in an attempt to clear Hugh of the accusation that he died intestate. He was canonised in 1220, and quickly became the subject of one of the most popular saint's cults in medieval England.

³ The war had begun upon Richard I's release from imprisonment following his return from the Third Crusade. His intentions were to regain lands lost by John to France during his absence.

⁴ Blanche of Castile. The Vexin was a strip of land hotly contested by the English and French as it had great strategic and agricultural importance. For a more detailed account of this union and the accompanying land transfer, see *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 100–1, which corroborates the money transfer.

⁵ This was a new form of taxation introduced by King Richard I. Levied according to the size of the estate, this was the only occasion upon which it was levied during John's reign of heavy taxation. For more information on the tax and its levies during the reigns of Richard I and Henry III, see B. D. Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England* (London, 1960).

In the same year [28] Hubert [Walter, archbishop] of Canterbury held a council at Westminster, and gave orders that the Lateran Council should be obeyed to the letter.¹

1201

In the year 1201 in the king's court an agreement was made between the [abbey] church of St Alban and Robert fitz Walter about the wood at Northaw [near Cuffley, Hertfordshire]. In the same year King John married Queen Isabel[la of Angoulême] and had her crowned at Westminster.²

1202

In the year 1202 Richard, a canon of Merton [priory] who was still a deacon, was made prior of Dunstable.³ He was ordained on the Ember Saturday [21 September] and celebrated his first mass on St Michael's day [29 September].

1203

In the year 1203, at the beginning of February, Prior Richard journeyed to Rome for the lord king.⁴ Returning home successfully about the time of the feast of St James [25 July], he brought with him one legate, namely the abbot of Casamario,⁵ who wanted to make an agreement between the two kings. But when French opposition prevented the agreement, the abbot as he left England placed France under an interdict.⁶ In the same year around the feast of Pentecost [25 May] the king restored to us the whole lordship of Houghton Regis with its revenues. In the same year the king granted us a

¹ Lateran councils were assemblies of the Catholic Church held throughout the Middle Ages. The last council had been held in 1179, and it seems that the archbishop of Canterbury was ensuring that the provisions be upheld two decades later. For further details of the Westminster council, see *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church: pt. 1. 871–1066*, ed. M. Brett et al. (Oxford, 1981), I, p. 675.

² This was John's second marriage; his first to Isabel of Gloucester had been annulled on the grounds of consanguinity. The contemporary annals and chronicles are all quite brief on the subject of the wedding. The most opinionated account is given in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which comments that the bride 'looked about twelve years of age', p. 103.

³ Richard of Morins, who is thought to have written or directed a significant proportion of the Dunstable annals from this point to 1242. See Introduction, p. 00.

⁴ He was sent to obtain the pope's assistance in making peace with the French.

⁵ San Giovanni di Casamario in the diocese of Veroli, identified by Luard as John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, but cf. p. 0 note 0 below.

⁶ Interdict was a serious form of ecclesiastical censure imposed by the pope, which forbade those affected from practising certain sacraments, including Christian baptism and burial. France remained under interdict for two years. England was later placed under interdict by Innocent III in 1208 which had grave repercussions for the remainder of the king's troubled reign. See pp. 000–000 below for details.

three-day market in May and confirmed his gift.¹ William of Blois was made bishop of Lincoln.

1204

In the year 1204 the king confirmed a gift to us of his houses and garden at Dunstable.² In the same year a vicarage was assigned to Pulloxhill church on the authority of William, bishop of Lincoln. Also Godfrey [de Lucy], bishop of Winchester, died. And Seffrid, bishop of Chichester. And Eleanor [of Aquitaine] the mother of the king.³ And Normandy was lost.⁴

1205

In the year 1205 Geoffrey Caus gave and confirmed to us the church at Bradbourne [Derbyshire] in the month of September, and died the following May. In the same year [29] Anor Maubance gave and confirmed to us half of the church at Great Brickhill. In the same year, we drew up regulations concerning the prior of Ruxox [cell at Flitwick, Bedfordshire] and we arranged what monies his almoner and sacristan should receive and spend annually. In the same year there occurred the deaths of Thomas, once prior of this church,⁵ of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and of Savaric [fitz Geldewin], bishop of Bath.

1206

In the year 1206, in the month of February, we were stripped of our land at Houghton Regis. In the same year Richard our prior, on the authority of John [of Ferentino], cardinal deacon and legate of the apostolic see, was appointed visitor to all the religious houses

¹ The granting of additional markets was a gift, but something the prior would want to make official, as tolls could be raised from the market, providing an additional source of income for the house.

² This was the donation of the royal residence and gardens to the priory, situated to the north of the priory grounds. 'Parishes: Dunstable', *A History of the County of Bedford*, vol. 3, ed. William Page (London, 1912), pp. 349–68.

³ Eleanor of Aquitaine died on 1 April 1204. She had been the wife of Louis VII of France before marrying Henry II of England and bearing him four sons. The youngest two, Richard the Lionheart and John were both kings of England.

⁴ King John finally lost Normandy in 1204 after a series of mistakes made in his dealings with Philip Augustus of France, culminating in the fall of Chateau Gaillard. The Angevin territories of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou quickly followed, along with a significant proportion of Aquitaine. This loss and the events they triggered deepened dislike of John further. For the most comprehensive contemporary account, see Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History: The History of England*, ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. (London, 1849) II, pp. 203–9, 213–14.

⁵ Third prior of Dunstable, who had previously been sacrist at St Bartholomew's.

in the diocese of Lincoln, with the exception of the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians.¹

In the same year this Cardinal John held a council at Reading on St Luke's day [18 October]² and in June of that year and in the same place Jocelin was consecrated as bishop of Bath. William bishop of Lincoln died in May.³ Henry [Marshal] bishop of Exeter also died.

1207

In the year 1207 a legitimate son was born to John, king of England, and was called Henry.⁴ In the same year the king was given a thirteenth throughout England.⁵ And at that time he had a hundred marks from Dunstable, besides the gifts to him from the sheriff and the fine of eleven marks which we paid on our possessions.

In the same year Simon, bishop of Chichester, and Robert, archdeacon of Huntingdon, died.

In the same year altars in our church were dedicated to Saints Mary, Fremund, Nicholas and James [of Compostella].⁶

In the same year on the festival of the Holy Trinity, master Stephen [Langton] was consecrated in Rome as archbishop of Canterbury.⁷

In the same year [30] the monks of Holy Trinity church at Canterbury were sent into exile, and received an honourable welcome in Flanders and in France. Their church and its possessions were handed over to lay control. The men who had been elected to rule over the church at Canterbury, namely John [Gray] bishop of Norwich and [Reginald] the subprior of Canterbury had their elections quashed.⁸

¹ Not much is known about Cardinal John except that he was deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, and had been a notary and chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. For more information on his visitations, see C. R. Cheney, 'Cardinal John of Ferentino, Papal Legate in England in 1206', *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), 654–60, and *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1983).

² Very little is recorded about this council beyond the fact that it took place. For what is known, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 4–5.

³ See note 4 above.

⁴ This was the future Henry III, born at Winchester castle on 1 October 1207.

⁵ A 'thirteenth' is a form of taxation amounting to one shilling from every mark, which equates to a thirteenth of it, hence the term. John received this through a writ of 17 February. For more details, see *Councils and Synods*, p. 6.

⁶ Some relics from the existing shrine to St Fremund were moved in the same year from their resting place in Cropredy in Oxfordshire. This sparked renewed interest in the English saint, and around a decade later William of Ramsey wrote a life of the saint.

⁷ Gervase of Canterbury gives the details of his selection under 1206, but does not mention his consecration the following year; p. 99. The annals of Osney comment on his election and John's subsequent anger: 'Annales Monasterii de Oseneia', in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869), p. 52. The most detailed account of the whole procedure is given by Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 238–44.

⁸ For a more detailed account of these events see Gervase of Canterbury, *Gesta Regum*, p. 100; and Roger of Wendover, II, p. 218.

1208

In the year 1208 portents were seen in England, for the sun and the moon fought together, and there was also the sight of an awesome eclipse.

In the same year, on the Sunday when the words *Isti sunt dies*¹ are chanted [21 March], the whole of England and Wales was put under an interdict so strict that all men lost their privileges except for the white monks,² although they later to their great shame were also forced to observe this interdict.³ During the interdict the bodies of the dead were buried outside the cemetery and with no priest present. Marriages and purifications with the reading of the gospel took place at the door of the church. On Sundays, the sermon was preached to the people outside the church and it was there that the blessed bread and water were distributed. Priests did baptise inside their churches and the pope allowed them to mix in oil if they were short of chrism. Also, priests allowed those who wanted to approach an altar to do so.⁴

In the same year at Easter [April 6] the king gave orders that all the property of monks and clergy should be taken into his own hands, and that anyone who refused to go on singing⁵ should leave his land. But three days later his frenzy abated and the property to be seized was put under the control of the constables.⁶

In the same year in the month of February Walter, prior of Kenilworth [abbey], was deposed for his many excesses.

In the same year in March we began to build an almonry which was finished before the feast of St Luke [18 October].

In the same year John, bishop of Norwich, set out with an army for Ireland, and William de Braose fled to Ireland when he was stripped of all his property.⁷

In the same year [31] sailors from the Cinque Ports fled into seeming exile, but later won back the favour of the king. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was sent into exile, as were the following bishops: William [of Sainte-Mère-Eglise] of London, Eustace of

¹ 'Those are the days', a chant usually sung on Passion or Palm Sunday.

² The 'white monks', or the Cistercian Order, claimed exemption from such forms of taxation by right of a papal indulgence granted in the twelfth century.

³ Innocent III retracted the papal indulgence, forcing the Cistercians to pay their share. The Interdict was placed on 23 March 1208 and not lifted until 2 July 1214, see *Councils and Synods*, p. 11. Gervase of Canterbury gives a more detailed account of the failure of the negotiations which lead to the interdict, *Gesta Regum*, p. 101; see also Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 245–7.

⁴ This is one of the few accounts that we have of what took place during the Interdict in terms of how religion was practised.

⁵ In other words, continue to be a monk.

⁶ This marks a further escalation of John's attempts to maintain control and raise money, and is widely commented upon. For example, the king's tyranny is commented on by Gervase of Canterbury (p. 102), and the seizure of property corroborated by Wendover (pp. 246–7).

⁷ It is thought that William owed King John a considerable sum of money which he was unable to pay off, so he fled. Both these items are mentioned by the other annalists, though in no greater detail. Once again Wendover has the greatest detail; II, pp. 254–5.

Ely, Mauger of Worcester and Giles of Hereford.¹ The king of England graciously allowed the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester² to remain in Scotland. Only the bishop of Winchester was left in England.³

Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, was stripped of all his goods and imprisoned at Gloucester.⁴

In the same year died Walter archbishop of Rouen, Philip bishop of Durham, Geoffrey [of Muschamp] bishop of Coventry, and also the abbots of Chertsey, Ramsey, Malmesbury⁵ and Evesham.⁶ Also a son was born to John, king of England, and was called Richard.⁷

1209

In the year 1209 we made an agreement with William Cantilupe about the lands at Shortgrave.⁸ Also the king at that time gave orders for the destruction throughout Essex of ditches, hedges and homes on the assarts, even on those of long standing. Eighty foresters were captured and put in prison, but were finally set free for a sum of money.⁹

In the same year in the month of August the king arranged a council at Canterbury with the relevant bishops to discuss peace, and a peace was drawn up and signed. But the peace soon became a dead letter because of the king's failure to observe it.¹⁰

¹ Wendover says that Geoffrey was sent into exile because he dared to stand against the king's tax of a thirteenth; II, p. 236.

² Herbert Poore and Gilbert Glanville.

³ This was Peter des Roches who, as bishop of Winchester and close confidant of the king, had a huge influence over the monarch and events in the following decades, including at one point being sheriff of 21 counties of England simultaneously.

⁴ Honorius had also stood against the king, and supported Geoffrey, archbishop of York, for whom he had previously worked.

⁵ The Benedictine house at Chertsey was vacant from 1206 to 1210, but Martin was abbot from 1197 to 1206, and Adam from 1210 to 1223; this entry probably refers to the former. The abbot of Ramsey was Robert of Reading and the abbot of Malmesbury Robert of Melun.

⁶ It is not clear to whom this refers: *Heads of Religious Houses*, I, gives Roger Norreis as head of this house from 1190 to 1213, so it may be a mistake: D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales, I, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2009), p. 48.

⁷ This is Richard of Cornwall, count of Poitou, earl of Cornwall, and king of Germany from 1257.

⁸ A manor between Whipsnade and Totternhoe.

⁹ This is original information not found in any other contemporary account. It refers to the foresters being punished for converting forests – the king's lands – into arable lands, homes, hedges and so on. Ownership and control of forest lands was to become a contentious issue in the thirteenth century, leading to the production of the Charter of the Forest in 1217, and subsequent re-issues in 1225 and 1297 alongside Magna Carta.

¹⁰ The 'peace' referred to here is the settlement on the matter of taxing the Church. However, there is no reference to a council at Canterbury in this year in the contemporary accounts, so it may be that the annalist has become confused over the dates. This entry highlights the growing displeasure with King John's taxation practices.

In the same year the following men were elected to bishoprics: Hugh of Wells to Lincoln, Henry [Marshal] archdeacon of Stafford to Exeter, Walter Gray the chancellor of the king to Coventry and master Nicholas de Aquila to Chichester.

In the same year Otto, the son of the duke of Saxony, came to England, but later in the same year on 4 October [32] he was elected emperor and within a week had begun a full-scale war against the pope.¹

Also in October Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, came as far as Dover accompanied by the bishops of London and Ely to discuss peace with the king, but they departed without any agreement being reached.² And so in November King John was put under sentence of excommunication, although this was published not in England, but in France.³ Later, in the month of January, the king ordered two clerks at Oxford to be suspended, so that the schools there were divided.

1210

In the year 1210 throughout the whole of England the Jews were stripped of their possessions, both moveable and immoveable, and also of their papers and the debts owing to them. All the rich ones were put in prison and several of them died.⁴

In the month of May the king went to Dover to meet [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury, but the archbishop did not turn up, because he was unhappy with his letters of conduct.⁵

At the same time the king extorted financial aid from the monasteries of England. As our part in this we paid the king twenty marks.⁶

¹ This was Otto IV, Holy Roman Emperor, and son of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. Wendover tells us how, upon becoming emperor, Otto took an inventory of his lands and estates and set about establishing the details of his full legal entitlements. It turned out that Pope Innocent III had taken a number of castles under his own control while the imperial throne had been vacant, and was reluctant to give them up. Using Otto's seizure of lands belonging to the king of Sicily as ammunition, the pope excommunicated the emperor. Roger of Wendover, II, p. 253.

² Details of this discussion can be found in Gervase of Canterbury, *Gesta Regum*, p. 104.

³ Despite the Interdict, John had refused to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and so the pope gave him three months to submit, after which time he was to be excommunicated. He failed to come around and so was pronounced excommunicate in the archbishopric of Reims, France. *Councils and Synods*, p. 12. That it was not published in England is corroborated by Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 229, 231.

⁴ This treatment of the Jews was a first step along a path that would see the complete expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, below, pp. 000, 000.

⁵ In other words, his written instructions. Gervase of Canterbury adds that the archbishop also feared treachery, which caused him to not turn up, *Gesta Regum*, p. 106.

⁶ As monasteries were often exempt from such taxation, this move against them by the king alienated him further and caused a number of commentators to complain. See for example the complaints of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall: *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 163–4.

In the same year a gale brought down several of our houses, as well as a tower at Bury St Edmunds, two towers at Chichester and a tower at Evesham.¹

Then in the month of August King John made for Ireland where he forced into exile Hugh de Lacy. He also made Walter, Hugh's brother, renounce all his lands in Ireland. Then he changed the coinage, put the kings and kingdom in subjection to himself, and took prisoner William de Lacy, William de Braose the younger and his sister and his mother Matilda. They soon died in prison.²

In the meantime, Geoffrey fitz Peter, the justiciar, together with [Ranulf] the earl of Chester and [Peter] the bishop of Winchester led large armies into Wales, and built three castles there against the Welsh.³ On that occasion the town of Dunstable paid fourteen marks to help finance the expedition.

At this time [33] the king decreed that no one should plead or put forward a plea on the authority of the pope, and he proclaimed the death penalty for any who disobeyed his decree.⁴ The king also compelled the white monks to pay him a money fine by seizing their possessions, both moveable and immovable.⁵ Also on his return from Ireland the king stopped many from enacting the oaths which in his absence they had sworn concerning the loss of their lands.

¹ Two towers from Chichester cathedral were brought down; at Evesham, part of the central tower was destroyed, damaging the eastern arm of the church, high altar, and reliquary. David Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700–1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer* (Woodbridge, 2015).

² John set out for Ireland to subdue the war which had broken out between Hugh and the king's appointed justiciar, and to bring Ireland more directly under royal authority: one way in which he did this was to take control of the coinage by reissuing his own, as it states here. The king's journey to Ireland is covered in great detail by Wendover, who tells of his journey, the submission of certain chiefs, and his campaign to bring English law to the land. Roger of Wendover, pp. 254–5. The Braose's plight, and death by starvation in prison, is mentioned by all contemporaries. It was clearly news which spread everywhere and which was suitably shocking for all to feel the need to include it in their history.

³ This was the second prong of John's plan to gain tighter control of the frontiers around England, spurred on by Llywelyn declaring himself prince of all Wales. The fact that castle building was part of this campaign is given by other annalists and chroniclers: for example, the Osney annalist adds that they were built in places where no castle had previously been: p. 53. Roger of Wendover, however, records that his successes in Snowdonia were followed by a trip to Northampton where he agreed to let the displaced archbishop and bishops return in peace to their houses: pp. 255–6.

⁴ Given that the pope had recently excommunicated John and placed the country under an interdict, John was refusing to hear any appeals backed by his enemy Innocent III. The Waverley annals contain a copy of this letter, pp. 267–8.

⁵ As the Cistercians were usually exempt from such taxes, this was indeed cause for comment. The Winchester annals speaks of the 'graveness' of these demands, 'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in *Annales Monastici*, II, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1865), p. 81; the Waverley annals detail how the letters John extorted from the monasteries were false, 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', *ibid.*, p. 268.

In¹ the same year King Otto was made emperor by Pope Innocent.² And a peace was made between John, king of England, and William, king of Scotland.³ And the constable of Chester,⁴ Robert de Braybrooke and William fitz Alan died. Also, Robert Brown and Adam Malherbe died at Ruxox, and were buried there as the corruption of their bodies did not allow them to be moved elsewhere.

In the same year on the night of St Martin [11 November] two Jews appeared in a dream to our prior and told him that forty years later the Antichrist would be born.

In the same year at the king's court we won a case against Henry Brown concerning half of the revenues of the church at Pulloxhill.⁵ Also at this time the king gave orders that all clergy who had received their benefices from the bishops in exile after the interdict should go into exile themselves. Their benefices passed into the hands of the king.

In the same year on the king's authority a general investigation was made throughout England as to who was the person in charge of each church, and by whose gift.⁶ Also then the grey monks⁷ were compelled to find carts for the king with horses and men.⁸

Then in the month of August the Welsh banded together at one and the same time and burnt the Marches of England. When the king heard of it, he prepared to take his revenge and set out with his army. But when he got as far as Nottingham,⁹ he heard rumours that his barons had formed a conspiracy against him and had chosen Simon de Montfort as king of England. The king was disturbed at the news and took the castles of the barons into his own possession.¹⁰ [34] He also had Geoffrey of Norwich, a man of faith and innocent life,¹¹ taken prisoner near Dunstable by the earl of Salisbury.¹² Geoffrey was imprisoned at Bristol, and he died there after a long martyrdom of extreme suffering.

¹ There is a change in handwriting at this point in the manuscript.

² In the Middle Ages, only the pope had the authority to crown an emperor.

³ The previous year John had marched on Scotland, accusing the Scottish king of sheltering his enemies. William was quick to make peace, agreeing to pay the English monarch a large sum of money and to marry his daughters to English nobles.

⁴ Roger de Lacy, who was succeeded by his son John.

⁵ Hugh Garrod, local historian, says that the records show that Henry Brown of Puxhill claimed all the tithes of Pulloxhill church.

⁶ This survey was no doubt intended to check that churches were not avoiding payment of appropriate dues to the monarch.

⁷ It is not entirely clear to which order is being referred here. The Cistercians were occasionally called 'grey monks', but were more commonly known as the 'white monks', so this probably refers to the smaller Tironensian Order.

⁸ This tax on moveable goods was a new tactic of the king, as it was applied to everyone, so not even monastic orders could claim exemption.

⁹ Here he made a stance, hanging twenty-eight hostages, the sons of Welsh chieftains.

¹⁰ John was so disturbed that he barricaded himself inside Nottingham castle for a fortnight. These events demonstrate further the increasing distance between the king and his barons in the lead up to Magna Carta.

¹¹ Geoffrey of Burgh had been archdeacon of Norwich since 1200.

¹² William Longespee, so called for the oversized weapons he wielded in battle, was the illegitimate son of Henry II, and earl of Salisbury.

Also in August, the king imprisoned his former chancellor, Stephen Ridel. Later the king sent Stephen into exile, but after several years he returned to England and finally died peacefully.¹

In the same year the king imprisoned Peter of Pontefract because he had prophesied that King John would not reign for more than fourteen years. This prophecy became true, because for the following four years of his reign John lived as a vassal of the Roman church.² Also Mauger, bishop of Worcester, died in exile. Also at this time the king, by letters sent under his seal, forced all the abbots and priors of England and many of the clergy to hand over all that the king had violently seized from them.³

1211

In the year 1211 the people of London made a ditch two hundred feet wide around the city of London next to the tower. This caused great distress to the canons of Holy Trinity.⁴

In the same year on the festival of St Thomas the apostle [21 December] great peals of thunder were heard in many places in England. They were followed by such strong gales that many houses were blown down by the force of them.

Then one night in April outside the town of Chalgrave a red rainbow, seemingly made of blood, was seen in the sky. In March, the king of England was visited by Henry, the brother of the emperor Otto, by [William] the count of Holland and by the count of Boulogne.⁵ The French king captured all the English ships which put in at his shores, and so the English king took many captives at the Cinque Ports. Also, the pirate Eustace, called the Monk, fled from us to the king of France with five ships because the count of Boulogne was lying in wait for him.⁶

In the same year [35] the king had carried out a strict inspection of the sheriffs of England. Many were taken prisoner and some escaped.⁷ The king also sent a hundred knights with their squires to Poitou from the fiefs of Eustace de Vesci⁸ and Robert fitz Walter⁹

¹ Stephen Ridel was the first chancellor of Ireland, appointed in 1189.

² Peter's prophecy must have been popular knowledge, as it mentioned in varying detail by most contemporary sources. The fullest account is in Wendover, II, pp. 258–9.

³ The king was attempting to increase the funds for his war chest by seizing all Church property.

⁴ These were the Augustinian canons of the London priory at Aldgate.

⁵ Renaud of Dammartin was count of Boulogne from 1190, count of Dammartin from 1200, and count of Aumale from 1204. This gathering was the beginning of an alliance formalised by the Treaty of Lambeth (1212) against the king of France, which would come to a head in 1214 at the battle of Bouvines (below).

⁶ For a more detailed account of what happened at the Cinque Ports, see the Waverley annals.

⁷ The role of sheriff was extremely important, as amongst other responsibilities, they controlled the gathering of taxes. In order to squeeze the most out of his country, John required all his sheriffs to be loyal and honest. This inspection was intended to route those who were stealing from him, or not revenues. It further demonstrates his growing paranoia and fear of treachery.

⁸ Eustace was present at the sealing of Magna Carta.

⁹ Leader of the baronial opposition to John, and one of the twenty-five signatories of Magna Carta.

and the bishops then in exile.¹ Those who stayed paid ten marks for each scutage, while those who departed returned after a little while without making any gain.

In the same year the emperor Otto was pitifully defeated by Frederick, king of Sicily.²

In the same year the castles of Robert fitz Walter in London and Bennington were destroyed, and also his estates in Essex.

1212

In the year 1212, in the month of January, two suns were seen, and in the same month John Studham died, and Walter Sellar was killed.

In the same year after Easter [25 March] King John assembled an army at Canterbury, and all under the label of freed serf³ were summoned to join it. Each of them was ordered to follow his lord.⁴ But when they arrived at Canterbury they were all sent back except those who had sworn to provide a shield, a small shield or a doublet. And there were many of these. That was when the town of Dunstable contributed one shield, nine small shields and twelve doublets. This army was split up and stationed in places along the coast, as England was afraid that the king of France would invade.

At the same time the king of England sent a fleet to the mouth of the Seine which captured many ships and set on fire still more. The fleet then put in at Fécamp and took away some ships from there. Then it set fire to the town of Dieppe and took away about twelve people captive, but lost the same number there. After these victories it put into harbour at Winchelsea.⁵

The king again assembled a fleet. It consisted of 1,300 ships and was commanded by [William] the earl of Salisbury and [Renaud] the count of Boulogne and many barons. [36] At Damme near Flanders they attacked the ships of the French king and captured about three hundred of his ships together with their provisions and much equipment but the men in the ships escaped. The count of Boulogne then approached Flanders with many Flemish and joined battle with the French. But he lost almost all his own men. He and a few others just managed to escape.⁶

In the meantime, while this was going on, [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops in exile in Flanders were meeting with Pandulf, the subdeacon of the lord pope.⁷ Pandulf then came to the king of England on behalf of all of them, and explained to the king why he had come. The king received him kindly. He began by

¹ This is also related, though in no more detail, in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 165.

² Innocent III sided with Frederick against Otto, ensuring his defeat. The pope even went as far as appointing Frederick emperor in Otto's place.

³ The Latin here reads 'omnes liberi sub nomine culvertagii' – actually a derogatory term, carrying undertones of ignomy and or perjury. See Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 118.

⁴ Following the meeting the previous year with Emperor Otto and Renaud of Boulogne, John began amassing an army in preparation for their invasion of France.

⁵ See W. L. Warren, *King John* (New Haven, 1997), p. 204, for more on these raids.

⁶ Renaud escaped this time, but was captured by Philip at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 and imprisoned until his death, probably by suicide, in 1227.

⁷ Pandulf Masca was papal legate to England, and later bishop of Norwich.

handing over to God and the Roman church the kingdoms of England and Ireland, which he and his heirs would hold as a fief of the Roman church. He would pay annually seven hundred marks for the kingdom of England and three hundred marks for the kingdom of Ireland. This would be the whole amount of the taxes he was to provide, apart from the pence of the blessed Peter which would still be faithfully paid in addition to these taxes. After this he swore an oath of fealty to the Roman church and invested Pandulf as the lord pope's proctor for the kingdom of England. Then at his command four earls swore on his soul that the king himself would restore to all the clergy and to the laity as well all the things taken from them at the time of the interdict and would make good all their losses, whatever compact stood in the way. Also, in individual documents signed by himself, he guaranteed safety and permission to return to all who had been exiled on this occasion.¹

Meanwhile the king of France captured the whole of Flanders. [Ferrand] the count of Flanders² and the count of Boulogne took themselves to [William] count of Holland, and the three of them banded together and did serious damage to the rear of the French king's army as he returned home, and in the month of June won back the whole of Flanders up to St Omer.³

In the same year [37] and month of June, first the bishoprics, as far as the buildings were concerned, were handed back to the stewards of the bishops, and, along the same lines, thirteen monks were sent to take possession of their church at Canterbury together with its properties.⁴

Meanwhile, to pave the way for their arrival in England, the king sent to the archbishops, bishops and monks in Flanders eight thousand marks. Later the archbishop of Canterbury sent the prior of Canterbury and twelve monks to his own church, and these were handsomely welcomed.

In the same year in the month of July Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Ely and Lincoln landed at Dover. Mauger, the bishop of Worcester, had died in exile.⁵ On their way to the king, they were met by the king's messengers at Guildford and received by them honourably. Then they and the king met each other on the hill near Porchester, and were polite to each other in turn. And in this way the concord which the king had established with the pope was strengthened, and further confirmed by the spoken and written oaths of the earls and barons. Later, on the feast of St Margaret [20 July] at the cathedral church of Winchester, in the sight of people and clergy, the king swore that, in the matters for which he had been excommunicated, he would keep the concord which had been publicly read out on that occasion. And

¹ This settlement marked the end of the Interdict. It was an excellent political move on John's part, as by making his kingdom a papal fief, he allied himself with the pope: if Philip attacked England now he would be faced with excommunication. The settlement in full is given by the Waverley annalist, pp. 275–6, and by Wendover, pp. 265–8.

² Ferrand of Portugal, count of Flanders by marriage from 1212 to 1223.

³ Details of this campaign do not feature heavily in English texts: it is, however, mentioned by Gervase of Canterbury, p. 107.

⁴ This was John making the first steps towards fulfilling his pledge to Pandulf and Innocent III as outlined in the settlement above.

⁵ See page 00 and note 0 above.

in this way, subject to the customary penance, he was solemnly absolved, led into the church and reconciled at the corner of the altar, while the monks sang with loud voices *Te Deum laudamus*. Also at Winchester a time limit was sought and granted for the restitution of the properties lost by the church. It was set at the Easter following [14 April 1213], but part had to be restored earlier by Christmas. Before this time the king paid the bishops up to forty thousand marks and, over and above that, he granted them their liberties. For example, he restored to the bishop of Lincoln the rent of eight pounds from the market at Stowe. He also gave to the bishop's church in perpetuity the manor of Wilsthorpe near Newark, worth twenty pounds a year. Besides this he also gave the bishops a market wherever it was wanted [38] on their various manors and the licence to enclose their lands with forests. In this fashion he made these and other concessions to the bishop of Lincoln and the other bishops.¹

In the same year and on the same day a writ of the king was given to us concerning our repossession of the lands of Houghton Regis. And on the feast of St Mary Magdalene following [22 July] we were publicly sent by the king's bailiff to take possession of them. We took seven cartloads of hay. Then on the day after the feast of St James [25 July] we were driven from the lands at Houghton Regis by the squires of Hugh Gurney. When we complained about this, the king and Geoffrey fitz Peter, the justiciar, and their bailiffs denied that we had taken possession of the lands on the authority of the king, and so the dispute was again submitted to the hearing of the archbishop and the papal legate. Then a message from the apostolic see appointed the archbishop and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, as judges in this matter, but a war intervened before they had made their decision.²

In the same year in autumn Nicholas, bishop of Frascati, the papal legate, came to England at the urging of the king.³ There were meetings of king and clergy, first in London, secondly at Wallingford, thirdly at Reading, but they were not fully successful in implementing the peace sworn to by king and clergy. In this stalemate, the king went across the sea in the month of February, and the legate visited the vacant churches.⁴ He put the chancellor Walter Gray in charge of the church at Worcester. He deposed Roger [Norreis] as abbot of Evesham, and put [Randulf] prior of Worcester in his place. He put [Stephen] prior of Winchester in charge of the monastery at Burton. At this time the monks of Coventry elected master Robert of Gloucester as abbot, and the canons of Lichfield elected [Hugh] the abbot of Beaulieu.

In the same year in the month of July [Elias] the abbot of Reading died, and, as the abbey was no longer [39] under royal control, another abbot [Simon] was immediately chosen in his place.

¹ Again, this demonstrates how John was trying to repair the damage that his previous behaviour had wrought.

² The war in question was between John and his allies and France, culminating in the Battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214.

³ As Pandulf had not managed to resolve the situation, Innocent sent a second legate to try and make peace. Full details of this episode can be found in Roger of Wendover, pp. 289–90.

⁴ The details of his correspondence with the pope on the matter of vacant churches is recorded by Roger of Wendover, pp. 291–3.

In the same year in the month of October investigators were sent throughout all the dioceses of England to inquire into the deprivations and losses inflicted upon the English church.¹ Among others our own prior was sent to the diocese of Lincoln. The total of deprivations and losses in this diocese was about twenty-three thousand marks. The losses of the monks at Canterbury amounted to about twenty thousand marks. The losses sustained by the canons of Dunstable and their people were forty-three pounds and four hundred pounds.

In the same year in the month of December the king at London paid to the archbishop and bishops fifteen thousand marks-worth of their deprivations and losses.

In the same year about Easter time [around the end of March] in the church at Dunstable there was such a crop of miracles done by God and the blessed Fremund, king and martyr,² that the fame of them spread far and wide and there were multiple acts of thanksgiving among the people.

In the same year Simon de Montfort,³ with God-inspired courage, killed in battle the apostate king of Aragon.⁴

In the same year in the month of December the apostate count of Toulouse visited the king of England, and, despite murmurs of objection from papal legate and archbishop, was honourably received.⁵ In the end he went back after Christmas, and at the beginning of February he himself crossed the seas to Poitou with two hundred knights or more.⁶

In the same year in the autumn our subprior Alexander was asked for and chosen as prior of Caldwell. He was placed in his seat on the feast of Simon and Jude [28 October].

In the same year [Henry] the duke of Brabant, the son-in-law of the king of France, sent his wife⁷ back to the king her father, and then joined hands with [40] the king of England, the bishop of Lyons [Hugh II] and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne. The count of Flanders came to England and did homage to the king of England for the whole of Flanders, paying him annually one thousand Artois marks.⁸

¹ The losses suffered by the Church under King John had still not been fully addressed, hence the need for further investigation.

² The Dunstable annalist would have had a vested interest in spreading the word of this as the priory owned many relics belonging to the ninth-century saint-king. Fremund was the son of King Offa, but abdicated, choosing instead a simple religious life on what may have been Lundy Island. Offa sought his assistance however in the face of a Viking invasion and, answering the call, Fremund defeated thousands of the enemy with only twenty men. He was beheaded following the battle by a defector from his father's forces.

³ Earl of Leicester and leader of the Albigensian Crusade.

⁴ This was on the Albigensian Crusade. For the fullest account of the king's death in contemporary English accounts, see Roger of Wendover, pp. 283–9, who gives details of the siege and battle of Muret where the king fell.

⁵ The count was considered an apostate due to his inaction against the Cathar heretics found in his lands; John, however, required his assistance in taking back Poitou from the king of France.

⁶ Wendover adds that he left from Portsmouth on the feast of the Purification, 2 February, and took his queen with him, landing at La Rochelle: pp. 293–4.

⁷ Mary, daughter of Philip Augustus, king of France, and Agnes of Merania.

⁸ This was expanding the alliance John made against the French in an attempt to win back his lost territories in France.

In the same year in the month of September the pope sent three preachers to England: master William London, master Leonius dean of Wells, and master Philip Otford. They brought with them many papal exemptions and they and their helpers signed many with the honourable sign of the cross.¹ They also set up collecting boxes in the various churches and collected much money.² The prior of Dunstable acted for them in this matter in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.

In the same year on 1 November men from the north came to the king at Wallingford and through the papal legate were reconciled to the king and admitted to the kiss of peace.

But the peace did not last because the promises made on both sides were not kept.³

At the same time, the clergy who had illicitly officiated for the king during the time of his excommunication were suspended from their offices and benefices and sent to Rome.⁴

Among them were Richard Marsh, Henry Vere and Gilbert de Aquila.

In the same year Peter [des Roches], bishop of Winchester, was made justiciar of England, and [Henry] the archbishop of Dublin was made justiciar of Ireland.

1213

In the one thousand two hundred and thirteenth year after the birth of Christ the following appointments were made and met with blessing: master Alexander Nequam was appointed as abbot of Cirencester; Simon the Chamberlain as abbot of Reading; [Roger] the prior of Sherborne as prior of Burton; [Peter] the prior of Linton as abbot of Bardene; [Richard] abbot of Selby as abbot of Ramsey; Robert Lindsey as abbot of Peterborough; Hugh the monk [of Northwold] as abbot of St Edmunds; [41] and William of Humez prior in Dorset as abbot of Westminster. Also the chamberlain [Alexander] of St Augustine in Canterbury was made abbot of the same place; the subprior of Osney was made prior of Kenilworth; Robert of Osney was made prior of St Gregory at Canterbury, but he after some years resigned this office and became a monk at Clearwell. Robert prior of Osney was made prior of St Mary in London; Geoffrey canon of Osney was made prior of St Bartholomew in London but after a few days became a monk at Abingdon.⁵

¹ No doubt the privileges associated with the papal exemptions were intended to encourage assistance in gathering the money.

² The Dunstable annalist here has access to information not given in other contemporary sources, probably because of the prior's considerable involvement in this activity.

³ This is probably a reference to John's attempt at making peace with the king of Scotland. As part of the treaty, he managed to obtain the agreement that William's son Alexander would marry his daughter Joan. Full details of the meeting and breakdown of negotiations is given by Roger of Wendover, pp. 249–50.

⁴ They were punished as it was against the rules of the Interdict to perform certain religious ceremonies.

⁵ There is some confusion here in the annals relating to all these appointments concerning Osney. It is thought that the annalist is wrong on most; see *Heads of Religious Houses*, I, pp. 167–8, and C. R. Cheney, 'Notes on the Making of the Dunstable Annals, AD 33 to 1242', in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1968), pp. 79–98. at 94, for details.

In the same year died Gilbert [Glanville] bishop of Rochester, John [of Cella] abbot of St Albans, the prior of Hereford, [Mabel] abbess of Elstow and [Christina of Valognes] abbess of Barking. Ralph abbot of Bardon was deposed by the papal legate.¹

In the same year Walter Gray was made bishop of Worcester and Simon [of Apulia] dean of York was made bishop of Exeter.

In the same year in the month of February King John crossed the seas to Poitou. He joined up with the knights of Poitou, and took prisoner Robert,² the brother of the count of Brittany, and also recovered many cities and towns. He did not get complete control of them, but took the lords of their castles into his service.³

In the same year in the month of August the French king fought the battle [of Bouvines] near Cambrai against Otto, the former emperor who was then under sentence of excommunication. The battle was fought on a Sunday, and great slaughter was done on both sides. The French king took prisoner the count of Flanders, the count of Boulogne,⁴ the earl of Salisbury,⁵ the son of Roger Bigod, Count William of Holland and three hundred knights. The battle ended when night intervened.⁶

In the same year [42] many of the better towns of England suffered accidental fires, Dunstable among them.⁷

In AD 1213 the king returned to England, having made a truce with the French king at Poitou. The truce was mediated by master Robert de Courcy, who was then ambassador to France. It was to begin the following Easter and to last for five years. Merchants on both sides would have free passage during this period.⁸

Then John, bishop of Norwich, died in Poitou and his bones were taken to his own cathedral church.⁹ Hugh Gurney also died in Poitou, without having made any restitution to the church at Dunstable for all the losses which it had sustained at his hands. He had taken the habit of the Templars but had been thrown out of their order for apostasy.

¹ This is probably a reference to Bardney, and therefore to Ralph being compelled to resign in favour of the legate's preferred candidate Peter of Lenton. See p. o, note o, above.

² Robert de Dreux II.

³ John was trying to reclaim the territory in the name of his niece Eleanor, whom he held captive in England. Peter Mauclerc de Dreux had been placed in control of the duchy following Philip's decision to marry him to Eleanor's younger sister Alix. Following the Battle of Bouvines, John was forced to renounce his claim.

⁴ Renaud of Dammartin, see note above.

⁵ William Longespee, see note above.

⁶ The facts given here are not quite right, namely that the battle was fought on 27 July 1214, not in August 1213. For a much fuller account of the Battle of Bouvines, see Roger of Wendover, pp. 297–303.

⁷ The blaze in London became known as the Great Fire of Southwark, which destroyed the cathedral church of Southwark and Borough High Street before being swept into the city of London via London Bridge.

⁸ In the truce, agreed at Chinon, John renounced his claim to his territories north of the Loire, including Touraine, Maine and Anjou. Poitou was to come under French control upon John's death. Only Wendover gives the full terms; pp. 302–3.

⁹ He died in 1214, so again, the annalist seems to have been confused about dates here: F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edn (London, 1961), p. 242.

In the same year on the feast of St Luke [18 October] the church at Dunstable was dedicated by the second Hugh to be bishop of Lincoln¹ in the presence of earls and barons, abbots and priors, many nobles and innumerable ordinary people. For penitents who made a genuine confession and came to Dunstable within fifteen days there was granted a remission of thirty days.² The bishop also decreed that for evermore there should be a remission of twenty days for those who came to Dunstable on the anniversary of the dedication or during the following eight days. The bishop also put in a new position at our high altar the relics of many saints which the prior had acquired from many friends.³

In the same year in the month of November the lord king granted free elections to several monasteries.⁴ As a result the monastery of St Albans chose William [of Trumpington] as abbot, and the monasteries of Beaulieu, Selby and Barking and the nunnery at Elstow using the same freedom freely elected their leaders.

1214

In the year 1214 Ralph, abbot of Westminster, was removed [43] from his position by the papal legate and replaced by William, who received a blessing from the bishop of London.⁵

In the same year on the day after the feasts of St Processus and St Martinianus [2 July] the same papal legate at St Paul's church in London took off the general interdict on the English church.

In the same year the northern barons together with the Welsh and the Scots, complaining bitterly about the excessive oppression of the king, formed a conspiracy against him.⁶ In Easter week [commencing 30 March] they assembled at Northampton but did not succeed in their aim of taking the castle. Then, with the connivance of certain individuals, on the Sunday before the feast of St Dunstan [18 May] they seized the whole city of London except for the Tower.⁷ Then many discussions took place between king and barons throughout England, with Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and

¹ Hugh of Wells. The first was Hugh of Avallon, who died on 16 November 1200.

² This was an exemption from the consequences of any offence considered a sin for a set period, here 30 days.

³ The re-dedication and proliferation of indulgences and relics was designed to increase the appeal of Dunstable as a pilgrimage destination, an excellent source of revenue for the house from donations made by penitents.

⁴ While John had been in France the legate had been unlawfully distributing offices, chastised by the pope, and recalled. In an attempt at placating the bishops, John granted these free elections. For the text of the charter, see *Councils and Synods*, pp. 38–41.

⁵ William of Humez. His election is referred to by Walter of Coventry, though the circumstances in which Ralph was made to step down are not given: *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, II (London, 1873), p. 216.

⁶ John's preoccupation with events on the continent had allowed space and time for rebellion to foment.

⁷ The meeting at Northampton and seizure of London are both related in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 17, and in even greater detail by Walter of Coventry, pp. 218–21.

his suffragans acting as mediators. Finally, the parties met at Runnymede and on the feast of Gervase and Protasius [19 June]; a peace was made there between the king and the barons, which lasted for a short time. At Runnymede the king received again the oaths of homage which the barons had given to him at the beginning of the war, in a renunciation made at Wallingford through a canon of Derham. Then the king restored to most of the barons their castles and their other rights, and a charter was drawn up there concerning the liberties of the kingdom of England and copies stored away by individual bishops in safe places.¹

But while this was going on, an envoy of the king obtained from Pandulf, bishop elect of Norwich, and his fellow judges a letter from the lord pope which made void the above mentioned charter, as it had been extorted from the king by force and fear. And all the rebels against the king were excommunicated.²

Meanwhile the king also sent to many foreign nations for help in the war between himself and his subjects. At this time Hugh de Boves, who had been a leader of many foreign mercenaries and who had gravely wronged the church at Dunstable in the matter of his manor at Octon, was drowned, sinking like lead amid tumultuous seas.³

In the same year Eustace, bishop of Ely, died.

In the same year the following bishops were consecrated: William of Cornhill as bishop of Coventry, Benedict precentor of London as bishop of Rochester, and Richard dean of Salisbury as bishop of Chichester. After a short interval Richard was returned to the church at Salisbury, after the death of Herbert its bishop. His place at Chichester, as officer in the same position by election, was taken by Ralph [of Wareham], prior of Norwich.

1215

In the year 1215 a Lateran Council was held under the chairmanship of Pope Innocent III.⁴ It began on the day after All Saints, and finished on the day after the feast of St Andrew. Present were the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Aquilegia and Venice,⁵ and the patriarch of Alexandria sent his brother the proctor. There were also present four

¹ This is of course referring to the issue of the Magna Carta, though that actually took place in 1215. For a fuller account of the events leading up to the signing, including a list of all those present and the full text of the charter, see Roger of Wendover, pp. 303–24. See also *Councils and Synods*, pp. 42–4.

² The appeal made to the pope by the king's envoys and the pope's outraged response are given rather dramatically by Wendover, together with Innocent's letter confirming that the charter was to be annulled, pp. 331–4. The papal rejection of the charter was a demonstration of support for his vassal King John, as England was still a papal fief.

³ Hugh was shipwrecked along with at least thirty-six Flemish mercenaries on 26 September. Contemporary chronicles considered him an evil man, and so his death off the coast of Great Yarmouth was celebrated apparently by all except John who was relying on his support against the rebellious barons.

⁴ This was the Fourth Lateran Council. Through the canons of this council, Pope Innocent made a lasting impact on medieval society and beyond.

⁵ Patriarchs in order: Theodore II Kopas, Ralph of Merencourt, Wolfgar of Ellenbrechtskirchen, and Mark I Nicolai.

hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors, among whom was Richard, prior of Dunstable. On his return home, the prior stayed for the whole year at Paris in the theological schools. Others on their return only just managed to avoid capture. Some indeed were cut off, and some at Radicofani were forced to pay a huge ransom.¹ In the same year in the month of November King John laid siege to the castle at Rochester and in the end captured both the castle and the many barons inside it. After inflicting on them many torments, he later released them for a considerable ransom.² And so finally the king's hand regained its strength, as he had recovered all the castles in England apart from the Tower of London which at that time was in the control of [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury, as if it had been sequestered to him. In Rome [45] at that time the king's envoys brought against the archbishop the grave accusation that he had given his assent to the rebellion of the barons. But God knew that the archbishop's conscience was clear, and so preserves his reputation unspotted.

Meanwhile the barons elected Louis, first-born son of the king of France, as their king, and promised that they would faithfully assist him as their lord. To make good their word, not only did they swear oaths to him, but they also sent across the channel sons of the nobles to him as hostages. Then Louis, having received the hostages, sent many armed men on ahead of himself to London. A crowd of these perished, who were begging for want of wages.

One of them, the knight Geoffrey de Mandeville, died while fighting a duel at a tournament.³ Shortly before the war Geoffrey had married, though against his will, the countess of Gloucester,⁴ who had been divorced by King John of England (with the archbishop of Burgundy sanctioning the divorce). For this marriage he gave the king warranty for more than ten thousand marks, which he was never able to pay. So as a payment his forests were destroyed and his manors mortgaged with no time limit. He died without sons and was succeeded by his brother William. His widow was married by Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, but she died a few days later⁵ and is buried at Canterbury.

Meanwhile King Louis with many armed counts, barons, castellans and knights and wheelwrights of France landed in England at the isle of Thanet during a period of very bad weather. It was so bad that it was only two days later that his ships arrived, as they had been scattered over the sea by storms. As Louis was wishing to leave his ship, he was met by a priest carrying a crucifix. The king wanted to leap on to the land, but leaped into the water, and so, kissing the crucifix while in the water, he entered the island of Thanet.⁶

¹ I have found no other reference to this ransoming of delegates from the Fourth Lateran Council.

² Events at Rochester are related in greater detail in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 177–8 and Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 335–6. For a full discussion of events leading up to and surrounding Magna Carta, see Marc Morris, *King John: Treachery, Tyranny and the Road to Magna Carta* (London, 2015).

³ This appears to be a reference to jousting as opposed to the traditional mêlée undertaken at tournaments at this time.

⁴ Isabella of Gloucester, third daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, and first wife of King John.

⁵ In 1217.

⁶ This scene is reminiscent of William the Conqueror's bodged landing in 1066 when he landed face-first in the sand at Pevensey.

The next day he travelled to Sandwich, where he made a friendly enough address to the English who met him, namely the citizens of that town. King John [46] then met Louis with a great army, but, having seen Louis, King John withdrew on the advice of William Marshal, because he did not have full confidence in his army. He went towards Winchelsea, where he met Guala, the legate of the apostolic see. Having kissed him, he proceeded towards Winchester, en route destroying the castles at Pevensey and at Hastings. The legate went to Canterbury where he was honourably received by the monks, but, while he was dining there, he heard of Louis' arrival, and so fled at once, following the king as far as Bristol. Louis came to Canterbury and its castle was handed over to him.

Afterwards Louis on his way to London captured Rochester castle. Next he was welcomed with a procession at St Paul's in London and he captured the tower of the city. Then the other castles in Kent and South Sussex were handed over to him, apart from Dover. Then he took by force Farnham, and the city of Winchester with its castles. Later other castles in the same diocese were surrendered to him, as far as the castle of Corfe.¹

The county of Winchester and South Sussex surrendered to [Hervé] count of Nevers, but he established such a harsh tyranny over the people that he made his own name and that of his master a nasty smell as far as they were concerned. And although at first everybody looked favourably upon Louis, the people now split into two, so much so that a certain Wilkin ganged up with many supporters from the wooded hills of South Sussex and killed Frenchmen, wherever they could find them. Also, the citizens of the Cinque Ports with a fleet cut off the men, arms and supplies which were following behind Louis, so that battles were being fought on sea as well as on land. For on Louis' side Eustace the Monk, the boldest of pirates, and Geoffrey de Lucy captured islands belonging to King John and stirred up many to revolt against him.² Also Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciar and castellan of Dover castle, in the meantime fiercely attacked [47] Louis' supporters, so that Louis marched from Winchester and besieged Dover castle, erecting buildings around about it as if he was establishing a town. But he suffered great losses of possessions and personnel and achieved nothing. At the same time, Louis sent [Hervé] count of Nevers to besiege Windsor castle and also the great numbers of English barons inside it. The barons were on the point of surrendering the castle when the count accepted money from the castellan and treacherously retreated with his army.³

While this was going on, King John in the Welsh Marches destroyed the castles of Reginald de Braose and of his other enemies.⁴ Then, when some barons went towards Norfolk, the king followed in their rear. Other barons, who had stayed in London, wishing to

¹ The events surrounding Louis' invasion of England and John's response are given in considerable detail in *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 177–183, and Wendover, pp. 348–77.

² Geoffrey de Lucy appears to have changed sides a number of times in these years, ironically ending up being appointed Warden of all the Channel Islands during the reign of Henry III.

³ The siege of Windsor is related in more detail by Wendover, who adds the interesting detail that the count of Nevers was the descendant of Ganelon, the traitor in the famous *Chanson de Geste* 'The Song of Roland', thereby emphasising his treachery; pp. 375–7.

⁴ Reginald rebelled with his brother Giles against King John; however, he returned to favour and his lands were restored during the early years of Henry III's reign.

help their friends, pursued the king with a strong force. When the king heard of this, he fled towards Lincoln, destroying and burning everything in his path.

Meanwhile Louis abandoned the siege of Dover, returned to London and besieged and captured the castle of Hertford. Also, he finally captured Berkhamsted castle, while Hubert de Burgh surrendered to him Norwich and Hereford castles for the sake of a short-lasting peace treaty. At that time, Louis held all the castles of Essex and Suffolk. Also at that time, Louis not only did much damage to the town of Dunstable, but also received two hundred marks from it.

As the French were now behaving so arrogantly that the English nobles were withdrawing from their counsels, the French began to call them traitors and kept for themselves the castles which they had captured and did not restore their rights to the English. For this reason, the earl of Salisbury and the younger William Marshal¹ and many other nobles and lords left the French side.² From then on the power of the French began to diminish daily. For Eustace de Vesci was struck and killed by a bolt from a crossbow, while he was besieging the castle of Hugh de Balliol,³ and his troops scattered [48] in confusion. As for the barons who had begun to besiege Exeter, some of them were taken prisoner by the efforts of the earl of Salisbury and Falkes de Bréauté,⁴ while others shamefully ran away. Also, the old Marshal captured Worcester castle. And then the isle of Ely, which had been taken and then lost so many times by this side and that, finally had its tower destroyed by Falkes, who built a castle in the isle of Ely, facing westwards.⁵

At this time, on the day after the feast of St Luke, [18 October] John king of England died in Newark castle. He was buried in Worcester cathedral, between the bodies of St Oswald and St Wulfstan. He left his first-born son Henry as the heir to the kingdom. On the feast of St Martin [11 November] in the same year his son was anointed king at Bristol and crowned by the hands of the bishops of Winchester, Worcester and Exeter⁶ on the authority of the papal legate Guala. Because the young king was an innocent young lad who had offended no one, many who had been enemies of his father began to join his side.⁷

¹ Born 1190, earl of Pembroke 1219 to 1231.

² This is original information not found in any other contemporary account. Wendover's parallel account details how the viscount of Melun, one of Louis' men, has a death-bed change of heart and admits that the French were planning to banish all the English barons who were currently fighting with him against John when they obtained victory. This is the reason given by Wendover for the reduced support given to Louis by the rebels; p. 377.

³ Barnard Castle, County Durham.

⁴ Faulk was one of John's loyal supporters throughout the civil war. He died in 1226.

⁵ Nothing remains of Ely castle today: Falkes' rebuilt edifice was demolished along with the rest of the castle during the Second Barons' War shortly after it was captured in 1268.

⁶ Peter des Roches, Silvester of Evesham and Simon of Apulia.

⁷ This is a commonly held view, and has passed from contemporary accounts into modern scholarship.

During Louis' stay in London, Philip d'Albini and William de Wawz of the king's party started a war against Louis' men at Dover castle.¹ When Louis was marching to the help of his men, his enemies retreated to the woods, broke down the bridges in his rear, and drove him into a trap, because his food supplies could not follow him. Many of Louis' men died, and the gravest peril of famine would have been overhanging Louis, had not a large fleet from France appeared on the scene and caused his enemies to flee in fear. Louis set up a garrison at Dover from this same fleet and then set out for France to get extra help, leaving behind as his deputy in the meantime in England Ingelram de Courcy, who was of noble birth but lacked judgement.² After a short interval Louis returned [49] to England with a new army which he had gathered together, and laid siege to Dover castle with a 'trebuchet' and many other siege engines. But he achieved little. In his absence, his own buildings around the castle had been burnt down.³ Meanwhile the earl of Chester with the king's army laid siege to Mountsorrel castle. But the barons, who were stationed in London with the count of Perche⁴ and [Walter de Nismes] the marshal of France and a thousand armed men given to them by Louis, passed through Dunstable without doing any particular harm, but then laid waste everything in their path, sparing neither widows nor churches. After such a march, they lifted the siege by the earl of Chester of the castle of Mountsorrel.⁵ They changed the custodians of the castle, renewed the supplies of food and set out for Lincoln. They joined forces with Gilbert de Gaunt and the other barons who were there and laid siege to Lincoln castle, in which a woman of noble birth called Nicola defended her person like a man. But after a few days the papal legate together with William Marshal and the bishops, earls, barons and other supporters of the king, with white crosses marked on their breastplates,⁶ marched towards Lincoln as far as Newark. The legate did not go any further, but entrusted to the bishop of Winchester his task of absolving those loyal to the king from their sins and of filling them with courage to fight well. As they approached Lincoln from the west side, the barons who were inside the town drew up their lines of battle and their scaling ladders outside the town towards the west. But when they saw the king's men arriving with a strong force, following the bad advice of a few of their number, they withdrew inside the town walls. The king's soldiers pursued them right up to the gate and walls towards the north. Falkes indeed,

¹ There is some discussion as to whether this is an error on the part of the annalist and the castle in question is actually Rye castle: John Grehan and Martin Mace, *Battleground Sussex: A Military History of Sussex* (Barnsley, 2012), p.44, and n.15.

² The de Courcys did indeed have an established past, coming from a Norman noble family mentioned in Domesday. The lack of judgement probably refers to Ingelram siding with Louis at this time. See Burke, *Heraldic Dictionary*, p. 221, for further details.

³ A probable eyewitness account of the siege of Dover castle is contained in F. Michel, (ed.), *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1840) and corroborates much of this detail.

⁴ The count's name was Thomas. For more on the role of the counts of Perche in these events, see K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000–1226*, (London, 2002).

⁵ This siege is related in more detail by Roger of Wendover, pp. 388–90.

⁶ The white cross marked them out from their enemies, and the purity of the colour was intended to reflect the justice of their cause.

a doughty fighter, had been let into the castle through a back gate by the constable's wife and attacked the barons in the rear. But the besieged barons, seeing the enemy in front and behind, left the walls and turned their swords against Falkes, as they made their way down towards Wigford. Simon de Pesci and Henry Braybrook¹ with eighty French soldiers got away and passed through Lynn and Bury St Edmunds to London. The king's soldiers [50] entered Lincoln from all points of the compass. Meeting [Thomas] the count of Perche in a cemetery they killed first his horse then the man himself, although he defended himself valiantly. The citizens of Lincoln were so terror-struck that many of them while fleeing perished under the waters. All the barons were then captured one by one, and the victors plundered Lincoln so ruthlessly that, showing no thanks for the grace which had been given them, they even ransacked the churches. Very many of the barons' party who were fleeing towards London, and especially their Frenchmen, were killed en route by the country folk. Those who were captured became the prisoners of their captors. Almost all the captives paid a ransom for their freedom, apart from a few who put off doing this right up to the time of the peace which followed the fighting.²

When Louis heard what had happened to his men at Lincoln, he abandoned the siege of Dover, having set on fire the huts he had been using, and came to London. From there he sent to France for a fresh army. Indeed, his wife Blanche [of Castile] pleaded the case of her husband, who was now more or less a prisoner in London, before the nobles of France.

Meanwhile the earl of Chester razed Mountsorrel castle³ to the ground. His men had found it empty and its constable fled. [William] the earl of Ferrers⁴ with his force captured the castles of Bolsover and the Peak. In all this the hand of the Lord was on the side of the king and his party, arranging everything for their good. For when at Blanche's urgings many nobles and lords came from France to give help to Louis, they were defeated in a sea battle off Dover by the king's forces, led by the bishop [Richard Poore] and the earl of Salisbury [William Longespee] and the justiciar [Hubert de Burgh]. Countless Frenchmen were killed, including Eustace the Monk who had played both sides false, and only the French nobles were left alive.

Louis had no reinforcements for the present. He had no hopes for the future. And as he was also desperately short of food and his men starving, he was forced to make a peace with the legate and the king's party for himself and all his lay allies, on condition [51] that they should retain all their rights and liberties. But he had to make an exception of all the clergy, although against his will, as the legate would only consider a peace if this were so. The legate wanted to ensure that the clergy would behave more circumspectly in the wars of the laity in the future.

¹ Wendover says that Henry was the commander of Montsorrel castle, p. 389.

² This is one of the most detailed accounts that survives of the battle for Lincoln castle. See Introduction, p. 00.

³ In Leicestershire.

⁴ He is one of the barons called on by William Marshal to lay siege to Montsorrel castle: Roger of Wendover, p. 389.

So Louis handed back to the control of the legate the city of London and all the castles he had taken, and with his troops returned to France a free man. He did leave behind in England his marshal that he might recover the fifteen thousand marks which had been promised to him for arrears of payment and for the expenses he had incurred. The king's men gave Louis safe conduct right down to the sea and found him ships. After Louis' departure, some of his knights who had been allowed to stay in England got together with the English and other foreigners and competed against each other in tournaments. But as such tournaments involved danger for the king and losses for men who could not afford it, they were banned and their participants put under irreversible excommunication. And so foreigners were ordered to leave the country.¹

1216

In the year 1216 died John Wohill and Alard, dean of St Paul's in London. He was succeeded by master Gervase. But Gervase was deposed by the papal legate on the grounds that he was an excommunicated schismatic. Besides Gervase, Simon [Langton], brother of the archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert of St German were also deposed from the benefices they had obtained, with the rider that they would not be able in the future to obtain those benefices or any other benefices in England. Other clergy who now lost the benefices which they held were to be allowed the opportunity of obtaining new ones. Also in London various altars were destroyed, as a mark of the detestation felt for excommunicated clergy who had celebrated mass on them, and other altars were substituted in their place.

In the same year Walter Gray, bishop of Worcester, was made archbishop of York after master Simon Langton's election to this office was quashed. At the same time W. Foliot² was made abbot of Ramsey.

In the same year [52] died Giles [de Braose], bishop of Hereford. He was succeeded as bishop by Hugh [de Mapenore], dean of the same church, but his brother Reginald became his actual heir, helped by Llywelyn, king of Wales, whose daughter Reginald had married.³

1217

In the year 1217 in the month of November Walter, prior of Merton, became a Carthusian monk. At the same time Silvester, bishop of Worcester, died; in the January before his death the translation of St Wulfstan had been celebrated.⁴ In the same year William, archdeacon of Buckingham, was made bishop of Worcester in Silvester's place.

¹ This marked the end of the First Barons' War, and the full terms were laid out in the Treaty of Lambeth of 1217. The episode finishes on a nationalistic note with God on the king's side and the foreigners expelled. See Introduction, p. 00.

² This is a scribal error; the initial should be 'H' for Hugh rather than 'W'.

³ Reginald de Braose was Giles's temporal heir, controlling much of the Marcher land, and greatly strengthened by the marriage referred to here to a princess of the Welsh kings. The annals of Worcester cathedral priory give the name of the princess, who was Gladuse: *Annales Monasterii de Wigornia*, in *Annales Monastici*, IV, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1869), p. 405.

⁴ January 1218.

In the same year King Henry began to use a seal.¹ Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, assigned to us the sheaves of half of the church at Pattishall [Northamptonshire], and, on the authority of the [Lateran] council,² gave the church of St Mary at Bedford to master Alan, without us losing our twenty shillings.

In the same year we made a composition at the king's court for the church of St Peter at Bedford. Also at that time [Ralph] the prior of Norwich became bishop of Chichester.³

In the same year with the general agreement of good men we gave a twentieth of our revenues as a help for the Holy Land, and pledged to do the same for three years.

In the same year the papal legate had thirteen clergy imprisoned at Westminster, because of their threats against himself and his people.⁴

In the same year the squires of Falkes de Bréauté so cruelly treated the monks at Wardon abbey that one of them was killed, some others wounded and about thirty of them were unceremoniously dragged through the mud all the way to Falkes' castle at Bedford. The quarrel was over a wood belonging to the monks. But at a chapter meeting Falkes generously made a handsome apology to the monks and accepted their 'discipline'. He confirmed [53] their right to the wood which had caused the dispute, and promised to protect and honour them in the future.⁵

Next, on the eve of the feast of Simon and Jude [27 October] one of our Dunstable canons seemed to see a huge cross move across the sky in great glory from west to east.

In the same year [Hugh Foliot] abbot of Ramsey, Stephen Segrave and four other itinerant justices⁶ came to Dunstable. In their presence our knights and other free-men swore that they would firmly and faithfully preserve the peace of holy church and of their lord King Henry and of the kingdom of England, and that they could be counted on to assist and defend all those who observed this peace. They also swore that they would obey reasonable commands of the king, promote the rights of the king and uphold and maintain the good laws and the honourable practices of the kingdom of England. If anyone dared to do the opposite, they would faithfully assemble in force at the command of the king and his council and loyally do all in their power to put the matter right. They also swore that they would not cease to keep their promised fealty through any hatred, or favour or fear, and that they would perform the right and uphold the right according to the honourable practices

¹ This is an important moment as it marks the end of Henry III's minority and the beginning of his independent rule as he could seal and witness his own official documents.

² This is of course referring to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which gave the right of presentation to churches vacant for more than three months to the immediate superior.

³ This information has already been recorded under 1214, see p. 00 above.

⁴ The legate Guala was one of many Italian clergymen occupying English clerical posts at this time, encouraged to do so by the pope who still held the country as a fiefdom. This was becoming increasingly unpopular, however, hence the rise in hostility towards the Italians.

⁵ Falkes was disliked by many for being one of John's 'alien' commanders, and the sheriff of six counties.

⁶ Itinerant justices were judges acting on the king's behalf who travelled the country on a circuit holding courts in local places. This marked a shift in England's administration as Henry III determined that law and order would be restored following the rebellion.

and the laws of England. All this they would faithfully do, no matter what oath of a contrary nature they had made or might make, and on these matters they would help the Marshal.¹

1218

In the year 1218 Pandulf, the bishop elect of Norwich and the pope's chamberlain, came to England as papal legate, and on his arrival Guala left.² First he freed the clergy who had suffered the distress of imprisonment under Guala, and then he restored to the clergy some benefices which Guala had previously taken from them.

In the same year Thomas was made prior of Merton. Master John of Houton was made archdeacon of Bedford, taking up this post on the death of Alexander [of Elstow]. And master Robert of Bedford was made bishop of Lismore, being consecrated in London.

In the same year [54] in May the earl of Chester, William Ferrers [earl of Derby], Brian de Insula, [John de Lacy] the constable of Chester, William de Harcourt and many others set out for the Holy Land.

In this year Otto, the emperor of Germany, died, leaving his imperial insignia in the keeping of his brother. His successor was Frederick, the son of emperor Henry.³

In the same year Simon de Montfort died at the siege of Toulouse, struck by a stone from a siege engine. He was noble in his birth, nobler still in the fervour of his faith, but at his noblest in the exercise of weapons. He was succeeded by his first-born son, who, feebler than his father, departed from the siege.⁴

In the same year Robert de Gaugy was excommunicated because of his refusal to hand over Newark castle and his destruction of its neighbourhood. He did at last unwillingly hand over the castle, and died at Newark in the same year, struck down by the fires of hell.⁵

¹ 'The Marshal' being William, regent for the young Henry III.

² Guala had asked leave to retire. Pandulf was then legate until 1221. For more information, see *Councils and Synods*, p. 52.

³ Frederick was the son of Emperor Henry VI, who had ruled before Otto, and grandson of the great Frederick I Barbarossa.

⁴ The death of Simon de Montfort seems to go without mention in most English sources. However, the anonymous continuator of the *Song of the Cathar Wars* takes pleasure in explaining how a stone from a mangonel operated by women and girls fell on his head, crushing his skull and killing him; *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996), p. 172. A considerably more grief-stricken Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay reports the 'tragedy' at even greater length: *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 275–8.

⁵ According to Dugdale, the Gaugy family had been staunch supporters of King John, and the king himself had paid Robert to take and hold the castle during the rebellion. Upon the king's death, Robert refused to hand it back to the bishop of Lincoln, and it presumably for this act of defiance that the annalist believes his death was deserved.

This year saw the death of the duke of Burgundy¹ while on crusade and the deaths at Damietta of master Thomas de Noyun, master Alexander de Curtun and master Ralph of Brondesbury.² Louis went on crusade against the Albigenses.³

1219

In AD 1219 the justices mentioned previously were at Bedford. In their presence we made an agreement with Gregory about a path which had been blocked, and John Youngman recognised our right to half an acre. We entered a written claim against Adam for land belonging to Studham church, and another claim against Felicia for the land belonging to Burgard. We also in opposition to Henry Bunyan took our rent from the land of John Travayl, and we quashed against William of Husborne Crawley his writ for denial of succession to an inheritance and against Margery the writ concerning her rights.

In the same year before the same justices we established our right to hold our court at Dunstable concerning all pleas of the crown. We did this through evidence at the county [55] courts of Buckingham and Bedford, although Ralph de Bray and Robert de Wilton, their sheriffs, who were present on that occasion, opposed our right to hold the court.

In the same year a Christian army laid siege to Damietta.⁴ It consisted of two Roman cardinals,⁵ the king of Jerusalem,⁶ the king of Hungary,⁷ [Leopold] the duke of Austria, citizens of Rome and various others who flocked in from everywhere around.

In the same year Philip, the French king, obtained from Pope Honorius for his son Louis who was on crusade against the Albigenses a half of a twentieth from the churches of his kingdom, which had been earmarked for Jerusalem.⁸ Louis began his crusade with a strong force, but he was put to shame and returned home without achieving any success.⁹

¹ Odo III (1166–1218).

² A full account of the campaign to capture Damietta is given by Roger of Wendover, II, pp. 404–25. The other contemporary sources only mention its capture in passing.

³ This is a reference to Louis of France setting out to join the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathar heretics in the Languedoc region of southern France.

⁴ This is a reference to what we now denote as the Fifth Crusade. Despite the credentials of the participants it was a failure. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven, 2005), 176.

⁵ Robert de Courçon and Pelagius, bishop of Albano.

⁶ John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem through his marriage to Agnes of Montferrat, father of Yolande or Isabelle, who later married Frederick II, king of Germany and Sicily.

⁷ Andrew II, king of Hungary.

⁸ Raising taxes to fund trips to the Holy Land was common practice and had become more so since the changes wrought by Innocent III to the way they could be gathered. There had even been a tax raised in England during Richard I's reign called the 'Saladin Tithe'.

⁹ His lack of success is also commented on by Wendover, who says after Simon was killed by a stone and the siege of Toulouse had dragged on so long that famine and disease were rife among the crusaders, he decided to return home; p. 426.

In the same year on the feast of St Benedict [21 March] Prior Richard held his court at Dunstable concerning all the pleas and articles of enquiry of the crown before the usual itinerant justices. On that occasion it was Stephen and Maurice who sat beside him as justices of the lord king. The oaths used were worded like this, 'O lord prior, justice of St Peter of Dunstable, you are hearing etc.' He dealt in this court with pleas of the crown, namely a case concerning discovered treasure against Godfrey Maschun, cases of freemen dispossessed of property unjustly, and cases concerning the escape of prisoners, the death of many and the dowries of women.

In the same year died Hugh [de Mapenore], bishop of Hereford. He was succeeded by Hugh Foliot.

And then in the month of May William Marshal died. And Numericus,¹ the master of the Temple in England, was buried in the New Temple.²

In this year Damietta was captured. The whole church proclaimed and praised the prowess of the earl of Chester as being responsible for this success. So many men were killed in Damietta by the avenging hand of God that the Christians paid three thousand [56] bezants to have the bodies of the dead dragged to the nearest river. When the Christians entered the city, the Lord caused the Nile to overflow, so that the heathen who were besieging Damietta from the outside could not approach or hurt the Christians. As the heathens retreated in confusion, none of them dared to stay any nearer than two days' journey away from the city. Nor did the Christians venture to withdraw from Damietta, for fear of losing the city they had captured while they attempted to capture other cities.

In the same year the following people set out for Damietta: the earls of Arundel and Winchester,³ Robert fitz Walter, Baldwin de Vehr, Geoffrey de Lucy and Odo, son of William d'Aubeny. But the earl of Winchester and Baldwin de Vehr died there, and Robert fitz Walter returned home ill.

1220

After the annulment of the election of master Robert of York as bishop of Ely,⁴ his place was taken by [John] abbot of Fountains abbey, with a benefice of two hundred marks being reserved for him from the manors of the bishop.

In the same year at Poitou the truce between the kings of France and England was extended for a further five years. The French king, when he took into account the youth of our king and equally his inability to do harm, did this willingly and without demanding any money.

In the same year on the feast of St Alphege the Martyr [19 April], Robert bishop of Lismore dedicated Studham church and five altars there and consecrated an enlarged churchyard, all this with an annual remission of twenty days. The previous day he had dedicated at Dunstable an altar of the Holy Cross in honour of All Angels and

¹ Otherwise known as Aymeric de St. Maur.

² William Marshal and Numericus were both buried in the New Temple.

³ William d'Aubigny and Seyer de Quinci.

⁴ The election was quashed on 11 May 1219.

a parish altar in honour of St John Baptist. Also on the feast of the Holy Cross the bishop dedicated the church at Chalgrave, with an annual remission of twenty days, and shortly afterwards dedicated the church at Pulloxhill in honour of St James with a similar remission.

In the same year [57] and month Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, carried out a visitation at Dunstable.

In the same year on the day of Pentecost [17 May], Henry III king of England was solemnly crowned at Westminster in the presence of Pandulf the papal legate and Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop celebrated mass and preached the sermon to the people. Also present were many bishops, earls, barons, abbots, priors and countless others. A more imposing ceremony had never been seen in our times before this day. The Jews indeed during the ceremony were prudently kept under guard in the Tower of London.¹ And the archbishop of York did not attend the coronation. Perhaps he was unable to do so for shame, as at that time he was banned from having the cross carried in front of him outside his own diocese.² On the day after the coronation the barons who had been present swore that they would hand over their castles and wardships to the king's pleasure and that they would pay to the exchequer the proper amount from their farms. If one of their number rebelled against the king and had not made amends for this within forty days of his excommunication by the papal legate, the barons swore that at the command of the king they would take up arms against him so that the rebel might be disinherited for good.³

In the same year the townspeople of Bedford at their county court petitioned against us at Dunstable for freedom from toll. This caused us trouble for some time, but in the end we escaped without having to make any change for the foreseeable future.

In the same year we were taken to the king's court by the writ which is called *Praecipe*.⁴ Ralph, the priest of St Peter's at Bedford had obtained this writ against us. On that occasion we called on the king as our guarantor (previously he had been too young) and in this way we withdrew from the writ unconditionally

In the same year St Hugh, [former] bishop of Lincoln, was canonised, and it was decreed that his feast day should be celebrated on 18 November, the day of his death. It was on a Sunday in this year.

¹ This was no doubt to avoid history repeating itself. The coronation of Henry III's uncle Richard the Lionheart had been marked with a nationwide pogrom after the king had banned Jews from the ceremony. A number of Jewish dignitaries ignored the order and brought gifts, but they were flogged and then banished. This anti-semitic behaviour soon spread across London and to other cities, resulting in rioting, the deaths of many individuals, and burning of Jewish property.

² This form of procession was reserved for the primate, the archbishop of Canterbury; there was intense rivalry between the two figures, but the latter needed to demonstrate his supremacy.

³ This was in fact Henry III's second coronation, the first having taken place in October 1216 at Gloucester.

⁴ Giving the opening word or words of a writ is intended to make it easier to find in the house's cartulary should it need to be consulted by the monks.

In this year Isabel[la], the mother of King Henry, married Hugh, count of La Marche. It was no obstacle that her daughter had been betrothed to this count.¹

In the same year [58] in the month of June the sister of Henry, king of England, was betrothed to the king of Scotland at York.² For this betrothal Henry paid the king five thousand marks and promised that he would either marry off the Scottish king's two sisters, who were his wards,³ to equals within a year or hand them back to the king freely.

In this year on the feast of the Holy Trinity many fishermen were drowned on our south coast owing to the widespread perilous seas.

In the same year the prior at the exchequer gained the right to fine Stephen Vintner and Peter his son, as was written in the roll for the fourth year of the king's reign.

In the same year the prior also made an agreement with Marjorie Buckleshore and her sisters. This agreement was entered on the rolls in the presence of justices at the king's bench. The prior also obtained tithes of hay from many parishioners.

In the same year on the day following the octave of Peter and Paul [6 July] there was a most solemn translation of the body of the blessed martyr Thomas in the fiftieth year after his martyrdom. It was a cause of rejoicing for us all. Archbishops were present and twenty-four bishops, coming from lands near and far. On the day itself the archbishop of Rheims [William de Joinville] celebrated the greater mass. The day before he had dedicated an altar placed before the shrine in honour of the blessed martyr. [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury himself declared a remission of two years on penances imposed, and said that the remission would extend to people who came to the cathedral on the next fifteen days. The celebration of the feast with its food and drink, its gold and silver plate and its costly garments was such as we have not read about since the time of King Asa.⁴ And I must not forget to mention that for this great feast the archbishop built an equally worthy palace, such as we believe has not been seen since the time of Solomon.

In the same year [59] in the month of October, by the second Hugh to be bishop of Lincoln vicarages were established and taxed in the churches which the canons of Dunstable have for their own use. The bishop had made a careful enquiry beforehand in the relevant documents as to the value of these churches and vicarages and as to how the vicarages could be suitably funded. In the bishop's book chest are stored these words about his arrangements:

To the vicarage of Studham church belong all the altar-offerings of the church and the holding of Vivian of about seven acres, except that one mark and ten lambs from the

¹ She married Hugh X of Lusignan, count of La Marche, to whom she had been betrothed before her marriage to King John. Her eldest daughter Joan was Hugh's intended, and she had grown up at the Lusignan court in preparation. Hugh, apparently, preferred the mother. For further information, see T. B. Costain, *The Conquering Family: A History of the Plantagenets* (New York, 1949).

² This is Joan, referred to in the note above, who was married to the king of Scotland following the breaking off of her betrothal to Hugh of Lusignan.

³ The sisters' names were Margery and Isabella.

⁴ Asa is a king of Judah cited in the Bible, known for his religious reforms and efforts to stamp out idolatry. 2 Chronicles 14–16.

altar-offerings are reserved for the prior. The general view is that the vicarage is worth six marks and the whole church twenty marks.

The whole church of Totternhoe is worth twelve marks and the vicarage five marks. To the vicarage belongs all the altar-offerings of the same church and the rent of ten pence from the land of Richard Godwer and the manse of the priest and the half of the tenth from the hay of the whole parish.

The vicarage of Chalgrave church is worth five and a half marks, and the whole church fifteen marks. To the vicarage belong all the altar-offerings, the manse of the priest with its garden and the larger holding of four acres to the west.

The vicarage of Segenhoe church is worth five and a half marks. To it belong all the altar-offerings and the manse which is to the west, except that ten lambs of the altar-offerings are reserved for the prior. The whole church is worth fifteen marks.

The vicarage at Husborne Crawley is worth five marks and four shillings, and to it belong all the altar-offerings and the manse, together with the holding and meadow on the south side. The whole church is worth twelve marks.

And you must know that the prior, as his contribution, will bear the cost of lodgings for the archdeacon and be responsible for books, candles, vestments, utensils and taxes. The vicar will be responsible for other expenditure.

In the same year [60] the prior of Dunstable was involved in a case against Richard [vicar] of Steppingley. In its final presentation by a writ of the lord king, the prior left the court acquitted, but the other remained under sentence. Similarly, the prior left the trial acquitted when he was involved in a case through Alice Martel, by a writ concerning a dowry and the land at Buckleshore.

In the same year about 1 August the earl of Chester returned with the constable of Chester and Brian de Insula from the Holy Land.¹

In the same year Henry, earl of Cornwall,² behaving like a lunatic, handed back the castles which he had occupied to Pandulf the legate for the king's use. He also took the precaution of taking the vow of the cross.³ Similarly the earl of Aumale restored to the king the castles of Rockingham and Selvey, and determined to take the precaution of making amends for any wrongs he had done to a court of the barons of the realm, if anyone wished to lay charges against him.

In the same year, a general excommunication was decreed for jousters and their managers and supporters and the providers of materials and food for tournaments. This was for every Sunday.⁴

¹ For their departure in 1218, see above, p. 00.

² Henry Fitz Count, the illegitimate son of Reginald the previous count, who was himself the illegitimate son of King Henry I.

³ This term refers to 'the taking of the cross', the vow made by an individual planning to go on crusade. It literally refers to the sewing of a cross onto an outer garment as an outward symbol of their intention of participating in a crusade.

⁴ This law was relaxed again in 1232, and Dunstable became one of the four official tournament sites in the country. See Introduction, p.000.

In the same year in the month of September a plough tax was imposed on the whole kingdom for the use of the lord king.¹ Archbishops and bishops, all clergy and men of religion and their farm workers were immune from this tax, but the bishops throughout their dioceses did collect from abbots and priors help which was given of their own free will for the use of the lord king.² The house at Dunstable paid three marks on that occasion.

In the same year died Adam dean of Salisbury, the earl of Winchester, Baldwin de Vehr, [Thomas] abbot of St James at Northampton and [Alexander] abbot of St Augustine at Canterbury.

In the same year William, son of Helia, made a charter for us concerning our feeding [61] fifty pigs a year in his wood at Ockley Hockliffe, free from pannage. We put this into practice in the same year.

In the same year Guy, brother of Simon de Montfort, was captured by the Albigenses and killed and torn to pieces by horses.³

In the same year Louis, the son of the French king, set out for Toulouse with a huge army of French and Normans and of many other races, peoples and tongues. But he was not successful, for he lost many of his men in the first battle. Also, the earl Simon de Montfort was suddenly struck by a blow of a stone from a siege engine and closed his eyes in death. Miracles are said to have taken place at his tomb subsequently. And so Louis, with his men gradually slipping away, returned home, complaining about the treachery of [Hervé] count of Nevers and the count of St Paul.⁴ And because the lord pope complained that Louis had spent to no purpose the half of a twentieth promised to the French crusaders, King Philip, Louis' father, sent three hundred knights at his own expense to the help of Almeric de Montfort.⁵

In the same year a war began between Llywelyn, prince of Wales, and William Marshal junior. Llywelyn cleverly got help from the English king, pretending that he was about to crush some rebels from the Marches next to him, but all of a sudden invaded the Marshal's territory. He destroyed three of his castles, killed every living soul and ran riot through the whole territory, shutting animals and flocks in their pens and setting fire to the whole lot. The same prince also killed a mass of soldiers coming from Ireland to the help of the Marshal. It is said that the losses involved in this misfortune

¹ This was an unusual tax, levied only six times in total; three times by Henry, once by his father and twice by his uncle Richard I. Its calculation was based on the amount of land an individual owned and how many plough-teams were required to work the estate.

² This is characteristic of the tone of the Dunstable annals in comparison with its contemporaries, giving details not only of national events concerning the kings, nobles and churchmen, but also matters affecting land ownership and practices, providing a very different angle.

³ Guy de Montfort was killed in the conflict at Castelnaudary in 1220.

⁴ Hugh V.

⁵ Almeric took over the leadership of the crusade after his father was killed by a stone. Simon's death has already been given by the annalist, see above, p. 00. Though this account of Simon's death is useful in its detail, and describes French royal intervention, the events are elided together here leaving the dating inaccurate.

exceeded the price of the ransom for King Richard.¹ It is also said that the trouble began because the Marshal refused to keep his promise [62] to pay Llywelyn a certain sum of money as ransom for some war captives.²

In the same year after the feast of St Michael [29 September], Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, set out for Rome on matters of church and state. He was accompanied by Richard, bishop of Durham, who was accused of many crimes by his own monks. On the return of these two from Rome, the bishops of Salisbury and Ely³ on the orders of Pope Honorius went in person to Durham and carried out an investigation into the life of Bishop Richard. They sent the results of their investigation to the high pontiff, although Richard himself had already gone back to Rome.⁴

At the same time the dean and chapter of Lincoln welcomed with a solemn procession Walter [de Gray], the archbishop of York, although Walter was [illegally] carrying his cross in front of him. And so a sentence of suspension was served on the church at Lincoln by officials of [Stephen] archbishop of Canterbury. But in the end the same officials, when they had given a caution about obeying the archbishop of Canterbury's commands when he returned, quashed the sentence of suspension.⁵

In the same year on the authority of the lord pope Salisbury cathedral was removed from its site within the precincts of the castle down to old Salisbury, so that it was now situated next to a stream of flowing water. Both a house for the bishop and houses for all the canons were built around about the cathedral. For its building the canons of the cathedral were sent all over England, sowing the word of God and reaping temporal help.⁶ They did the same in other kingdoms.⁷

¹ The enormous ransom paid to release Richard after he was imprisoned on his return from the Third Crusade was within living memory, and must have still been a sore point.

² Following John's death, Llywelyn's ambitions had room to expand, encroaching upon the territories traditionally held by Marcher lords, and the elder Marshal in particular. On the other side, William Marshal junior was seeking to expand his sphere of influence further west to match what it had been in his father's day. See David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 94–6 for further details. Wendover adds that Llywelyn had beheaded all the Marshal's men in the castle which he had taken, and so William set about beheading the Welsh king's men in retaliation: II, pp. 443–4. No reason is given as to why the hostilities began, however, other than William Marshal was away in Ireland and Llywelyn took advantage of his absence.

³ Richard Poore and John of Fountains.

⁴ See p. 00. Wendover also writes of the misdemeanours of the bishop of Durham: II, pp. 431–2; however, neither source states what the actual crimes were. The accusations were made in response to the bishop's about turn in supporting the rights and exemptions of the monks of his cathedral chapter. The investigation was brought to a close by the bishop's death in 1226. *English Episcopal Acta: Durham, 1153–1195* ed. M. G. Snape (Oxford, 2002), pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

⁵ Throughout the thirteenth century there was a power struggle between the archbishops of York and Canterbury. It was not permissible for the archbishop of York to carry his cross of office upright in front of him outside of his metropolitan sphere; his act of defiance is described here.

⁶ Though the aforementioned bishop of Salisbury Richard Poore donated the land, donations were required to fund the building itself; this is the 'temporal help' referred to here.

⁷ This last sentence was added in another hand later.

In the same year an Arabian scroll was found at Damietta. Pelagius, the legate of the apostolic see, translated it into Latin and sent it to Rome, and from there it found its way to us. Veiled in some rather obscure language were prophecies of the destruction of the land of Jerusalem and its recovery, of the capture of Damietta and of the destruction of both Egypt and the land of the Turks.¹

In the same year [63] the heathen captured the town of Nazareth. In the month of October the sultan of Babylon besieged the camp of the crusaders, and so many Christians returned home from those parts that the ones who were left were not able to protect themselves unless fresh help arrived.

In the same year the Christians took the town of Tannis, which is about a day's distance from Damietta. Tannis is a good place for fishing with abundant supplies of fish there.²

In the same year in the month of December Frederick II was crowned emperor in Rome. He was to go on crusade, and a warning about his fulfilment of his vow of the cross had been given to him before his coronation. On the advice of the pope he sent many knights and armed men across the sea, intending to follow them in person after he had disposed of some rather difficult imperial business.³

In the same year Peter de Nerbona and his son John gave our church half of a hide of land in the village of Segenhoe, in return for us bestowing a corrody on the life of the son John. But when at the county court we were given some trouble about the same land by R. de Littlington, we quashed his seven complaints against us and our moots by paying him five pounds and by paying a certain other three marks.

Later in the same year Peter de Nerbona died.

1221

In the month of January William [de Forz], earl of Aumale, resolved to make a secret attack on the castles of Newark, Sleaford and Kimbolton. But when he was shamefully repulsed at these places, he unexpectedly turned his attention to Fotheringhay.⁴ He attacked its castle from all sides, supported by the help of the ice that winter, and set fire to the gate. Then he wounded to the death the two knights of the castle, who were less well armed than himself, and captured the castle. When news of this was brought to the papal legate Pandulf and to the whole council of the king, which then happened

¹ Pelagius himself was heavily involved in this crusade, arriving in Egypt in 1218. Damietta had taken eighteen months to capture, so the discovery of such prophecies would have served as a useful morale boost. Read more on the Fifth Crusade in Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, pp. 176–80.

² Wendover records the taking of Tannis by copying into his text a letter sent by the master of the Knights Templar detailing the capture of Damietta and the castle of Tannis; pp. 433–5.

³ Frederick had vowed to go on crusade when he was elected as king of Germany. He delayed a number of times, avoiding the Fifth Crusade's departure in 1217, and the beginning of the Sixth Crusade in 1225. He finally set out in 1227 only to abort his plans again due to illness, earning a sentence of excommunication from the pope for failing to fulfil his crusading vow. In 1228 he set out again, still excommunicated, and succeeded in re-establishing the kingdom of Jerusalem and the title for himself in 1229. For more on Frederick, see David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford, 1988).

⁴ See p. 00 above.